



GENDER REGIMES, CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AND RURAL RESTRUCTURING

Research in Rural Sociology
and Development
Volume 13



*Edited by
Ildikó Asztalos Morell
and Bettina Bock*

GENDER REGIMES, CITIZEN
PARTICIPATION AND RURAL
RESTRUCTURING

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RESEARCH IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT
VOLUME 13

GENDER REGIMES, CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AND RURAL RESTRUCTURING

EDITED BY

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FOREWORD

If we lived in a matriarchy then my name today would not be Ildikó Asztalos Morell, but Ildikó von Hartentahl. My ancestor the pale Maria von Hartentahl would have inherited her parents' beautiful palace. Instead she had to run away under the darkness of night with her secret lover and the fruit of their love in her belly to avoid the wrath of her family. She would have married the young and charming family "kirurg" (surgeon) and they would have raised many happy children. Instead they fled to the German colonies in Hungary where the "kirurg" slowly turned into an alcoholic, leaving Maria to struggle for the rest of her life against poverty and ill health while trying to bring up her son.

Today we know that Swiss women did not receive the right to vote until 1971 and that Irish law encourages fathers to hand over the family land to their sons "to benefit the farm". We also know that this patriarchal thinking permeates most Western societies and beyond and that this system has deep historical roots. Only one century laws of today's most egalitarian societies allowed daughters to inherit only half of what sons could, which they lost stewardship of upon marriage. Equally today egalitarian laws do not prevent the reproduction of gender inequality in the praxis of everyday life. Patriarchal thinking has been maintained through the institutional power of laws, societal structures and praxis and resistance to change.

This book aims to unravel how rural gender regimes are constituted and reproduced in various countries in the four corners of Europe as well as in Australia and India. It focuses on the intricate relationships between laws and institutions that frame everyday life. It analyzes how gender regimes are built at the local rural level, in the context of these broader frames, sometimes in compliance of these frames, sometimes contesting them. This book is not a conventional comparative study that addresses an identical set of questions, which are addressed through a common methodological basis and gather identical and comparable data. Rather it is written as an anarchistic symphony. The authors were invited to use their own research material to write about how gender regimes and citizenship are built in the rural context. In doing so they give voice to women's struggles for recognition amidst the gendered processes of power and negotiation, which

lead to the ongoing reproduction of gender hierarchies in a changing societal context in which there are changing divisions of labour and responsibility. Such changes can lead result in men's disempowerment, due for instance to prolonged unemployment, or to women's empowerment in formerly male areas of employment. Departing from a comparative perspective we explore such forces of change and reproduction. While the chapters stand on their own, we hope that drawing them together under the theoretical perspective of rural gender regimes enhances understanding of how such regimes are created, enforced, made sense of and resisted and how struggles of resistance lead to empowerment and change.

**PART I:
INTRODUCTION**

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RURAL GENDER REGIMES: THE DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL GENDER RESEARCH AND DESIGN OF A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

Ildikó Asztalos Morell and Bettina B. Bock

INTRODUCTION

This volume looks at the construction of gendered citizenship in different rural contexts: under different welfare and gender regimes, and different rural and agricultural conditions. Through applying the concepts of the welfare state and gender regimes within rural research, this book contributes to the further development of a comparative theoretical framework for rural gender studies. The importance of integrating rural gender studies into both the mainstreams of rural and feminist research has been emphasized in previous volumes, as has that of developing comparative analytical frameworks (Whatmore, Marsden, & Lowe, 1994, p. 2; Brandth, 2002; Shortall, 2006). The conceptual framework adopted in this volume sets out to meet this challenge by approaching rural gender relations as the meeting point of two core research areas: feminist research into gender regime studies and research on rural transformative processes. Research into gender regimes offers a promising analytical framework for comparing gender relations in diverse rural settings. By formulating gender relations in terms

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of citizenship rights, this approach elevates the concerns of rural gender relations to broader discourses located at the nation state level (Werbner & Yuval-Davis, 1999; Asztalos Morell, 1999a). The evolution of citizenship rights at the nation state level has created hegemonic frameworks that are able to influence and transform rural gender relations. At the same time, by addressing rural concerns, deriving from the specificity of rural transition processes and gender regimes, the approach also contributes to an elucidation of the complexity of citizenship. In accordance to current debates emphasizing the embedded nature of gender relations with other social forces of differentiation, such as age, class and ethnicity (Walby, 1997; Hobson & Lister, 2002) we aimed to elucidate how gendered citizenship is constituted in the rural context.

We set out to investigate how citizenship rights are formed within the domain of gendered inequalities. We elucidate how the laws and institutions guarding gender regimes are created, maintained, made sense of in everyday praxis and resisted. In addition we study how policy formation at the level of the nation state interacts with local and regional politics and the politics of everyday life. This interplay is explored from various perspectives.

First of all, we aim to unravel how gender regimes are created. We study how rural perceptions of gender influence the formulation of rural policy and how images of masculinity and femininity are interwoven with control over resources at the level of the state, the region and the farm and expressed in laws and citizenship rights.

Secondly, we study how specific rural gender regimes are maintained through state governance at the national, regional and local levels. Laws and citizenship rights are embedded in societal norms and values that reflect prevailing power relations within society. The state, through its hegemonic position, has the power to both formulate these laws, and to implement them through its institutions. In doing so the state disseminates the inherent norms and values and contributes to either the reformulation or reconfirmation of current inequalities and gender regimes.

In the third place, we analyse how frameworks of citizenship are understood, made sense of and realized in the everyday praxis of rural women and men, and how these in turn influence how rural women and men organize their lives and construct their identities.

Finally, we examine women's struggles for recognition and their resistance to patriarchal forces. We try to understand how rural women have and continue to frame their issues, pave their way to more equal rights and if and how they manage to have their voice heard.

The issue of empowerment is one of the main focal points of comparative gender regime analysis, as well as of rural gender studies. Our intention was to gather articles that capture the dynamic relation between governance and praxis from the perspective of rural gender studies and comparative gender regime research. The latter approach has inspired this volume, not only by providing a theoretical framework for analysing various aspects of citizenship (civil, political, social and economic) but also a framework for comparing how different nation state models constitute and define men's and women's citizenship in different ways.

In the following section we explain more in detail how rural gender studies and gender regime theory have explored the discourse of empowerment and how this has informed the elaboration of the framework used in this book.

RURAL GENDER STUDIES

The development of rural gender studies in the North has been repeatedly analysed in recent years, and its development has been examined from several different angles. Little, Panelli and Morris focused on the evolution of the theoretical concepts (Little & Morris, 2005; Little & Panelli, 2003). Brandth (2002) described the changes in dominant research discourses and Baylina and Bock (2004) inventoried the prevailing issues and arguments. Research issues, discourses and theoretical concepts do not develop independently of each other – they are interrelated and presuppose each other. We therefore prefer to describe the development of rural gender studies by distinguishing between the following three leading perspectives (or 'Leitbilder') that have guided the definition of research issues and discourses as well as theoretical developments: visibility, agency and identity (Bock, 2006a).

Visibility

The first studies of women's position in farming in the so-called developed world were published in the early eighties, inspired by Boserup (1970) and others who had analysed women's position in agriculture in the South. The main objective of these early studies was to uncover and quantify the hidden work of women and to get recognition for the immense share of farm work that women were still contributing, even in the mechanized and modern farms of the North (Sachs, 1983; Gasson, 1980, 1992). Sachs' study entitled

'The Invisible Farmers' is the most prominent example of rural gender studies from that period. Most of the early studies remained within the dominant explanatory framework of that time, which explained behaviour in terms of socialization and role acceptance (Little & Morris, 2005). Thus these studies were innovative in terms of the issues they examined and in challenging the dominant image of the 'one-man farm' and the 'farm housewife' but conventional in terms of the theory that they applied.

The position of women in agriculture has remained an important and prominent research issue from then onwards. In the former state socialist countries of eastern Europe some recent studies have aimed at elucidating the gender-specific effects of de-collectivization, information which often is not available through statistics and official reports (Cernic Istenic, 2006; Asztalos Morell, 1999b; Verbole, 2001; Sawicka, 2000; Giovarelli & Duncan, 1999; Rangelova, 1999; Majerova, 1999). Others are trying to better understand how changes in the agricultural sector affect gender relations and identities and how these affect agricultural change (Brandth, 2002; Bryant & Pini, 2006). These studies have also shown a development in terms of their theoretical and methodological orientation and have followed the move towards more actor-oriented, or post-modernist, frameworks explained in the following sections.

Agency

In the course of the early 1990s rural gender studies changed direction, following a more general movement in science and society that critiqued the prevalent conceptual and methodological frameworks and the belief in development and modernization. Prior to this time Friedman (1986) criticized the self-exploitation of farmers who were being squeezed by the rat-race of modernization. Women were depicted as victims of the combined pressure of capitalism and patriarchy. Various subsequent studies demonstrated the exploitation of women in family farms (Delphy & Leonard, 1992) and the de-skilling of their labour and the devaluation of their position in modern farms (Rooij, 1994). Farm women increasingly lost their autonomous domain in production and became assistants to 'the' male farmer. Whatmore (1990) explained how women's responsibilities for reproductive tasks were justified by ideologies of wifehood and motherhood, which led to their role and contribution to production being underplayed. Other important research issues to emerge at this time were patriarchal inheritance patterns and laws (Shortall, 1992, 1999) and women's entry into

off-farm work (O'Hara, 1994). Little (1991, 1997) was one of the first to study the position of non-farming women on rural labour markets.

Theoretically this was an interesting period in rural gender studies as the initial focus on women as victims of patriarchal oppression began to shift to examining women as actors in their own right, whose own actions contested, but also reproduced, gender relations (O'Hara, 1998). Through the application of a three-layered concept of 'gender' researchers were able to conceptualize how both women and men engaged in the construction of gender relations, which were played out not only at the level of institutions but also at the level of personal identities and societal norms and values. The position of men and women was no longer conceptualized as given and legitimized through the societal order; it became an object of power and negotiation and, maybe more important, open for change.

At the same time women's participation in agricultural politics became an important issue of research in the UK, Australia and Canada and some other parts of Europe (Shortall, 1999; Teather, 1994; Liepins, 1998; Bock, 1998; Oedl-Wieser, 1997). Researchers examined women's presence in various political bodies and analysed the extent to which politics and programmes responded to women's interests and needs. In recent years the gender-specific aspects of new rural governance has received considerable attention, contributing to a deconstruction of the rhetoric of governance and revealing its exclusionary character (Shortall, 2002, 2004; Pini, 2006). This was accompanied by the adoption of a broader range of theoretical concepts and methodologies and increased attention for the construction and representation of gendered political identities (Little & Jones, 2000; Pini, 2004).

Identity

Towards the turn of the century gender identity and the construction of femininity (and masculinity) became an important research topic. Little and Austin (1996) were among the first to unravel the rural gender ideology in which women's role as caretaker of the home and the community took primacy, thereby inhibiting women's engagement in employment and politics (Little, 1997; Little & Jones, 2000). Another important topic was the social representation of farm and rural women in the media and advertisements (Brandth, 1995; Morris & Evans, 2001) and the construction of very specific gendered professional identities in farming, forestry and mining (Oldrup, 1999; Silvasti, 2002; Reed, 2002; Bennett, 2004; Peter,

Mayerfeld Bell, & Jarnagin, 2000). Reed (2002, p. 387) pointed out that these identities were not forced upon women, but that they often willingly adopted them.

Women are co-creators of the forestry culture and communities ... Women's adoption of cultural norms and values associated with forestry reflected and reinforced their own marginality.

At the same time the gender-specific experience of the rural was analysed, sometimes through the prism of migration studies. It emerged that women and men value different aspects of rural life and that this may influence decisions about migrating to or from rural areas in search of a better life (Haugen & Villa, 2006; Muilu & Rusanen, 2003; Ni Laoire, 1999, 2001; Dahlström, 1996). Other important issues explored at this time were the construction of sexual identity in rural areas and the predominant discourse of heterosexuality (Little, 2003, 2006; Bell, 2006).

From here it was only a small step to the most recent 'topical issue' of rural gender studies – the embodiment of gender identity or the way in which identity is bodily performed (Little & Morris, 2005). Studies have examined women's experience of mastering agricultural machinery (Brandth, 2006) or how the image of the female body prevents women from being recognized as mastering the farm business (Silvasti, 2002; Saugeres, 2002). Peter et al. (2000) looked into the importance of bodily performance in the definition of masculinity in farming. By paying attention to the body as a bearer of identity, other body-related issues such as health and safety came to the fore as well. Sachs (2006) has examined female health risks related to agricultural practices, and Panelli (2006) has studied how the organization of rural space affects women's feelings of safety. Following Little (2006) there is now a perceived need to pay more attention to the sensual and emotional experience of 'the rural' so as to better understand how the rural may be differently encountered and how different needs may or may not be met or responded to.

This period has been another interesting period in the development of rural gender studies leading to the discovery of identity construction and differences in this, not only between men and women, but also among women and men. Theoretically speaking it is in this period that postmodernism has gained influence, providing insights into the existence of multiple identities and the notion of otherness (Brandth, 2002). The recent attention given to the body fits with this post-modern engagement, as it aims at exploring how identity is constructed and reflected through the body 'as an active agent in the construction of gendered selves' (Brandth, 2006, p. 17). It also reveals how

femininity and masculinity are performed on the rural stage (Little, 2006). Studies that deconstruct such definitions and meanings demonstrate how power relations enter these definitions and perpetuate themselves as a result. But they also reveal how dominant discourses may be resisted and contested by the construction of alternative discourses. However it is important not to forget that these discourses are embedded in structural realities and contexts. In this respect it is important that rural gender studies maintain its critical perspective, so as to continue to uncover the interests served by specific constructions and representations of 'reality'.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND WORRIES

Looking back on the development of rural gender studies, it is evident how much this field of studies has grown and matured. It now covers a broad range of issues and makes important contributions to theoretical developments in both rural and social studies (Little & Morris, 2005). But there are also causes for concern.

The attention given to identity and how it is expressed and performed runs the danger of becoming overly introspective. Although the context is generally taken in as the stage this alone is not enough to overcome the risk of an overly individualist focus. More is at stake than merely understanding the embeddedness of identity construction, as Reed (2002) explains in her study of gendered professional identities. Little underlines the importance of context and space as follows:

There is thus a strong defence of the importance of the relationship between gender and space in work on rural gender identities in terms of both the importance of the rural as a site for the performance of gender and also the role of rurality in the construction of gender. (Little, 2006, p. 376)

This reinforces the importance of context, because it plays a critical role in the construction of gender identity – in providing the site or stage, as well as a key ingredient. In our view this should also work the other way round. We also need to understand how identities and their performance assist or prevent the realization of societal change and the achievement of more gender equality. This requires more attention to the broader picture and the material aspects of discourse construction, which include the socio-economic and political characteristics of any given society (Jackson, 2001). Quazi (2006) considers it important to look more closely into the role of the state in social welfare and its contribution to place-specific conceptualizations of

rurality. At the same time Panelli (2006) lamented that far too little attention is given to the biophysical dimensions of the countryside.

Another concern is the lack of comparative research and analysis. Most research is based on singular, local and/or regional case-studies, which limits the possibility for comparative analysis and for understanding the very different ways in which the rural is gendered. Comparative research is important for understanding how gendered realities are constructed at various interrelating scales and places, economically socially and culturally as well as politically (Shortall, 2006). In addition comparative research would allow us to discover how the construction of practices, identities and meanings is not a coincidental and apolitical process (Brandth, 2002) but simultaneously creates differences and inequality, privilege and vulnerability side by side.

COMPARATIVE RESEARCH

Comparative research is important for various reasons. Our understanding of a phenomenon is increased if we can compare its features in different contexts. To give an example, gender-specific aspects of rural development can be better understood when the practice of rural development in different places and at various levels of society is compared. Only then are we able to grasp how various factors interrelate in gendering rural development. In addition, comparative research is essential for developing theoretical concepts and frameworks that adequately explain the dynamics of rural development and the changing importance of place and space (Bock, 2006b). Moreover, the increasing mobility, trans-nationality and trans-regionality of economic, political and cultural 'space' increase the pertinence of looking at the interconnectedness of research issues between places.

There are several ways of engaging in comparative research. One possibility is to do the same research in various settings, as expressed in the following quote:

a study is held to be cross-national and comparative, when individuals or teams set out to examine particular issues or phenomena in two or more countries with the express intention of comparing their manifestations in different socio-cultural settings (institutions, customs, traditions, value systems, lifestyles, language, thought patterns), using the same research instruments either to carry out secondary analysis of national data or to conduct new empirical work. (Hantrais, 1995, p. 2)

This is seldom done in rural gender studies, probably because it requires quite extensive funding (for an exception see Overbeek, Efstratoglou, Haugen, & Saranceno, 1998). Another more recent example of trans-regional comparison is Morris and Little's (2005) analysis of rural women's employment figures in the UK. By comparing various regions they were able to point out a noticeable polarization occurring between different groups of rural women and highlight the importance of spatial dimensions other than the distinction between the urban and the rural (Morris & Little, 2005).

Comparative research may, however, also include research that compares the situation in different places but uses data that had not been collected simultaneously, by the same methodology or even by looking into exactly the same research questions. The comparative analysis is of a different type then, less precise and less able to be broken down into component parts, but still nonetheless able to draw comparisons and understand the specificity of places and contextuality of issues and phenomena. In doing so, we stretch the definition of comparative research, to include not only comparisons between places but also comparisons between topics, perspectives and methods, and maybe even across disciplines (Hantrais, 1995). Shortall's (1999) study of women's participation in political bodies in Canada, Australia and Northern Ireland, all quite different political systems, is an example for this kind of comparative study. Another is Bock's analysis of rural women's employment that uses a combination of official statistics and various case-studies (Bock, 2004). This study suggested that 'rurality does not come across as a fundamental constraint in itself, but it can reinforce the impact of other dimensions of distinction, like local labour market conditions, cultural predispositions and personal resources' (Hoggart, 2004, p. 9).

In undertaking such comparative studies it is important that the results are looked at from a shared framework of reference, or meta-perspective, that allows interpretation of the interactions of different factors at different scales and their spatial embeddedness. Bock (2004) sees potential in the framework of the gender contract or gender arrangement theory (Pfau-Effinger, 1994, 2000; Duncan, 2000) as a way for inter-relating the various factors that influence gender-specific employment, in different ways and at different scales. This approach may explain divergent employment patterns not only between countries but also between regions, taking into account national/regional gender cultures as well as national/regional economic and institutional structures (Forsberg, Gonäs, & Perrons, 2000). These are, however, not fixed or stable, but change over time. One

contributory factor of such change can be the 'deviant' behaviour of men and women who act against societal expectations and norms.

Another, similar approach is the gender regime approach, which distinguishes various gender regimes, based on the extent to which different models of social welfare prevail. To date, this model has been mainly applied in urban contexts, partly because social welfare arrangements are most relevant to those in wage labour. As a theoretical framework it may not fit so readily into the context of agriculture and rural areas, which are traditionally characterized by entrepreneurship and self-employment.

Prugl's (2004) study of gender orders in German agriculture is an exception and is interesting for the purpose of this book, because she compares the gender-specific effects of various welfare regimes that were developed and implemented in Germany during the agricultural modernization process that started after Second World War. In doing so she points out how the dependent farm wife and male breadwinner were actually created when state-regulated markets (with fixed prices and guaranteed farmer incomes) created an agricultural welfare state.

Social insurance rules thus spelled out the gender order on German farms as a building block of the patriarchal welfare state: the farming family was imagined as consisting of a male farmer and a female spouse supplementing the farmer's labour. (Prugl, 2004, p. 352)

Prugl also draws out interesting links between the development of the agricultural welfare state and the strong adherence to the family farm model to wider socio-economic and political developments during this period.

Price supports, family farms with male breadwinners and female spouse-workers were thus integrated into the Cold war order and naturalized as a basic component of capitalism and the free world. (Prugl, 2004, p. 353)

Another example is Asztalos Morell (1999a) who has used the gender regime approach to analyse rural gender relation in the socialist Hungarian state. Agricultural co-operatives in Hungary were initially intended to realise rural women's emancipation by proletarianizing the peasantry and by mobilizing women's labour force, thus liberating them from private dependency on men. In addition, the state took responsibility for the care of small children. In the second half of the sixties the state re-evaluated the importance of the family and household and implemented changes in women's and agricultural policies. Three-year subsidies for childcare and increased tolerance for, and expansion of, household production evolved side by side. Yet, changes in the construction of the gender regime did not challenge men's lack of involvement in childcare duties.

GENDER REGIMES AND CITIZENSHIP

Comparative gender regime studies have focused on issues of gender inequalities concerning civil, political and social rights and on issues of women's inclusion and exclusion. Gender regimes are therefore understood as regimes characterized by a set of rights and obligations, but also as arenas for gender-differentiated participation, representation and power in social and political life. Comparative gender studies were inspired by diverse developments in political science during the eighties and provided a multifaceted critique of political science theories that assumed a gender-neutral citizen.

The feminist critique of evolutionary theories of democratic states and citizenship was an important source of inspiration. Regulated by codes of rights and duties, citizenship was seen as a means of achieving social justice. Since Marshall's influential initiation of the term in 1950 it has inspired an ongoing debate over the social factors that inhibit citizenship rights. Marshall saw the evolution of citizenship rights as a socially progressive force which would increasingly incorporate civil, political and social aspects. He defined civil rights as

(the) rights necessary for individual freedom-liberty of the person, freedom of speech and thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice. (Marshall, 1950, p. 10)

Political citizenship is tied to the ability to participate in political life and to be elected. The key element in social citizenship is

the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society. (Marshall, 1950, p. 11)

While Marshall recognized how these rights gradually expanded through history, his critics highlighted how the formation of citizenship rights did not increase access for all but was closely bound to inequalities along the lines of social class, ethnicity and gender (Walby, 1997). Further dimensions of inequality could be added to this list, such as sexual orientation, handicap or age.

In all areas women were granted access to basic citizenship rights later than men (Walby, 1997). In time, women received many of the formerly withheld *civil rights*, such as the right to inherit property and to control it, even upon marriage. However, dark spots prevailed and improvements in

key areas, such as the right to abortion or protection against domestic violence, were achieved at an uneven pace in different localities.

Women have come a long way in achieving formal *political citizenship rights*, which paved the way for the expansion of the civil, social and economic aspects of women's citizenship (Walby, 1997, p. 176). However, in praxis gender inequalities have remained in force in regard to women's political participation as well as their opportunity to influence policy-making and to get specific issues onto the political agenda (Hernes, 1987; Pateman, 1988). Recent studies (Hobson, 2003) emphasize the importance of agency in women's recognition struggles.

Women's ability to become an equal 'homo economicus' continues to be a central ingredient in women's emancipation. Women's primary responsibility for unpaid care work contributes to their continued economic dependency (Hobson, 1990) which is not only seen as the source of women's unequal integration into wage labour but also as a factor limiting women's political activation and representation (Hobson & Lister, 2002). Thus, despite political rights being formal coding as gender neutral, the structural segregation of the labour market limits women's participation on equal terms with men. The ways in which the evolving welfare states formed gendered frameworks for *social and economic citizenship* became one of the key areas for gender regime analysis (Sainsbury, 1999; Hobson, 1990; Lewis, 1992; Bock & Thane, 1991).

One central source of inspiration was provided by Esping-Andersen (1998). Departing from the Scandinavian model he evolved a comparative scheme for analysing welfare regimes. Following Polányi's models of economic co-ordination, he turned his interest to the welfare state's capacity to 'decommodify' the satisfaction of human needs beyond the potentials allowed by the labour market (Esping-Andersen, 1998 [1990], p. 3). Western welfare societies have succeeded, in different ways and to different extents, in developing safety nets for their citizens. These achievements were based on diverse grounds of legitimization and assumptions about the role of the state, family, individual, market and corporate organizations. Esping-Andersen (1989, p. 20) developed a typology of welfare states: social-democratic, liberal and conservative-corporatist. These classifications depended on whether entitlements to social rights were based on universalistic or targeted terms, the conditions of entitlement, the quality of services and 'the extent to which employment and working life are encompassed in the state's extension of citizen rights'. Conservative systems extensively differentiate entitlement rights according to employment status and history, reserving particular privileges for public service; liberal systems

adopted means-tested benefits as the main vehicle for social security, with the market being an important provider of services (such as health care, elderly care) and social security networks (such as pensions). Social democratic models are based on universal benefits bound to individual rights and emphasize equality in distribution (Esping-Andersen, 1998 [1990], pp. 69–73).

In the development of welfare societies, social citizenship rights have been closely related to the evolution of ‘employment societies’ (Pateman, 1988, p. 237; O’Connor, 1993, p. 505; Hobson & Lister, 2002). Feminist research demonstrated that wage worker societies are rooted in the gendered division of paid and unpaid work and the exclusion of women from expanding labour areas (Cockburn, 1985; Wikander, Kessler-Harriss, & Lewis, 1995). The emergence of employment societies assumed and institutionalized the separation of the private (family) and public (employment) and the prevalence of women’s unpaid care work in the family. Thus the social rights that emerged from employment societies are a priori gendered (even if they do not formulate gender exclusive rights) due to men’s and women’s differential role in the societal division of labour, even where these including efforts to incorporate maternity as a basis for citizenship (Skocpol, 1992; Bock & Thane, 1991; Sommestad, 1997). Thus welfare policies, and their construction of paid and unpaid labour, have inevitable relevance for gender (Taylor-Gooby, 1991; Lewis, 1992).

From the early nineties feminist critiques highlighted how a focus upon gender necessitates a rethink of the concept of citizenship (Lewis, 1992; Bock & James, 1992; O’Connor, 1993). As Hobson and her colleagues (2002) pointed out, women’s dependency was inscribed into model of the male breadwinner: in which welfare rights are bound to the labour contract in which men are the main breadwinner and provider for dependents within the family. The choice between the family or the individual as the basic subject of social rights has important implications for the gender differentiation of social rights. Gender regimes with individual-based entitlements for social benefits tend to improve women’s position while in those where the family is the major entity for taxation, social benefits support the status of the main male breadwinner (Sainsbury, 1999).

Gender regimes have been classified in different ways and through using diverse terminology. Lewis (1992) identified three main categories or models: those with a strong male breadwinner model (Ireland and Britain), a modified male breadwinner (France) and the Swedish weak male breadwinner model. Others, focused on the principles of political citizenship, such as O’Connor (1993) who utilized Esping-Andersen’s categories

(liberal, conservative-corporatist and social democratic) or Langan and Ostner (1991) who developed a new terminology identifying four categories of welfare state regimes, the Scandinavian ‘modern’, the Bismarckian ‘institutional’, the Anglo-Saxon ‘residual’ and the Latin Rim ‘rudimentary’ regimes. Other approaches focus on the specific gender content of how entitlements are formulated in order to elaborate upon the specificity of the Scandinavian gender-neutral model (Langan & Ostner, 1991; Sommestad, 1997; Florin & Nilsson, 1997; Asztalos Morell, 1999a, 1999b, 2007; Oláh, 2001). The literature of comparative gender regime analyses continued to rapidly grow and was extended to analyse systems not covered by the initial models, such as state socialist countries (Asztalos Morell, 1999a, 1999b; Deacon, 1992; Makkai, 1994; Fodor, 2003).

THE RURAL GENDER REGIME

This volume does not aim at developing yet another system of categorization. Rather it utilizes existing comparative gender regime models as a referential framework in order to elaborate the hegemonic context of citizenship claims in various rural gender regimes. Our interest is to apply these models, developed at the national level, to the gendered realities of rural settings and explore whether, and to what extent, rurality provides a specific context for the manifestation of gendered citizenship. The studies in this book were chosen to cover a broad spectrum of gender regimes, which can be grouped into two broad categories: the main male breadwinner and weak male breadwinner models. Main male breadwinner systems are further divided into conservative-corporatist (Austria, Switzerland), liberal (Australia, Ireland, Nederland) and rudimentary (Greece, India). The weak male breadwinner systems are divided into the social democratic (Finland, Sweden, Norway) and dissolving state socialist (Hungary) models. This classification is utilized to indicate how the dominant national paths to social citizenship are gendered.

Models that emphasize universal rights, and individual eligibility (such as the Scandinavian *social democratic* models) strengthen women’s individual entitlement position. They typically overlap with the weak male breadwinner model and usually exhibit a high rate of women’s participation in the labour force (Lewis, 1992). These societies support women’s engagement in the labour force by state provision of extensive care services. By contrast, *conservative*, corporate models emphasize and thereby strengthen the importance of rights bound to employment, and consequently, the role of

the main male breadwinner. Women in these societies typically have a low rate of labour force participation and there is a strong ethos of the family values, with the family, rather than the individual more often taken as the subject of social rights and obligations (such as taxation or social benefits). Similarly *liberal* regimes forge weak and underdeveloped redistributive rights. Social citizenship rights are typically means-tested, and the family bears the main responsibility for individual welfare, with the market providing solutions for care needs. Social equality has a low priority, leading to a social differentiation that affects class, gender and ethnic relations (Walby, 1997). Women's integration into the labour force is generally through part-time marginal jobs, with second rate social security provision (if any at all) both of which reaffirm the strength of the male breadwinner. State socialist gender regimes resemble the social democratic model and place an overriding emphasis on decommodifying social needs (Ferge, 1980), with the state playing a central role in care provision. However, former state socialist systems are also based on strong assumptions about the genderedness of care roles and divert from the principle of gender neutral (Florin & Nilsson, 1999) found in Scandinavian countries (Asztalos Morell, 1999a). While the importance of gender differences varied between the former state socialist gender regimes, these have further increased during the post-socialist period, typically strengthening the naturalization of gender roles (Goven, 2000; Gal, 1997). The evolving *post-socialist* systems have been moving towards different main models. The Baltic countries have moved mainly towards the Scandinavian model (Aidukaite, 2004) while the Central European nations have moved towards liberal (Haney, 1997, 2002) or conservative systems.

DIFFERENT RURAL CONTEXTS

In comparative research the diversity of place is an important starting point of analysis. This may be reflected in different socio-economic, political and cultural contexts but is also linked to geographical diversity and differences in landscape. Part of this 'difference' can be caught in the concept of 'gender regimes' and the comparison of welfare state models. This, however, only reflects differences at the national level and only allows international comparisons. This book aims to delve deeper and explore a diversity of rural identities.

Definitions and comparisons of rurality are difficult as both the relevance of parameters and the appropriate scale of analysis are contested

(Hoggart, Buller, & Black, 1995). Most rural scientists nowadays agree that rurality is socially constructed, with considerable divergence in what characterizes 'the rural' across countries as well as regions. In recent decades several attempts have been made to develop meaningful categories of rural regions. Some of these definitions depart from more or less objective geographical parameters (such as population density and infrastructure) and distinguish for instance between 'predominantly urbanized regions, significantly rural regions and predominantly rural regions' (OECD, 1994) or between accessible, peripheral and very remote areas (CEC, 1988). Others distinguish rural areas mainly on the basis of their socio-economic well-being and the predominant sources of income (Clout, 1993 in Hoggart et al., 1995). Marsden, Murdoch, Lowe, Munton, and Flynn (1993) developed a typology in which political meaning provides a further layer to differentiation based on socio-economic characteristics, and expressed this as the distinction between the preserved, contested, paternalistic and clientelist countrysides (Murdoch, 2006, p. 180). Other parameters can also be taken into account, such as age structure, migration trends and rural traditions (Hoggart et al., 1995).

A second problem is the appropriate level of analysis. Most categorizations are developed at the regional level as they are intended to assist with in comparing regions within countries. Hoggart et al. (1995) question if regional level comparisons and distinctions are the most appropriate. They claim that this approach can lead to overlooking the importance of national differences in political culture and socio-economic trajectories. Although they recognize that there are considerable differences between rural regions within the same country and that peripheral regions in different countries share important characteristics they argue the importance of taking nation-specific forces into account and not to focus solely on the local level.

For us what all this point to is the merits of more cross-national analyses that investigate links between national power structures and processes of socioeconomic differentiation in rural areas (and of rural areas within the broader context of their national economies, politics and societies). (Hoggart et al., 1995, p. 261)

This book does not depart from these accepted definitions of what constitutes the rural, or from an agreed upon typology of rural regions. Contributions were selected primarily to reflect a range of different welfare state models and gender regimes. The chapters cover a wide range of rural regions in Europe and beyond, whose differences could be caught in many different parameters. We could distinguish them in terms of geographical location (Europe, Australia and India), landscape and climate

(Southern/Tropical and Southern/Mediterranean to Northern/Scandinavian), in terms of population density and infrastructure (from remote to counter-urbanized), predominant economic activity (from predominantly agricultural to contested), historical power structure and organization (from post-socialist to capitalist, ex-colonists to ex-colonies, the geopolitical North to the South) and many more. Our objective is to find out if the distinction of gender regimes adds to our understanding of rural gender relations at the national level and whether, in a similar way, we can distinguish different rural gender regimes. Although we analyse gender relations in rural contexts, using studies that at least in part focus on specific localities, we do not focus on the local level and do not compare rural localities. We use the studies of local gender relations in order to understand the specificity of rural gender relations and rural gender regimes, in relation to gendered structures and cultures at the national level. In so doing we seek to understand how national gender regimes inform the gendered character of rural societies and local social action in the rural context (Hoggart et al., 1995, p. 264).

THIS BOOK

This volume focuses on the interface between various gender regimes and rurality. It sets out to explore how gender regimes construct social, economic, civil and political citizenship in the rural context at large and specifically in self-employed farm families. In doing so the interplay between the rural and the national gender regime is problematized from two perspectives.

On the one hand rurality is perceived as a specific socio-economic, political and cultural space. It constitutes the everyday context of prevailing rights and obligations of women and men, including those specified by the hegemonic gender regime. It is socio-economically specific through the importance of self-employment and particularly, entrepreneurship in family businesses. The majority of modern welfare states have evolved from a wage labour society. While wage labour societies are characterized by the separation of the sites of production and reproduction, these spheres and activities are interwoven in family-based production units. Even if women are typically in charge of care duties, they are generally also involved with the production of the farm. Yet, in contrast to wage labour, their contribution cannot be easily quantified and made tangible. Further specific socio-economic features include the limited availability of alternative

sources of employment in rural areas and the more limited range of social services such as, childcare, medical care and public transport compared to urban areas. Last but not least the rural is a specific socio-cultural place. This may be reflected in the density of family relations (an abundance of extended families and networks of co-operation-and-conflict-with kin), in the importance attached to unpaid and voluntary work, and in the strength of traditional gender roles and patterns compared to urban environments.

On the other hand, the volume contains studies, which illustrate how images of gendered rurality influence policy-making. In many national contexts rurality has tended to be seen, at least on occasion, as some kind of national reserve. The rural family, with the farmer, and the farm wife within it, has often been focal point of constructing a national gender image. Policies aiming at rescuing this totemic icon, particularly when seen as endangered, are formed in the cross currents between modernising intentions that emerge from diverse political traditions and the gender images of rural and farm family life. Finally the rural context also challenges the unified conceptualization of gender regimes. The divergent socio-economic and socio-cultural profiles of rural communities show how different aspects of citizenship rights are located in, and relate to, specific contexts.

In the following section we illustrate more in detail how social, economic, civil and political citizenship is constructed in the rural context and how the different chapters within this volume explore and elaborate these themes.

SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP

Being to a large degree self-employed, farm families' eligibility and access to welfare provisions differ from that of wage labourers. In many countries social welfare policies are based on the social insurance model and require special arrangements for the self-employed.

Women's nurturing role in farm families limits their ability to engage in farm work and off-farm wage labour. Their eligibility to parental allowances depends on the prevailing construction of welfare rights. Such rights are only developed in more extended forms in social, democratic and post-socialist countries, where they are tied to their eligibility within social security schemes (with entitlements based either on contributions made in previous wage labour or as entrepreneur or on universal eligibility for parents). In male breadwinner type gender regimes nurturing small children does not provide eligibility for economic contributions, nor are childcare facilities available to ease women's access into paid work. Thus, women's

abilities to participate in production are limited compared to those of men, leading to the reproduction of their economic dependence on men.

For non-farming women the lack of social services in most rural areas is an important impediment, as well as the lack of female employment opportunities that would grant access to social welfare rights. In addition the high value placed on women's voluntary engagement for the community is another factor that hampers their access to paid work and related social citizenship rights. Yet it is also an important aspect of social citizenship in its own right.

The book contains three chapters that further elaborate the significance of rural social citizenship.

Maarit Sireni examines how the development of the Finnish welfare state redefined and remoulded agrarian femininity and reconstructed the gender-specific division of labour on Finnish farms, where women are responsible for childcare and housework, and do not participate in all agricultural tasks. The welfare state provides farm women with resources of their own, which allows them to renegotiate their identity in a way that was not possible before modernization.

Ildikó Asztalos Morell explores how care work is performed in rural entrepreneurial families in post-socialist Hungary and demonstrates that the gendered regime that evolved during state socialism still prevails. In most families the gender segregation of care tasks is preserved. The childcare institutions provided by the Hungarian state, constitutes an important element of this segregation, it provides paid support for parents (nearly exclusively mothers) for raising their children up to three years in the family and day-care service for children older than three. Meanwhile, the economic demands of capital accumulation on the newly emerging family farms is driving women to engage in on-farm production and in off-farm work.

Susanne Stenbacka investigates the different individual coping strategies that men and women develop when confronted with unemployment and how they respond to different supportive strategies in three rural municipalities in Northern Sweden. In doing so she demonstrates how fundamental changes in the labour market affect local and regional gender contracts and regimes.

ECONOMIC CITIZENSHIP

In economic terms the rural space is specific because of the prevalence of self-employment and entrepreneurship, and unpaid family labour. These

factors generate structural as well as cultural characteristics. Farm families bridge the private–public divide of gendered welfare regimes, where work/economy/paid/ formal employment fell into the masculine sphere while care/altruism/unpaid/ informal labour into the feminine one. Even though farm families are the arenas for the gender division of power and labour, these relations are articulated within the privacy of the family household. The empowerment of farm women as economic citizens is closely bound to their ability to participate as equal partners in family farms and to acquire the right to use family resources. In farm families priority is generally given to using available resources for the reproduction and expansion of the farm above using them for the private household (Friedmann, 1986). One could argue in this sense that women are, thus, also marginalized in the utilization of the families' resources. More generally the masculinity of the rural labour market is an important obstruction to rural women gaining economic citizenship, together with the lack of services which makes it difficult to combine work and care.

The following three authors add to the exploration of rural economic citizenship in this volume.

Sheena Hanrahan explores the hegemonic effects of official discourses and the implications of this for women who are married to farmers in the Republic of Ireland. The discursive analysis of Irish state policy illuminates not only how women have been constructed as being responsible for the overall well-being of the farm family household, but even, through proper and skilful management, as ultimately responsible for the future success of the farm itself. More recently, this level of responsibility has been extended through the notion of pluriactivity, in which women's off-farm labour is presented as evidence of a family strategy to remain in farming.

Isabella Gidarakou, Leonidas Kazakopoulos and Alex Koutsouris analyse the young farmers' programme implemented by the Greek government to rejuvenate the farming population. The available support and funding could empower young women to enter farming by themselves, but the study shows that most women enter the programme as representatives of their family. The current gender regime has resisted the challenges that the programme raised, but there is evidence of small scale and slow changes in gender relationships occurring within the family farm, although not (as yet) in the public image of farming.

Irène Flygare studies the different ways in which farming has been represented in debates in the Swedish Parliamentary between 1944 and 1994. The concept of a family farm was introduced in Swedish political debate just before Second World War. It was understood as synonymous with nuclear

families, consisting of male entrepreneurs and female house wives and also depicted as an embodiment of traditional virtues. Before Sweden entered the EU, the image of agricultural policy focusing on rational enterprises came to be reconsidered, mainly due to its negative environmental influences. The gender regime of industrial farming was challenged by representations of farm families, presenting themselves as producers of landscape and biological diversity, an ecological discourse which seems rooted in a post-modern gender structure.

CIVIL CITIZENSHIP

In terms of civil rights rural gender research has mostly highlighted and focused on the issue of farm property and inheritance (Shortall, 1999; Haugen, 1994). In farm families the standard pattern of farm succession is via the patriarchal line; women typically marry into the farm and their access to the farm property is generally solely through marriage legislation. The equalization of inheritance rights between siblings of different sex has been a long and historical process. In the meantime gendered patterns of farm succession prevail and continue to prevail even in societies with otherwise egalitarian inheritance laws. Gender segregated professional education further contributes to the reproduction of patriarchal inheritance of farms. Thus, despite the historical achievements in establishing civil rights of ownership and education for women, the everyday praxis in rural spaces continues to reproduce gender inequalities in these spheres.

In this book the following three chapters look at how civil citizenship is constituted in the rural context.

Ruth Rossier and Brigitta Wyss study how farm children in Switzerland think about farming and farm succession. The analysis is based on four categories – designated male successors, designated female successors and the other young daughters and sons in the families. The study reveals differences in their interests in farming shown by these different groups. In the process of farm succession, sons are normally favoured, and daughters are only considered as successors when there is no male offspring to take over the farm. The authors explain these persisting gender distinctions, in terms of the wider context of gender-specific education and role allocation in farming families.

Kjersti Melberg focuses on succession patterns in Norwegian farm families and explores the links between changes in the welfare state, civil rights and in succession praxis among farm families. Her analysis is based

on surveys and life history data from ten three to four generational farm families and indicates that farm families still have gender-specific role expectations. As a result a gender-structured division persists in Norwegian farm life, regardless of gender-neutral succession rights and an extensive public welfare system

Sofia Holmlund analyses the genderedness of inheritance habits in relation to the development of modern property rights in the parish of Estuna in Central-Eastern Sweden. Her focus is on inheritance transactions including land and property. The discussion is based on an investigation of land transactions registered in court records between 1800 and 1845, taken from family data from the parish register. She demonstrates that over time property rights became formalized and individualized. This process benefited women by securing their right to inherit property.

POLITICAL CITIZENSHIP

Issues of political representation and participation have a special meaning in the context of rurality as farm women's lack of control over farm property and farm management are important impediments to their political citizenship (O'Hara, 1998; Shortall, 1999). In addition, the structural inequalities that bind women to unpaid care work in the family and/or low-paid, low-skill jobs, also limit the economic, cultural and social resources that women can mobilize when attempting to participate in policy formation and/or to organize themselves to represent women's interests (Bock & Derkzen, 2006). In this volume three chapters are dedicated to the analysis of rural political citizenship.

Bettina Bock and Petra Derkzen look at the barriers that hamper participation of rural women in local policy-making and planning in the east of the Netherlands. The chapter compares findings from this case study with research from Great Britain and Australia. In doing so the chapter identifies common factors that constrain rural women's access to governance processes and constrain the effectiveness of their participation even when they do manage to acquire access to formal consultative and decision-making bodies.

Theresia Oedl-Wieser focuses on the gendered political citizenship in rural areas in Austria and looks for strategies to overcome the gender gap in the access to power and resources. Despite a trend of feminization in Austrian agriculture since the 1970s, only few women have become involved in decision-making processes concerning agricultural and rural development

policy. Patriarchal structures appear particularly prevalent at the local level and in consequence the regional level seems best suited for breaking up rigid gender orders in rural areas.

Barbara Pini studies women's participation in rural local government in Australia. She interviewed the 19 woman mayors to explore men's response to women's increased political presence in this sphere. The responses reveal the ways in which men attempted to (re)gender the space of local government by enacting a range of resistance strategies that minimize women's roles as mayors, exclude them from knowledge, information and networks and sexualize them. Thus, despite the increased numerical presence of women, the local government sphere is (re)gendered as legitimately masculine.

Seema Arora-Jonsson analyses women's involvement in the local management of forest in two small villages in very different locations one in Sweden and the other in India. In both places she looks at how people construct nature and community and highlights the active role of research and development bodies in this process. She demonstrates that although there has been a shift towards people's participation in the management of natural resources in policy and practice, women are still often not recognized as relevant participants, which she relates to gender-specific discourses on rural development and local resource management.

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**PART II:
SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP AND
GENDERED CONSTRUCTIONS OF
IDENTITIES**

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AGRARIAN FEMININITY IN A STATE OF FLUX: MULTIPLE ROLES OF FINNISH FARM WOMEN

Maarit Sireni

INTRODUCTION

Rural Gender Identities

In rural gender studies, the dominant forms of agrarian femininity are associated with the traditional role of being the farmer's spouse. According to Brandth (2002), "the discourse of family farming" has represented the hegemonic interpretation of how a typical farm woman lives and works on a farm owned and controlled by her husband, or by members of her husband's extended family. In this context, family farming has been characterised as patriarchal, and the position of farm women subordinated. Whereas the head of the farm is a man, who supervises activities and makes decisions, a woman is responsible for household tasks and routine agricultural activities. Hence, agrarian femininity is conditioned by this gendered division of labour. A farm woman's feminine identity is "tied to her marital contract assuming the identity of a farmer's wife" (Brandth, 2002, p. 184), she has no independent status, thus her occupational identity is weak and hardly recognised. Homemaking also defines farm women "as mothers, tying the

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definitions of social roles to their biological functions” (Brandth, 2002, p. 184). Thus, a “good farm woman” can be defined as a caring woman in this discourse of family farming.

However, this view of agrarian femininity has been challenged by some more recent studies which have paid attention to the modernisation process of agriculture, and its implications for gender relations on farms. For instance, in the Nordic countries a major decrease in manual labour has been found to result in the masculinisation of agriculture. Simultaneously, many women have taken off-farm jobs, especially in the public sector (Blekesaune, 1994; Djurfeldt & Waldenström, 1998; Oldrup, 1999; Sireni, 2000). It has been argued that this change has given many farm women an opportunity to withdraw from their subordinated roles.

In this vein, several investigations have emphasised that farm women currently occupy widely different positions in relation to the farm. They can be farmers, entrepreneurs, farmer’s spouses, pluriactive in various ways, or they can have an off-farm job (Bryant, 1999; Oldrup, 1999; Silvasti, 2003). In particular, the professionalisation of women, and their involvement in labour market employment and pluriactivity has been seen as important in the transformation of the role of a farmer’s wife. At the same time, the options of farm women to be able to reconstruct their identities have been perceived more broadly. In the context of “the discourse of detraditionalisation and diversity,” as Brandth (2002, p. 194) calls it, farm women are seen to be constructed as being “multiple, diverse and dynamic” subjects rather than fixed in static roles.

The Case of Finnish Farm Women

Drawing on the work on multiple and diverse identities of farm women outlined above, this chapter aims at analysing and interpreting the current construction of agrarian femininity at the very core of the Finnish countryside, on farms located at the “eastern forest periphery” of the country (Oksa, 1995). This investigation focuses on women without an off-farm job, who currently constitute a minority of the women living on farms (Official Statistics of Finland, 2000, p. 101).

Here, the key question is concerned with whether the roles and identities of the investigated farm women can be regarded as traditional or not. Clearly, this is linked with a more general question of what is meant by traditional agrarian femininity in the Finnish context. In this chapter, special attention is paid to socio-cultural conditions by which farm women’s

roles and identities are constructed. Clearly, expectations concerning women's roles vary in different cultures and societies, due to specific ideologies of gender identities. There is no single traditional (or new) femininity in Europe but rather multiple femininities, which are constantly reproduced and reworked (Laurie, Dwyer, Holloway, & Smith, 1999). Following this, this chapter is based on the presumption that research on femininities – including agrarian femininities – presupposes a culturally sensitive approach that takes into account the geographical and institutional circumstances in which gender identities are negotiated and produced. The main hypothesis here is that the construction of the welfare state in Finland has provided women with new possibilities to redefine their roles.

CONTEXT AND DATA

Gender Regime in Finland

Finland represents a variant of the Nordic welfare state model, whose gender regime has been characterised by the conscious political aim to equalise the roles and status of men and women. The social policy of the country is based on a dual-income family model and individualistic, non-family centred social security. Thus, the current dominant gender ideology and practice in Finland implies that a woman's place is seen to be in paid employment (Leira, 2002; Sainsbury, 1999). This model has evolved, and has been consciously constructed, in different stages.

Historians and anthropologists have argued that the participation of women in masculine fields of life is not a new phenomenon, in that women were largely involved in the same types of work as men in Finland's peasant society (Apo, 1999; Östman, 2000). In addition, Finnish women, who were the first to be given the franchise in Europe, in 1906, have been active in political institutions and civil society organisations (Kuusipalo, 1999). The presence of women, although in a minority position, meant that women have had considerable influence on the construction of the Finnish welfare state model from the 1960s onwards. Since this turning point, the dominant policy model has actively supported the combination of motherhood and paid employment, and the model of two breadwinners in a family (Julkunen, 1994).

The reforms, which were key ingredients in the construction of the welfare state, included the development of maternal and parental leaves (1963–82: currently 105 weekdays for the mother + 158 weekdays either for the mother

or the father=11 months), the institutionalisation of gender equality policies in state administration (1972), the legislation of children's daycare (1973), and the separate taxation of spouses (1974). Clearly, these measures have promoted women's access to labour markets. For instance, 39 per cent of married women were housewives in 1970, but in 1980 this percentage had declined to 15 per cent (Julkunen, 1999, p. 89).

A key issue in the formation of the dual-income model in Finnish society concerns children's daycare. All families in Finland – including farming families – have the legal guarantee of municipal daycare for all children under school age. In addition, the child homecare allowance, which was introduced in the mid-1980s as an alternative to the established daycare system, bears particular relevance to many farm women. Mothers or fathers of under 3-year-old children are entitled to this allowance if they take care of them without resorting to the municipal daycare (Leira, 2002, p. 70). Those families with low incomes are given specific financial support. This implies that after the maternal and parental leave, which is bound to the birth of the child, a mother (or father) can continue to take care of the child at home until the child is 3 years old. After this, families have the right to municipal daycare until the child is 7.

Opinions concerning the homecare allowance vary to a major degree: it has been seen as a most welcome opportunity for women to concentrate on motherhood for a longer period, but critics have argued that the system is still another method of pushing women out of the labour market (Anttonen & Sointu, 2006, pp. 76–77). In this context, feminist commentators have pointed out that the prevailing views on women's roles in the family and in society at large may also move in a backward direction (Anttonen & Sointu, 2006; Jallinoja, 2006). In support of this argument, it has been argued that the dual breadwinner model is no longer taken for granted as in the heyday of the welfare state, but it is facing challenges.

PAST AGRARIAN FEMININITIES

The legacy of femininity in peasant Finland, due to the country's late modernisation and urbanisation, clearly makes itself felt in several ways in currently existing attitudes and practices. A woman's active role as a breadwinner was a salient characteristic of femininity in peasant society. Farm women participated in cattle breeding and fieldwork with their spouses, and other rural women worked outside home as rural labourers (Haavio-Mannila, 1968; Apo, 1999; Östman, 2000). Therefore, a "good

farm woman” of that time was primarily seen as a laborious and strong working woman, not as a caring woman (Apo, 1995). In the construction of this view, geographical circumstances probably played an important role. In the tough conditions of the Nordic rural periphery, women’s labour input in agriculture was a necessity.

However, the participation of farm women in agricultural work did not imply gender equality in peasant society. Women could not choose their tasks on the farms, which were in most cases owned and controlled by men. In particular, the position of “the young *emäntä*” (a farmer’s wife in the Finnish language) was poor in the extended rural family. Instead, “the old *emäntä*,” the male farmer’s mother, was typically the dominant figure of the domestic sphere, and respected as such (Apo, 1993). This setting was clear-cut, especially on larger farms.

The study by Östman (2000) on masculinity and femininity at the end of the 19th century concludes that participation in agricultural work was an essential element of the social and cultural expectations surrounding the roles of young farm women. A young *emäntä* could not, in practice, concentrate on rearing her children, her husband’s family expected her full-time involvement in earning the family’s living. Care-work was a responsibility of children and elderly people, who were not productive in physically demanding farming tasks.

As a challenge to this traditional Finnish setting, novel views that emphasised the model of male breadwinner and female homemaker reached Finland in the early years of the 20th century. The proposed new model was intended to contribute to the construction of the Finnish nation-state: a woman was offered a key role in rearing new citizens at home. The new ideology was vigorously promoted by middle-class-based women’s organisations, which extended their activities in the nation-state project to rural areas (Ollila, 1993).

However, the repercussions of this ideology on the gender division of labour on farms remained quite limited in practice. The typical division of labour on farms developed towards a model in which men were responsible for farm management and agricultural work in the fields, and women focussed on animal husbandry and domestic work (Siiskonen, 1990). However, it was a common practice that this division of labour was relatively flexible in the way that women participated in male-dominated activities whenever required (Apo, 1999). Here, it has been argued that the persistence of the established division of labour on many farms derived from the pooriness of most farming families. A majority of farm women and other rural women simply could not afford to remain within the home rearing

children. Instead, this was only a realistic possibility for a small number of more prosperous women, most of whom lived in towns.

Thus, the role of the Finnish farm woman on the threshold of the era of modernisation in the 1960s and 1970s can be seen as a context-specific variant of the subordinated role of a farm woman in the family farming discourse characterised by Brandth (2002). Ownership structures of many farms were complicated, and, in particular, the status of a young *emäntä* usually remained low in the hierarchy of the family (Apo, 1993). However, it is noteworthy in the present context that she was not expected to concentrate on homemaking and care, instead hard agricultural work was the key source of her status (Naskila, 1982; Siiskonen, 1990).

FARM WOMEN AND THE WELFARE STATE

The social security reforms of the 1970s and 1980s introduced farmers' pensions (1969)¹ and support for the change of generations on farms (1974). In the first years, pensions and other forms of social security did not concern female farmers to the same degree as male farmers, but this segregation was abolished in the early 1980s. At that time, farm women's rights to, for instance, maternal and parental leaves were also improved, so that they basically became entitled to the same benefits as women working in other occupations (Siiskonen, 1990).

The development of the farmers' pension and social security system has had several implications for the socio-economic position of farm women. An important consequence was that the regular payments to the pension fund made the income division between the spouses visible. According to the statistics of the Farmers' Pension Fund (Mela), the income division between farm men and women was to a major degree unequal in 1970. At that time, farm men earned 520 euros per month on the average, and women received 300 euros (at the index level of 2005) (Mela, 2007). In 2005, an average farm man earned 1230 euros and the farm woman's share was 1030 euros per month (Mela, 2007). Overall, the reforms mentioned above have meant that a female farmer's work is recognised as an occupation, and the status of a male farmer's wife is officially defined in relation to the other members of a farming family.²

The legislation concerning changes of generation and retirement on farms has also been of particular importance for the hierarchy of farming families. Firstly, it has undermined economic interdependency between the younger and older generations. Under the current Finnish praxis, retiring farmers

receive a pension when they hand over ownership and control of their farm to their successors through a donation or a market transaction, and the other heirs are also bought out.³ According to Pyykkönen's (2001) findings based on the official statistical data concerning all Finnish farms, most transfers are made so that one successor purchases the whole farm at once. The state supports this buy-out of a young farmer's sisters and brothers by granting low-interest loans. After this arrangement, the successors run the farm without interference from their predecessors, and, in most cases, the two generations also live in separate households. Currently, the farm transfer can take place as soon as one of the retiring spouses is 55 years old and the other is 50. Typically, a young farmer and his spouse work in other occupations before the formal farm transfer.

Secondly, this change of generation provides the young *emäntä* with an opportunity to buy co-ownership of the farm due to the fact that most families have to resort to considerable loans for the purchase and investments. By committing to the repayment with the male farmer, the young *emäntä* becomes the co-owner, usually on a 50-50 basis (Pyykkönen, 1998, p. 28). However, not all farm women are interested in joining this burdensome financial deal, especially if they work outside the farm. (And there are also some male farmers who are not willing to take their wives into partnership, but prefer to take responsibility for the whole loan.) Each couple decides on the details of their contract (Pyykkönen, 2001).

To summarise, it can be argued that current Finnish farm women increasingly live in the context of late modernity. This can be seen, among other things, in the fact that a growing part of farm families' social activities and relations are mediated by the welfare state, and farm women are increasingly being set free from traditional bindings such as kin and an extended farm family. According to the legislation, women living in rural areas are entitled, for instance, to daycare services to the same degree as those living in urban areas. Therefore, although the patrilineal inheritance of farms positions women as "newcomers" and they are referred to as "spouses," even in some official statistics (Sireni, 2000; Silvasti, 2003), they are able to negotiate their roles and identities in very different circumstances than in the past.

EMPIRICAL MATERIAL: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

For this study, semi-structured interviews were gathered so as to investigate women's roles and the construction of femininity on Finnish farms. The

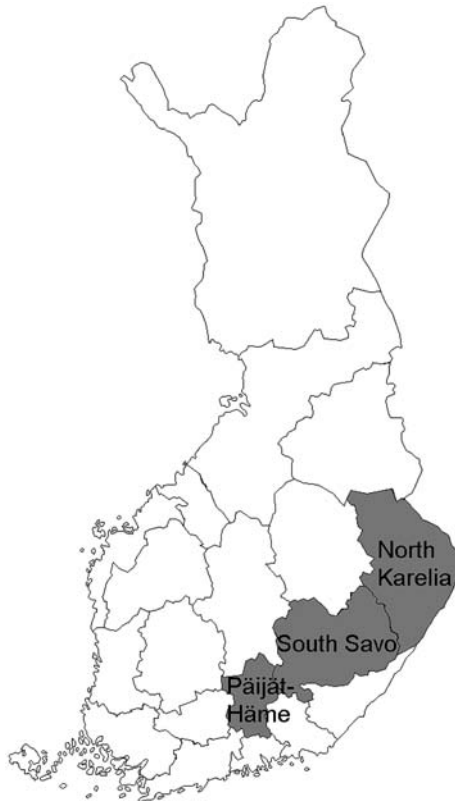


Fig. 1. Location of the Study Regions in Finland.

interview material⁴ obtained from 100 farm women and 50 men (of whom all were not the interviewed women's spouses) was obtained from small family farms located in eastern and south-central Finland in the regions of South Savo, Päijät-Häme and North Karelia (see Fig. 1). A random sample of farms was selected from the register of rural occupations of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. A quantitative analysis was conducted by using cross tabulations and chi-square tests.

The sample included farms whose cultivated field area (owned or hired) did not exceed 20 ha. The average size of Finnish farms was 24 ha. The other selection criterias concerned age, non-farm employment status and marital status. The age criterion, which specified the selection of women less than 50 years old and men less than 55 years old, was intended to ensure that the

Table 1. Income Sources of the Interviewed Farm Women.

Income Source	Women ($n = 100$)
Agriculture	64
Agriculture + off-farm work (less than 20 h a week)	5
Agriculture + own enterprise (less than 20 h a week)	9
Agriculture + motherhood leave benefit or child home-care allowance	9
(Agriculture) + social income transfer (pension, support for caring elderly people at home, etc.)	5
Unemployment benefit	8
Total (%)	100

interviewees were active in agriculture. Also, the limited non-farm employment status in the selection of women, specifying that the selected women did not work more than 20 hours a week in a non-farm occupation, placed the focus on those farm women who were actually working in agriculture.

Because only women working on farms were chosen for the sample, the majority of the interviewed farm women (64 per cent) do not currently work outside agriculture at all: they receive income only from agriculture (see Table 1). Some of the women, however, receive some additional income off the farm or from her enterprise on the farm. Of the farm women in the sample, 9 per cent have small children; they are on maternity leave or receive a child home-care allowance, 5 per cent do some other care work at home (and receive some social income transfer such as support for taking care of elderly people at home), and 8 per cent of the women are looking for work. For the majority of the interviewed women, however, agriculture is their main and only profession and income source. Consequently, the interviewees form a somewhat homogeneous group of farm women in terms of their work and occupation: the present chapter focuses on the roles and identities of full-time farm women.

The relatively young age of the interviewees leads to the fact that in the majority of the families with children the youngest child is under school age, i.e., under 7 years old (47 per cent). As mentioned above, 9 women have a child under 3 years old. The marital status criterion in the selection of the interviewees, which included only married or common-law couples living together, allowed one to study the gender division of labour.

The interviewed men were the spouses of the women who fulfilled the above-mentioned conditions. The sample includes men working both within and outside agriculture. Of the men, 41 per cent were full-time farmers and

59 per cent had other sources of income in addition to agriculture. In this chapter, the interviews of the 50 men are only used to analyse labour practices on farms.

The data examined relates to privately owned family farms which dominate agricultural production in Finland. Typically, they are run by the work input of a farm family and they provide the main source of income for the family. The main workers on family farms are typically the farmer and the spouse (Official Statistics of Finland, 2000, p. 101). The majority of the farms included in the sample were dairy farms (54 per cent), which was the most common production line in Finland.

The interviews, which can be considered to be representative of small farms in the peripheral regions of the country, allow one to draw generalisations on the gendered division of labour and on expectations related to the role of a full-time farm woman living and working on farms smaller than the average. At the time the interview material was collected, 39 per cent of Finnish farm women worked full-time in agriculture (Official Statistics of Finland, 2000, p. 101).

FARM WOMEN: NEW ROLES UNDER CONSTRUCTION

The following empirical analysis focuses on the current intra-household division of labour and social expectations surrounding farm women's roles. The findings are based on the interview material.

Division of Labour

The interviewees, 100 women and 50 men, were asked about the division of agricultural tasks in the family. The results are summarised in Table 2. With the exception of two tasks, "bookkeeping" and "tending other animals," the men's and women's interpretations on the division of responsibilities were in accordance with each other.

In comparison to the observations concerning traditional Finnish agriculture, a farmer's wife is currently less involved in cultivation and related activities in the fields. Presumably, modern technologies have decreased the need for women's physical work input and on small farms, in particular, cultivation has become "one-man work," as Table 2 indicates. "Machine maintenance and repair," "ploughing and sowing," "harvesting

Table 2. Gender Division of Labour on the Farms, according to the Farm Women's and Men's Semi-Structured Interviews, Expressed in Percentages^a.

Tasks	Who Is Responsible for It?									
	According to women's responses %, (n = 100)					According to men's responses %, (n = 50)				
	Woman	Man	Both	Other	Total	Woman	Man	Both	Other	Total
<i>Agricultural tasks</i>										
Machine repair	0	80	4	16	100	0	90	4	6	100
Ploughing, sowing	2	59	19	20	100	2	64	20	14	100
Harvesting, threshing	5	57	13	25	100	0	55	20	25	100
Forestry	2	51	31	16	100	0	59	33	8	100
Fodder production	3	42	33	22	100	0	46	42	12	100
Milking	43	8	49	0	100	24	12	64	0	100
Dairy cattle: feeding	28	17	57	1	100	17	21	62	0	100
Young cattle: care	52	8	38	2	100	55	3	42	0	100
Other animals: care	56	0	31	13	100	32	6	56	6	100
<i>Administrative tasks</i>										
Communication	27	33	40	0	100	12	26	62	0	100
Applying for support	23	36	21	20	100	22	38	16	24	100
Bookkeeping	32	26	12	30	100	22	32	20	26	100
Studying	17	20	61	2	100	4	31	65	0	100
<i>Reproductive tasks</i>										
Housework	60	0	40	0	100	56	0	44	0	100

^aThe percentages calculated for the farm where a specific task exists. Here, "other" refers to, e.g., children, an accounting firm, farm machine contractors, and so on, depending on the particular task. "Both" refer to the situation in which the responsibility is shared on a 50-50 basis.

and threshing,” “fodder production,” and “forestry,” which is very important on most Finnish farms, are also tasks clearly assigned to men. Another interesting change is that men seem to participate in activities such as “feeding dairy cattle” and “milking,” which used to be coded as feminine in the past (Apo, 1999). This indicates changes in attitudes and expectations concerning men’s roles as well.

Respectively, the division of labour on Finnish farms has also undergone such changes that the sphere of responsibilities borne by farm women has expanded: they have become involved in tasks which have traditionally been assigned to men. As can be seen in Table 2, both spouses are currently active in “communication,” i.e., professional contacts outside the farm, for instance, with authorities, counsellors, banks, and producers’ organisations. Overall, a woman is also increasingly seen as the farm’s public face in modern agriculture, representing it at various agricultural organisations and forums, such as the Central Union of Agricultural Producers. Of the interviewed women, 8 per cent hold an office in professional organisations, whereas none of the interviewed men are involved in such tasks. Both men and women are also involved in “studying” new skills and qualifications which are required in the rapidly changing institutional and operational environment surrounding the farms. Farm women and men attend courses concerning, for instance, information technologies, entrepreneurship and environmental issues.

It is particularly noteworthy that “bookkeeping” is currently more often a job for women than it used to be a couple of decades ago (Siiskonen, 1990). This shift is probably due to the fact that Finnish farm women typically have higher educational qualifications than their husbands. In the present data set, 85 per cent of the interviewed farm women and 72 per cent of their husbands have vocational or other (higher) training in addition to their basic education (Sireni, 2000).

The tasks assigned to women are “housework,” “the care of young cattle,” and “the care of other animals,” e.g., horses. Farm women’s responsibility for housework can be explained by the fact that most Finnish farming families currently comprise only the members of the nuclear family. Consequently, the male farmer’s mother or any other female member of the extended family is no longer available for household tasks. As Table 2 shows, farm women and men share the opinion that “housework” is part of the woman’s sphere of life, including duties such as cleaning, preparing food, and taking care of children.⁵ According to the female respondents, women are responsible for these duties on 60 per cent of the farms, but women and men share these tasks on the other farms. Men, for their part,

see their own contribution to housework in slightly more positive terms: according to their opinions women are responsible for housework on 56 per cent of the farms, and on 44 per cent of the farms' household duties are shared between men and women. The women and men agree on the fact that there is no such farm in the data set where a man would take the main responsibility for the housework.

The model of gender division of labour on Finnish farms (presented in Table 2) seems to be stable in the sense that women's involvement in agricultural tasks is not dependent on, for example, the life-stage of a woman. There is no statistically significant relationship between a woman's labour input on farm and the following variables: age of woman, whether the family has children under school age or not, whether the woman engages in non-agricultural work or not, and whether the woman is a co-owner of the farm or not.

Farm Women's New Roles as Mothers

According to the interview material, Finnish farming families do not use municipal daycare services to the same extent as families in paid work, even though these are available for every family. Only 8 farm families out of 92 families with children (7 per cent) use, or have used, children's daycare services off the farm. A possible explanation for the low utilisation of daycare services could be that the principle of providing them irrespective of the location of a family would not come true in practice (cf. Siiskonen, 1990). However, according to the interviews, the lack of interest in public daycare services is neither due to the respondents' views on their quality nor practical constraints, such as long distances. Only 14 of the 92 interviewed women with children (13 per cent) reported problems in the provision of children's daycare services. The most common argument amongst them is that the system is organised according to the needs of those in paid work. However, the bulk of the farm women with children, 87 per cent, considers the quality and availability of public daycare services to be good, but they want to look after their children at home. Naturally, this choice is influenced by the fact that they are entitled to the child homecare allowance in the same way as women in other professions. Overall, this possibility to concentrate on caring for their own children at home can be regarded as an opportunity provided by the welfare state, which did not exist in traditional farming life. Typically, these women said:

- "I am happy with this system of childcare, I can follow how they grow up."

- “This is a good way to look after children, I do not have to drag them anywhere in the morning.”
- “I like this way, I can take care of my own children, and stay with them full-time.”

When the women interviewed were asked about the positive aspects of being a farm woman, they do not usually refer to issues related to agricultural work or entrepreneurship, as their spouses do. In short, the farm women do not seem to be interested in agriculture for the reasons given by their spouses (“to be their own boss” or to “cultivate the fields”). In contrast, the majority of farm women argued that the key benefits of living on a farm are “the possibility to be at home” and “the possibility to care for the children at home.” Almost all the interviewed women (89 per cent) had earlier experience of paid off-farm employment due to the fact that young couples usually work in other occupations before the change of generation on the farm. Thus, it can be assumed that they can compare their current role with a full-time paid job. In this comparison, farm women’s freedom is typically argued for with reference to binding working hours, regular commuting trips, and children’s daycare arrangements of those in paid employment. Here, it appears that the farm woman sees herself as being able to circumvent, on legitimate grounds, part of the double burden facing working mothers.

Income and Participation in Decision-Making

Clearly, the above reported findings on the gendered division of labour on Finnish farms raise the issue of the role of patriarchy. In the research literature, the assignment of household tasks to women is seen to derive from women’s lack of influence over the labour process (see e.g., Brandth, 2002). Shortall (1999), for instance, argues that the mechanisms explaining the superior power of men and the secondary position of women in agriculture include property ownership, women’s limited access to agricultural education and their exclusion from agricultural organisations.

Yet, the present interview data do not lend any straightforward support to this hypothesis. Although the prevailing division of labour on Finnish farms is characterised by structural inequalities, and women’s role as newcomers to farms obviously limits their tacit knowledge and skills in farming, the above-mentioned changes in social and agricultural policies seem to have provided farm women with new resources.

Firstly, not less than 62 per cent of the interviewed women are owners or co-owners of farms. Every second woman (50 out of 100) owns the farm with her spouse on a 50-50 basis, 4 own either 60 or 40 per cent, and 8 women own the whole farm. This finding indicates that women utilise the opportunity to buy into co-ownership of a farm, which the law (since 1974) concerning change of generation on farms has made possible. The ownership structure for farms was completely different in the 1960s and early 1970s, when farms were principally men's property (Köppä, Parviainen, & Siiskonen, 1984).

Secondly, of the interviewed women, 96 per cent will receive a farmers' pension. Those who will not, come under some other pension system because they have some other profession. This finding also indicates that the policy reforms in the 1970s and 1980s have strengthened farm women's socio-economic position and the farm woman's official status as a farmer independent from her husband's profession. In the early 1970s, only men were considered as farmers, and thus, only male farmers were eligible for farmers' pensions (Köppä et al., 1984).

Thirdly, the representative sample of full-time farm women shows that farming couples share the agricultural income more equally than before. A majority of the 100 interviewed women, 73 per cent, receives at least 50 per cent of the farm's income. In case the wife's share of the farm's income is less than 50 per cent, she typically has other sources of income. For instance, those who receive social security benefits such as unemployment benefit, get more often than other women less than 50 per cent of the family's agricultural income. In addition, women who receive child homecare allowance tend to receive less than 50 per cent of the family's agricultural income. Thus, women with young (0-3 years old) children usually receive less income from agriculture than other women. It must be emphasised, however, that there is no statistically significant relationship between the farm's income division between the spouses and the variable "children under school age" (0-7 years).

Of course, the official division of income in taxation is not necessarily the same thing as the opportunity to use income. The interviewed women were also asked about their possibilities to use money: do they have money of their own, and are they able to use it without asking the husband's opinion? As many as 96 women of 100 announced that they have money of their own, and only 4 women reported that they do not currently have any. Thus, there is a striking difference compared to the results of a thorough piece of research on farm women's socio-economic position in the early 1970s. At that time very few farm women, only 12 per cent, had money of their own (Köppä et al., 1984).

Against this background, it comes as no surprise that the majority of the interviewed women, 85 per cent, report that they actively participate in decision-making related to the farm. The women were asked, whether it is the man or the woman or shared responsibility when making decisions concerning agricultural issues such as choice of cultivation, renting land, investments in farm buildings, purchase of machines, purchase of fertilizers and other agricultural inputs, taking an agricultural loan, hiring of labourers, sale of cattle, sale of products, contacts off the farm, and the household budget. The answers were summarised into the combined variable related to an individual farm. In case a woman takes part in most agricultural decisions (alone or with her spouse), she is considered to actively participate in agricultural decision-making. Compared to the findings of the research carried out in the 1970s, women's role in decision-making activity has also strengthened: in the past, half of the farm women did not take part in the decision-making at all (Köppä et al., 1984). One explanation for women's more active role in decision-making is probably education: since the 1970s agricultural studies have been directed at women as well as at men. Thus, as much as 49 per cent of the women interviewed have received an agricultural education. The respective share of their husbands is 48 per cent.

Thus, it is not possible to argue that Finnish farm women would be powerless underdogs, who have no resources to influence the labour process of the farms. Rather, these findings call for an interpretation of how detraditionalisation and diversity have made themselves felt in the current gendered division of labour on Finnish farms. In the following, possible interpretations are investigated by focussing on the social and cultural expectations of a farm woman's role which, it can be assumed, bears relevance to this division.

THE "GOOD *EMÄNTÄ*"

As already mentioned, women are expected to combine motherhood and paid employment in the overall Finnish gender regime. The interviews aimed at obtaining knowledge about whether the expectations of farm women differ from those that concern women in other occupations in a way that would explain the prominent role of domesticity in the work of a farm woman.

Table 3 summarises the respondents' views on the tasks in which women are expected to perform on farms. According to the majority (65 per cent) of

Table 3. Women's Expected Participation in Farm Work according to Farm Women's Semi-Structured Interviews, Expressed in Percentages^a.

Tasks	(n = 100)
All kinds of tasks: housework, animal husbandry, cultivation	65
Housework and animal husbandry	13
Housework and cultivation	8
Housework	6
Animal husbandry	4
Animal husbandry and cultivation	2
Cultivation	2
Total (%)	100

^aThe percentages calculated for the farm where a specific task exists. Here, "other" refers to, e.g., children, an accounting firm, farm machine contractors, and so on, depending on the particular task. "Both" refer to the situation in which the responsibility is shared on a 50-50 basis.

the interviewed women, a "good *emäntä*" is expected to participate in all types of work on farms: housework, raising livestock, and also male-dominated cultivation tasks that utilise various machines, such as tractors. Not more than 6 per cent of the respondents believe that a farm woman should merely concentrate on domesticity.

The conclusion is clear-cut: according to the farm women, they are expected to have an equal role in comparison to their spouses in earning the family's living from farming. This view on women's active role in male-dominated tasks is not new, but it can be seen to reproduce the already mentioned legacy of rural Finland. In addition, the farm women's opinions are well in-line with the dominant societal ideology that emphasises the active role of both women and men in working life, lending support to the argument that rural Finland is not that different from urban Finland as a cultural milieu. In the present case, this link is concretized by the fact that one-fourth of the representative sample of 100 women living on small farms had moved to their current place of residence from urban centres. There are, however, some important differences between urban and rural occupations in Finland. According to the statistics, the majority, 75 per cent, of Finnish women with 3–5-year-old children work (usually full-time) outside the home. The respective share of women with 6–14 year old children is 85 per cent (Anttonen & Sointu, 2006, p. 77; OECD, 2005, p. 41). This implies that those women other than farm women find it difficult to combine flexibly productive and reproductive spheres of life.

It is noteworthy here that the farm women mention strong expectations from two different directions, that is, they seem to identify the double burden. This can be seen in the fact that only a few respondents do not refer to housework when describing a farm woman's sphere of activity (see Table 3). However, according to them, certain significant changes have also taken place in women's tasks in comparison to previous generations. These are due to a general rise in living standards and increased mechanisation at home, which have had repercussions on many everyday domestic tasks. The respondents interpret this modernisation process in a positive way by emphasising that women's degrees of freedom in relation to selecting their approach to housework have increased. Currently, it is possible to "do everything in an easy way" in the kitchen. According to the interviewees, a modern farm woman can, for example, buy bread from a supermarket without losing face, and regard the baking of traditional Finnish rye-bread only as "a nice hobby."

The interviewed women seem to be well aware of the fact that they do not fulfil the expectations and requirements of being a "good *emäntä*" who actively participates in all kinds of work on the farm. Here, it can be argued that modern farm women have quite consciously put aside the traditional role of *emäntä*, that is, a woman's active role in male-dominated tasks. In this context, the prevailing division of labour arouses contradictory feelings in them. On the one hand, the majority of farm women (59 per cent) report that they feel they do not meet general expectations surrounding farm women's roles because they do not participate in male-dominated agricultural tasks:

- "I do not come up to the ideals because I am not able to go ploughing."
- "I am not an ideal *emäntä* because my husband and I have a clear division of labour."
- "I am not a good *emäntä* because I am not active in agricultural organisations and I am not able to perform all agricultural tasks, such as cultivation tasks."

On the other hand, most of the women interviewed are not willing to do tractor work and other men's tasks, simply because it would mean that they would be burdened by additional work. Here, women do not seem to believe that their increased contribution to agricultural work would be compensated for by their spouses' increased involvement in housework and other tasks for which they are currently primarily responsible. This view is probably well-grounded: although women actively participate in working

life in Finland, this does not generally imply that housework would be equally shared between the spouses, as, e.g., Lehto's (1999) study indicates.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter attempts to clarify the roles of women on modern Finnish farms, and the distinctive features of agrarian femininity in comparison to its traditional forms. The focus is on full-time farm women living and working on small family farms. The scrutiny receives its impetus from the assertion that there is no single form of old or new femininity, but that its interpretations vary in different cultures and societies. The key issue concerns the factors through which the overall societal modernisation and development of the Finnish welfare state has redefined and remoulded agrarian femininity. Also, agrarian femininity is compared with the dominant Finnish interpretations of femininity, which are characterised by the model of two breadwinners in a family, and a combination of paid work and motherhood.

The interviews give support to the view that the current Finnish agrarian femininity is different from its traditional version. In relation to the existing gender division of labour on farms, women have taken a more prominent role in administrative and decision-making tasks, which is probably due to their relatively high educational qualifications. Other important findings concern cultivation and working in the fields in general: as a result of the overall mechanisation of farming, women (living and working on small farms) no longer participate in these activities to the extent they did in the past. Instead, modern farm women are responsible for several tasks in cowsheds and especially in the domestic sphere. The centrality of childcare in farm women's work is a new phenomenon in the sense that in traditional Finnish agriculture young women were expected to work hard in the productive sector.

Of the women interviewed, only a few utilise public daycare services which are available for farm families as well as for urban families. On the basis of the empirical material examined, farm women's choices in taking care of their children at home can not be explained by different expectations concerning rural and urban women's roles. The women interviewed are well aware of the general Finnish interpretations of femininity and societal norms concerning a woman's place. According to them, a Finnish farm woman (modern *emäntä*) is not expected to concentrate on motherhood and housework, but she is expected to participate in all kinds of farming

activities including cultivation tasks. A farm woman should even take part in the male-dominated tasks, and be equally responsible for earning the family's living – basically in the same way as women in other occupations are expected to devote their time to productive work. The interviewed women see their situation as contradictory and they think that they break the norms because they are not involved in all farming tasks.

From the perspective of mainstream literature on agrarian femininity, the role of the Finnish farm woman may seem to represent traditional femininity defined by a significant position of care work and domesticity. Yet, this is not the case. The current role of a farm woman is not traditional in the sense that she would be compelled to follow the earlier practices due to a lack of her own resources. The interviews support the view that the development of the welfare state has provided a farm woman with resources of her own, such as pensions, social security, an income of her own, the possibility to become a farm co-owner and the right to public daycare services. This implies that the circumstances under which farm women negotiate their identities are very different from those before modernisation some 30 to 40 years ago. Thus, it is not possible to argue that women are not able to influence the division of labour on farms. Rather, the findings of this study suggest that women have made a conscious choice to take care of their under school-aged children at home. In urban occupations with fixed working hours it would not be possible, but farm women can combine productive and reproductive tasks more flexibly than other women. The interviewed women consider the possibility to care for the children at home as a positive aspect of their work.

NOTES

1. Men and women active in agriculture are members of the statutory pension fund (Mela). They have to pay regular contributions, which are dependent on their personal incomes. Respectively, their pensions and other forms of social security (such as maternal and parental leaves) are income-dependent.

2. There are several laws concerning the change of generations on farms and farmer's pensions: luopumistukilaki, 1294/1994, MYEL, 467/1969, sukupolvenvaihdoslaki 219/1974, LUEL, 1330/1974, LUKL 1330/1992. Those laws give a farm woman a legal status as a farmer, who is eligible for farmer's social security and pensions. They also set frames for a farm woman to become a co-owner of a farm.

3. It must be emphasised here that farms are not typically inherited but they are actually bought by the young farmer (and possibly also the spouse). Because the husband has not inherited his share of the farm, a woman can become a co-owner of a farm on 50-50 basis.

4. The semi-structured interview material was gathered for the purposes of the comparative research project “Causes and Mechanisms of Social Exclusion of Women Small Holders” conducted by five research teams in Finland, France, Greece, the Netherlands, and Sweden (Safilidou-Rothschild, 2002). The present account derives from the Finnish findings.

5. In the questionnaire, the category “housework” was not specified: therefore, it is not possible to present the division of different household tasks (such as cleaning, cooking, etc.) in detail.

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CARE WORK IN HUNGARIAN AGRARIAN ENTREPRENEUR FAMILIES DURING THE POST-SOCIALIST TRANSITION

Ildikó Asztalos Morell

INTRODUCTION

Post-socialist transition affected rural gender regimes in multiple ways. This chapter focuses on how changes in the distribution of reproductive responsibilities between state, market and family affected the gender division of childcare and household labour in the newly established family farms and, as a result, affected the overall rural gender regime. The gender division of family care and household labour informs the genderedness of social and economic citizenship as it determines men's and women's opportunities to participate in productive work and their relations of economic and social dependency.¹ Local (in this case rural) care regimes are formed not only by the conditions of the hegemonic welfare state, but also by the specific conditions characterizing the locality, the local class, age, ethnicity and gender relations.

This chapter explores the organization of care in farming families against the framework of the dominant post-socialist gender regime. It aims at understanding how the gender division of care responsibilities is constructed,

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bearing in mind that, at the same time, the newly established sector of family farming offers new opportunities for female entrepreneurship.

The study of care work performed by rural entrepreneurs can elucidate gendered social processes characterizing the post-socialist transition in various ways. First, changes in post-socialist gender regimes affecting care regimes changed the institutions of care in both the national and rural contexts. Therefore, it is of interest to elucidate the ways in which these changes led to the formation of gender-specific opportunity structures. Second, rurality (the environment of agrarian entrepreneur families) provides a context of specific interest, since here the transformation of care regimes was accompanied by large-scale transformation of the forms of agricultural production and employment structures. Finally, entrepreneurial families constitute a case of special importance: state socialism transformed the agrarian production structures from private to public, and post-socialism changed them from public to private. Entrepreneurial families constitute a specific case in which this particular transition, from public to private, is most central.

The chapter is organized as follows. It starts with an analysis of the post-socialist transformation of the gender regime, looking especially into the shift of reproductive responsibilities between state, market and family. The chapter proceeds with a discussion of the specific features of the rural care regime and the gendered process of family farming. Against this background the chapter then reports on and analyses the results of a recent study of the organization of care in young Hungarian farming families, and it examines the roles of the state, the nuclear and extended family and the market. Finally, it explores the question of whether, and under what circumstances, the gender division of care work is challenged and responsibilities are redistributed between men and women.

THE POST-SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF THE GENDER REGIME

Welfare institutions constitute the frames for the formation of locally specific gender relations. Welfare institutions have been fundamentally transformed over the past 50 years. State socialist care policies were motivated by the overall goal of women's emancipation as well as by demographic and social goals. The early Soviet-inspired model, which was to address the issue of providing care for very young children by the

expansion of the day care system (Asztalos Morell, 2007), was superseded after 1967 by a dual system, in which the family, and specifically mothers, were expected to care for children under three, with state provisions made in the form of paid leave for mothers. The leave was propagated as an emancipatory political measure allowing women to combine motherhood and wage labour (Sándorné Horváth, 1986; Asztalos Morell, 1999a), as well as a programme aimed to promote nativity (Oláh, 2001). The original Flat Rate Allowance (FRA; in Hungarian, *Gyermekgondozási segély* (GYES)) was expanded in form of the Earnings Proportional Allowance (EPA; in Hungarian, *Gyermekgondozási díj* (GYED)) was introduced in 1985, which was also available to men after the child reached the age of two. Although the leave was extended to men in response to appeals from fathers for access to this benefit, there were no governmental initiatives to encourage men to use it, and men did not use it in large numbers. Day care remained the main institution for care of children over three years old.

The implementation of the two forms of childcare allowance had multiple effects. First, it pushed women out of the paid labour force for extended periods of time, depending on the length of the childcare leave. This not only strengthened the role of the family as nurturing institution, it also cemented women's role as caregivers. Second, the allowance moderated mothers' dependency on male breadwinners. However, even though payments were proportional to their previous wages, women remained dependent on men because of the low level of such allowances. This dependency was complemented by dependency on the state. Meanwhile, women without a male breadwinner in the family were disadvantaged (Neményi, 2003). Again, the system reinforced and institutionalized women's role as caregivers and has not led to any fundamental renegotiation of the gender contract between men and women, leaving men's lack of responsibility for reproductive chores unchallenged (Adamik, 2000; Asztalos Morell, 1999a).

The various post-socialist governments showed different levels of commitment to the socialist gender regime. Conservative governments reinforced the importance of paid parenthood and extended the state's economic support of the family. New support in the form of a Flat rate child-Raising Support (FRS; in Hungarian, *Gyermeknevelési támogatás* (GYET)) promoted family-based parenting in families with more than three children. Although the support was available to either parent raising their children in the family until the youngest child reached the age of eight, men were not encouraged to use it, and the support was seen as support for "full-time motherhood" (Frey, 2001a, p. 160). In contrast, socialist governments responded to international monetary pressures by making severe cutbacks in

family childcare provisions. The most severe cut was introduced in 1996² when the EPA was withdrawn, while the FRA remained. This reform was reversed again by the subsequent conservative government, which reintroduced the EPA in 1997 (year LXXXIII Law), albeit with a lower maximum payment.³ Payment levels followed the governmental shifts and demographic turns. The highest level was reached prior to the 1996 cutback (0.7% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP)), whereas it had fallen below 0.5% of the GDP by 2002 (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal (KSH), 1997, p. 132, 2005b, p. 172). De facto patterns of care have not changed fundamentally and the shift between family care by mothers for children under three⁴ and institutionalized care in day cares for children over three has prevailed. As critics have emphasized (Frey, 2001a, pp. 159–161), the system does not promote the harmonization of wage labour and care; rather, it pushes the care providers, assumed to be women, out of the labour process for long periods of time. One can add that the decreased levels of state support combined with similar levels of use by mothers has led to the increased private dependency of women on male breadwinners, especially when their children are very young (“the small-child period”) and the further marginalization of lonely mothers (Neményi, 2003).

Despite the legal shift towards parental rather than maternal subsidies, the discourse concerned mothers’ use of them. This can be explained, on the one hand, by the gender gap in wages, which means there is a smaller financial loss for families when it is the mother who claims the leave. However, the issue of gender-neutral use of subsidies has not been on the political or public agendas. Rather, according to Goven’s (2000) analysis, political discourse has reinforced gender-specific use. In contrast to the state socialist period, issues of women’s right to work and to have access to day care were absent from the debate. Rather, mothers’ use of subsidies was discussed from the point of view of children and in relation to demographic processes. In this way the discourse reinforced the “natural division of labour” (*ibid.*, p. 301). Political discourses, due to their hegemonic features, can be considered constitutive of gender regimes and form not only the corpus of laws but also their interpretation and application.

These changes underlie the interpretation of the effects of the cutbacks in the welfare provisions as measures leading to a strengthened responsibility of the family (Haney, 2003; Verdery, 1994; Goven, 2000; Gal & Kligman, 2000) and the naturalization of gender roles. Some even conclude that “post-socialist Eastern Europe will be returning to the housewife-based domestic economy” (Verdery, 1994, p. 254). Others argued for the relative continuity in the post-socialist gender regimes (Saxonberg, 2003).

THE SPECIFIC FEATURES OF RURAL CARE REGIMES

Rural care regimes of the state socialist period deviated from the urban regimes in that they had higher levels of use of childcare subsidy leaves. Use of the subsidies was characterized by strong class patterns. The length of childcare subsidy leave was highest among co-operative worker women and shortest among professional women (Ferge, 1987). Nonetheless, rural and urban settlements alike had a low availability of small-child crèches (about 10% of children under the age of three were placed into crèches), and a high availability of day care for children over three, giving care to over 80% of eligible children. While day care availability was not substantially altered during the post-socialist period, the number of crèche places declined drastically in rural settlements to one-fifth of their former numbers, while, by 2004, national levels had fallen only to three-fourths of the 1990 levels (KSH, 2005a, p. 27), depriving small settlements from crèche places. Private alternatives, in the form of family-based childcare, are few (Frey, 2001b, p. 167). Thus, the familialization of care for children under three can be considered even stronger in rural communities than in urban settlements.

Time-budget studies have indicated the prevalence of a strong gender complementarity in the performance of reproductive and productive duties, where women are the care specialists. While men spent the same amount of time with reproductive work in various settlement types, rural women's engagement with reproductive work substantially exceeded the time spent by urban women on reproductive duties. Consequently, the gender gap in reproductive labour (i.e., women's surplus reproductive labour compared to men's) was highest in rural communities (KSH, 2000, pp. 92–98). However, the gender gap in reproductive labour declined in all settlement types. This decline was the outcome of a parallel decline in the time spent by women and an increase in the time spent by men on reproductive duties. Nonetheless, rural women still spent 167 minutes more per day on reproductive duties compared to rural men.

While the gender division of care work for the rural population in general indicates that the gender gap is declining somewhat, there are also tendencies towards differentiation between various social strata. Rural restructuring pushed both men and women out of the labour force (Asztalos Morell, 1999b). The primary sector (including agriculture) and the secondary sector (industry) were hit hardest. These were male-dominated sectors. In contrast, levels of employment in the feminized tertiary sector, despite internal transitions, were maintained. However, beyond the gender differential effects of economic

transformation, further gender differential processes contributed to rural men's higher level of unemployment compared to women's. The economic behaviour of rural men and women upon loss of employment differs. Rural women are more likely than men to remain outside the labour force and stop seeking work (Asztalos Morell, 1999b). Not only are rural women more likely to cease seeking employment upon loss of employment, but the economic behaviour of these economically inactive women also changed in other respects over time. Economically inactive women participated extensively in household-based agricultural production during the late state socialist period. During the post-socialist period, the average age of economically inactive women became younger, while their participation in household-based agricultural production declined and their time spent on reproductive duties increased. This tendency can be interpreted as economically inactive women as a group becoming more specialized in care work than they had been prior to the transition (Asztalos Morell, 1999b). Thus, in contrast to the tendencies towards a declining gender gap between rural men and women in general, economically inactive women's engagement with care work increased during the post-socialist period. This can indicate a process of re-housewifization, which nonetheless is affecting a minority of women.

GENDER PROCESSES IN AGRARIAN ENTREPRENEUR FAMILIES

The transformation of the agrarian production structure occupied a pivotal position in the post-socialist rural transition. Post-socialism changed the conditions for agriculture as well as for the gender regime. Co-operative and state agriculture was transformed into private-property-based production.⁵ Privatization following transition left agriculture with a dual land base: around one-third of the mark was left in undivided shared property, while the other two-thirds were divided into small, privately owned units. The evolution of new production structures assumed both a new accumulation of landed property and production assets (buildings, machines, etc.). Rather than following a Western agricultural model, a pluralistic production organization evolved, where despite the ever-growing proportion of family farms, close to half of the mark is still cultivated by large-scale (limited company or co-operative) organizations (Kováč, 1996; Asztalos Morell, 1997). The overwhelming majority of family farms remained small in size and serve primarily subsistence purposes. A small number of family farms

have succeeded in expanding their capital and land assets as well as their production scale and marketing strategies (Kovách, 1996; Harcsa, 1994).

Family farms had to expand their production under constraining conditions (Asztalos Morell, 2004). On the one hand, harsh economic conditions for the accumulation of capital for the family enterprise placed great pressure on family economies and promoted risk taking. These conditions favoured the continued presence of off-farm wage labour incomes. On the other hand, family farms, depending on the branch of cultivation, had excessive labour demands at the early capital accumulation phase due to low levels of mechanization.

The economic transition in the rural context was more dramatic than in the urban context. Loss of formal employment prompted both men and women to turn to family farming. Many women who had used the childcare subsidy lost their employment due to weak enforcement of job guarantees. Another impetus to starting family farming came from the privatization of land and co-operative assets. In principle, men and women, wives and husbands had equal opportunities to gain land allotments through the process of privatization. The lack of capital assets for starting out on their own forced couples to collaborate and combine their efforts.

According to a 1995 survey of farms larger than 5 hectares, only about one-fourth of these were the so-called reproductive family farms, where the family farm reproduces itself from its own revenues (Djurfeldt, 1996; Asztalos Morell & Kovách, 1997). The overwhelming majority of farms relied on at least one off-farm income. Only 10% of these family farms were headed by women. The majority of women who were not identified as farm heads had off-farm incomes (66.3%). Less than half of these had wage labour incomes and the rest had other, inactive, incomes (primarily pensions, but also unemployment insurance or childcare subsidies). Women not identified as having external incomes are categorized either as helping family members or as supported family members (generally housewives). However, off-farm wage labour was common even amongst male heads of households; 57.1% of men identified as heads of the farm had off-farm incomes as well; less than half of these had off-farm wage labour incomes, and more than half of them had inactive off-farm incomes (Asztalos Morell & Kovách, 1997).

Qualitative studies among agrarian entrepreneur families show consistent results concerning the importance of women's labour inputs (Csurgó, 2001). These are concentrated in some typical areas (clerical work and accounting, but also work with animals and manual agricultural work), while their participation in machine-assisted agricultural labour was close to

non-existent. Furthermore, these studies (Csurgó, 2001; Kovács & Váradi, 2000) indicated gender complementarities in traditional domestic duties. While men were absent, or had limited participation, in key, traditionally female, domestic duties (preparing breakfast, tidying, washing up and shopping), they did most of the repair work. Wives and husbands typically shared duties related to handling money. Csurgó highlights women's important role in the process of "depeasantization" (Kovács, 1988) related to their influence on the family's consumption patterns. Her material points towards gender complementarity in decision making, where women's power is concentrated in decisions concerning consumption and men's in decisions on production matters.⁶

Momsen's (2002) study on rural entrepreneurs in Hungary elucidated the importance of gender patterns. About one-third of the rural entrepreneurs in her two regional samples were women. Female entrepreneurs typically used skills within the tertiary sector (typical ventures involved small shops and personal or professional services) while men were more evenly divided between the tertiary sector (small shops) and the primary and secondary sectors (agriculture and manufacturing) (*ibid.*, p. 163). The prospect of being able to stay home after the childcare subsidy was finished, leave an unskilled job or avoid commuting motivated women, especially, to become entrepreneurs (*ibid.*, 166). Thus, the importance of gender patterns in entrepreneurship was highlighted in the Hungarian context (see also Momsen, Kukorelli Szörényi, & Timár, 2006).

While recent studies on rural gender relations focused primarily on the productive aspects of family farms, this chapter turns its attention to the study of care regimes.

THE STUDY AMONG FARM FAMILIES

This chapter is based on a field study conducted between 2000 and 2005 in Pest county among farm family enterprises. The study consists of 50 interviews, of which 30 were conducted with entrepreneurial families. This part of the research is based only on the analyses of 14 interviews with families that had children up to 18 years of age at the period of the interview. The families come from seven villages located in a ring of about 60 km around Budapest to the west, south and east. A common feature of these villages is that they all have good communication to the largest local market for agricultural products, Budapest. The sample contained both

Table 1. The Distribution of Interviewed Families with Children under 18 According to the Availability of Help External to the Nuclear Parental Dyad and the Type of the Family Farm.

	Regular External Help for Childcare	No Regular Kinship Help for Childcare
<i>Self-employment only</i>		
Joint production site and homestead		Fodor
Production site and homestead is partly or fully detached	Sziráki Káldó Bokor Daróczy Körmendi	Jávor Horányi
<i>Self-employment and off-farm wage labour</i>		
	Jancsó Fehér	Máder Némedi Nagygazda Kis

family enterprises with only self-employed members (9) and families where the wife had paid employment (5) (see Table 1).

Out of 31 interviews, 14 were with families that had children under 18 at the time of the interview. The following families had children under 10: Sziráki, Bokor, Jancsó, Káldó, Jávor, Horányi, Nagygazda and Kis. Of these, three had one child under three years old and were on GYES at the time of the interview (Sziráki, Horányi, Nagygazda).

Sample Procedures

The farms that are included in this study vary in the extent of activity on them. Agriculture can be considered the main source of income on all of the farms. However, some of the farms were pluriactive and pursued commercial side-activities, while some had one off-farm wage income beyond the main agricultural activity. All farm owners were also involved in farm labour (physical as well as managerial). My primary source of respondents originated from registration lists collected by the local agrarian advisors. Another source of contacts was established through farm families that had applied for European Union (EU) support for farm investments. This sample can be seen as biased, since those farms that applied for EU support in 2000 were most likely among the best-informed ones. A third group of respondents originated from the sample of the agrarian

entrepreneur survey of the Statistical Bureau. This group represents the least fortunate entrepreneurs. I received further recommendations from my respondents, which constitutes a fourth group of respondents. All in all, successful entrepreneurs are overrepresented in the sample. Successful entrepreneurs might have more resources to find alternative care arrangements, and/or may be those that were able to mobilize kinship networks that released women from care work. However, since the purpose of this chapter is to identify patterns and not to study the distribution of these patterns statistically, this does not impact the interpretation of the results.

Production Profiles

The farm enterprises that were interviewed had a variety of production profiles. In five of them, farming was combined with additional entrepreneurial activity, such as sour cabbage processing (one farm), potato and vegetable packaging and marketing (two farms), a produce shop (one farm) and finally a seed drying plant (one farm). Nine of the family farms had only incomes from self-employment, while in six other farms the wife had an off-farm wage labour income. Concerning the main agricultural production profile, most of the farms were engaged in plant-growing (12 farms). The two engaged in animal husbandry produced eggs and, respectively, raised cattle and pigs. Those engaged in plant-growing had one or more of the following activities: intensive field cultivation of vegetables (five farms), greenhouse production (one farm), cereal growing (six farms) and fruit growing (two farms).

Description of the Interviews and Analysis Methods

The interviews were in-depth interviews focusing on a series of themes related to the origin of the farm family enterprise, participation and power relations on the farm. The concrete phrasing of the questions as well as the sequence of the prestructured themes evolved as the interviews progressed. Both wives and husbands were present in 10 of the interviews. However, in some cases part of the interviews were carried out with only one partner present, and the other partner joined us later. In one case only the wife and in three cases only the husband was present. All but three of the interviews were taped. Two were not taped due to equipment failure, and one due to

the refusal of the respondent. Four of the families were revisited after three to four years for a follow-up interview.

The interview situation always involves construction of a story by the informants in interplay with the researcher. The fact that I was a woman residing in Sweden might have made my informants more likely to open up. However, it should not be forgotten that the picture of family relations was formulated in the context of the interview. While I had a prepared battery of themes to discuss, my intention was to focus on the history of the family enterprise, and I encouraged my informants to describe their route to entrepreneurship freely. Thus, I essentially applied a life history method.

Constructions reflect the perceptions at a given time and stage of enterprise history (Johansson, 2004). As Johansson (2004) emphasized, the meaning of entrepreneurship is reconstructed during various stages of the life and enterprise history, reflecting the current state of entrepreneurial strategies. Thus, the interpretations of entrepreneurial as well as family strategies are made with reference to the given state of affairs. They are not seen as unchanging conditions, but rather as ongoing constructions realized within a given historical context. My analysis aimed at reaching an understanding of the complexity of relations from the ways my informants formulated their relations.

Momsen (2002) made an important reflection on research methods concerning post-socialist rural transition. She argued for the importance of fieldwork as a complementary tool to survey analysis. In my fieldwork, I often faced ambiguity between straight answers to questions and the content of life histories. Even if my study was not based on ethnographic research, as Momsen (2002) suggested, life histories helped to reveal the dissonance between virtual realities, constructed for the consumption of an outside observer, and the flow of daily relations. The contextual reality of family histories allows us to come closer to the personally experienced reality. Consequently, life history interviews proved to be a better way to gain insight into such delicate matters as intra-familial relations.

In order to provide an understanding close to that of my informants, the interviews were transcribed word by word, and the texts were reread and condensed along the key themes presented (Kvale, 1997). Key themes were further concentrated and related to key features of the farm. Farm families representing various patterns were compared. Gender relations were systematically analysed within various farm types and in comparisons of different farm types. Cases within farm types were compared in order to develop and test interpretations and expand their generalizability from one case to another.

GENDER STRATEGIES IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE REPRODUCTION OF EVERYDAY LIFE

A family of agrarian entrepreneurs is both a production unit – where family members own assets, provide labour, and organize the production – and a consumption unit. The enterprise demands specific types of participation by family members. Family entrepreneurs identified themselves with the ethos of the market, which requires prioritizing the interests of the enterprise in order to meet the expectations of the market (Asztalos Morell, 2004). To be reliable, disciplined and hardworking became internalized values of the entrepreneurs. Having a family enterprise creates both the flexibility to combine care and production duties, and potential conflict between the demands arising from these two spheres.

Entrepreneurial families had to resolve the tensions arising from the conflicting demands of production and reproduction in the context of the prevailing gender regime. The Hungarian gender regime created a complementary system, where the family was responsible for caring for children under three while the state financed day care institutions for preschool children over three.

This chapter explores how the prevailing gender regime created frameworks for the organization of care in entrepreneurial families. How was this organization gendered? Did childcare leave lead to women's withdrawal from or return to paid employment, or to a gradual involvement in the family enterprise?⁷ How did these families organize care work? How did pressures originating from the double demand on women's labour challenge the prevailing gender division of productive and reproductive labour? And how did the gender division of care work lead to gender differential participation in productive work?

Welfare State Institutions and Parenting Strategies

Of the 14 wives, 7 became active in the enterprise during the childcare period. Four wives returned to paid work, one was already active prior to childcare leave, and one has just started her childcare leave. The childcare period was a dividing line for women where a decision had to be made between engagement in the enterprise or returning to paid labour after the subsidy period. None of the women chose a housewife role. Being on FRS (in Hungarian, GYET, also referred to as “full-time motherhood”)

was chosen as an alternative in the case of one of the interviewed families. However, this choice was made because the FRS (GYET) allowed the wife to engage in part-time paid labour (Sziráki family) as a teacher, and maintain activity on the family farm while still receiving the payment.

Of the interviewed women, three were currently on childcare leave. One of them had a new-born child and was not participating in the farm work at the time of the interview; another one had a one-year-old child and had, from the beginning, a paid nanny, which enabled her to participate in the enterprise. The youngest child in the third family was three years old and the mother was about to go over to FRS (GYET). At the time, both FRS (GYET) and FRA (GYES) allowed recipients to engage in paid labour and still receive the subsidy, an option that this mother took. She had her retired mother helping with both the household and the children on daily basis.

The various forms of the paid childcare subsidies were used, without exception, by the mothers, despite the fact that eligibility was open to both parents. Being on a childcare subsidy (during the small-child period) gave the original push to the interviewed self-employed women to become engaged with work on the farm. Being at home while bringing in a steady, yet small, income, opened opportunities for women to become personally involved with the development of the farm and enterprise. Being at home, available to the family and also near the production site gave incentive to many. The majority, seven, of the interviewed women who were receiving the childcare subsidy did turn to self-employment, while four of them returned to paid employment. The conditions of return to paid employment changed radically during the transition period. Many rural (and also urban) workplaces were closed down, leaving the women without employment. This prompted some women to create their own employment.

The care system characterizing the Hungarian gender regime guaranteed day care placement for preschool children from the age of three. The supply level was unchanged compared to the state socialist period, although the means of financing the institution had changed. All the interviewed families did use day care services during the eligibility period. One of the interviewed mothers is very satisfied with the local day care:

Question: How did the possibilities evolve for day care for the children?

Wife: I can say very successfully. My daughter is in the ... day care. I drive her there. But I must say that they work with them sensationally. She comes home at least three times a week with some drawings. Her cupboard is full of her creations, starting with clay work. They get a lot of attention! (Mrs Bokor)

The childcare demands of the families varied depending on the age of the children and on the season. During the school season, school-age children required more attention to their studies, but they did not require family supervision during the day. In contrast, day cares had summer vacation and were closed during the summer, creating a high demand for care in a period which coincided with the agricultural high season. The welfare institutions created for childcare during the state socialist period have not been eroded in the communities I studied. Despite cutbacks, childcare for children over three was available. After-school care was also available in the local school. Despite these services, families often relied on the help of family members to bring children home after school.

In summary, the welfare state institutions of paid childcare leave up to the child's third year, and the use of childcare institutions for children older than three set an institutional framework that became internalized by family praxis. Being on childcare leave meant, for women, going into a period of self-employment during which they gradually increased their involvement with farm activities. The farm enterprises, in turn, often became dependent on the women's input, particularly in areas such as sales and marketing, where the wives' presence at the production site keeping track of orders was of crucial importance. However, the lack of day care institutions for children under three placed clear limitations on women's engagement in production functions.

The Family as the Central Caregiving Institution

The fact that women were the ones using the childcare leave in all of the families has underlined the division of care duties in the entrepreneurial families. Women's primary responsibility for care work becomes institutionalized during the small-child period. The paid childcare leave was used by mothers, and women's engagement with care duties in general increased during this period.

Wife: When the little one was born ... it was a better period, since I was more at home and it was better for the family. Mommy was always at home. Mommy did everything.
(Mrs Kaldó)

While this leave has an important role in helping women meet their maternal obligations, it cannot be seen as a path to full-time motherhood. None of the interviewed women became housewives after the end of their leave. However, women remained responsible for organizing childcare in

order to be able to engage in production. Various strategies emerged to solve the care demand. In most of the families, the organization of care is narrated as a duty of the mothers: “I fetch her,” “I take her back,” “I do not have to wake her.”

However, even men’s contribution is signalled: “We made a playhouse,” “we have hammock,” “we have furnished it for her.”

Women’s economic contribution (either in the form of unpaid family labour or in form of wages) is as necessary in family enterprises as men’s. But, while women still are primarily responsible for care duties, men’s participation is not conditional. Thus, women maintained responsibility for satisfying the care needs of the family. Their participation in the farm’s productive activities was conditional on their ability to liberate themselves from these activities. The incongruence between the demands of production and care are most pressing during the small child period:

Q: Do you take her [your little daughter] out also?

A: Naturally; we made a playhouse for her there, we have a hammock, and other things. We have furnished it for her. So she feels herself fine there. But she is not there for days. She comes out for 2-3 hours, and by then she has had enough. (Mrs Káldó)

However, while it is important to pinpoint the limiting aspects of women’s care obligations, it is just as important to emphasise that the interviewed women were not choosing a permanent housewife role. The childcare period was, for many, a time of transition to self-employment. They sought ways to organize their lives in order to obtain relief from caring duties so they would be free to engage in production. Working in the productive sphere was a key element in the construction of femininity as well as being the main caregiver. Women’s productive contribution was crucial (either in the form of wages or labour). However, this contribution could be made only on the condition that the women were able to organize care. The women developed various strategies to free themselves to participate.

The Importance of Kinship Networks for the Organization of Care

Even though the post-socialist state supports care duties in diverse ways (economically and institutionally), the main responsibility rests with the parental dyad. The presence or absence of supporting kinship networks played an important role for the organization of care in entrepreneurial families. The overwhelming majority of interviewed families formed an organic part of “large families,” which were composed of members beyond

the core family, including the husband's or wife's parents. Even in cases where two generations did not share the household, the bonds between them were very tight. The older generation typically took on the task of helping the younger generation establish itself economically, even if opposite examples are also to be found. One of the key functions of the older generation in these farm households was to take over the burden of child rearing.

Q: Did grandparents help when the children were small?

A: Naturally. My mother-in-law lives here, and together with them. When the children were small and I worked, then their grandmother took care of them. (Mrs Daróczy)

These aid networks also involved the couple's siblings and older children. Some families developed an elaborate scheme of assistance:

Q: After school, do they go to after-school care?

Wife: My daughter does not go there, since the grandmothers help if we are not at home.

Q: ... Do the grandmothers fetch her after school?

Wife: And the sisters. We have it divided. My mother is still working ... At the weekend, she has Sunday and Saturday and she and my younger sister alternate. My mother-in-law, my husband's mom, helps during the week; anytime we need someone to take care of her for 1 or 2 hours, then she is with them. (Mrs Bokor)

Many of the co-habitant generations also shared other household responsibilities, which considerably eased the burden of reproductive duties. The grandparents took care of cooking and washing up, leaving to the younger generation the tasks of cleaning and washing. However, even these tasks were often taken care of by the older generation, especially if the couples shared tasks with the woman's parents. Some formulated the role of the grandparents as if they had practically taken over the parental functions:

My daughter, she is now 12, she always used to go over to my parents after school. She is closer to them than to us. If she has some problem, she goes and tells them first. To papa (my father) first. Then to mama (my mother) and the last to us. (Mr Fehér)

As Table 1 shows, six of the interviewed families received regular help from relatives in care work. Of the other families, four did not have access to the help of close relatives due to personal conditions, while the other four received care help from time to time. The availability of kinship help meant that women could be available to participate in the enterprise even during the small-child period, and so they were not excluded from production.

Those lacking local kinship networks and help from grandparents experienced a great deal of anxiety about making things function.

Q: Do you receive help with domestic tasks?

A: No, I do not. The summer is very hard. I am also out with the women from 7 in the morning to 5 in the afternoon. When I return, I have to start cooking, washing and tidying. There is hard, serious work through the whole summer. (Mrs Bokor)

However, kinship help can also create tensions between the older and younger generations and limit the autonomy of the nuclear family. This led one of the families (Daróczy) to detach from the shared household (cooking) with the husband's parents.

Market-Based Care Strategies

Various enterprise activities absorb the labour supply of the family members. In labour-intensive branches the production binds all resources and is highly prioritized. Women work under dual pressures from the enterprise and the consumption needs of the family. As one of the wives, in a family that had recently detached its household from that of the older generation, described it: "The food burned all the time, while I was obliged to be with the workers and supervise" (Mrs Daróczy). In some families, where alternative strategies (such as help through kinship ties) were not at hand (or were not taken up due to the desire for independence from relatives) the demands of production created challenges to the ability of families to provide care to the standards desired.

Question: How can you harmonize the demands of the enterprise with the demands of the family?

Husband: In a way, the household is disadvantaged sometimes. Sometimes we have only lard bread (zsiroskenyér) for lunch. The first priority is the income side, the sale of the produced goods.

Question: Does anyone complain? Does everybody accept it?

Husband: The children are grown up this way. They understand. Sometimes they are very happy if we go to McDonalds on the way home from the school, or they order pizza that is delivered at home. ... It happens that we eat only fast food through the week-scrambled eggs and the like. Take yesterday evening. We came home again at half past nine from the last flower delivery. When we are getting very desperate, we go to a restaurant at the lake, and quickly get some warm food, so that we get something nutritious at least once a week. (Mr Fodor)

The above family strategy combines the modification of consumption needs with the satisfaction of needs through market sources. This solution is not seen as fully satisfactory, but is nonetheless accepted. No guilt is placed

on the wife for not providing the services, since her labour contribution to the productive sphere is jointly prioritized over the provision of care duties. Monetary solutions are even seen as ways of buying some quality family time. The family organized a week's holiday away from the farm, which was made possible by the employment of wage workers.

Husband: My point of view is that I should respect even my own labour, as the work of the cheapest employee. If someone can make 200 or 250 forints an hour, then my work should also be worth that much. My effective labour time does not have to be paid for, but that time should be worked for by the employee, so that I can spend that time with my children. The children need their parents. (Mr Fodor)

Putting it on the edge, family time, in the above case became more or less a market issue.

While, most of the interviewed families solved care needs during the small-child period (up to three years of age, after which day-care services are available) either themselves or with kinship help, one family deviated from this pattern. This was a family that had moved to the countryside from an urban centre and had no local kinship ties. The wife, as managerial leader of the farm, needed a great deal of mobility and flexibility with respect to time. This family employed a series of full-time nannies for the new-born baby. The nannies did not stay for long periods due to irregular and long workdays, which included working on weekends. The older children were also called upon to help at times.

Furthermore, market alternatives are limited by the economic conditions of the family. Under relative prosperity, market solutions might ease the labour demand on the family; however, under economic pressures, these market alternatives for consumption are the first to be cut back. The Fodor family did go to restaurants from time to time as a convenient way to obtain good-quality, cooked meals. This luxury was cut back five years later, when the farm was suffering financial hardships indicating that market solutions are always dependent on economic resources and are subordinated to the demands for the reproduction of the farm as an economic unit.

Families not able to cope well with the dual pressures on women's labour often responded by reducing the standards of care work. Cooking hot meals or letting house cleaning work slip were the most common ways to cut back. In many cases, the families did not have time to supervise children. In one of the families the oldest child was not performing well enough in class work and had problems with discipline, according to the school. Thus, prioritizing business and production tasks by both parents seems to have led to the under-prioritizing of care duties, which could only partly be compensated

for by market sources (nanny). The employment of a nanny is clearly an urban upper-middle class strategy, and as such not very common in the contemporary urban context, even less in the rural context.

Cross-Gender Sharing

A functioning alternative, non-familial institutional network of care giving was a precondition of women's involvement. However, the economic pressures on the enterprises demanding women's labour contribution have, in some families, pressed for the dissolution of the gender imperative (Fodor) leading not only to the cutting back of demand levels of consumption and replacement of home-made consumption goods with market goods, but to some degree also to an increase in cross-gender sharing of domestic duties.

In families with wage-working women, women's physical absence combined with men's physical presence in the homestead during the day did, in a few cases, trigger men's involvement with care duties. In the case of the Némédi family, the husband prepared food for the children while the wife worked in paid employment. "Being at home, one can do things that need to be done." This seems to have been the case in two of the interviewed families with working wives, where the agricultural production was concentrated during the spring to fall period, leaving the winter period without work duties for the husbands. Meanwhile, wives' employment did not shift seasonally.

Mrs Máder works full-time as an accounting manager at the local co-operative. She participates regularly and extensively in the work of the farm during busy seasons; she shares in the labour and is also active in the management of the farm. According to her account, her husband, in return, is active in the domestic sphere.

Wife: We used to help each other even in this [domestic labour]. In general, my husband has free time during the winter. He does the dishes and cleans up in the flat readily. He does anything like this, if he has the time, and does not have something else to do. But during the summer, when the work gets started, from that point I do not even expect him to. Times like this [winter] I sometimes do expect it. When I go home, I ask him, "Did the cleaning lady quit?" "Why? Oops!" he says, "I did not have time to clean up." Because he had someone to visit. (Mrs Máder)

Mrs Módra sees her husband's participation in domestic work as a natural part of reciprocal helping, which crosses the spheres of labour as normally understood.

Wife: He likes to help. But it's similar if he has some kind of problem which he cannot solve on his own. He calls me to come and help him, to help carry some iron block. I do

not get upset, either, but put everything aside and help him. It is mutual with us; if one has a problem, then the other helps. But, as I said, he really helps with cleaning in the winter. (Mrs Máder)

Thus, even if the wife and the husband have clear-cut areas of responsibility, the large workload and dependency on the wife's income and labour contribution to the farm have facilitated the lowering of gender boundaries between work tasks in general and caring and domestic tasks specifically. This soft attitude to gender differential areas of responsibility is also transmitted to the children. By the second interview two of the children had moved out of the family home.

Wife: He [the older son] is not one who likes to iron clothes, but apart from this he is domestic; all of the children were taught to clean and cook. The older son, the one who is married, he cooks food, bakes pastry for his wife, his own way. The younger son, he cleans-cleans the floor, washes the dishes, cleans the potatoes, vegetables, cleans with the vacuum cleaner. But nothing during the summer ... He is also out on the fields and is working there. (Mrs Máder)

Mrs Máder's attitude towards her son is similar to that towards her husband. Farm work takes first priority for both men. Work sharing in the domestic sphere is expected only in low season.

However, this open attitude about cross-gender sharing is far from being the norm. When I returned to the Káldó family after five years, the farm had changed and the labour-intensive branches had been discontinued. The wife had become engaged in off-farm employment instead of the hard work on the farm. This family's circumstances had become similar to those of the Némedi and Máder families. Nonetheless, Mr Káldó declined to answer my question about his domestic contributions during the low season in agriculture with a smile: "It is not really a man's duty."

The Gender Division of Production

In farms where both husband and wife participate in the farms' activities, men and women share the perception which prioritizes the farm's interests and values a strong work ethic. As one of the respondents described it: "We go out with the people [day labourers], the family, and we stay there until we have gathered the quantity we have to deliver." (Bokor)

Self-employed families differed according to the placement of the production site in relation to the homestead. In farms where the production site was attached to the homestead, the reproductive and productive spheres were interwoven.

Husband: When we lived in H, we had a greenhouse growing flowers and were working with plastic production. All in all we were there on the 600 m² plot and carried out, besides child rearing, two additional work tasks. But we were all together. The automatic machine was working, which I was supervising, the customers were fetching the flowers and were served by my wife, and when time permitted we worked together either in the workshop or in the greenhouse. (Fodor)

In contrast, in farms with external field production, the production site and the homestead were detached. This intensified the conflict between the diverse demands arising from production and care needs during most intensive production periods. Demands arising from enterprise goals were prioritized and these dictated the rhythm of life. Nonetheless, this rhythm was not congruent with the demands of reproduction of everyday life. Considerable adjustments were required to make the two demands match:

Q: Does it happen often that you need to be away from home to work?

Wife: From the end of May to October almost every day. During the summer she sleeps there. Than I fetch her only in the afternoon, early afternoon, when we arrive home, than I take her home. Than she is here up to the evening. Then I take her back in the evening, because we leave at 5 a.m., so I do not have to wake her. (Bokor)

In some family enterprises production activities could be divided into those that could be taken care of in the vicinity of the homestead and those requiring greater geographic mobility. The Daróczi family enterprise combined cabbage growing with the processing of sour cabbage. Field cultivation and delivery of ready products, which was the husband's area, required greater mobility. The sour cabbage processing site was built as an annex to the homestead. The wife was both supervising the processing and taking care of daily market contacts through the office also located on the site. This arrangement allowed the wife to combine care and production duties, leaving the activities demanding mobility and time flexibility to the husband. This gender difference in the use of space has its roots in the small-child period: "E. was at home on childcare leave, and she helped till when she had the possibility at home" (Jávor). It is also rooted in women's attachment to the home as well as in the continued responsibility for domestic tasks. The location of women's activity in the homestead meant both a resource for the enterprise and a disadvantage for women, forming an exclusionary mechanism. Women became less mobile and less involved with the dominant external market (Asztalos Morell, 2005).

The placement of the production site had importance not only for how the caretaking person could join production activities but also for the degree to which both husband and wife could share care duties. In the former

family, both husband and wife had important productive roles. This meant that care duties were treated more flexibly. As is shown below, many domestic tasks were minimized (e.g., cooking) and urgent care tasks had to be done by the person least occupied at the moment. In contrast, where parts of the production were located at a distance from the homestead, the ability of the care taker (which was assumed to be the wife) to participate in the production became limited. Her full-fledged participation was dependent on relief from care duties.

In contrast, wage-working wives are, by definition, not present in the homestead during working hours, while husbands engaged with the enterprise are more available, at least during the agricultural low season (see Mádér family). This particular situation made possible a break from gendered expectations (see Némedi family). However, softening of gender patterns depended to a large degree on varying access to alternative sources of assistance.

CONCLUSION

The interviews elucidated how the prevailing welfare institutions, despite formally gender neutral access, create frames for the reproduction of gendered care regimes. Only women used the various childcare subsidies. However, the gender differential use of the childcare subsidy during the small child period did not lead to women's permanent withdrawal from the labour force and housewifization. Rather the period of childcare leave either was followed by a return to paid labour (in jobs similar to those found under state socialism) or led to a gradual engagement in self-employment within the farm.

The childcare leave period set frames for the gender division of labour in shaping both the division of care work and the division of productive work in the families. Care duties remained gendered even following the childcare period. Both wage-working and self-employed women used the available childcare institutions, such as day care and after-school care. Day-care service better suited wage-working women's working hours. In contrast, self-employed women's productive tasks were dictated by outside economic pressures which could not be contained within a regular 8-hour work day, which presented some challenges to women's participation. Their duties had greater seasonal variation. Consequently, self-employed women's productive engagement was largely conditional on their ability to find relief for care duties.

Farm families met these challenges by using various strategies. First, where such ties were available, families mobilized kinship ties. However, not

all families had relatives nearby, and some that did chose not to use kinship help in order to maintain the independence of the nuclear family.

Second, market alternatives were used, depending on the economic strength of the families and the availability of services.

Third, many families without kinship help and economic resources to purchase help resorted to cutting back on consumption levels, due to priorities placed on women's productive contributions.

Fourth, gender complementary was challenged in some families due to economic pressures. Such shifts occurred in farm families, where the demand/need for women's productive contribution forced the reprioritization of gender division of tasks, where other alternatives (kinship, market) were not given and where such shifts did not conflict with men's productive duties. Even if such regendering was typically conditional on the specific work demands of certain time periods (such as the winter period when the husband had low labour input and the wife had high input), it is important to note the presence and importance of such tendencies for the ongoing transition of the gender regime.

Women's specific care duties were resolved also by a gender division of production duties, which differentiated duties according to space and function. Depending on the specific features of the production, women typically concentrated on functions close to the homestead, while men were more mobile. This, in turn, also meant that men were more actively involved with outside markets while women were more likely to be involved with local networks and supervision of working teams.

These results point towards the continued importance of the heritage of the state socialist gender regime for the formation of post-socialist care regimes. The state socialist gender regime solved the tensions that were created due to the double demands on women's creative capacities (those originating from women's primary care duties and those originating from their productive roles) by increasing state support for day-care institutions for children aged three and over and by paid childcare leave for parents of children up to the age of three. Meanwhile, men's lack of engagement with care duties was not challenged. This model can be seen to form even in today's gender regimes. However, as the case of entrepreneur families indicated, the demand for women's productive contribution forced many families to resort not only to strategies within the prevailing gender paradigm of gender complementarity, but even led to examples where gender complementarity was challenged. The interviews also indicated a mutual dependency between the gender relations characterizing reproductive and productive tasks. Feminized care was shown to lead to the gender

differential conditions of participation in production. Meanwhile, the overwhelming labour demand coming from the productive sphere forced entrepreneurial families to mobilize resources that would release women from reproductive duties, leading in some cases to the loosening of the gender imperative.

NOTES

1. Research on gender regimes exploring the relation between the state, market and the family is extensive. See Lewis, (1992), Gluckmann, (1995) and Hobson, Lewis, and Siim, (2002). It is beyond the scope of this chapter to elaborate on the various perspectives.

2. The cutbacks were originally part of the “Bokros csomag” (large-scale cutbacks introduced by finance minister Bokros) in 1995 but were overruled by the Constitutional Court. A modified cutback of parental subsidies was introduced in 1996, February 23 (Goven, 2000, p. 294).

3. GYED (EPA) was to be paid up to the child’s second year, and its minimum level was set at 70% of the recipient’s previous wage, but a maximum 70% of the double of the wage minimum. GYES (FRA) was also modified in 1998 (1998 year. LXXXIV. Law). The level of both GYES (FRA) and GYET (FRS) was set to the minimum old age pension. Taken the payment of pension contribution all three allowances would count as service time. In contrast to GYED (EPA), GYES (FRA) and GYET (FRS) allowed part-time employment during the eligibility period.

4. The proportion of fathers using childcare subsidy leaves was highest (1.65%) in 1996 before the cutbacks. By 1999, following the cutbacks, it fell to 0.32% (calculated after Frey, 2001a, p. 158). This can be interpreted as an effect of the decreased level of the allowance discouraging fathers from claiming it as their income is commonly higher than mothers’.

5. For an overview of the development of the state socialist agrarian system see Asztalos Morell (1999b).

6. However, Csurgó does not interpret this complementarity as an expression of gender difference in economic power.

7. The ultimate question is, of course, under which conditions do they become participating members in the enterprise: is it unpaid assistance or is it in fact engagement in another profession and shared business? Are women becoming entrepreneurs, collaborating spouses or housewives? These questions go beyond the scope of this chapter and are dealt with in other studies based on the same material (Asztalos Morell, 2005, 2007).

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RURAL IDENTITIES IN TRANSITION: MALE UNEMPLOYMENT AND EVERYDAY PRACTICE IN NORTHERN SWEDEN

Susanne Stenbacka

INTRODUCTION

The focus in this chapter is on male strategies of coping with unemployment and how these strategies are gendered due to local contextual factors, physical and natural as well as social and cultural. The results of the study show, in the case of men's relations to the labour market and the factors affecting such relations, how the Swedish welfare model and gender contracts work in a rural setting. The interrelation among labour market, household and family is formed according to the local gender contract and is supposed to develop within the frames of national policies, but it is also formed according to hegemonic gender regimes.

The rural labour market in Sweden, as in the rest of Europe, has faced many changes in recent decades. Many areas have experienced a declining primary sector and reduced employment in manufacturing. Even though there has been an increase in service employment within, for example, the

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public sector (care) and tourism (Johansson, 2000; Persson & Sätre Ahlander Westlund, 2003 Persson et al., 2003; Marsden & Murdoch, 1998), which has meant an improved labour market for some groups, not least for women, unemployment is high in many localities. In some parts of Northern Sweden long-term unemployment has become more or less a “normal” condition at the individual level.

The theoretical framework in the following discussion has its base in the concept of local and regional gender contracts. In analysing and synthesising the empirical material, the conceptual tool of local coping strategies is used – coping strategies that are gendered in their development and practice. I follow the statement of earlier researchers who assert that the organisation of everyday life is neither solely a public nor a private process (Smith, 1987; Gullestad, 1989; Aure, 2001) but consists of actions and experiences in *four* arenas: the family, the market, the state and civil society (Stenbacka, Nordfeldt, & Johansson, 2005).¹ This distinction is built upon ideal types – in reality the four domains are in standing interaction (Berglund, Nordfeldt, Stenbacka, & Stien, 2005). Examining a gendered welfare state, though, requires that specific attention be paid to the interplay of the public and the private and of the domain in between, civil society.

The analysis concentrates on the experiences of men, experiences that are interrelated with the lives of family members and are embedded with relations with the market, state and civil society. The household is a central unit of investigation as the strategies are not developed in isolation from other household members, but are related in economic as well as practical, social, cultural and emotional ways.

THE ORGANISING OF GENDER RELATIONS

The different roles and gender relations in society are to some extent created and maintained by welfare regimes of states and of regional and local institutions. This relationship implies that in order to understand citizenship, and, it follows, in order to understand individual strategies, we need to gain knowledge about and pay attention to the gendered nature of the concept of citizenship. This means that research should specifically identify men as men and women as women, rather than apparently ignoring gender altogether while, at the same time, focusing exclusively on men (Hearn, 1997). A problem that has been mentioned many times is that “gender-neutral” studies in many cases build upon male experiences and male

perspectives, with the assumption that these represent the norm, while female experiences are specified as “female.” Jeff Hearn calls attention to another side of this problem as he describes the role of the state, particularly its effect on the concept of father. This can be seen as an example of how the construction of masculinity permeates and is reproduced within the gender regime. Hearn asserts that the state plays a distinctive role as it has “devised, sanctioned, constructed, constrained and determined what fathers are and what a father is.” It does so through civil, family and property law, population registration and other policy regulations. This means that men’s and fathers’ roles are maintained in relation to women and vice versa.

In research concerning welfare state development, the social positions and responsibilities of men are the basis for assumptions and theory development; the point of departure taken is men’s role as breadwinner (Hearn, 1997, p. 251). This dominant approach also implies a major problem in its failure to include motherhood and mothering as a basis for entitlement, as a married woman may lack individual entitlement to benefits in many countries (Sainsbury, 1994, pp. 152 f).

The development of the industrial society created “a breadwinner model of masculinity,” while caregiving was left to women, a division of labour that has directed men to the public sphere and women to the private. The Swedish gender regime has been called a weak male breadwinner state (e.g., Lewis, 1992) which nonetheless maintains the notions of men as primary breadwinners and women as more likely to do part-time work and take parental leave (Holter, 2003). In Sweden, women’s labour force participation is among the highest in industrialised countries and the welfare state entitlement base is gender-neutral for paid parental leave. Despite the gender-neutral terms of the law, its application is gender differentiated as it indirectly encourages women to stay at home and men to focus more on work, as a household will win economically if the partner with the lowest salary stays at home and uses the parental insurance.

With the point of departure taken from such contextual factors it is important to pay attention to changes within the local gender contracts. Paid work and professional specialisation has long been important for identity building and participation in social life in Sweden as well as in other countries. Masculinity has in many ways been based upon secure employment in, for example, mining, the forest industry or other traditionally male occupations, or in branches such as the electronic or building industries. Meanwhile, state policies have increasingly encouraged men’s participation

in care, resulting in rising involvement of men in child care and domestic labour during the last decade (Roman, 1997).

The political ideal of equality among men and women build upon existing theoretical prerequisites for gender equality, but nonetheless local gender structures still show inequality and differences in gender relations as well as in space of action for both men and women. Depending on *where* you are and what the local context is, men and women live under different conditions and with different expectations. As we shall see, the political ideals will fade away as they are put into practice at a local and individual level. Your sex, professional background, family relations and the character of the local community (whether it is mainly conservative or open-minded, allowing or preventing) will be crucial. To reach any kind of equality on a local level, state politics and means of control as well as space for local solutions are necessary.

The Swedish gender regime is not the primary subject for research in this study. It may exist in political goals and in legislative texts, but regional and local variations exist parallel to those goals and institutional settings. A shift in focus from the national to the local level implies a shift to the concept of local gender contracts. Negotiations at the local level are affecting local practices in different ways, triggering new ones or fostering existing ones.

AIM OF THE STUDY

This chapter investigates, with a focus on men's unemployment, what is happening to male identity in relation to the labour market² and local gender contracts in three rural municipalities in Northern Sweden: Pajala, Jokkmokk and Arjeplog. The aim is to explain the development of locally based individual coping strategies from a gender perspective with respect to the structure of the labour market and the relation to civil society. An important aspect is the meeting of the national hegemonic politics of gender equality and the local outcome as these politics are challenged by a local context. This study also highlights employment problems faced by unemployed people living in rural communities far from regional centres, and it discusses the individuals' roles as producers and receivers of welfare. The study is a part of an ongoing research project in Sweden, "Women leave, men remain," which focuses on the impact of a gender-segregated local labour market on male and female employment levels and local development strategies in the Swedish county of Norrbotten.

LOCAL GENDER CONTRACTS

In investigating relations among men and women at a local level, a concept is needed that embraces the many forms for arranging relations between men and women, informal and formal, tacit or explicit. Gender contract is such a concept. Gender contracts work at three levels: the metaphysical level, including cultural myths and representations; the concrete and institutional level, for example in employment and politics; and, the individual level among men and women in relationships and in homes (Hirdman, 1990, p. 78). The negotiation of gender contracts takes place between women, men and the local states (Hirdman, 1994). As the relations between different local welfare models and different gender contracts will vary (Berglund, 2002), the ongoing industrial restructuring in Sweden will result in very different local outcomes.

The last decades of modernisation and societal changes imply that gender contracts are also constantly undergoing changes. Just as we can find differences in the contracts over time, it is possible to identify different gender contracts over space. Forsberg (1997) has been able, using empirical data from Swedish statistics (Folk-och Bostadsräkningen, 1990), to identify three different types of gender contracts and to suggest how different regions can to some extent be distinguished by certain differences in the characteristics of gender contracts.

The first contract identified is the *traditional* gender contract, which implies a traditional segregated labour market with the male breadwinner in the superior role, and with income differences between men and women being quite pronounced. (These income differences are not, however, so pronounced in the North, where women's level of education compared to men's in the same region is higher.) A second kind of gender contract is the *modernistic* one, which implies a more even labour market, wage structure and level of education; this form is most often found in residential municipalities and the central metropolitan areas. Finally, the third type, the *untraditional* gender contract, can be found in "autonomous" regions with a history of separatism or cultural isolation, as in coastal regions (Gotland) and in more dynamic rural regions (Jämtland). Even though the industrial structure in these rural regions is highly traditional, it is possible to find a higher degree of equality (Forsberg, 1997).

Forest communities, like Pajala and Jokkmokk in Norrbotten, form a subgroup within the category of traditional gender contracts. Out-migration has been going on for a long time, and the traditional sectors in agriculture, forestry and reindeer herding have involved strong gender divisions of

labour. As a complement to this segregated labour market, political representation is characterised by few women in political life. Other important characteristics are a surplus of men due to the higher migration rate for women, and the fact that older people get more help from relatives than elsewhere in Sweden (Forsberg, 1998).

Forsberg (2001) points out that “the greater the economic transformation, the greater the change in the gender contract” (Forsberg, 2001, p. 164). As we shall see, it is not possible to predict the direction of the changes, nor to judge whether a certain direction of change is more positive for men or for women. What we can say more generally is that changes in the economy have implications for gender relations and gender regimes (Forsberg, 2001; Walby, 1997) at all levels in society.

As jobs within the traditionally male labour market in Norrbotten are too few in relation to the number of men attracted to them, one would, according to the laws of supply and demand, expect that men would break the gender barriers when seeking work. But in a local as well as global context such a change is very slow to take place for several reasons. These include cultural constructions of gender as well as practical circumstances concerning education requirements, legislation and regulations (it is, for example, possible to earn more from unemployment insurance than from certain jobs within areas such as elderly care). Earlier research has shown that male job seekers are reluctant to pursue opportunities in non-traditional sectors of the economy (Lindsay, McCracken, & McQuaid, 2003). The same result was found earlier in one of the municipalities of interest for this project (Johansson, 2000).

Another factor related to the labour market is level of education, which is generally higher among women. Women are more likely than men to leave the municipalities, often to pursue higher levels of education; whether they stay in the area or leave and come back, it means that women have access to a larger share of the labour market. The fact that “women leave, but men remain” means not only that women are leaving physically, or migrating, but also that they are leaving in a mental sense as they seek new opportunities (Johansson, Nordfeldt, & Stenbacka, 2005).

Returning to the central theme of the chapter, the focus will now turn to examining unemployment from the perspective of men living in relationships with employed women. Experiences of unemployment from the life worlds of individuals is the focus of the study, and unemployment is related not only to the situation of the household but also to the local community, which will include culturally constructed local meanings of unemployment and economic support as well as gendered spaces and practices.

LOCAL COPING STRATEGIES

The so-called arrangements between men and women (a segregated labour market, the organisation of child care and other parts of the welfare system, for example) can be seen as a base for the strategies and ideologies of support. Socially constructed ideas about labour and provision have a gender dimension, not only in the form of a segregated labour market but also in the time-distribution of labour (women are more likely than men to work part-time) and in responsibility of work at home (women have greater domestic responsibilities than men). Such relations, in combination with the welfare system, influence people's ability to cope with everyday life. In the present study employment is the point of departure, but, as we shall see, coping strategies include much more than simply access to the labour market, since paid work is not the only based on which to build an identity. It is a broader concept, taking into account the individual as part of society, including both possibilities and constraints.

In this chapter, the concept of coping strategies is used as a tool for understanding the practices of unemployed men and the intentional acts creating these practices. One point of departure is taken in analyses of how different forms of relations develop and interact and how local actors try to meet ongoing societal changes. Two main aspects are considered: first, when people act locally they also create the processes of globalisation; second, people act in certain ways because it gives them meaning. These two aspects can be summarised in the concept of "coping strategy" (Aarsaeter & Baerenholt, 1998). "Coping is mastering of possibilities, or more concrete: How people engage in strategies which make sense to themselves" (Baerenholdt & Aarsaether, 1998, p. 30). But coping cannot be defined solely in terms of mastering possibilities; it is also about mastering constraints. And how does a strategy make sense? In this study the rural context, its implications for the supply of welfare and the gender perspective will illuminate how certain actions or coping strategies make sense.

Forms of relations are central because they affect how well different coping strategies will work (Havnevik & Waldenström, 2003, p. 69). Gender relations will affect people's actions and also influence the intentions behind certain strategies. Economy and geography are certainly not the only aspects of societal changes that should be illuminated. What also becomes important here is that an individual's view of what is possible and realistic to pursue is closely connected to that individual's understanding of his or her own identity. "Just as important is how well you understand how other people view you" (Havnevik & Waldenström, 2003, p. 69). A discussion of

the situation in Pajala and Jokkmokk should demonstrate that the concepts of gender contracts and coping strategies are both important for understanding local practice and the restructuring of identities. Gender structures are not quickly transformed, and therefore relations between men and women will not only tell us about the past but also about the framework for the future.

A number of studies have tried to explore the outcomes of a restructuring labour market at the local level (c.f. Persson et al., 2003; Aarsaeter, 2004; Persson, 2004). Information sources for these studies have primarily been local key actors and, less frequently, individuals facing unemployment and their everyday practices. Such relations have, to a greater extent, been analysed in studies of women's experiences of a changing or a restricted labour market. Some of the works from a gender perspective concerning female support strategies have stressed the reciprocal relations between space, work and home/family, which together set up the conditions for female paid work (Friberg, 1990; Schough, 2001; Scholten, 2003). In a study from Southern Sweden concerning support strategies for women, four strategies are identified: use of unemployment insurance, continuing education, starting a business of one's own and a "multiple strategy" (Scholten, 2003).

The subjects of interest in this study are the inhabitants of the municipality who are a part of the local development and who are affected by various global and local processes, but without having the explicit mission to work with such questions as planning, local development, etc. These people are unemployed men and employed women, and men working within the public sector.

METHOD

The empirical base for the study is in-depth interviews with men and women in three municipalities. Information gathered relating to the question of alternative lifestyles and strategies led to a decision to constitute the project to include unemployed men and their wives/partners and men working within the public sector, mostly in elderly care.³ The original intention was to conduct all interviews individually because people might feel inconvenienced about discussing details of their lives with a partner listening. In some cases the respondents' house or apartment did not allow for privacy during interviews. In such cases, asking one respondent to leave could send a negative message; not only might this create a feeling of not being able to

control what the partner says, it may also lead the respondent being interviewed to feel that “I am now expected to tell secrets about my partner and our relationship.” The positive aspects of interviewing couples together are that the partners can stimulate each other in the discussion. If they disagree, they can lead each other to a story that they both can accept: “No, it was not in January, it was in April after the birthday of ...,” or “I must say that you take the responsibility of the domestic work, but I do more now than before,” etc. Inconsistency or disagreement may move to consensus, but couples may also agree to disagree (Aitken, 2001, p. 76).

The interviews were semi-structured, life-world interviews. The aim of this interview form is to get descriptions of the respondent’s life world for the subsequent purpose of interpreting the meaning of the phenomena described (Kvale, 1997, p. 13). I would like to move one step further and point out that, besides getting more factual descriptions of the life world, it is also possible to get the respondent’s own interpretation of his or her life world. The aim of the interview is thus to illustrate and to function as the cement connecting theoretical points of departure and research questions rather than to generalise. This does not mean that it is always impossible to generalise from qualitative data; on the contrary, “generalisation” can have different meanings. The fact that a story is told by one specific person does not mean that no one else would agree with it. It is most probably the case that one individual’s life story will cover parts of an unknown number of others’ life stories – and that the essence of such a story will be of importance for others also, because of similarities or because of differences.

The interviews that constitute the empirical base for the study were conducted in Swedish, by the author, during the period 2002–2006. Besides the persons in the main scheme of the study (Table 1), two civil servants from local public employment offices in the region were interviewed. In the dialogue conferences (held with other researchers in the project) there were also participants from these offices.

SETTING UP A LOCAL SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT

The geographical area that is in focus in this chapter is situated in the county of Norrbotten, in Northern Sweden. It is a multicultural and multilingual area and the languages are Swedish, Meän kieli and Sámi language. The area covers one-quarter of Sweden, but only 2.8% of the Swedish population live here. The population density (2003-12-31) is extremely low: 0.3–0.9 inhabitants/km² (Fakta om Norrbottens län, 2004). Understanding

Table 1. The Interviewed Persons.

Municipality	Interview Subject	Individual Situation
Pajala	Erik and Maja	Unemployed man, studying woman (three children)
Pajala	Sven-Erik and Britta	Unemployed man, employed woman (three children)
Pajala	Bertil	Unemployed man/business owner (studying woman; not interviewed)
Pajala	Leif	Unemployed man (employed woman; not interviewed)
Pajala	Ingemar	Male project leader; labour market project in a small village (divorced)
Pajala	Herbert and Nils	Unemployed men within a labour market measure (singles)
Pajala	Ingrid	Unemployed woman within a labour market project (single)
Pajala	Sören	Unemployed/business owner (divorced)
Pajala	Birger, Markus and Gösta	Men in care work (relatives); focus group
Pajala	Emil	Man; assistant nurse
Pajala	Eskil	Man; assistant nurse
Pajala	Maria and Ritva	Women; assistant nurses
Jokkmokk	Olof and Stina	Unemployed man, employed woman (grown-up children)
Jokkmokk	Svante and Hanna	Unemployed man, employed woman
Jokkmokk	Hedvig	Woman; assistant nurse
Jokkmokk	Ellinor	Woman; assistant nurse
Jokkmokk	Five men	Male assistant nurses; focus group
Arjeplog	Arne and Birgitta	Unemployed man, employed woman
Arjeplog	Karl and Lena	Unemployed man, employed woman
Arjeplog	Gerhard and Monika	Unemployed man, employed woman
Arjeplog	Torvald	Male; assistant nurse
Arjeplog	Edvin	Male; assistant nurse

the regional and rural aspects of the strategies presumes some knowledge also of the ethnic history of the area. In the municipalities of interest are the geographical centres of two of the five recognised minorities in Sweden: the Torney Valley people (“*tornedalingar*”) in Pajala and the Sámi people in Jokkmokk.⁴

Population figures are low (Arjeplog 3259, Jokkmokk 5633, Pajala 7053, 2003-12-31) and out-migration and population decline are major problems. Between 1978 and 2003 the population declined by between 15% and 23% in the municipalities studied (Fakta om Norrbottens län, 2004).

What about the “rural” in the sense of nature-oriented occupations? Even though relations to nature are central for many inhabitants in the rural areas,⁵ nature-oriented occupations are uncommon in Sweden as a whole and in the Norrbotten region in particular. “Rural” as a label may still connote occupations such as farming, fishing or mining, but is to a much greater extent connected to a certain place of residence. That means that “rural” as a socio-geographical concept does not say so much about employment or how people support themselves as it does about everyday life in terms of population density, distances, provision of goods and services⁶ and relations between centre(s) and periphery.⁷ Employment within the primary sector (farming, forestry, hunting and fishing) was, in 2004, somewhat higher in the investigated municipalities than in Sweden as a whole (Fig. 1). For both Pajala and Jokkmokk the figure was 7%, for the county of Norrbotten 2% and for Sweden 2% (Statistics Sweden: Kommunfakta Jokkmokk, 2006; Kommunfakta Pajala, 2006). In these figures we can expect to find mostly men, men engaged in forestry and mining, while farming probably constitutes a minor part. Even though primary industry is not the most important sector (in a quantitative sense),



Fig. 1. The Three Municipalities Studied are all in the County of Norrbotten. Average Population Density in the County is 2.6 Inhabitants/km², but it is less than 1.0 Inhabitants/km² in the Three Case Municipalities.

the historical significance of this sector must be taken into account. It means that even though the figures are going down, the popular image of these areas still consists of employment in industries connected to forestry and mining. The coming exploitation of a new mine in Kiruna (northwest of Pajala) fits well into the historical industrial profile of the area, and more jobs within this sector are expected.

If we look more deeply into the everyday relations at local levels – relations existing within the framework of economic restructuring, welfare policy and social constructions – we find that in 1994 the unemployment level in Sweden was approximately 8% (9.1 for men and 6.7 for women). The regional differences are worth noticing. In 1994 the county of Norrbotten reached an unemployment level of 11.4% (13.8 for men and 8.5 for women). Between 1994 and 2004 the levels declined. The figure for 2004 for all Sweden was 5.5% (men 5.9 and women 5.1). In Norrbotten the unemployment level was 7.5% (8.5 for men and 6.5 for women) (Statistics Sweden AKU, 1994, 2004). In the northern part of the country the jobs that have been lost have been in traditionally male occupations, while the labour market for women has developed in a more positive way. A significant background fact is the highly gender-segregated labour market, which, of course will lead to strong gender effects as closures and cutbacks often affect one specific branch or sector that often employs mainly men or women.

The gender contract has changed, however, from men being the main breadwinners and women working part-time or as housewives. More recently, men have experienced a higher degree of unemployment and women have become more or less self-sufficient. Nonetheless, many women are working in regular part-time jobs and/or as casual workers (see also Johansson, 2000 and Johansson et al., 2005).

PAJALA MUNICIPALITY

In Pajala, jobs for men have traditionally been within forestry, carpentry and mining, with electronics and telecommunications added later. This means a change in direction from primary industry to branches that are more spread out and not anchored in local natural resources. The concept of “knapsu” (meaning, broadly, “feminine man”) has affected society in such a direction that it, for example, has been preventing men from taking part in cultural events or in children’s leisure activities. Men in Pajala (as in many other Swedish municipalities) have been holding on to a traditionally male labour market, sometimes travelling long distances

to go to work, which means staying away from home for days or weeks at a time.

The area around Torne Valley (Pajala municipality) is bilingual and the languages used are Swedish and Torne Valley Finnish. In earlier times Swedish authorities struggled to assimilate the Torne Valley Finns into Swedish society. From the beginning of the 1920s Swedish was the only language that was used in education, and it was also forbidden to speak Finnish during breaks between the lessons. In 1957, it was permissible to use Finnish outside the classroom, but it was not until 1988 that the right to use one's home language was put into the official regulations of compulsory school.

From the interviews conducted in this area it is possible to find a gender aspect of the relation between the two languages as it is stressed that Swedish is the women's language and Finnish is more or less the men's language. This does not mean that no men can speak Swedish or that no women can speak Finnish, but men do use Finnish much more, and women use Swedish. One man said in an interview that Finnish has always been the language of the boys, in the schoolyards and outside school, while women accepted the prohibition on Finnish and also are more drawn to the Swedish language. One result of this is, of course, that women also are more prepared to leave the area. They are more or less taught to become more integrated with "the South" and to accept that this is a natural course to follow. The male strategy, on the other hand, can be to hold on to traditions—"keeping the culture" as one man says.

JOKKMOKK MUNICIPALITY

In Jokkmokk the state water power company has been a dominant employer for men, while the public sector involving care, which employs mostly women, is the biggest employer today. The presence of the Sámi culture means that reindeer herding and handicrafts are important sectors within the labour market, and it is also of importance in marketing and in tourism events.

Other important elements of the Sámi culture are, of course, the Sámi language, the traditional clothes, the jojk (or "chant") and the food. The Sámi population in Sweden amounts to 15,000–20,000 persons. Most of them live in the area in between Idre in the north of Dalarna and Kiruna in the County of Norrbotten (Regeringens proposition, 1998/99, p. 143). Jokkmokk is one of the municipalities in Sweden with a large proportion of

Sámi people – 15% of the population, according to an earlier study (Beland Lindahl, 2002).

A theme that has not been addressed in-depth within this study, but which still should be mentioned, is that the presence and way of life of the Sámi people may have given the municipality of Jokkmokk another kind of context for cultural events and artistic expression compared to Pajala. This does not mean that relations between the Sámi people and the Swedish are free from conflicts, but rather that conflicts will occur at the same time as the sources of conflict will affect the sociocultural cement for all parts.

ARJEPLOG MUNICIPALITY

The industry of car testing is dominant in the Arjeplog municipality. During some winter months the number of inhabitants rises by several thousand as men from all over the world arrive in Arjeplog to work as test drivers for different car producers. This also means that demand for all kinds of services, such as hotels, restaurants and shops, also grows at this time of the year, and the supply of such services is greater than normal for a society of this size. While only a few women work as actual test drivers, many women find work in services connected to this business, in administration, cleaning, hotel work, etc. As the testing activities take place only in winter, seasonal unemployment is always present. However, in summer there are additional opportunities in tourism or forest work.

It should be noticed that within the context for this study, the interviews were not conducted with the aim of considering unemployment in relation to ethnicity. In Jokkmokk municipality almost all of the respondents have a non-Sámi background. This *could* mean that they have a “Swedish background,” but it could just as well mean that one parent is from Finland or has a Sámi background, effectively illuminating the everyday connections among people with different backgrounds and the limitations on the use of such categories. In Pajala most of the informants had a Torne Valley Finnish background, meaning that they are bilingual, but they used Swedish during the interviews.

The purpose in this case was to find individuals with experience of unemployment or of working within the public sector, and not individuals with a certain ethnic background. In interpreting the interview material

such information will be of importance, as will every piece of information building up the stories from the interviewed individuals.

IDENTIFIED COPING STRATEGIES IN RELATION TO THE LABOUR MARKET AND LOCAL GENDER CONTRACTS

If we draw together the experiences shared by the interviewed men it is possible to synthesise the individual actions into three strategies, condensed into the concepts of *adaptation*, *challenge* and *retreat*. The first identified strategy is to adapt to the structural changes through education and learning, and to follow the advice given by the local labour market agency but to stay in traditionally male job sectors. The second strategy is to challenge the highly gendered labour market and start working within the public sector in a caring profession. The third is to try to take a retreating position concerning the relation to the labour market. In this strategy, compensation may be found through creating a meaningful place in the local community and building up an identity that is not based on professional experiences; however, retreat can also express a feeling that “there is nothing for me to do here.”

The results show that people can react to the current changes in a number of ways, depending on individual contextual relations. The background for many of the older men is that they have been working in the forest or mining industries, and the younger men have worked in electronics or construction. The situation can thus be that the man is (a) unemployed and the future is unknown, (b) unemployed and engaged in a labour market programme, (c) employed for a short period and expecting unemployment, (d) unemployed but aware of coming (seasonal) employment opportunities or (e) working in the field of care on a more or less permanent basis.

Even though locally specific features are highlighted in the text, a thorough comparison will not be made. The three municipalities have differing as well as similar qualities, but there is no point in placing any one strategy in a particular municipality. Just as places can share features in common, so can people. On an individual level it is possible to have used several strategies, varying them according to different periods in life or places of residence (house, flat, farm, etc.). The point in such a move from the individual to the conceptual is to present relations with a focus on society *and* individuals. How then, are local gender contracts and individual coping strategies connected in these identified strategies?

ADAPTATION: FOLLOWING TRADITIONS AND ADJUSTING TO A CHANGING LABOUR MARKET

Remembering the contextual factors that characterise the local labour markets, we have a background for the strategy of adaptation. It means holding on to a shrinking male labour market, and trying to fit in with the changing demands. If it is not possible to find a job in the area you are trained for (for example forestry, electronics or mining) you can follow the advice of the local employment office, which will mean that you take new courses within traditionally “male” job sectors and adapt to the market. A municipal strategy in Pajala has been to try to follow global and national transformations within industry, “coping by copying,” which has been discussed in an earlier report (Johansson et al., 2005). One of the interviewed men, Erik, illustrates this when relating his struggle to adapt to changing circumstances, still finding himself most of the time with the wrong types of qualifications. He has worked in many places in Sweden, such as Gällivare, Kiruna and Stockholm, in order to find a job within his own field.

First I moved to Pajala, and after that I moved to Övertorneå for a period of education. That was within electricity. I hoped to get a job here in Pajala ... but I got a job in Kiruna so I moved there. I worked there for two years and went back to Pajala. ... After that I studied again, within telecommunications, and I have also studied at the local college here in Pajala, electronics and computer studies.

I have got so much education. And I believe that I have to obtain more. When I started the course in electronics and computers there were a lot of jobs in Pajala. I got a job right after the course and worked for two years. After that 15 people had to leave the firm. So that is a quite “dead business.” I have to look for something else (Erik, unemployed father of three, Pajala).

Development strategies on a municipal level and the local labour market agency have had a strong impact on Erik’s labour market strategies. Erik and his wife have been living together only for a short period-due to his working circumstances – even though they have three children. He wants to stay in Pajala and has to some extent accepted the situation in terms of adapting to new conditions.

Erik believes that he and his partner Maja should share the responsibilities for the children. He will prepare meals for them and leave them at, or pick them up from, day care. He is not fond of taking them to the swimming pool or other leisure activities. He says that he wanted to take the two older girls to the forest to bring home firewood, but that their mother said that

was not an appropriate task for the girls. Contradictions and ambiguities are common and there is nothing unusual about neglecting some activities or areas because they are female while accepting others.

The bilingual context is important for understanding the expression of the gender relations in Pajala. As discussed earlier, it has (more or less consciously) been used in a way that maintains a boundary between men and women. Some of the interviewed men also wanted to underline what they meant by using Finnish expressions, and some of them can exemplify the different coping strategies. One expression is “*Yrittus*” – *You have to try*, and trying can mean following the needs of the labour market, through education and travelling. It can mean trying to live separated from your family for long periods, or trying to conform to the needs of the labour market through education and learning.

CHALLENGE: CROSSING THE GENDERED BORDERS OF THE LABOUR MARKET AND BEING “KNAPSU”

There have been many efforts by regional authorities to get men into new sectors, for example into elderly care or child care (Sörensdotter, 2005; Pingel, 2002). In all three municipalities it is possible to find examples of men working as assistant nurses in homes for the elderly. Gunnar started as an office worker within the mining sector, but he decided to move to the place where he grew up, a smaller village. He and his wife had a small business, but as it became practically impossible to keep it up due to health circumstances, he decided to train to become an assistant nurse. He believes that this is a natural development; to be able to get a job you have to change direction.

A few men in Pajala work as caregivers for relatives. They are employed by the municipality to take care of their elderly parents, who then can continue to live at home. One of the interviewed men had always lived on the family farm (even though no agricultural activities had gone on there for ages), and caring for his parents had become part of taking over the “farm” or the forest business. Another man’s story is that he was “called back home,” as arranged by a previous agreement between himself, a parent and his sisters. He had lived a large part of his life in a bigger town in Southern Sweden, but in his view, which is shared by some other men, once parents

cannot manage on their own any more, someone is supposed to come home. In this case, he was the only one of the children who did not have a family; he was divorced and his children had grown up. This direction in life, taken on an individual basis, will also affect the local gender contract on a societal level. When an elderly parent passes away, the son, if he is not too old, will continue to work as an assisting nurse because he has the experience. This could be seen as an example of how old traditions – taking care of one's parents at home – will enable people to cross gender barriers and create new gender roles.

The strategies are likely to be affected not only by the individual household situation, but also by the social network and the experiences of others in the same situation. The local context is important, including the “practice of the municipality.” One example is the “spread effect” on a lower geographical level, concerning the men working as caretakers for one or two elderly parents. This kind of caretaking was found only in Pajala, which may be related to the geography of the municipality. It consists of 80 villages in an area of 7917 km², which obviously means that solving problems such as those related to elderly care can be complicated (also discussed in Johansson, 2000).

A gender-segregated labour market is not unique to Sweden nor to Europe. The labelling of professions, as well as of chores at home, as either “female” or “male” can also be found elsewhere. In the Torne Valley (Pajala municipality) this labelling has a name: “knapsu.” Only men can be called “knapsu” and that happens if they cross the line and start to do “female” chores such as doing the dishes or cooking. This is an old expression and its use is of course decreasing, but in Pajala municipality it is well known and also still in use. It is often hard to say, though, whether it is used seriously or jokingly; probably both. It is also evident that the use of this term – and men's willingness to do traditionally female activities – varies locally in the municipality and among different groups in the population. At one end of the road it is not important at all, but at the other end one man says that another man “is knapsu” because he accompanies the kids to sports events.

In Jokkmokk some younger men who have trained as assistant nurses tell about the possibilities of staying in the area and the chances of finding secure employment. They say that it is necessary to meet the demands of the labour market, but they also like their jobs and get support from older men as well as from women within the same field of work. Nevertheless, they also have to endure jokes about their jobs and they say that they know that, in the view of some men in the municipality, “real men work with big machines.” Such feelings are also expressed in Pajala.

The existence of these men is a proof of dynamic and changing gender contracts. Changes in mental representations and imaginations of the gender contract will be reflected in human actions. Of course, this does not mean that we have reached total gender equality, but it shows that individuals are creating their everyday lives in a context that can be more or less conservative or open to change. Existing gender contracts comprise an important contextual factor for individual coping strategies and they can limit the spaces of action for men and women, respectively.

RETREAT: FINDING AN ALTERNATIVE ROLE IN CIVIL SOCIETY

One way to cope with change is to stress the meaning of another life, outside of the labour market. Some of the interviewed men have more or less accepted that the labour market is limited, and they are also aware that this, to a certain extent, depends upon their own interests. Svante, for instance, who would like to write or make music, says, “What your job is, is not that important, it is the personality that counts.” Svante tried to work within care and cleaning but experienced back problems and had to stop. He is unemployed, taking courses within a local labour market programme. He has never worked in traditionally male jobs. He would like to work as a journalist or as a musician, but these are not easy ways to make a living. He sees no hope in getting such work, but he stresses that it is possible to find meaning in life anyway. Svante lives in Jokkmokk, where the cultural and tourism sectors have a quite long tradition even though, in the last few years, local authorities have pronounced that these areas should be core areas of local and industrial development.

The strategy of retreat can also take another form. Holding on to the traditions of a segregated labour market, Anders works a few weeks or months at a time, mostly outside his home municipality. He has accepted that he cannot get a full-time job in Pajala and combines his earnings from working and unemployment insurance. The longer periods with no work, he spends hunting or fishing or repairing the house. Anders is not willing to change profession in order to get a permanent job – but he finds meaning in hunting activities, accompanied by his dog.

*Is it possible to get used to this way of life and problem solution?

Anders: Getting used to it, I am not so sure. But you have to take it day by day, and you have to have ideas, and get something done. I have a friend outside [the dog] who needs time.

Hanna: The one who is barking ...

Anders: It is a hunting dog.

*But you say "ideas," and "do something" – can you give an example ...

Anders: Well. ...

Hanna: It's easy, hunting and fishing.

Anders: Yes, hunting and fishing.

Hanna: No need for long explanations!

For Anders, his leisure interests can fill the gap that unemployment creates. Hunting and fishing can also be seen as a kind of reproductive work, as it contributes to the household economy. In cases where these interests are important, the economic value is stressed, but in households where the man is not interested in these activities, they are dismissed as unnecessary, for example, "you'll find fish in the shops anyway."

It seems that some men have an alternative, informal community-based economic system of reciprocal help to fall back on. There are many dimensions to such a system. It provides occupation in times of unemployment; it has both a social and economic meaning at the same time as it provides a problem solution in sparsely populated areas (the exchange of services and goods in the absence of formal organisations or private firms and shops). In addition, it is a part of the base for identity building, with its traditionally male activities and male-to-male help. One woman interviewed also gave voice to the exchange among women and men. As she lives alone she sometimes gets help with her car, for example; she reciprocates by offering house-furnishing or baking services. There are, however, exceptions to the most commonly mentioned male-to-male system.

The use of nature and the outdoors for recreational purposes in combination with economic support should not be neglected. Fishing and hunting, for example, can be relaxing, they can be social activities that can create networks, and they can also be economic activities as they can contribute to the economy of the household.⁸ Spending time outside can also be a purpose in itself, regardless of the activity. It may be walking the dog or taking a ride on the scooter, but it is an important aspect of everyday life. It is important to add here that even though the stereotypical man from "the North" is a hunter or fisherman, by no means are all men interested in these activities. Some men interviewed indicated an interest in music and politics, and also pointed at others interest in "spaceless" activities such as surfing the Internet or watching films/playing games, which can be seen as recent replacements for community- and nature-based activities in periods of unemployment.

Another way of dealing with the relation to the labour market is simply to "step out of it" or exit, but without finding a clear compensation. Two of

the interviewed men in Pajala (one in his 30s and one in his 60s) said that they had not been active on the labour market for many years, except for the labour market measures that can mean shorter projects or training courses. The older man has a background in mining but believes that the companies will only employ younger men. The younger man has trained as a child minder, but that was on the advice of the local labour market office – he did not choose to work in that field – and the local labour market employee has accepted this and has given him other opportunities. While it is possible for some men to find meaning outside of the labour market, for others the absence of a job seems to create a situation of inactivity and a lack of motivation. One man thinks he is too old and the other believes it is hard to learn even if you are young. Neither of them has a family, and “there is little hope for that,” as the younger man said. There are some expressions that can summarise their situation: *Uncertainty* about whether education and learning will improve anything at all; *Resignation* – if one is going to try to change one’s situation, in what direction? Lack of energy – not much contact with relatives and no engagement in associations is explained by a *lack of commitment*. “*Ei ei se kannate*” – they say. It is no use.

Of great importance for the younger man is a local development project within his sphere of interest. The role of the project leader who is able to act and the possibility to activities within a labour market measure is crucial as it puts meaning into his everyday life. The project leader knows the village and its people intimately. He is able to develop the project in such a way that the younger man can do something that he finds meaningful. The role of the local labour market agency can nevertheless be questioned. It seems unclear whether an unemployed man is allowed to refuse jobs within a sector he is trained for, keeping his unemployment insurance and working within a local labour market project financed by the state. Without referring to this specific case, interviews with civil servants at the local labour market offices indicate that there is room for local solutions, and that it is possible that men and women meet different demands.⁹ For example, women are expected to be more flexible within the labour market, while men to a higher degree are expected to stay within their sectors.

The flipside of such local knowledge and social embeddedness is that it helps people to hold on to old gender structures; for example, the young man says that it is not possible for him to work within care as it is genetically “women’s” work and it would not be easy for him to do it. There is, however, a difficult balance to keep in helping individuals in their specific situations and avoiding cementing separating attitudes and traditional gender roles.

THE GENDER REGIME AND ITS LOCAL IMPLICATIONS

There are important institutions (to a great extent organised by the local state) that contribute to the shaping of possibilities and restrictions for taking part in the labour market. In each municipality there is a local Employment Services Office. These offices are part of a hegemonic gender regime, at the same time as they operate at local levels and within locally based gender relations, judgements and decisions. These offices are responsible for informing job seekers about vacancies, guiding them into suitable vacancies and ensuring that the unemployment insurance scheme is followed and that the rules are applied uniformly.

At the local level, in municipalities with small populations, the relations between an unemployed person and a civil servant can be more personal compared to bigger municipalities and cities. It may be your neighbour or the parent of your daughter's friend who needs help. The civil servant also knows a lot about people's personal circumstances, such as downsizing within a firm, the rejection of older men in the mining industry or the sickness of a close relative. According to the material from the interviews with the unemployed, this "closeness" can affect decisions in such a way that it is easier to find solutions that will fit those involved. The negative side of this may be that rules are not used consistently and, consequently, while some unemployed people will have to undergo retraining and education and change positions, others may go on following "old paths." There is also a gender dimension, and a preliminary analysis of interviews with civil servants at the local labour market agencies confirms such variations, and also indicates that there can be gender differences as women are encouraged to take certain jobs while men meet greater understanding when they refuse to take certain jobs. The local shadow of "knapsu" is affecting such relations – relations that are reproduced not solely on an individual or household basis but in civil, private and public society as a whole – to remind us about the four arenas presented earlier. Such strategies from the civil servants' points of view may build upon loyalty to local people but also on gendered decision making. Another way of interpreting the adjusted system is to see it as a reaction to central policy and rules that are made up in another part of the country without giving any room for local solutions, while labour market possibilities and characteristics vary over space.

It is well known that the challenge is considerable when it comes to delivering welfare and social services in sparsely populated areas. A local solution in, for example, Pajala has (as a complement to other solutions)

been to recruit one child of an elderly person to take on the role of care giver. For a small remuneration, the son or the daughter will be responsible for providing the services needed. Involved in such a solution are also feelings of responsibility (and sometimes also guilt from the children's point of view) of the "right" of the elderly to live at home as long as possible and also to end their days at home and not in an institution. As a complement to the care given in the regime of the local municipality, relatives and friends are important as caregivers and in providing certain types of help and service. This means that it is important to understand the gender regimes that are developing at a local or regional level (see also Forsberg, 2001).

It should be noted that the informal activities within, for example, elderly care or child care should be added to the local informal economy, just as are renovating houses and fixing cars, or picking berries and hunting and fishing (which are cherished activities among many rural residents, see also Stenbacka, 2001). But instead complementing the private market or services, these activities complement the public service. The local state, although important for shaping the conditions for local living and coping, will regulate (permit, and restrict) and also encourage complementary solutions. In certain localities, the trust in the individual's ability to complement public services will be stronger, one reason being the limitations of the local municipality. The local state is also an actor in creating and maintaining gender relations by, for example, providing employment in a segregated labour market, and by providing public services and making it possible for men and women to be a part of the labour market. On an individual level, as intermediating attitudes in meetings with, for example, the unemployed, parents of children or children of the elderly, the local state transmits gendered values or practices. The information above is important for understanding the role of all these institutions. It has been shown that local coping strategies are related to the local gender contracts and that the local welfare state – in this case most pronounced and represented by the local labour market agencies – is an actor affecting the strategies.

CONCLUSION: NEGOTIATED MASCULINITIES AND GENDERED COPING STRATEGIES

As stated in the introduction, the aim of the study is "to explain the development of locally based individual coping strategies from a gender

perspective with respect to the structure of the labour market and the prevailing gender contract.” Studying local coping strategies and gender relations in a rural context means first of all that it is evident that the gender regime from a national point of view will take on local characteristics as it is exposed to people’s everyday lives. The Swedish gender regime may exist in political talk and in legislative texts as well as in political goals, but regional and local variations exist parallel to those goals and institutional settings. As we shift focus from the national to the local level, it implies a shift to the concept of local gender contracts. Negotiations at the local level are affecting local practices in different ways – triggering or preventing.

Second, it has been shown that local contextual factors affect the strategies and that there exist several ways of relating oneself to the labour market with strong or weak traditional features. The norm is well known and the awareness of divergence is crucial. Staying in a locality such as Pajala or Jokkmokk will not necessarily mean accepting just one kind of living or lifestyle. Instead, staying can expose one to alternative lifestyles and alternative ways of coping. The geographical place, which is a mix of physical space and socio-cultural acts, is an important base for holding on to or changing an existing way of life. This will also mean that the identity of a place, as well as of an individual, is not static but undergoing continuous change. An identity is not “given” to a geographical place but created in the very meeting of a place and human action.

Third, three strategies are identified. Labour market strategies can be built upon an attitude including *adaptation* to global trends by holding on to a traditional male labour market as well as adaptation to local needs. The second strategy implies *challenging* the ruling gender contract, for example by starting to work within care. Staying and making a living could be seen as a way of challenging a global trend as well as local gender contracts. A third way of reacting to structural changes and local demand is to step out of the labour market, *retreating*, in a mood of resignation, and to create distance from the global division of labour. It is possible for a man to speak positively of dissolving gender segregation at the same time as the idea of taking a traditional “female” job seems farfetched.

The importance of local “leaders” has been discussed in this chapter but needs to be stressed again. The point is that these local leaders within, for example, the local labour market agency (which is the authority most focused upon in this study) as well as local business advisors or project leaders, are important both in the process of creating change and pointing out new opportunities for maintaining ruling relations and existing gender contracts.

Finally, this study has highlighted the value of qualitative research methods in enabling respondents to articulate the rich stories of their lives and the circumstances and intentions that create localities which react to, as well as build up, global and local relations. The results may not always be easy to categorise or summarise in a few lines, but they fill another purpose in giving voice to paradoxes and contradictions as well as the ambiguities influencing all our lives and actions. The findings of this chapter support the idea that (local) gender contracts provide tools for understanding relations among men and women in space-specific contexts and socio-cultural settings. The results first and foremost highlight local coping strategies in a rural context but might also be of importance for study design and the understanding and explanation of gendered strategies in urban environments.

It may be reasonable to raise another question at this time: In what way will these strategies affect gender equality in rural areas? Will, for example, the strategy of “crossing the borders” indicate a higher degree of equality among men and women, or is it a short-term survival strategy to be used while waiting for “real jobs”? On an individual basis the last statement may not be the case since the men interviewed are satisfied with their jobs and talk about encouraging other men to follow. But on a group level it may be that, as traditional male jobs are coming back, many men will follow traditions and search for employment there.

The local labour market agencies seem unable to live up to the Swedish gender regime’s ideology and to some extent accept that men should be on unemployment insurance despite the availability of traditionally female jobs. The character of the labour market makes it even more difficult by adding the problem of seasonal jobs – it is well known that many men are employed for half the year and are not motivated to change direction as they wait for the next season. This highlights the need to discuss labour market measures within the framework of differing local contexts.

It is also shown how the welfare state will continue to be organised to accommodate individual attachment and loyalty to certain places, as in the case of men caring for their parents or women cooperating on child care. The welfare state, though, will develop in relation to individuals’ relations to places – as men and women are willing to sacrifice and to adapt to what is required of them in order to complement available public or private services. This loyalty and attachment has been built up through men’s and women’s own work and efforts, social relations and experiences, as well as through the impact of earlier generations and the respect for that impact.

NOTES

1. Welfare regimes have initially been defined from the point of departure that the society consists of three parts; the state, the market and the family (see for example Esping-Andersen, 1990). With such a perspective it follows that activities and organisations that do not fit into any of these three arenas will be neglected. Another field of research takes as a point of departure four spheres or domains – the three mentioned and civil society (Wijkström & Lundström, 2002).

2. The focus on labour market changes and how individuals feel and act with reference to the labour market does not mean that their job must be the most central aspect of people's lives. Other aspects of life can of course be more important and work does not have to be a goal in itself. Such questions were also addressed in the interviews.

3. I came into contact with unemployed men through the local labour market agency and with men working with care through municipal civil servants responsible for elderly care.

4. Other recognized minorities are Swedish-Finns, Romans and Jews.

5. In studies investigating people's preferences for rural living, nature is almost without exception cited as an important aspect. "Nature" as a concept and personal relations to nature, or "closeness" to nature, varies among individuals and households. While some more or less think about nature as scenery or a suitable background to personal values and way of life, others put more philosophical meaning into it such as "being a part of nature" or "being a part of something bigger." A third kind of relation is associated with certain activities, such as picking berries, fishing or hunting-nature as pantry (Stenbacka, 2001). An important statement made by Gunnerud Berg and Forsberg (2003, p. 174) is that "seeing rurality and gender as social and cultural constructs by no means sees them devoid of any material basis."

6. Tendencies in Sweden, like in other European countries, are growing disparities in the basic provision of the population with goods and services between rural and urban areas (see for example Löffler, 2005).

7. For a discussion of the concept of rural and the debate on the social and geographical content, see Stenbacka (2001).

8. Some men, not interviewed in this study, also work as fishing or hunting guides.

9. The interview study with civil servants within the local labour market offices will be discussed in greater depth in a coming work.

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**PART III:
ECONOMIC CITIZENSHIP:
KEEPING FARMING ALIVE**

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WOMEN WORKING OFF THE FARM: A CASE OF ECONOMIC CITIZENSHIP?

Sheena Hanrahan

INTRODUCTION

Citizenship can be understood as a multi-dimensional status, involving civil, political and social rights and obligations (Yuval Davis, 1997; Lister, 2000). Barbara Hobson (2000) has argued that citizenship is more than the relationship of individuals to the state and includes social relations between individuals too. She points out that social relations lead to a gendered citizenship for women. Their weak economic position in the labour market, their related dependence within the family and lack of representation in the public sphere demonstrate the shortcomings of the liberal concepts of citizenship. Yuval Davis (1997) makes a similar point. Building on Marshall's concept of citizenship as membership of the community, she argues that an analysis of citizenship must include not only a focus on the relationship between the community and the state, but relationships between various collectivities (gender, race, urban/rural locations, etc.) and *the* community.

This chapter considers a particular group of women in the Republic of Ireland (henceforth Ireland), women who are married to dairy farmers and who have paid employment off the farm. Using the concept of economic

citizenship, understood as the rights and obligations related to participation both in the economic sphere and economic decision making (Lister, 2003), it illuminates how their citizenship is circumscribed by social relations in farming. However, it takes the analysis a step further by showing how these social relations and the norms and subjectivities associated with the 'collectivity' of farmwives are constructed in agricultural policy discourses.¹

It is suggested that women's citizenship must be understood within the context of the state's governing activities. Such an analysis incorporates the state's interests, the discourses it employs and their constructive effects. Moreover, it is claimed that an analysis of policy discourses demonstrates the constitutive processes which frame women's citizenship. Foucault's work on 'technologies of domination' and 'technologies of the self' facilitates such an analysis. It illuminates the interplay of power and knowledge which constructs women's paid employment, often essential for farm viability (Kelly & Shortall, 2002; Shortall, 2002; O'Hara, 1998) as a *unified* family strategy for farm survival (Gorman, 2006). Alongside this, women are discursively 'willed' to embrace the subject identity evident in agricultural policy. However, in spite of the policy focus on women's responsibilities, their civil and economic rights in relation to farming are weak. Women in Ireland have no marriage-based right to farm ownership or to be consulted in decision making regarding farms which are not registered (solely or jointly) in their names.

The chapter will proceed by briefly outlining the materials and methods used in the analysis. It will then give a brief contextual overview of farming in Ireland before moving on to describe the theoretical framework. The analysis of official policy discourse will show how marriage to a farmer circumscribes women's economic activities, positioning them as secondary to those of their husband and orientated towards supporting the farm. It will conclude by drawing together the analysis and the commenting on the implications of social relations for women's economic citizenship.

MATERIALS AND METHOD

The research presented here is part of a larger research project on women who are married to dairy farmers and engaged in off-farm employment in Ireland. The research consisted of an analysis of both agriculture policy discourses and women's discourses (gathered from questionnaires and in-depth interviews). The analysis was informed by an 'anthropology of policy' methodology which seeks to 'unsettle and dislodge the certainties and

orthodoxies that govern the present' (Shore & Wright, 1997, p. 17) in order to expose how policy constructs 'subjects as objects of power' (*ibid.*, p. 3). It explores policy as an instrument of government, a political technology, by which the state seeks to achieve its own aims by 'willing' behaviour in apparently freely choosing actors. It is proposed that the institutions and power of the state facilitates its ability to disperse normalising, hegemonic discourses and that these are evident in policy.

The selection of material was informed by a desire to locate policy which was specifically orientated towards *women* on farms. The starting point was the most recent policy text which fulfilled these criteria, *The Report of the Advisory Committee on the Role of Women in Agriculture* (RACWA) (Department of Agriculture, 2000a). It was produced by a committee appointed by the Minister for Agriculture which was made up of representatives from rural, farming, consumer and women's organisations and government departments. State officials from the Department of Agriculture guided the proceedings. In spite of the varied interests making up the committee its remit was quite specific. The terms of reference for the committee provided the structure for the report; its main chapters being: education and training; lack of participation of women at political and organisational level; social inclusion; personal finance, economic and legal issue. While the RACWA was the key document other related texts and official commentary (ministerial speeches, etc.) were included in the analysis. These texts revealed the official construction of women on farms as responsible for the generation of off-farm income and their employment as part of a 'family strategy' for ensuring farm survival.

The genealogical threads of the current construction of women on farms were found in the discourses of the Farm Home Advisory Service (FHAS). The service was part of the state's agricultural advisory service and operated between 1962 and 1983. Its discourses were accessed through two Farm Home Yearbooks (Moran, 1980, 1982), the only two published, and a promotional booklet *The Farm Home Management Advisory Service* (Department of Agriculture and Fisheries, 1966). The content of the Yearbooks consisted of works written by Farm Home Advisors (FHAs), reflecting their particular professional interests. They are viewed as exemplars of their advisory work and the discourses within which they operated and which their practices reproduced. The discursive construction of farmwives during this period was dominated by the home economics discourse, complementing a state-induced programme of agricultural modernisation. Agriculture was central to the Irish economy and economic revitalisation in the late 1950s, which entailed a shift to a more open

economy, was dependent on increased agricultural production. Mechanisation and farm consolidation were seen as essential elements of this increase (Breen, Hannan, Rottman, & Whelan, 1990).

These two sets of texts provide evidence that the citizenship rights and obligations of farmwives is circumscribed by the broader concerns of the Irish state, first with the modernisation of the Irish economy and more recently with the restructuring of farming driven by neo-liberal global processes.

IRISH FARMING CONTEXT

Until recent times, Ireland could be classified as a predominantly agrarian society with a particular fervour for land. The new Irish state (1922) was characterised by a particular set of values that elevated family ownership and operation of farms and farming life as fundamental to Irish identity and prosperity. The Irish Constitution (1937) reflects the special status of the 'family farm'. In the late 1950s when Ireland was on the verge of its modernisation programme, 38 per cent of the total workforces were engaged in agriculture and dairy and beef exports were a major source of foreign earnings (Breen et al., 1990).

However, farming and indeed the 'farm family' have undergone a prolonged period of change and the 'family farm' is no longer necessarily reliant on family labour engaged solely *on-farm*. More generally, Irish society has undergone dramatic social and economic changes, particularly in the last decade, with new job opportunities and life style options emerging. Living on a farm in Ireland does not necessarily mean rural isolation and increasingly many women and indeed men are engaged in off-farm paid employment. Between 1993 and 2005 women's off-farm paid employment increased from 12 to 32 per cent and men's increased from 24 to 38 per cent (Teagasc, 2006).

Dairy farming is the most profitable farming sector in Ireland and Family Farm Income (FFI) in this sector is related to the size of the farm. The most recent farm survey (Teagasc, 2006) showed a wide range of incomes from the smallest farm (€17,063) to the largest (€90,566). It is characterised by comparatively low levels of off-farm employment by the farm holder (13 per cent on specialist dairy farms and 15 per cent of mixed dairy farms). Nonetheless, it is noticeable that women's participation in off-farm paid employment does not relate to farm size (and therefore FFI) suggesting that women's motivation for working off the farm cannot be simply related to the farm's economic status. In spite of the lack of data on the distribution of

FFI between household needs (and wants) and reinvestment in the farm business, it is safe to assume that on many farms periods of low returns or high demand for capital investment will reduce the availability of money for the household. Recent changes in the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) have led to a cost-price squeeze (Department of Agriculture, 2000b) and increasing environmental concerns have placed additional demands for reinvestment on the farm. Investment on farms increased by 23 per cent in 2005 on the 2004 figure (Teagasc, 2006). These observations suggest that in the case of dairy farming demand for additional household income (and possibly some farm investment) is likely to be met by the off-farm earnings of non-farming spouses.

In terms of the economic citizenship of women, it could be argued that women's off-farm work allows them to contribute to the household, meeting its consumption needs through their labour. However, women's labour (on and off the farm) is supporting the reproduction of the farming enterprise. Not only are women responsible for household reproduction, their earnings allow more farm profits to be reinvested in the business. Yet, this has not prompted a shift in legal rights regarding farm ownership or related decision making. Research carried out in 2005 (Hanrahan, unpublished) showed that only 2 per cent of dairy farms in the Munster region (prime dairy farming area) were owned by women and less than one-third (30 per cent) are in joint ownership (husband and wife). The state is not prepared to intervene, seeing it as a private matter (Department of Agriculture, 2004) even though women's earnings are recognised as contributing to farm viable (Department of Agriculture, 2000b).

THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

Much feminist analysis of farmwives in Ireland has sought to demonstrate the commonality of their experience within a patriarchal structure (e.g. Heenan & Birrell, 1997;² O'Hara, 1994, 1998; Shortall, 1999). Research has tended to highlight the hidden work of women on Irish farms and has followed a trend evident in much of the North American and European literature (Brandth, 2002). Time and type of labour expended on the farm forms one aspect of the analysis, with a second aimed at illuminating how 'domestic work' supports the production and reproduction of the farm enterprise. However, this body of research also incorporated changes that were occurring in social theory generally. Such changes shifted the focus away from gender roles as learned behaviour towards a concern with gender

relations as dynamic power relations between men and women (Whatmore, 1994). Although less evident in the Irish literature, gender identity – a more fluid understanding of what it means to be a man or a woman – has become more prevalent in the research; Ní Laoire's (2001, 2002) work on masculinities is a notable example of such work in Ireland.

O'Hara (1998) has highlighted the potential for women with off-farm employment to negotiate a more favourable situation for themselves. This suggests that off-farm employment may affect gender relations. Nonetheless, whilst women's earnings are often critical in supporting the economic viability of the farm their physical absence from the farm reinforces men's control over the family assets (O'Hara, 1998). However, there are benefits for men from women's off-farm paid employment. As Berlan Darque (1988) pointed out:

[T]o the traditional benefits of marriage for the farmer – the assumption of domestic work by the spouse, extended to production – can be added or partially substituted the advantage represented by the appropriation of the spouse's salary (collateral for loans, investment in the farm, contribution to the maintenance of the household, protection against the economic risks in farm ...) and her cultural capital in terms of access to a style of life and the socialization of children into the middle class. (1988, p. 272)

Shortall's (1992, 1999, 2000, 2002) work has been particularly illuminating on the subject of gender relations. She argues that men's access to and hold on property is central to understanding the different positions of men and women in relation to farming. However, she also touches on the question of identity, pointing out that women's 'primary identity is as a member of a family rather than as individuals' (1999, p. 86). Shortall's (2000) analysis implicates discourses of 'domesticity' and 'femininity' in the demise of women's former dominant position in dairying, suggesting the usefulness of investigating discourses and questions of identity in understanding women's position in relation to farming today. While, Shortall does not develop the 'discursive' aspects of her work, her focus on power and particularly the 'taken for granted features of farming' (1999, p. 27) raises questions about values, knowledge and practices and how they become embedded within institutions, how they in fact become 'taken for granted'. However, Brandth (2002) has drawn on discourse theory to illuminate the working of power relations:

The most powerful discourses in society are those that have an institutional basis for instance in law, science, education, family, religion. They may in fact be so effective that the meaning they give to the social world appears as natural or taken for granted. Some of them act as great legitimators of hierarchy and oppression'. (Brandth, 2002, p. 197)

Weedon (1997) has incorporated Althusser's concept of ideological state apparatus (the family, schools, the law, the church, media and culture) to introduce discourse as the means through which the constitution of subjectivities is achieved. It is through discursive practices, viewed as a material form of ideology (Fairclough, 1992), that powerful interests shape what is known and how it is known and experienced. The relationship between discourse and power, and inter-relatedly the construction of subjects and knowledge, forms the core of Michel Foucault's work. Of particular interest is Foucault's work on technologies of the self and his concern with the 'art of government' (Rose & Miller, 1992).

These themes in Foucault's work suggest policy discourses as one way of looking into women's experience of farming. While agriculture is a concern of the Irish state, agricultural policies cannot be viewed simply as responses to 'real' issues. They are informed by particular ways of knowing and in turn they construct problems and subject positions reflective of the 'moral values and preconceptions' (Shore & Wright, 1997) on which they are based. A discourse analysis allows for an exploration of the history of ideas and concepts, their contextual emergence and their transposition from one context to another (Foucault, 1977).

This discussion informs the framework for an analysis of policy discourses. It provides the conceptual tools to investigate how competing discourses constitute subjects, who give meaning to their world, who act to transform it but are neither unified beings nor authors of their particular biographies. It allows for an understanding of power as dispersed, as exercised within discourses in the way subject positions are constituted and in the way relations between subjects are structured within or across discourses. Finally, it allows for an understanding of how citizenship is differently perceived and experienced in relation to subject positions and how these subject positions can be illuminated by Yuval Davis (1997) concept of collectivities.

OFFICIAL DISCOURSES

A close reading of the selected texts revealed three core discourses: agrarianism, familism and gender relations. They are tightly interwoven and constitute the threads that form the web of the 'farm family' discourse identified by Brandth (2002). However, it is considered important to try to grasp their distinctiveness for each is much broader than its articulation in relation to the 'farm family' and indeed provides insights into how the inter-discursive effects of the three work to produce the 'farm family' as distinct

from 'other' Irish families. Moreover, each discourse forms part of a field that is hierarchically arranged and within which competition between discourses within the field results in shifts and breaks in dominance and meaning. The core components of the three discourses can be summarised as follows:

Agrarianism

In Ireland, agrarian discourses have placed the farm central to the social and economic wellbeing of the family who own and operate it, as well as Irish society in general. The ideal of a widespread property owning class of small farmers, which is enshrined in the Irish Constitution (1937), reflected the economic and political concerns of the Irish state and Catholic Church teaching. Hannan and Commins (1992) highlight the influence of rural society in state governance, which stemmed from the disproportionate presence in the Dáil³ and occupation of ministerial positions by individuals (overwhelmingly men) with farming backgrounds. The overlapping and authoritative voices of church and state contributed to the establishment of an agrarian paradigm epitomised by the idea that agriculture was profoundly special and its success essential to a uniquely Irish way of life. Fink (cited in Sachs, 1996) has highlighted the gendered nature of agrarianism in which the appropriate position for women is that of wife and mother. She argues 'no one publicly questioned the assumption that farm women would interpret their lives in terms of their duties as wives and mother in service to the overarching good of the farm' (quoted in Sachs, 1996, p. 133).

Familism

Familism in Ireland has been described by Tony Fahey (1998), an Irish social scientist, as undergoing a shift from 'patriarchal familism' to 'egalitarian individualism'. The first form is synonymous with agrarianism and, according to Fahey, the family is viewed as cohesive and altruistic, and stability, loyalty and commitment are overarching qualities. Inclusion in a cohesive family in which roles are clearly defined and complementary but not overlapping is considered necessary for the welfare of the individual and society. In addition, roles are ordered on a gender and a generational basis, 'gender and generational hierarchies combine to define the male household head as the dominant figure in the household' (Fahey, 1998, p. 387). In the case of 'egalitarian individualism' the family is orientated towards the individual welfare of its members rather than the other way around. Fahey claims this paradigmatic shift was 'well underway by the 1970s' (Fahey, 1998, p. 391).

Gender relations

Gender relations have been identified as socially constructed differences between men and women (Shortall, 2001). The power implications of a gendered identity depend on social norms and values. The discourses analysed can be read as actively constructing the subject position of farmwives. These identities are subordinate to that of 'farmer' because of social rules such as laws related to property ownership and the status which accompanies it. This places women and men in different relations of power; to be a farmwife is subordinate to being a 'farmer'. Women's identity is supported by a specific relationship to property and a specific definition of economic and civil citizenship. In the past women's work was mainly on the farm, as relatively few women had paid employment, yet women had no civil rights regarding the farm business, nor did they have any rights to pension, sick pay, etc. Women's earlier economic activity was undermined by state policies regarding food production (Bourke, 1993; Shortall, 2000). As noted above women's off-farm labour generates a source of income to the household which supports farm viability (Department of Agriculture, 2000b). While women's economic citizenship is constructed as a right to work off the farm, it does not entail rights regarding the farm business. It is suggested therefore that the Irish state, through its policies, is implicated in the construction of the social norms and values which render women citizenship as highly gendered and inferior to men's.

THE FARM HOME ADVISORY SERVICE

One of the major concerns in Ireland in the 1950s was the 'flight from the land' prompted by economic crisis (Breen et al., 1990). Not only were young people emigrating, there appeared to be a reluctance on the part of women to marry farmers (Brody, 1974; Daly, 2003). Ireland embarked on a modernisation programme in the later part of the 1950s and in the early 1960s tried and failed to join the European Economic Community (EEC). This, along with a perceived widening of the gap between farming and non-farming income and living standards, led to active campaigns of marches and civil disobedience by the Irish Farmer's Association (IFA) during the 1960s.

Recognition of the state's interests in achieving change positions the state-regulated and funded advisory services as a disciplinary mechanism. Not only did it work to distinguish and define the normative 'farmer's wife', it engaged in training and advisory work which 'willed' women on farms to

practice efficient housekeeping. This efficiency had two purposes: first in matters of consumption the household should not act as a drain on the farm business (in order that it might reinvest its profits for the purpose of modernisation) and secondly that women's time use would be such that they would find time to 'help' their husbands with farm work. The FHAS constructed the 'good farm woman' and presented this normative subject identity to women, such that they might construct themselves accordingly.

Protecting the Farm

The agrarian ideology worked to set apart families engaged in farming, they were constructed as special, their wellbeing essential for the success of agriculture and ultimately the state. This discourse embraced the farm home, differentiating it from other homes. In a booklet to promote the FHAS, the farm home is constructed as being 'in a different position to the homes of most people in other occupations'. It is the 'heart of the farm and must be kept running smoothly' (Department of Agriculture, 1966). 'Smooth running' is directly related to the economic performance of the farm, 'If the housewife on her side does not make equal progress, she may slow up the development of the farm' (*ibid.*, p. 3).

A 'partnership' discourse operated alongside the farmer's wife discourse reinforcing the idea of unity between farm and household.

On the family farm where the farm business and household are managed as a single unit, she (the farmwife) is a partner in managing this unit and as such she has the responsibility for coming to decisions affecting the family's vital interests (Department of Agriculture, 1966, p. 4).

This theme is echoed by Harry Spain (1980), a former senior official in the Department of Agriculture. In a guest article he reports how in his time as an agricultural instructor he noticed 'farmer's wives' were more than 'just' housekeepers. They had an 'important contribution to make in how the farm was managed' (Spain, 1980, p. 8). This 'contribution' was not in terms of their work in the farmyard, but rather as *supporters* of their husbands, who in turn were classed as 'forward looking farmers' (*ibid.*, p. 8). Spain's article, and indeed the partnership discourse generally, constructed gender relations in a way that was *functional* for the modernisation of the farm. However, partnership did not mean equity. While women offered support to their husbands, his acceptance was a sign of a 'forward looking' disposition; he was a modern man who *allowed* his wife to contribute to the farm.

The FHAS was engaged in a process of restructuring the relations of marriage, but in terms which were orientated towards farm success. The precariousness of women's 'partner' status was evident in relation to matters of succession and inheritance. Far from being a discourse related to women's civil citizenship, the work of the FHAS in relation to succession planning is understood as a technology of government. Linked to Ireland's entry to the EEC, the Irish state wished to expedite the handover of the farm from father to son (younger men were viewed as more open to new ideas and more likely to modernise). However, the handover of farms within the lifetime of the father, undermined women's recently acquired civil rights regarding inheritance. The Succession Act (1965) required that spouses must be bequeathed at least a one third share of their spouse's property on his/her death. The Act created considerable anxiety about the division of farms and the loss of men's (generally) right to dispose of their property as they wished. The push to restructure agriculture and particularly to encourage early handover of the farm worked to re-establish male property rights and practices regarding property disposal and in effect removed women's potential inheritance opportunity.

A number of works in the Farm Home Management Yearbooks (1980 and 1982) showed how the state sought to bring about its goal of modernisation through 'willing' the desired behaviour from farm-based households. For example, Carmel Fox's (1980) work, *The Generation Game*, presents a fictional family to make the point. The situation is explored from the viewpoint of a 'grandmother' as well as a young successor, 'Sean'. The use of the 'old' and the 'new' generation reinforces the notion of change in a symbolic way. The whole text is imbued with the importance of change and the necessity of careful planning for both family and farm welfare.

Ah, times have changed in farming – think of the drudgery we put up with, none of the things you young people take for granted – no electricity, running water or bathroom, and indeed no carpets, the scrubbed concrete floor was ours. (Fox, 1980, p. 23)

The Grandmother's reminiscences about past drudgery present change as positive, progressive, an improvement. The work tells how 'Sean's' grandfather might not have handed the farm over but 'this is not how it is now'. It suggests a number of strategies to ensure 'Sean' receive adequate training (necessary for 'modern' farming) for his future responsibilities. Other considerations for the son's future including an apprenticeship, loans for farm expansion and ensuring 'Sean' has a reasonable income are part of the modernisationist discourse.

It was not so much that women's civil rights were actively reconstructed within this chapter, they were not even acknowledged. The construction of the 'farmwife' and all that entails, demonstrates the gendered nature of her citizenship; it is mediated through her identity within the private realm of the family. The Irish state's overwhelming interest was in the modernisation of agriculture. The requirement to expedite the handover of farms from the older to the younger generation required particular behaviour from farm owners (men). The FHAS served as a technology for achieving the state's aim, i.e. farmers who would 'choose' to behave as 'modern', 'rational' and 'caring' parents and the 'good' wife would support his decisions.

LIVING LIFE WITHIN THE FAMILY

The idea of marriage as a partnership has been referred to above in relation to farm modernisation. The 'sayability' of partnership reflected a shift in Irish society towards a companionate view of marriage (O'Connor, 1998, p. 94). Hugh Brody (1974) specifically linked this discursive shift with women's growing disillusionment with farm life. While the construction of the wife as partner could be read as a loosening of the patriarchal constraints evident in 'traditional' agrarian discourses, its meaning must be understood within the context of gender relations in Irish society at that time. Partnership referred to the complementarity of a sexual division of labour; men had their work and women's work was defined in terms of household management. However, then as now, domestic work did not carry the same status as work for the market; her work was always cast in the shadow of farm work.

In spite of claims to the contrary (Fahey, 1998) the continued patriarchal nature of farming was evident in the FHAS articles. Familist discourse is reflected quite strongly in the first text published by the FHAS, *The Farm Home Management Advisory Service* (Department of Agriculture, 1966) which stated 'the family is the basis of our society'. Economic power clearly rests with the husband, 'the farmer is the manager of the farm business but is influenced in his decisions by the attitude and needs of the other members of the family, particularly the wife' (p. 3). 'Influence' is a vague term, but its use clearly indicates a subservient decision-making capacity; she may 'influence' but he makes the decision. Women are primarily responsible for maintaining the home and in this regard she may also be 'influenced'. However, the things that influence her are the financial and working arrangements of the farm. In 1960s Ireland these 'influencing' factors were in fact, significant

material constraints. Moreover, the husband's control of the 'constraining factors' ensured that women's economic power was subordinate.

There was some evidence of new ideas permeating FHAS discourses although they were constrained by the dominance of patriarchy. Morton (1980) described her work as a FHA. Women mostly called on Morton for advice on home layout, meal planning, home decorating, etc. She alleged that this was because of women's lack of confidence in relation to housewifery skills. Yet, Morton's work also reveals the lack of women's economic power. 'Very often on a farm, the new tractor is thought to be more of a priority than the piped water for the home' (*ibid.*, p. 16). Morton described her role in such a situation as one of mediation. These comments reveal disparities in decision making and negotiation power between the sexes and portray a robust patriarchal orientation within the farm household. They also show the disciplinary character of the FHAS. Some comforts and consumer spending was considered necessary to encourage marriage and reproduction of farming in changing economic times. This entailed a change of practice by some men and the FHAs addressed this matter too.

However, Morton also encouraged women to become involved in the community and make some space for themselves as *individuals*. While the development of an 'outside interest' suggests an emerging discourse, this does not refer to paid employment. Community work (voluntary) is added to the normative construction of farmwives. While Morton's work indicates that a concern for the *individual* is 'sayable', this discourse was not dominant for it stands in contrast to other works which suggest women should deploy their 'spare' time undertaking farm work. Morton's recommendations, co-existing as they do with an appreciation of the imbalance of power within the household, expose the difficulties women face in trying to achieve some sense of individuality *within* the household. However, apart from Morton's 'mediating' role, generally the advisory service was not concerned with changing gender relations through an improvement of women's economic position. Women's civil rights are discursively located 'outside' the farm home. Economic citizenship, in terms of an economically independent role or direct access to farm-generated income, is not addressed.

GENDERING IDENTITIES

In a guest article by Reidy's (1980), an official at the Department of Agriculture, men's position as farm owners and the authority which

accompanies this role was highlighted. 'Farming fathers should remember that ... the present success of the farm business is due to their efforts'. The article, urges that 'the farmer, with the aid of a solicitor, should make a will' (Reidy, 1980). These two statements stand in contrast to the emphasis on partnership between husband and wife. Here, the relationship between power and property ownership is clearly demonstrated (Shortall, 1999). The article reinforced the construction of farmers as decision-maker, worker and patriarch. These identities frame gender relations on farms; he must make the decisions because he is the farm owner, the one who has the right to decide who should inherit the farm. He must take credit for the success of the farm because of the worker identity imbued in the title of farmer, a gendered identity not available to the farmwife. His patriarchal identity stands in opposition to her dependent status.

The article goes on to say that in matters of succession it is the husband who is worried about their financial future, the wife apparently is not. Similarly, Fox (1980) in the article already mentioned constructed planning and decision making as the remit of the father as is evident from the constant reference to 'Dad' in the text; 'Dad thinks' or 'when Dad is ready to retire' or 'when Dad wishes to hand over some of the enterprise' are phrases that are used (Fox, 1980, p. 24). Women's identities in these articles are constructed by all that they are not. They are background figures, reliant on their husbands to do the right thing. Gender relations were not constructed as a partnership of equals, because clearly in the important matters of finance and property, she is not equal to him.

If farmers were associated with property, business and farm work, women's economic citizenship were confined to the areas of consumption and protection. Rowe's (1982) work, *Money in the Household*, is of particular interest as a constructive discourse. While making consumption decisions can be seen as an aspect of economic citizenship, Rowe's work was not written in this vein. Her focus was on 'The Hidden Persuaders', the advertisers of consumer products who are presented as a threat to the economic efficiency of the farm household. She suggested women may be cajoled into buying 'unnecessary' products such as the 'new' and convenient breakfast cereals. She asks, 'after all who needs cornflakes?' This 'warning' against new products for household consumption stands in contrast to the growth in purchased inputs (e.g. artificial fertilizers) for the farm (Tovey, 1982).

In this country we need legislation to protect the consumer. As we need and demand more laws to protect our rights, we also need to become aware of the pressures – at times extremely subtle – which are brought to bear on

the family unit, often the most vulnerable unit of society. It is a question of values (Rowe, 1982, p. 48).

A key construct in Rowe's work is the 'oneness' of the family. Its unity and women's responsibility for consumption matters was linked to family wellbeing; she is its caring protector. So while women were portrayed as vulnerable to the pressures of consumerism and in need of laws to protect them they were also credited with a strong sense of power to resist. Women are warned that the result of succumbing to these pressures will be a society based on the creation of 'false needs' rather than 'a concerned caring society'. This discourse, which placed the moral good of society on women's shoulders, was not new and can be traced back at least as far as the 1937 constitution (Beaumont, 1997). However, its novelty was its reconstitution as a discipline for women on farms, willing them to manage consumption in such a way as to ensure farm viability. Women who manage household budgets carefully, who are frugal in their purchases for the household are constructed as strong and caring, not only protecting the household, but societal values too.

The economic efficiency of the household is linked to the central importance afforded the farm within agrarian discourses and agrarian families as 'protectors of the nation'. Women's skilled budgeting contributes to the success of the farm. The expectation that women embrace home economics as integral to the identity of farmwives was reflected in the high incidence of the topic in both Farm Home Yearbooks. However, the discourse is highly gendered; responsibility for consumerism rests with women. Positive consumerism may emphasise awareness of quality, frugality of habit and power to resist advertising but it stands in opposition to production limiting its potential to develop a rounded understanding of women's economic citizenship. Farm spending, on the other hand, is not seen as consumption, it is associated with production, with providing the income which is consumed by the dependent family. That these tensions spill over into household relations is evident from the various comments, some of which have been noted, that suggest reluctance on the part of farmers to invest money into the household. It is contended that this discourse forms the root of the current normative depiction of women as responsible for household needs and the expectation that their off-farm earnings should be used for this purpose.

In summary, the FHAS contributed to a particular construction of the 'farmwife' identity. She was subordinate to her husband in matters of economic and indeed social power. As the owner of the land he was the 'real' decision-maker, she could only hope to contribute, influence or persuade.

Her job was to ensure the family placed a minimal strain on farm finances by implementing a 'professional' home economics approach within 'her' realm, the farm home. The FHAS operated within its remit; it was of its time and imbued with values that placed the farm at the centre of family life and the family at the centre of women's identities. However, it did not simply reflect a particular 'reality', it was part of the state's apparatus of government, charged with the task of inculcating particular attitudes and practices in women, and through them other family members. Particular attitudes and openness to new ideas were integral to the modernisation discourse and therefore the FHAS can be viewed as an integral part of the state's modernisation project.

The next section moves forward in time and looks at more recent policy discourses associated with women on farms in Ireland. It is contended that there are strong links between the constructions of women as responsible for the ongoing viability of farms though their skills as 'good' housekeepers and on-call helpers to their current situation whereby they are constructed as responsible for farm viability through their off-farm earnings.

CONTEMPORARY DISCOURSES: THE REPORT OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

In comparison to the period in which the FHAS was operative, normative constructs of 'farmwives' have extended to include off-farm employment and rural development. Such changes suggest the possibility of an improvement in women's economic and social status stemming from access to independent income and a greater 'say' in 'public' and 'private' decisions (O'Hara, 1998). The focus here will be related to women's economic activities.

The RACWA (Department of Agriculture, 2000a) was set within the context of a government commitment to 'recognise the role of women in agriculture' (Department of Agriculture, 2000a, p. 3). It can be viewed as a rather tardy response to the recommendations of the government-appointed Commission on the Status of Women in 1993. Indeed it could be argued that the tardiness resulted in a research agenda which was slightly outdated. However, it is contended that convening the advisory committee was associated with a growing concern for the future of the Irish agricultural economy. More specifically, it is claimed that the committee's establishment

was part of the discursive shift in focus from farm-generated income to household income as a key element in assessing farm viability (Phelan & Frawley, 2000). That the advisory committee was part of a broader restructuring of Irish society was clearly established at its first meeting when the Minister for Agriculture stated:

As we approach the new millennium it is an appropriate time to reflect on the current structure of Irish society and to plan for the future economic and social development of our country. (Walsh, 1999)

Here the Minister is engaged in population management, a matter of governmentality (Foucault, 1991). He goes on to say, 'much remains to be done to ensure that women are enabled to have a fulfilling, active and contributing role in Irish rural life' (Walsh, 1999). While these comments undervalue the active and contributing role women already played in rural life, they also illuminate a shift in thinking. 'Fulfilment' is now associated with work outside the home, on the farm or in the labour market. The role of the advisory committee is to propose how such fulfilment can be *assured*.

Importantly, the advisory committee redefined its subjects from the 'women in agriculture' identified in the title of the work to 'all women who live on a farm and/or work on a farm' (*ibid.*, p. 6 emphasis added).⁴ In general, the report embraces the modernist liberal discourse generally accepting the inevitability of restructuring and increasing women's accessibility to childcare, transport and training for off-farm employment as a way of improving their situation. This focus can be identified as 'farming as pluriactivity' discourse, which extends the notion of farming to all those actions, agricultural or otherwise, which sustain the farm. It draws on and reinforces the ideology of family farming, which is defined by the exploitation of family labour. At the same time it serves to legitimise the exploitation of family members. Pluriactivity as a discourse puts farming centre stage in the economic and social organisation of the family and defining *all* women who live on farms as 'women farmers' defines their paid work in terms of the farm.

It could be argued that this redefinition of farming serves to include women's work as a key element of farm viability and is a radical step in promoting women's civil and economic citizenship. However, it falls short because pluriactivity only relates to *paid* work. Women's unpaid caring and reproductive work is not included in the pluriactive discourse. Further, this research suggests that promoting such a discourse fails to recognise that women's off-farm employment may be an expression of resistance. Working off the farm may be a strategy employed by some women to establish a 'life

of their own' (O'Hara, 1998; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). Defining *all* women in such a way equates to a disciplinary discourse which suggests that this is how women *should* behave when they marry a farmer.

WOMEN FARMERS

The agrarian idea that farming and farming families are important and special is apparent in the RACWA. It is evident not only in the definition of 'women farmers' already noted but also in the way that they are distinguished from other women in rural areas. For example, the second chapter, which focuses on education and training, includes a section entitled *Farm and Other Rural Women* (Department of Agriculture, 2000a, p. 15). 'Rural women' appear to be brought into the analysis to add weight to the argument for rural services which would benefit 'women farmers'. The selective use of 'rural women' is demonstrated in the wording of the recommendations; it is 'women farmers' who are referred to at each point. Accordingly, 'farm friendly' childcare models must be developed, ways must be found to enable 'women farmers [to] access state subsidised education and training' and this must be made 'available to women farmers locally'. The 'scheduling/timing of courses [should] fit in with the many roles of women farmers' (*ibid.*, p. 15). Importantly, 'other rural women' are defined by what they are not - all those 'others' who are not 'women farmers' and apparently without particular and special responsibilities.

The RACWA continues the earlier FHAS depiction of women on farms as in need of training to ensure farm survival. However, unlike the FHAS era when lower numbers of women retained their paid occupations on marriage or following childbirth, the discourses in this text assume the possibility of women's involvement in the paid labour force. They are uttered within a context of relatively high female employment (both inside and outside of farming circles). Many women may have continued working throughout their married life, others will return to paid employment after a period of child rearing. Research on dairy farms (Hanrahan, unpublished material) shows a high percentage of women married to farmers with professional (46 per cent) and non-manual (50 per cent) jobs. Yet, the texts present a view of 'women farmers' lacking in the educated and/or training necessary for paid employment.

The committee supports the assertion of the Agri Food 2010 report that total farm income will be vital for the economic viability of family farms.

Women farmers must receive the education and training to develop earning potential (Department of Agriculture, 2000a, p. 15).

Continuing with this construction of women as inadequately educated or trained for the labour market, the advisory committee goes on to say that its own consultation with interest groups found that ‘farm and rural women [need] to be encouraged to take the *first step* towards education and training’ (Department of Agriculture, 2000a, p. 19, emphasis added). Citing policy documentation produced by the Information Society Commission which claimed that the farming community are ‘late adopters’ of information technology and must be prevented from ‘further marginalisation’ through the provision of support and training, the advisory committee warns that women farmers are ‘in danger’ of being excluded from the information society. However, this ‘danger’ is directly linked to the farm and the importance of ‘developing the family farm business’ and ‘creating on-farm and off-farm employment for women farmers’ (Department of Agriculture, 2000a, p. 22).

These comments are strongly reminiscent of the agricultural advisory service modernisationist discourses of the 1960s and 1970s related to farmer’s willingness/ability to adopt new technologies to improve farm performance. While the advisory committee’s reference to technology is only marginally related to ‘better’ farming, the language – ‘danger’, ‘marginalisation’ and ‘vital’ – introduces threat and urgency. Women *must* be helped to gain such skills or the farm will be at risk. In addition this focus on education and training is not related to women’s civil and economic rights to participate in fulfilling employment, but rather suggests that it will enable them access jobs in:

multi-national IT firms (e.g. Dell and Intel), teleworking in and outside the home, rural administration e.g. local veterinary practitioners office [and] the department of agriculture, Food and Rural Development[s] ... tendered out IT services. (Department of Agriculture, 2000a, p. 22)

That the advisory committee reflected government thinking is highlighted by the comment of the Minister for Rural Development, Noel Davern, who took up this theme in Seanad Éireann (Upper House of Parliament) and in the process defined women as a ‘problem’:

One of our biggest problems in rural areas is the lack of confidence of women to proceed with projects. They all have the ability. They present a huge resource of untapped wealth and knowledge. We must try and break down their lack of confidence and get increasing numbers to join the workforce. They can work for anybody located anywhere throughout the country and abroad. Firms from America are constantly looking for work to be done here overnight, for example on insurance claims, to be ready for their offices the next morning. (Davern, 2000)

Here women are indeed constructed as ‘docile bodies’ (Foucault, 1977) representing a ‘resource potential’ that the state can act on in order to achieve its goal – the development of rural areas. The advisory committee underscores this policy aim by arguing for more childcare, more training and more transport to facilitate women’s employment off the farm.

THE FAMILY FARM

If agrarianism continues to inform official discourses, it is pertinent to ask whether the shift in familial ideology claimed by Tony Fahey (1998) is evident in agricultural policy discourses. In 1996, Tom Clinton, a former leader of the Irish Farmer’s Association (IFA) asserted:

The basic ambition of any farmer is to leave a bigger and better farm on the day he dies than on the day he inherited. There are many would put their farm before their family. (quoted in Kennedy 2001, p. 8)

Both Kennedy (2001) and Fahey (1998) assert that a change has occurred in Irish family relations generally. They link this claim to the decline in the importance of agriculture and the small farm in particular. This research contends that the generality of this claim glosses the current situation of those who remain in farming. Women married to farmers continue to be defined by their husband’s occupation and his place of work. It is hard to identify any other family form in Ireland officially defined in this way and subject to specific policy recommendations. On farms, women’s citizenship, it seems, continues to be mediated through their familial location.

Although explicit familial discourses are less discernible in this report it is contended that this is due to the now taken for granted, hegemonic status of the ‘farm family’ discourse (Brandth, 2002). The embedded assumption that men may exploit women’s labour for the reproduction of the farm and household continues in farming discourse. In relation to the decline in farm incomes and farm numbers, the Irish Farmers Association (IFA) the biggest and most powerful of the farming organisations in Ireland and represented on the advisory committee stated:

A particular focus is needed in relation to farm women to assist them to enter or re-enter the workforce, including access to supports which are readily available in urban areas such as childcare. (IFA, 1999)

These comments demonstrate their view on the status of women on so called ‘family’ farms; they are not the farmer and therefore dispensable in

terms of on-farm labour. However, their labour, although deployed off the farm remains necessary for the survival of the farm. The gentle language of 'assisting' women to take up paid employment hides the technological mechanism of the discourse. It 'wills' women not just to work off the farm but to do so for the sake of the farm. There is no suggestion that their off-farm work is related to women's economic citizenship, there is no suggestion that it is part of a renegotiation of gender relations.

As Brandth (2002) has indicated, texts often exhibit more than one discourse and they can be contradictory in nature. The advisory committee's discourse of 'women farmers', while gendered and tending to subsume other subject identities, has created a space for the discussion of women's involvement in decision making. However, the disciplinary nature of the committee's findings is evident as they assert that it is essential that women are involved in decision-making structures to ensure 'the broader social perspective of rural development is fully realised'.

The committee looked at the role and representation levels of women in the state, voluntary, commercial and corporate sectors of Irish life. Its aim was to investigate the level of participation of women in decision making in agriculture, barriers to that participation and ways to improve their participation in the decision-making process (Department of Agriculture, 2000a, p. 24).

While these comments indicate some recognition of women's civil and political rights, the focus is restricted to participation in agriculture fora. The committee sidelines those women who on the one hand *they* have defined as 'women farmers' because of their location on farms but who may have chosen to distance themselves from agriculture and agricultural concerns. Moreover, the involvement of women in other forms of political activity is acknowledged but the advisory committee chooses to focus on women's caring obligations, juxtapositioning the normative discourse of gendered roles alongside apparently progressive thinking.

The political organisations must recognise that childcare costs act against women taking part in electoral politics and should provide for childcare cost in election expenses (Department of Agriculture, 2000a, p. 27).

This identification of childcare issues in relation to women's participation highlights men's lack of responsibilities in this regard. The advisory committee misses the opportunity to acknowledge and make recommendations on this matter and instead reinforces the normative discourse which constructs women in terms of their caring role. Neither does the advisory committee challenge the culture of agricultural organisations or point out that women who do participate in these structures are often involved on

committees concerned with family matters (the IFA has a farm family committee which is made up entirely of women. Their work tends to focus on family, consumer and rural development matters (Shortall, 1999)). The issue of women's absence from the commodity committees in such organisations is not addressed which seems to conflict with the advisory committees apparent wish to raise the profile of women's farm work.

GENDER RELATIONS

It was pointed out in the first part of this chapter that gender relations are socially constructed differences and relations of power between men and women (Shortall, 2001). During the period of the FHAS women were afforded recognition through their domestic responsibilities and their ability to perform these in a way that supported farm development. In the more recent discourses associated with the RACWA recognition remains a central concern, but it has shifted to material recognition. Women, the committee assert, want to be recognised by having a legal interest in the farm, an interest that would afford them the opportunity to operate and to make money in their own right. Referring to the lack of recognition for the work that 'farm spouses' undertake, the advisory committee states, 'recognition of input by way of income, land ownership, herd number details or other methods is limited' (Department of Agriculture, 2000a, p. 36).

This discourse of recognition is quite different from FHAS period. It has moved into the realm of civil 'rights' and is related to the fact that women contribute to the growth of capital/property but have few rights in terms of inheritance and decision making. Male farmers, generally, are seen as accruing welfare protection and pension rights as self-employed workers. Women on farms, whose work is not separately recognised under the tax system, are not covered by social insurance or pension rights.

The Committee recommends immediate action to ensure that both spouses have the option of gaining on-farm income in order to access individualised tax allowances and pay related social insurance (PRSI) entitlements or off-farm employment (Department of Agriculture, 2000a, p. 39).

However, while the committee acknowledges the reliance of many farms on women's off-farm earning they do not address their financial exploitation. The normative discourse which counts women's earnings in relation to farm viability does not include consideration of their economic or civil rights regarding the farm business. Yet in spite of the committee's statement that ownership goes directly to the heart of the patriarchal nature of Irish

farming, they also claim it is a sensitive issue (Department of Agriculture, 2000a, p. 42) and are clearly unwilling to confront these 'sensitivities'. The outcome is that the committee construct gender relations and women's full economic and civil citizenship rights as purely circumscribed by financial considerations. They recommend specific tax reforms and financial grants to meet the legal costs associated with changes from sole to joint (conjugal couple) farm ownership but these recommendations divert attention away from the embeddedness of gender relations and the role of the state in their maintenance. The response of the Department of Agriculture to these recommendations is more explicit:

The Department's remit is to support agriculture per se, not the legal and title relationships between farming spouses. (Department of Agriculture, 2004, p. 24)

The advisory committee was not made up solely of state officials however its findings and recommendations, which were published by the Department of Agriculture, demonstrate distinct continuities with the discourses of the FHAS. The RACWA positions the 'family farm' as a consensual unit with farmwives constructed as passive supporters of their husband's enterprise. Women's paid employment is depicted as a strategic response to the changes in farming and 'woman farmers' portrayed as willing to reconstruct themselves, through education and training, to ensure the survival of the farm.

Of particular interest is the advisory committee's explicit engagements in identity construction; all women living and/or working on farms are 'women farmers'. While this construction could have led to robust recommendations regarding economic and civil rights, the whole issue of property ownership were premised by a statement regarding its 'sensitive' nature. Matters were raised that suggested the presence of conflict regarding women's rights at the farm level, however, the decision of the committee to class these as 'sensitive' positions this report as less concerned with the rights of farmwives and more concerned meeting the needs of the agricultural industry and the state.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has explored the official discourses in Irish agricultural policy texts and the way the citizenship rights and status of women who are married to farmers are constructed. Using Yuval Davis' (1997) idea of collectivities, it has shown that economic citizenship for women married to farmers needs to be analysed in relation to their collective affiliations i.e. as women married to farmers and not in terms of an individualistic concept of

rights and obligations. However, it has also shown how powerful interests are implicated in the construction of 'collectivities', constructions which not only define the collectivity (in this case farmwives) but its relationship to *the* community (wider Irish society) *and* to other collectivities such as the agricultural sector in general, farmers, rural women, etc. Further it is suggested that these collectivities while retaining the potential to become sites of struggle also act as constraints.

Of particular importance to this claim is the idea that subjectivities are constructed in both practices and discourses. However, Foucault's work on governmentality and technologies of the self has facilitated an analysis of citizenship which acknowledges the state as a powerful actor in the making of subjective identities. It brings to the fore the economic and political interests of the state in agriculture development and sustainability and how this might be directed and achieved *through* the practices of individual actors. Such interests were evident first in the state's efforts to manage the *on-farm* activities of the 'farm family' during the period of the FHAS and more recently by constructing farming as a combination of *on-* and *off-farm* economic activities (Department of Agriculture, 2000a). The idea that economic citizenship encapsulates rights and obligations to engage in paid employment and to participate in economic decision making is constructed in a specific way for farmwives. It is part of a farm-survival strategy; a strategy which involved the continuation of male property ownership and management and women's responsibility for domestic and caring labour.

These observations highlight the contingent character of citizenship. The majority of women in Ireland are not farm owners but the patriarchal nature of this situation is not challenged by the advisory committee (Department of Agriculture, 2000a) even as it constructs all women on farms as 'women farmers'. The failure to account for property ownership in terms of gender relations marginalises the conflict which is hinted at in the RACWA and instead constructs the 'farm family' as a consensual unit. Women's off-farm employment and financial contribution to farm viability does not 'earn' her rights because it is simply something women on farm do.

In addition to property matters, the materiality of farmwives economic citizenship is exposed by the continued construction of women as responsible for domestic and caring work. Women are encouraged to find paid employment, undertaking training if necessary but there is no parallel change of expectations in relation to men. There is no suggestion that men are in need of re-training so that farming may expand to include childcare or household tasks; the apparent reliance on pluriactivity for farm sustainability only involves paid work. Women's economic citizenship, it seems,

involves an increasing burden of work without an associated expansion of rights. In the same way, women's lack of involvement in decision making is understood as a consequence of her caring role. Interestingly, women's lack of involvement in decisions relating to the farm is not addressed in any constructive way in the RACWA, even though the advisory committee notes this situation. In this regard, the discourse of the FHAS was more explicit.

In summary, the discourses of the FHAS constructed farmwives as wholly responsible for domestic and caring work. Unlike their urban sisters farmwives had a special task. Their household management skills had to be practiced in such a way that the farm was not compromised. Family needs and wants must be weighed up in terms of the impact on farm viability. Changing social circumstances facilitated women's continued participation in or re-entry to the labour market after marriage. This created the possibility for women to make a financial contribution to the household. The Irish state incorporated these possibilities into agricultural policy, seeing them as a mean of attaining both political and economic goals. These core concerns overshadowed consideration of women's civil and economic rights. In the RACWA women's off-farm employment is not a matter of economic citizenship; it is a means of farm survival and agricultural policy discourses offer subject identities which encourage women to embrace that goal without a concomitant change in economic or civil rights.

NOTES

1. Identity banners' (O'Donovan, 2006) such as farmwomen, farmers' wives etc. are part of the discourses under consideration and there is no consistent meaning attached to any. For the sake of convenience I will use the term 'farmwife/ves when referring to the subjects of the discourses.
2. This work draws on the experience of women on farms in the North of Ireland.
3. Irish Parliament.
4. Women with off-farm paid employment are included in this definition.

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TRACKING EMPOWERMENT AND PARTICIPATION OF YOUNG WOMEN FARMERS IN GREECE

Isabella Gidarakou, Leonidas Kazakopoulos and Alex Koutsouris

INTRODUCTION

The present study investigates the contribution to farm women's empowerment of the 'young farmers' programme that has been run by the Greek state since the early 1990s. The 'young farmers' programme aims to attract young people (men as well as women) into agriculture in order to renew the aged farming population, providing economic incentives to young people (up to 40 years old) entering farming or to newly established young farmers. The programme is based on Chap. II, article 8, Reg. 1257/99 (and the previous structural regulations) and operates through the Community Support Frameworks implemented by the Ministry of Rural Development and Food. The Ministry also provides a number of supplementary national incentives to young people wishing to become established in agriculture (Law 2520/97).

Keeping young people in the countryside is a crucial issue at the Greek as well as the European level. Attracting young people to agriculture is vital since agriculture is going to be confronted by the need to innovate its production methods so as to solve upcoming problems of food quality and safety and of environmental protection. Young farmers are expected to be

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more inclined to innovate than older ones, capable of developing more competitive farming businesses and of diversifying, in this way contributing to sustainable development. In Greece in particular the ageing of the farming population along with their low level of formal education and training are among the major structural problems of agriculture. In such a context, aggravated by other structural disadvantages (e.g. small and fragmented farms of an average of 4.3 ha and 6.5 parcels per farm), Greek farms face a serious reproduction problem (Gidarakou, Kazakopoulos, Arachoviti, & Papadopoulos, 1999; Kazakopoulos & Gidarakou, 2003).

Women, especially younger women, contribute to the renewal problem of farms. In rural areas in Greece, as in other European regions, there are fewer young women than young men and young women are moreover reluctant to marry farmers, even when they intend to stay in the countryside (Gasson & Errington, 1993; Dahlström, 1996; Mies, 1999; Gidarakou, 1999; Gidarakou et al., 1999). Since the early 1990s, accompanying consolidation of the endogenous and sustainable approach to rural development, there has been an emerging focus on issues such as heterogeneity, local culture, rural amenities and diversification, broadening the potentialities of rural space in terms of employment. Coinciding with this has been the emphasis on policies for gender equality (Amsterdam Convention, 1997; Lisbon Summit, 2000) which stress the role of women in activities that support the utilisation of endogenous resources through the employment of skills and activities developed within domestic production, in this way extending their paid employment opportunities. Such circumstances mark changes, through women's on- and off-farm activities, in gender role and in their position within the family holding. The new image of women as economic actors in rural societies has been documented through research (Whatmore, 1994; Haugen & Blekesaune, 1996; Petrin, 1997; Brandth, 2002; Bock, 2006).

In relation to the Greek 'young farmers' programme, young women are presented with an opportunity to establish their own farm (MRDF, 1998). In the framework of gender mainstreaming in the current programming period, the Ministry provides assistance for young women who wish to become established as farmers. Women's entry into agriculture as heads of viable farms theoretically provides them with the opportunity to fulfil criteria of empowerment such as the acquisition of land and other assets. It is a chance for the transfer of property from relatives (fathers, husbands) and provides them with the opportunity to manage such property in accordance with their 'appointment' as farm heads by

the programme. Professional training, which is a requirement of the programme, also provides a chance for an upgrading of women's professional profile that is incompatible with the 'farm hand' status. The development of women's professionalism in agriculture is a way for them to strengthen their position within the household, i.e. to move towards achievement of a more equal relationship with men (O' Hara, 1994; Shortall, 1996). Professionalism may also have a positive effect on their participation and thus representation in institutions and, overall, enhance the undertaking of more active political roles. Given the crucial role of the state in regulating and structuring gender relations and the exercise of citizenship rights, which are in turn related to active participation in other areas of the rural economy and social life (Sainsbury, 1999), the implementation of a policy such as the 'young farmers' programme may help in altering the current gender regime in the family farm and the public sphere of agriculture and thus in contributing to the empowerment of farm women.

The implementation of policy measures is moreover dependent on the degree to which the target group takes advantage of them, as well as on the type of strategy that is employed to induce them to do so. It is thus of relevance firstly whether women themselves aim at utilising the measures as a means of becoming involved in agriculture and secondly whether the family strategy facilitates or resists their empowerment. Women's interest in engaging in agriculture varies from region to region, something that can be explained at least partially by geophysical and socioeconomic differences, not to mention differences in the regionally dominant farm orientation and gender regime (Braithwaite, 1994; Kazakopoulos & Gidarakou, 2003).

The 'young farmers' programme seems to be very well accepted by young people, including a significant proportion of young women. Women's projects account for 31% of the total number of young farmer projects, a figure higher than the proportion of women farm-heads in the country (24%) (Tsiboukas, Tsoukalas, Spathis, & Karanikolas, 2002; NMCFA, 2005). Nevertheless, the gender issue is not adequately dealt with in the ex-post evaluations of the two previous periods. The question of how far the programme contributes to women's professionalism and empowerment and to the promotion of equity in farming is still pending. The present chapter is indicative of the relationship between policies and the empowerment (or its absence) of young women in farming and in rural society in a country which as argued has been characterised by unfavourable agricultural structures and persistent patriarchal relationships in both private and public domains.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Research on the relationship between gender regime and the access of men and women to civil and social rights has highlighted the role of the link between citizenship and the labour market and thus paid employment. Access to paid work, or the lack of it, is a differentiating factor, dividing people on the basis of the extent to which they are conceded personal rights and granted benefits (Walby, 1997; Hobson & Lister, 2002). The dichotomy between the public and the private sphere as spaces for production and reproduction of the labour force and of the gender hierarchy within these spaces perpetuates the hierarchical ordering of the sexes and the inferior role of women in terms of enjoyment of direct social rights in a market economy. On the family farm the work recognised as productive is the work pertaining to commercial production and thus provided by the farmer, generally a man. The role of women in farming is typically defined as auxiliary. This, in conjunction with their role as carers in the household, entails their taking responsibility for a number of non-specialised farming tasks, which in turn makes it difficult for tailor-made professional training courses to be designed for them (Shortall, 1996).

Research on family farm holdings has stressed their peculiarity when compared with the classical concept of the enterprise in other sectors of the economy. What is most distinctive about them is their intergenerational transfer within the family (Davis & Stern, 1980; Molnar, 1985; Blank & Perrier-Cornet, 1993). Farmers acquire land and other assets through inheritance. The gendered nature of the succession is illustrated through the different trajectories of the two sexes in terms of entry into farming, displaying a discrimination that starts from well before their embarkation on a farming career and constitutes the basis for gender inequality in agriculture (O' Hara, 1994; Shortall, 1991, 1999; Alston, 1990, 2000). Research has shown the limitations on girls' chances of inheriting, or taking over the succession of, a farm, especially in cases where a son is interested in being involved in agriculture (Symes, 1990; de Haan, 1994; Oliveira Baptista, 1995; Gidarakou et al., 1999). Ownership of resources and above all of land has wider implications involving gender roles within the farming household, family strategies and economic, political and ideological power in the wider spectrum of social life in rural areas.

The discourse on the masculinisation of farming shows that specialisation and mechanisation in farming over the last decades has further strengthened the gendered hierarchy of labour, contributing to assumption of the most specialised and mechanised tasks by men (Almas & Haugen, 1991;

Brandth, 2002). At the same time the requirements for new technologies and new skills in farming have contributed to the deskilling of women and downgrading of their work, given that it is men who acquire the new skills and undertake the new tasks. Many studies have pointed out the socially constructed image of the farmer as a man and of agriculture as a man's world (Gasson & Errington, 1993; Brandth, 1995, 2002; Shortall, 1999; Saugeres, 2002). Patrilinear succession and modernisation sustain the basic axis of gendered social differentiation. Both processes serve to discourage the entry of women into agriculture.

The structure of occupational activities, leisure and social life in general in the countryside are also male-gendered, skewing power relations in rural space (Dahlström, 1996). Women are less visible in the public image of farming and are also underrepresented in the local political system (Teather, 1996; Pettersen & Solbakken, 1998; Alston, 2003). The gender order within the family farm holding, involving male ownership of assets and the identification of men with paid productive activities and thus with the role of the professional farmer, legitimates the man's participation in public institutions by virtue of his status as head of the farm and the household and owner of the land. The functioning of institutions is androcentric and their practices discourage women's participation (Alston & Wilkinson, 1998; Shortall, 1999; Little & Jones, 2000; Alston, 2000, 2003).

Even in the present era of agricultural crisis, farming is a basic activity in rural space. Land possession and the status of professional farmer affords social prestige to the person within rural society, fostering self-confidence and concomitant expectations of entitlement as farm head. All this encourages participation in political lobbies and collective governance schemes in rural space, reinforcing the monopolisation of the public sphere by men and projecting citizenship as a male status and virtue.

Such governance schemes exercise collective power. They influence policy making on agricultural questions and social life, shape the agenda vis-à-vis the interests of rural actors and through them affect the relationship of subjects with the acquisition of citizenship rights. Empowerment typically entails participation in decision-making in both the domestic domain and public bodies. In agriculture there is evidence of a small but increasing number of women, mainly young and educationally well-qualified, who are becoming involved in farming, taking full responsibility for farm management, including the operation of machinery, and thus breaking through the traditional identification of women with the role of farmer's wife (Ventura, 1994; Schmitt, 1997). The patrilinear system is moreover facing new challenges (few children per family, who may be only daughters), with the

natural consequence of facilitating the transfer of land to girls, especially in cases where, traditionally, transfer involves division of the farm among the heirs.

While policies for rural development and gender mainstreaming are well known through official documentation, information regarding women's participation in the design of such policies at various levels and women's use of the policy instruments and subsidy schemes and their contribution to women's empowerment is largely absent (Bock, 1999). Despite the fact that rural policy is often understood as a purely economic policy (as, for example, a matter of land and subsidies) and thus as gender-neutral, it has social impact and the power to affect the gender regime because it is interpreted and utilised in different ways in differing family environments by different family members (Shortall, 2001).

Within such a problematic, the response of young women to the challenge of the incentives provided through the 'young farmers' programme and the dynamics of their empowerment will be dealt with. To what extent does their entry into the programme signify trends towards orientation to and establishment in agriculture? Under what conditions are the incentives likely to be valorized and to what extent does this reflect a personal decision on the part of the eligible women or a compromise within the family strategy? To what degree does establishment in farming presuppose acquisition of land by women and involvement of women in managerial roles and participation in collective bodies, which in turn translates into a change in gender relations and thus in the gender regime in farming and in rural society? Such are the issues to which the present chapter will try to provide some clues (and some hints) on the basis of research on young women farmers in the Kastoria Prefecture, Northern Greece.

RESEARCH AREA AND METHODOLOGY

The data utilised in this chapter come from a survey carried out in the Kastoria Prefecture, region of Western Macedonia, Greece between the winter of 2004 and the spring of 2005. Kastoria is a predominantly agricultural prefecture with farming accounting for 10.4% of the Prefecture's GDP (EPILOGI, 2004) and 16.3% of employment. The production system is characterised by the predominance of extensive cereal production and fruit (notably apple) growing. A secondary role is played by animal production, chiefly of small ruminants. One very significant

economic activity – unique in Greece – in the area is the production and, more importantly, processing of furs. This activity was until recently in prime position as a source of employment for the local population. In the last few years it has however been in decline, and this has opened space for the ‘young farmers’ programme to emerge as an important alternative in terms of starting up a business.

The survey targeted young women enrolling in the ‘young farmers’ programme between the early 1990s and 2003. The sample was stratified to take into account differences between the rural communities in terms of altitude (plain, semi-mountainous and mountainous) and distance from the main urban centre in the prefecture. The initial approach was made to 77 young women. Of these 5 had withdrawn from the programme or from agriculture, 11 declined to co-operate and 6 were not available for various reasons. Interviews were finally carried out with 48 young women (50% of the population that had started up in farming). Of the total sample of young women 75% were married when entering the programme and 25% single. In general, the women were at a higher level of formal education than their husbands. 40% of them had completed higher secondary education and 27% lower secondary. Only 33% of them had not been educated beyond primary school. The majority of their husbands (56%) had completed only primary education, 34% lower secondary and 10% higher secondary education. The questionnaire was semi-structured, allowing for considerable in-depth discussion of issues between interviewer and interviewee.

RESULTS

The Challenge of the ‘Young Farmers’ Programme: Starting Points and Motivations

Investigation of the employment preferences of the young women sampled for employment indicated that in the period immediately subsequent to leaving school only 2 out of 48 wished to be engaged in agriculture and one to hold on-farm and off-farm jobs in parallel. Most of the young women (two-thirds of the sample) did not have a specific job in mind but they were sure that they did not want to work in farming. This is a highly negative attitude and it can be attributed to two main factors. First there was the desire experienced by many of them to continue studies so as to secure a more ‘socially acceptable’ job. Many of the women said that it was their failure to enter higher education that later, given the prospect of entry into

the programme, turned them to farming. Second there was the specific peculiarity of the prefecture's economy being largely centred on small and medium enterprises in the fur industry (albeit in many cases without social security), as a result of which four out of five young women were familiar with off-farm employment.

New challenges were presented by the 'young farmers' programme. The young women's antipathy to farming had hitherto been profound; only one had reconsidered the idea of involvement in farming, raising the number of positively disposed women to 4. Table 1 shows that when one excludes these 4 women (9.5% of the sample), the main motive inducing women to become involved in the programme was the lack of employment opportunities (35.7%) owing to the rapid decline of the fur industry in the area.¹

I had to be engaged in the programme due to the severe decline in the fur industry.

Valorization of the existing family farm property (especially land) in conjunction with the grant provided to young farmers to enable them to deal with the problems of starting up a new farm were the decisive factors for one-third of the young women.

I needed a job and the economic incentive was attractive.

Other factors do not seem to have played an important role. The existence of a family farm and unemployment were equally important for 4 out of 5 women with no farming background.

But such an illustration does not clarify the conditions under which the decision to join the programme was taken. The reality is more complex. The factors cited by the women reveal that the programme was seen as something to be taken seriously in terms of welfare strategies and the

Table 1. Main Reason for Entering the Programme.

Reason	Number of Young Women	%
Liked agriculture	4	9.5
No other employment opportunity	15	35.7
Father's early retirement or husband's non-eligibility	4	9.5
Valorization of family's assets	13	31.0
Wanted something of my own	3	7.1
Other	3	7.1
Total	42	100.0

household's prospects for survival. Factors such as unemployment, the off-farm employment of husbands (more than two-third had an off-farm job as their main occupation), utilisation of the family farm assets or the possibility of additional investment of capital apart from that already in the possession of the family, the availability of women's labour for deployment in farming in accordance with the requirements of the programme – all this constituted a complex within which it is difficult on the basis of numerical representation alone to isolate each separate component or gauge its relative weight. Statements by the young women themselves shed light on the nature of this complexity and of the importance of family strategies as opposed to personal choices:

I could not find a job; my husband had another job, the farm was already there.

I entered the programme to contribute to the family income. I rent land from my father-in-law. I will continue to support the family income and myself.

We had the land; my husband likes farming, so the decision was taken.

In most cases the programme was not used to establish a genuinely new farm but rather to continue to run an already existing family farm managed by the husband or the father. Most of the young women (37 out of 48 or 77%) either took over legal responsibility for this farm in order to be able to gain acceptance into the programme or else used part of the property to establish a nominally new farm for which they themselves had legal responsibility.

In some cases their entry into the programme was contingent on the employment choices of the male members of the family, making young women hostages of family strategy when it came to programme utilisation:

It was a family decision. There were no jobs in the fur industry. There were two of us children. My parents decided that we shouldn't have my brother working on the farm so that he could find another job. So I went into the programme.

In some cases, the decision was taken entirely by others:

The decision that I should be involved in the programme was taken by my father-in-law and my husband, who also decided that we should cultivate apples.

There were very few (three) cases of decisions being taken by the young women themselves out of a desire to have their own job and income, and there was little recognition of the personal social rights that derive from profession.

I decided to enter the programme so as to be eligible for a pension.

It therefore becomes obvious that the gender regime, at least in the stage of entry into the programme, was not challenged. The majority of young women had a common starting point for the launching of their career as farm heads: they were induced to become the vehicles of a collective family strategy so as to contribute to the prosperity of the household and facilitate the choices of other – male – family members in relation to off-farm employment.

Women's entry into the programme was in practice subordinated to farming household strategies. The households functioned as a unit, with all the costs and benefits that implies for young women. Young women contributed to family strategies conflicting with their initial ambitions and employment preferences, in a period not favouring such ambitions or preferences. On the other hand the farming household gained access to significant economic support for upgrading of its farm structures and promotion of its welfare.

THE DYNAMICS OF EMPOWERMENT

Land Ownership

As already mentioned, women's access to resources is a major issue of both gender research and the gender equity policies promoted in rural space. Nevertheless, knowledge about farming property owned by women, indeed about women's ownership and management of enterprises in general, is limited, since such gender-disaggregated data are largely missing from censuses. In Greece, farm inheritance follows the partibility pattern. In practice young women have fewer opportunities to become farm inheritors, especially when there are young males in the family. Daughters either receive (in the form of a dowry) the part of the family farm to which they are entitled, or more usually are given a sum of money corresponding to the value of the land. Alternatively the family may invest in their education to provide them with the opportunity to find a 'dignified' job (Kasimis & Papadopoulos, 1994; Gidarakou et al., 1999).

The entry of young women into the 'young farmers' programme as 'farm heads' theoretically initiates a process of property transfer or acquisition of land (i.e. purchase of land) as well as of assumption of the responsibility for management of the thus newly established farm, which can, in turn, enhance empowerment. The practices followed in establishment of the new farm nevertheless considerably diminish the likelihood of such an opportunity

being utilised by the young women in question. For a start, research has shown that the majority of women entered the programme without owning any personal property (Table 2).

Even in cases where there was land ownership, the area of land owned was evidently minimal (under 2 ha). The observed positive change in the picture over time may allow for some optimism, but in 2004–2005, around two-thirds of the women owned no land.

The means by which women obtained the land necessary for securing admission to the programme provide a clear illustration of the difficulties they faced vis-à-vis land as well as of the mechanisms that protected the androcentric system from severe challenge. The programme's provisions on establishment of new farms, which acknowledged the possibility of rental rather than transfer or purchase of land (Table 3) obviated any necessity for transfer of land ownership from husbands or fathers to young women.

The key policy objective, i.e. change in ownership status, remained a largely unfulfilled target. On the other, since no transfer of ownership was required, the 'young farmers' programme facilitated the entrance of young people, especially of women, into farming. If policy-makers had insisted on obligatory ownership transfer, in practice this would have restricted the

Table 2. Formal Ownership of Land on Entry into the Programme^a.

	Farm Size (ha)			
	No land	0.1–2 ha	> 2 ha	Do not know
Entry (number of women)	30	8	0	2
Research period (number of women)	26	12	1 (7 ha)	1

^aSix women established animal breeder or apiculture units without owning any land; two others did not reply.

Table 3. Patterns of Land Acquisition.

Pattern	Number of Young Women	%
I had the land/I purchased land	8	16.7
Legal transfer of land	7	14.6
Land rental	21	43.7
Combination	12	25.0
Total	48	100.0

extent of the programme's implementation and so drastically limited households' access to the programme's economic incentives.

As far as the women are concerned, the interviews revealed that most of them were not motivated by the possibility of acquiring personal property to initiate a relevant negotiation process within the collective decision-making unit of the family for purposes of utilising the incentives provided by the programme. Their attitude towards the ownership of land revealed that they perceived land as a common, family good, i.e. as a factor contributing to the economic security and welfare of the family. There was no challenge to this perception. Women, it appears, are not conscious of ownership of property being a factor in power relations between the sexes. Women's main concern is the insecurity induced by either the small size of the family farm or the fact that the family is farming on rented land. They are not significantly concerned about their own personal status in relation to property.

The limits of the 'young farmers' programme as an instrument for empowering women through land ownership is also evident from the small size of the new farms established (Table 4). Half of the young women were established on farms less than 2 ha in area. It was only through intensive production systems (i.e. crops such as apples and tobacco or animal husbandry) that such small farms were able to satisfy the programme's minimum annual labour criteria.

The rest of the women, who were established on bigger farms, developed production systems based on the extensive cultivation of cereals, or else ran

Table 4. Farm Size upon Entrance in the Programme.

		Number of Women
Plant production	< 2 ha	23
	2–5 ha	9
	> 5 ha	5
Animal production	5 and 41 hives (respectively)	2
	70–120 sheep and goats	4
Mixed production	0.8 ha and 20 hives	1
	4 ha and 25 sheep and goats	1
	7.5 ha and 65 sheep and goats	1
	10 ha and 140 sheep and goats	1
	30 ha and 70 sheep and goats	1
Total		48

mixed farms combining small ruminant husbandry with extensive fodder crops (maize, alfalfa). It is thus arguable that the new farms established by young women through the programme aimed merely at satisfaction of minimum programme criteria.

Unfortunately no comparative data are available for the farms established in the area by young men, but gendered discrimination on the part of the family is evident from the findings of previous research on young male farmers in Central and Southern Greece (Kazakopoulos, Kaffe-Gidarakou, & Koutsouris, 2005). In the aforementioned study 55% of the young male farmers starting a farm owned at least 5–6 ha at the time of the farm's initial establishment. In addition, half to two-thirds of them acquired additional land through transfer of parental property into their own possession.

All in all, while at the outset the programme had the potential of providing young women with the opportunity to acquire property, it actually failed to facilitate such a process in any substantial way. Husbands in particular do not appear to be keen on transferring land ownership. By law they are not required to transfer or rent the land to their wives since the family property is considered to be common, irrespective of who holds the legal rights (Ministerial Decision 609/23-3-2005). Parents seem more inclined to transfer land and in any case the transfer of land to a young successor is obligatory when parents enter the 'early retirement' scheme.

Though the time span is rather limited for definite conclusions to be drawn (most of the young women entered the programme after 1997), change has occurred in the meantime in terms both of the number of women and the size of their farms (Table 2). Nevertheless, no specific incentive was granted to young women as a matter of policy; change as a result of entering the programme is still limited.

Involvement in Farming and in Decision-Making

Most of the women in the sample did not possess the characteristics associated with the image of being a 'farm head.' At the time of establishment of their farm almost half of them (48%) were not working in agriculture. Among those who were involved in farming (25 women), only 2 were fully involved without any help from the rest of their family. Between the time of their establishment and the present their involvement seems to have increased, suggesting positive evolution in the direction of becoming active farmers. Moreover, even if some jobs are undertaken in common,

Table 5. Women's Involvement in Farming Tasks^a.

Task	Mainly the Woman	Equally with the Husband/Father	Mainly by a Male (Husband/Father or Other)
Ploughing, sowing	–	6	29
Mechanical weeding	3	14	16
Irrigation	2	5	28
Pruning	–	–	29
Application of agrochemicals	1	3	31
Collection (fruit)	5	5	32
Harvesting	–	1	8
Looking for labourers	7	1	16

^aThe number of respondents is different from the total number of cases. Not all farms have the same needs in terms of labour tasks due to the differentiation of their production systems.

in reality specific family members contribute more and are held responsible. It is revealing to examine the tasks undertaken by individual family members (Table 5). The overall picture is that women are under-represented when it comes to farm job distribution, reproducing the role distribution already mentioned in respect of the use of machinery (Stratigaki, 1988; Gasson & Errington, 1993). In animal farming, whether on their own or in collaboration with a male member of the family, their degree of participation is even more marginal.

The fact that most of the farming tasks are not undertaken by women perpetuates the masculine character of farming on the holdings of young women farmers. It is however worth mentioning that on 57% of the young women farms a considerable number of the farming tasks are performed by hired labour, mainly immigrants.

The limited women's contribution in terms of labour does not provide sufficient grounds for inferences to be drawn concerning their role in farm management. Decision-making is a more substantial criterion for judgement in investigations of the position of women and in detection of inequity within the family holding (Berlan-Darque, 1988; Gasson, 1988). The data provided in Table 6 reveal that for certain farming tasks the most common arrangement is joint decision-making with the spouse or the father. Depending on the task, between 13% and 27% of decisions are taken by women. In cases the economic risk is high, as with loans, a joint decision-making arrangement substitutes for autonomous decision-making by the

Table 6. Women's Participation in Decision-making.

Type of Decision	Mainly the Woman	Equally with the Husband/Father	Mainly by a Male (Husband/Father or Other)
Crop/cultivation	8	17	12
Purchase of inputs	8	9	21
Hired labour	6	12	6
Purchase of tools	8	19	12
Loans	3	13	7
Produce sales	6	11	13
Animal sales	1	3	3
Land rentals	8	15	7
Investments	5	24	9

woman, as has also been demonstrated by previous research in Greece (Kazakopoulos & Gidarakou, 2003).

It should however be noted that in a high proportion of cases the roles of men and women are in a relationship of equivalence. Given the reality that it was the 'young farmers' programme that provided the women with the opportunity to enter agriculture in the first place and that in one out of five cases women had the first say, and in almost half of the cases an equal say, in decision-making, there are grounds for considering the programme a factor conducive to empowerment, especially when one takes into account the women's initial disregard for farming. This is further highlighted by the fact that women's farms have a record of positive economic change (Table 7). On entry the majority were in the lower stratum as measured in European Economic Units (ESUs), while today the tendency is for them to be in the higher one. Though men have certainly played an important role, it is also true that the women's contribution to establishment of the new farm and thus of the household economy enhances both the self-image of the women and their families' respect for them which, in turn, is an element in empowerment.

Public Participation

Rural co-operatives are amongst the most important institutions in rural space. It is inside them that views and demands concerning the sector are

Table 7. ESUs at Starting-up and Today.

ESUs	At Entry		Today	
	Number of farms	%	Number of farms	%
All farms				
0.01–3.50	20	52.6	6	16.2
3.51–7.00	14	36.8	16	43.2
> 7.01	4	10.5	15	40.5
Plant production				
0.01–3.50	14	48.3	5	17.9
3.51–7.00	12	41.4	11	39.3
> 7.01	3	10.3	12	42.8
Animal production				
0.01–2.00	1	20	–	–
> 2.01	4	80	4	100
Mixed production				
0.01–3.50	1	25	–	–
3.51–7.00	2	50	3	60
> 7.01	1	25	2	40

formulated, in turn affecting the formulation of policies relating to agriculture and farming households. They are also where the public image of farming is forged. The masculine character of farming on the family farm extends to the structures and culture of the co-operative movement. As far as women's participation in co-operatives is concerned, the picture derived from current research is that, for a start, the level of participation is low. Only 10 women out of 42 identified themselves as participants. Two women do not have a clue whether or not they were members! The latter's discourse was revealing:

I don't know; my father does.

Some said that there was no co-operative in the village.

Such a limited participation, is aggravated by the fact that 60% of the women had never attended meetings of the co-operative, with only 2 participating on a regular basis. Defending their abstention, women evoked

- stereotyped gender roles:

My husband goes [to the co-op]. I don't go to the local café. The men will not allow me to take the floor. They think they know everything.

It is mostly men, and particularly older men, who go. If someone else tries to speak they look on her with distrust.

- the difficulty of reconciling household duties with participation:

Either my husband or my father goes. I do not want to leave the child alone;

- or lack of knowledge:

I do not go because I do not understand what they are saying. If I were more involved in farming I would participate.

Previous research findings in Greece have also indicated that women tend not to participate in rural co-operatives and that if they do it is because of non-availability of a male member of the family to undertake the task. It has been shown that where a high proportion of husbands have off-farm jobs, more women are members of co-operatives (Stratigaki, 1988; Gidarakou, 1996; Safiliou & Papadopoulos, 2004). Such features of the functioning of institutional bodies derive from androcentric conceptions of farming and are associated with an agrarian ideology that sustains the view of women's labour playing an auxiliary role in farming, perpetuates the image of female inferiority and leads to rejection of farming by women, not offering a substantial occupational identity to women.

A second set of reasons for women's non-participation have to do with the negative image co-operatives have acquired due to a record of mismanagement and indebtedness which has, in turn, led to rural populations' loss of trust in their capacity to be of assistance in resolving farmers' problems. As one woman put it:

I do not participate; there is no trust.

They (the co-ops) do nothing. They do not even hold meetings.

A further aspect of the limitations of women's participation in rural co-operatives relates to their negligible representation on management boards. Only one woman was a board member and there were no women on the board of the prefecture's Union of Co-operatives.² The gendered relationships are such, argues Alston (2000) that it requires a measure of courage on the part of women to break with their stereotyped role. Stereotyped perceptions and the low-status occupational image of women perpetuate and reproduce the culture of institutions such as the co-operatives.

In an era when gender equality policies facilitate social legitimisation through an opening towards women (Shortall, 1999), the hierarchy of sectoral organisations is nevertheless skewed almost exclusively towards males, thus reinforcing from yet another angle the androcentric character of farming.

There is moreover a noticeable absence of women from the boards of collective organisations concerned with the social, cultural and political life of their locality and of rural areas in general. Such organisations constitute forms of collective power and of governance in rural space. Leaving aside official roles, however, the informal presence of women in local social life is quite strong (becoming visible at social events, village fetes, religious festivities, and in philanthropic activities, etc.). Women thus do participate in social life but in positions and in ways traditionally perceived as consistent with women's roles – not challenging the gendered regime of governance in rural space.

CONCLUSION

Theoretically, the 'young farmers' programme presented women with an opportunity for empowerment within both the family and the public image of farming. But in the area studied, for all the rhetoric, the results of the programme were found rather poor.

In Kastoria Prefecture a considerable number of women were induced to enter to the 'young farmers' programme, but almost all of them came into the programme contrary to their personal aspirations. They joined as instruments for household strategies of gaining access to available programme funding, and more generally of securing the position of their families in an unfavourable conjuncture, at least as regards off-farm employment.

Young women's newly established farms are small in terms both of acreage and of economic potential. The prospect offered by the programme of their acquiring their own property (particularly land) was not realised to any significant degree. Landed property ownership is conceived of as a collective family, not an individual personal, good. Parents and, more frequently, husbands, proved unwilling to transfer ownership titles of the land used to establish women's farms; rental of family land to young women was the preferred mode for enabling the latter to establish their farm. Such preferences signify that the current gender regime within the rural households resisted the challenges posed by the programme, which are in turn fundamental for gender equity. Women's attitudes towards land ownership clearly diverge from the values attributed within gender discourse to land possession as an empowering factor. There was no serious challenge to the gender regime within the farm holding.

This is also reflected in the marginality of their presence in the sectoral collective bodies and negligible participation in political and social collective

bodies. But the time that has elapsed since their entry into farming is rather short (most of the women entered the programme after 1997) and this may to some extent explain the almost unchanged persistence of the patriarchal structures and hierarchical roles of Greek rural society. These structures and roles were conspicuously present throughout the entry process whose requirements the young women had to fulfil in order to be accepted into the programme and begin farming.

The ostensible lack of change obscures some empowerment processes entailed by entry into the 'young farmers' programme, which are admittedly small-scale and slow and pertain more to gender relationships within the family farm than to the public image of farming generally. One of them is the fact that a non-negligible number of women nowadays officially represent their farm, implying acquisition of extensive rights and obligations.³ Women's sense that they have contributed to improvement of their family's economic situation is a similarly empowering experience.

Changing patterns of land ownership by women reflect the fact that in some cases land was transferred to women at the time of their entry into the 'young farmers' programme; additionally, in the course of time a small number of women did indeed acquire their own land. The improvement in the economic capacity of women's farms, irrespective of the extent to which individual women may or may not have shared in such improvement, must overall be judged a positive development. Nevertheless, more than half of the women still did not own land.

The division of labour and the decision-making process still largely sustain and reproduce an image of farming within which males have the first say. Nevertheless there has been an improvement in the degree of their involvement with farming tasks. The fact that today one woman in five claims to have the first say in decision-making, and the fact that equal participation in decision-making as between the spouses has become the prevalent arrangement, are both reflections of an empowerment process that is in progress.

It is important to mention at this point that rural development policies have the potential to influence not only the economy but also gender relationships. This depends on the gender-focus of programme design and implementation. One important issue is the incorporation of matters of gender equity into a programme's overall philosophy⁴ and above all into its practical aspects. If policy for young farmers really aims at promoting gender equity then more drastic measures are needed than merely including a number of women. Policy must as well provide support for a process of change. It needs to take the specific needs of women into account and offer

specific assistance in the form of intensive communication campaigns, tailor-made for young rural women. When such programmes are launched, advisory services and training must be provided for young women aimed at underwriting the viability of farms and facilitating entry by women into other available programmes, especially those related to the reformed Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) (with a focus on sustainable rural development) and on the emerging needs for inter-generational continuity.

But to be successful such a policy also needs high-level commitment among policy-makers. They need to make sure that the policy is well known at all levels of implementation and that successful implementation is considered important by the government. Currently it is doubtful how far officers in the national Rural Development directories are indeed informed about and trained in gender issues. The information and sensitisation deficit among officers responsible for implementation of the country-wide programme may result in a reduction of the programme's effectiveness in attracting women and promoting gender equity in different areas.

Research to date has demonstrated that the 'young farmers' programme's reciprocation in different parts of Greece varies between one region and another and also between men and women (Kazakopoulos & Gidarakou, 2003; Kazakopoulos et al., 2005). This implies that the response to the programme and the ways its policies are utilised by the target-groups concerned differ in accordance with the socio-economic circumstances of each area. Findings in any one area cannot be generalised, indicating that uniform application of measures all over the country is not helpful. Instead, a space- and gender-sensitive and thus differentiated approach is much more appropriate as a means of providing the support needed for the renewal of the farming population and, more specifically, attracting and empowering women through such a policy.

In conclusion, the prevailing gender regime in farming deters women from entering agriculture. This is something that should induce policy designers to start asking: which professional options can assist rural women to participate in rural development? Should they participate just through para- or off-farm roles or should they participate through agriculture as well? The 'young farmers' programme did not prove as effective as anticipated in assisting women to participate through agriculture. Nevertheless, research revealed some tendencies towards change that may be attributed to it. Further monitoring of young women's farms by the authorities responsible for the programme would make it possible for 'good practices' to be identified so that such farms will both be further supported and enabled to serve as a model to attract more women into the programme.

NOTES

1. In other regions of Greece also it has been found that unemployment and the lack of off-farm job opportunities are the leading factors impelling young people (both men and women) to take up employment in agriculture (Gidarakou, 1999; Kazakopoulos & Gidarakou, 2003).

2. On a higher level, in 45 unions of rural cooperatives in Greece, for which detailed data are available, out of a total of 109 board members only 2 are women. On a different level, in the 5-member boards of the 22 country wide unions of young farmers only 1 woman is found in the case of 5 unions (Stratigaki, 2005).

3. Registration of women as farm head, with the state's main social security agency for farmers secures, for example, their right to direct social security provision, with concurrent recognition of a variety of other social-welfare-related rights (Gidarakou, Dimopoulou, & Skordili, 2005).

4. The financial assistance given to women (viz: the EU' gender-equity mainstreaming policy) at the time of submission of their application for admission into the 'young farmers' programme in fact favoured families where the men were either ineligible to apply for the funding or (for various reasons) uninterested in doing so.

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PARLIAMENTARY DISCOURSES: GENDER AND AGRICULTURE IN THE SWEDISH DEBATE IN THE 1940s AND 1960s

Irène A. Flygare

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the Swedish agriculture policy from the 1940s to 1960s. Which gender visions were explicitly and implicitly expressed in Swedish agricultural policy discourse during the formative period of the welfare state? In what way were farming women, men and families represented in debates in the Swedish Riksdag (the Parliament) in the parliamentary processes, in bills, proposals and protocols? The point of departure is the concept of family farm, its introduction and the different understandings and discussions it was met with.

One reason for this study is to better understand the rural gender regime of today; another is to bring some awareness of what implications the political language has for gender. For instance there is today an ongoing rhetoric regarding the great value of entrepreneurship in general, using similar concepts and metaphors as in the agricultural debate of the 1960s. Another aspect is the discussion of the open agricultural landscape. In no

way are these discourses gender neutral. An historical perspective will hopefully increase that awareness.

Today, Sweden is known for its totally dominating system of two breadwinners, and a high degree of female economic independence. The Swedish gender regime during the formative period of the welfare state has, no doubt, been studied most thoroughly by Yvonne Hirdman. She distinguishes three dominant periods with different gender contracts: *Hushållskontraktet* (the housewife period) 1930–1960, the period of *Jämlikhetskontraktet* (the contract of equality) 1960–1975 and *Jämställdhetskontraktet* (a contract of equal status) 1976 and forward (Hirdman, 1998b, p. 38, 1998a).

Lena Sommestad and Anita Nyberg argue that the housewife model never gained much relevance in the farming community (Sommestad, 1994, 1995; Nyberg, 1995). Both Sommestad and Sören Jansson (Lövkrona, Jansson, & Martinsson, 1999) suggest that the “modern” system of two breadwinners in the Swedish welfare state can be related to a strong and continuous tradition of women’s work in Swedish agriculture. (How this work was carried out on individual farms during this period is showed by Flygare (1999)). Sommestad underlines that studies of different political institutions and ideological operatives need to be closer examined in order to understand the existing Swedish gender regime (Sommestad, 1994).

One institution in need of a more thorough inquiry regarding gender issues is the Swedish Parliament and the deeply transformative agricultural policy debate that was initiated during the 1940s debate.

The social and economic background to that policy was that one-third of the Swedish population was dependant on the agricultural sector for their daily outcome and about half of the population lived in the countryside. In order to create a rapid industrialisation, to move people from rural to urban areas and to create a generous welfare policy, it was considered necessary to transform the agriculture sector both socially and economically.

Swedish agricultural politics have been studied from various perspectives, but no one has clearly addressed the gender issue and although there have been some efforts to study certain concepts, this has never been carried out in discourse analyses (Thullberg, 1980; Edling, 1991; Larsson, 1994; Eriksson, 2004).

Before entering the European Union the Swedish Riksdag made five important decisions concerning the 20th century’s agricultural society: 1947, 1967, 1977, 1985 and 1990. This chapter brings the decisions and discussions of the 1940s and 1960s into focus, as they highlight some crucial aspects of

gender construction during the rise of and golden age of the *folkhem* – (people’s home) and the welfare state.

I will start with some theoretical remarks and a short overview of the political arena and the sources for the examination, and move on to a discussion on the introduction of the concept of the family farm, and the ensuing debate on gender issues during the 1940s. Before entering the 1960s some concluding remarks are made. Highlighted during this decade was the debate of family and enterprise, but also an emerging discourse concerning family, biology and heritage. In the concluding summary I will discuss how different family ideals interacted with different gender regimes during both periods.

LANGUAGE AND POLITICS, SOME THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS

In an essay on language, class and politics, Joan W. Scott underlines that analysis of politics cannot be separated from gender, sexuality and family. They are discursively related and language makes it possible to study this relationship (Scott, 1988, p. 60). Scott points out that even if the development of the concept of class has universal claims, it depends on a masculine construction, i.e. men’s representation of women (Scott, 1988, p. 64). In her study of sexual equality and the crisis of French universalism, Scott discusses the idea of the abstract individual that is conceived to represent all citizens and the whole nation, which has led to the exclusion of women (Scott, 2005).

In Swedish politics, in the decades before and after the Second World War, the metaphor of the welfare state played an important role. This was in part manifested in the launch of the term *folkhemmet* (*The people’s home*), as a description of the Social Democrat community model, and in part as an underlying idea of the relationship between citizens and the State. The Social Democrat chairman P. A. Hansson, a main promoter of the metaphor, said that the *folk* concept was superior to *class* as a propaganda tool. “To such an appeal everybody will listen: in the coming together of the folk most of us want to be a part” (cited from Trägårdh, 1990, p. 49).

In the *folkhem* vision the State was perceived as a parent, providing for its children, the citizens, in return for their loyalty and responsibility. Yvonne Hirdman describes how *folkhemmet* in a metaphorical sense could be compared to a rural kitchen where everyone gets their share of fatherly and

motherly ministrations. (Hirdman, 2000, p. 89). Jan Larson argues that the *folkhemmet* metaphor was an analogy to the close-knit relationships that had been broken down by modernisation. On a higher level, the home was recreated (Larsson, 1994, p. 169). However, the *folkhem* metaphor also belongs in a policy which managed to combine a gigantic political gathering of strength for the rationalisation and modernisation of Swedish agriculture. Both farmers and workers were included in the concept of folk and of course folk is as much a construction as class.

The point of departure in this study is the central role of language in producing, communicating and structuring power as well as meaning. Thorough reading of proposals, motions and protocols has been conducted in order to capture the way in which statements about farmers and farming were constructed and conceptualised. When reading the huge amount of texts in Swedish agricultural politics it is obvious that these documents are steeped in gender issues, even if individual remarks concerning the political object seem to have universalistic and abstract claims.

Our ordinary conceptual system in terms of how we think and act is, according to the linguists Lakoff and Johnson, fundamentally metaphorical in nature, and all political ideologies are framed in metaphorical terms (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Lakoff argues that by analyses of concepts and metaphors used in public and political discourse, different and often subconscious worldviews could be shown to be essential to the constitution of political ideologies, as well as everyday realities (Lakoff, 2002; cf. Stråth, 1990; Boréus, 1994; Hedrén, 1994; Pappas, 2003).

The formation of concepts is central to both science and politics. Within the social sciences there is also a close connection between scientific and political development of concepts. There is however no immediate transparency in any conceptual system. In his work on conceptual history, Koselleck argues, that the political significance transforms words into concepts and that concepts differ from words by being ambiguous. Therefore ambiguous concepts have multiple definitions (Koselleck, 2004, p. 19). Through constant shifts of meaning, the concept alters the situation itself (Koselleck, 2004; cf. Fleck, 1997).

In this chapter I will bring the concept of family and family farm in focus. Other concepts of great importance in the political representation of farming and farming people are *rationalisering* (rationalisation), *bonde* (yeoman) and *företag* (business enterprise).¹ As consistently as possible, I have followed these key words in their contextual statements, through parliamentary documents during the 1940s and 1960s, hoping to depict their

gender potentials.² It should be remarked that important words used in the parliamentary sources are in italics.

Concepts and statements do not come into being by themselves. In line with the thoughts of Foucault, discourses are power relations (Foucault, 1993). Behind every discourse there are players besides politicians; bureaucrats and members of interest groups contributed a number of texts and opinions that, on various levels, have influenced agricultural policy. But before reaching the highest political level, in this case the Swedish Riksdag, statements passed through various bodies, becoming more organised and systemised on their way to more collective expressions. For instance, a governmental proposal is composed of various layers and fragments of earlier texts written by officials, party members, experts, etc. The final text is dependent on other texts. This inter-textual dependence is important because whoever wishes to follow an issue or a notion runs the risk of being led in ever widening circles in a vane chase for sources of thoughts and ideas. Analyses of concepts in order to capture the way representations are formulated need a delimitation of discourses.

My scale of delimitation is the Swedish Riksdag and the texts that were presented and debated in the parliamentary process during these two formative periods of agriculture policy making.

THE POLITICAL ARENA AND SOURCES

During the Second World War all parliamentary parties, bar the Communist Party, governed together. In 1945 the Social Democrats reclaimed the governmental position they had before the outbreak of war. The Social Democrats continued to govern until 1976. Högerpartiet (The Conservatives), Bondeförbundet (later the Centre Party), Folkpartiet (the Liberals) and the Communist Party were in opposition between the years of 1945 and 1976 (with exception for a few years in the 1950s when Bondeförbundet were in coalition with the Social Democrats).

During the inter-war period several parliamentary committees dealt with different aspects of agricultural politics; one was the *1936 års Egnahems-kommitte*. After the outbreak of war, the political efforts of agricultural modernisation were chiefly channelled through one important committee, *1942 års jordbrukskommitté* (*1942 agricultural committee*), focusing on the rationalisation of agricultural structure, which also implied state intervention in property rights. Working in conjunction with that committee, a special committee looked into land purchase issues and launched a land act

in 1945. The 1942 committee had 27 members, MPs and experts. The committee report released in 1946 was referred to more than 150 organisations and societies for consideration. In 1947 the governmental proposal went to the parliament for debate and voting. During the half decade of committee work there were many motions and debates.

The 1960 agricultural committee worked parallel to a *land act committee*. The governmental proposal for the latter was released 1965 and the former 1967. The 1960 committee had 24 members and the report of 1966 was referred to about 30 organisations for consideration. Until the parliamentary vote in 1967 there was intense debate and writings of motions.

The main sources for this chapter are the proposals of 1945, 1947, 1965 and 1967, the committee reports of 1946 and 1966 (complemented with the report of the 1936 Egnahemskomitee), motions and debate protocols during the 1940s and 1960s.

THE 1940s: THE CONFUSING CONCEPT OF THE FAMILY FARM

This subchapter is an analysis of how the politicians in the 1940s debated the future of agriculture and the role of the farm family with specific reference made to farm women. I will present some of the debate concerning the family and family farm with examples found in two party motions and the following debate in the second chamber. Both the party motions and the parliamentary debate were directed towards the working 1942 committee, but when reading them in detail they express several categorisations of the political objects, the farming people, farms and farm work. Almost every sentence centres on gender.

An important factor, spanning many political fields at that time, was the fear of demographic decline and people shortage. The rural classes constituted a considerable portion of the total Swedish population, and their tradition of late childbirth (often not until in their thirties) was seen as a sign of their lack of ability and resources (Flygare, 1999, 2005). Committees outside the political field of agriculture addressed issues of family and demography, introducing the concept of *family* and family farm, into the agricultural debate. Reading the 1942 rationalisation committee writings it is obvious that the introduction of this new concept was not in line with the more national economic and agronomical points of view. According to Reinhart Koselleck, ambiguous meaning and semantic

overlapping concerning crucial terminology point towards actual political disagreement (Koselleck, 2004, p. 19; cf. Fleck, 1997, p. 103).

In 1944, the Social Democrats put forward a motion on *certain measures to achieve economically sustainable agricultural units*.³ The motion portrayed the situation in the rural communities as one of frustrating *poverty* among *farm labourers* and *smallholders*, with poor health, housing and means of support. Agriculture was characterised by division of property, and sub-standard machinery, as well as outdated production aims and impeded development. Moreover, *female labour was not rationally utilised*. One reason mentioned, was the lack of electricity.⁴ Economic support should be aimed at what the proponents labelled *family farms*, making them *rationally arranged*, thereby fully *utilising* their *workforce*. Also, a *radical land reform* was needed to strengthen the production resources of the smaller farms.⁵

In the same year some MPs of the *Bondeförbundet* insisted in a motion on a furtherance of *entrepreneurship* and *family establishment* in agriculture. Through appropriate forms of credit, the State should provide the means for *respected* and *able farm workers* and *farmers' sons* to start both a family and a farm. It was argued that the rural depopulation could not be entirely attributed to agricultural rationalisation, but also to the fact that *industrial work* made it possible to *marry* at a *younger* age. In these homes, the proponents claimed, *the wife* did not have to work as hard. It was suggested that *family farming* should be the norm when approving loans. The small-scale *entrepreneur* had greater mobility and adaptability, and constituted a particularly *valuable* and *stabilising* element in society.⁶

However, in the ensuing parliamentary debate, several Conservative MPs questioned the “exceptional *value* of family farming.” It was argued that the “size of the family was inconstant; that the farmer’s *wife* was too *tied* down to the farm and that the *daughters* were discouraged from marrying farmers.” Furthermore, “how were those *suitable* for family farming to be singled out?”⁷ The Communists regarded the term family farming as “deceitfully *reactionary*.” “Since the size of the family, and hence also its production capacity, varied, it could not be linked to a particular ideal size.” “Instead of” realising that *large-scale production* was a *natural* development, the opponents clung to entirely *feudal* notions, dating back to a time when the family was a *production unit*, and could subsist through the ability of the *patriarchal* master of the *house* to govern the work of his *wife* and *children*. Small scale farming was “characterised by people *exhausting* themselves, especially *women* and *children*.” “The *farming masses* could not achieve a tolerable existence through family farming.”⁸ In defence the Social Democrats argued that it was “indeed in society’s interest to create

sustainable farms or *family* farms out of *incomplete* farms.” “This must be controlled centrally, necessitating *coercive measures*.”⁹ One of the Liberal MPs rejoiced in the fact that “the *love of the land* was still so strong that people preferred to remain on farms that were perhaps *incomplete* where they proved that they could endure *with the aid of wife and children*.” “This was an asset since it was unclear if the industry had a future.”¹⁰

The motions presented above and the ensuing debate used the word *family farm* and family farming, but in fact these were new concepts. The report of the 1936 Egnahemskomitee launched the concept family farm.¹¹ It was supposed to facilitate the establishment of the conjugal units on new farm units, created through the efforts of State rationalisation. Family policy making thus intermingled with agricultural policy making. However, as showed above, the family farm was debated, questioned and linked to various problems. Initially, it was placed within quotation marks and preceded by “the so called ...” There was also some confusion as to whether family farms already existed or whether they would be established in the future. The 1942 committee made the comment (with some complaint) that they had to take this issue over from the 1936 Egnahemskomitee.¹²

Rather than talking of family farms, the operative word in the policy advocated by the 1942 committee was *rationalisation*. The result was expected to be an agricultural society with a stable workforce and a stable acreage. On *well-developed farms* a carefully calculated labour force would work *efficiently* and *productively*. *Underdeveloped* farms would be phased out, making it possible to utilise their workforce elsewhere. The State would purchase land from these farms and redistribute it to units that could better utilise it. Through legislation and State pre-emption, acquired land was brought under government control.¹³

The suggested policy marked a clear ambition to move away from the multi-tasking of rural families and households and towards a future standardised and male agriculture. If farms got larger, more competitive, more geographically concentrated and more productive, the men could work on the land and the women would be free to take care of the home.¹⁴ The far-reaching ambitions of the 1942 committee demanded a terminology that differed from the traditional one. The committee and the government proposal launched a plethora of terms such as *basjordbruk* (basic unit farms) *normjordbruk* (standard farms) and *övergångsjordbruk* (transitional farms).¹⁵ Through this terminology, agriculture could be categorised in a more abstract and scientific way, unencumbered by history and without reference to the family.

Some of the bodies referred to, reacted to what they saw as the 1942 committee's attempts to create an *autarchy* concerning the workforce on the individual property, and the endeavours to keep the workforce within the *boundaries* of the property. This demand was, according to the opponents, formulated from the idea that the men should be *kept close* to the farm, so that the care of the livestock would *not rest* with the *women*. Practical experience had demonstrated that the workforce was in fact very *mobile*, and was put to use where it was most profitable.¹⁶ It was argued that *smallholders* in the South of Sweden, *horse drivers* in the forest lands, *yeomen* on ancestral farms and *farm-wives* selling homemade butter did not fit into the standard calculations and schematics, produced by the committees. Country folk were presented as carriers of rural values, *simple* and *firmly rooted*.¹⁷

Both in the proposal and in the debate the minister of agriculture, P. E. Sköld, said that the categorisation and representations made by the committee were sometimes too rigid but should be understood simply as examples. He underlined that the experience of real life made by the farming community was much more important.¹⁸

WHAT WERE THE PROBLEMS OF FAMILY FARMS?

Poor adaptability between family and agriculture in terms of man power and provision were considered to be the main weakness of the suggested family farms. The conjugal unit failed in its work capacity in relation to the farm, which in turn was considered too small to support a family. Careful calculations showed that the existing family unit was both too small and too large to run an average farm efficiently. The women were described as doing *too much* farm work. The men were periodically *under-occupied*, prompting a need to expand the acreage of the unit.¹⁹

In all forms of considerations, suggestions or motions – the female workforce was used as the main argument against family farms. Calculations by various experts showed that one woman was needed full time in agricultural production, mainly in animal husbandry. But because of a bias by the experts for a nuclear family ideal (rather than extended families with more than one working generation) there was only one woman to be found – the farm wife on what was categorised as family farms or basic unit farms.

The modernising ambition expressed by the various committees, as well as several movers and speakers (all of them men), however, was to separate women from the farm work they had previously performed, enabling them

to concentrate on the household. The male rhetoric was that farm work was too *laborious* and that future agricultural production would be so *complicated* that it would require *qualified* personnel. Women were considered *unwilling* and *unable* to do farm work.²⁰ Put succinctly, the women in their traditional role of farm workers were depicted as obsolete in future agriculture.

Much of the statements on family farming were imbued with an air of pioneering. The problems of the family were described from a synchronous perspective. The family had no stages, and was described simply as a man, a wife and small children. Judging from the descriptions, the family was at all times bound by a heavy work load and support responsibilities, without the option of seeking assistance from relatives or other social networks. The perceived problems of family farming became an antithesis to what the modern agricultural family was supposed to be. It consisted of a nuclear family unit with a male provider, whose wife maintained home and children. The family should stay within its enclosed farm unit and not venture outside to seek employment and income. The future family was transparent, its daily activities calculated down to each individual hour.²¹

This modernistic family ideal stood in sharp contrast to the family represented in the proposal and debate concerning the new Land Act, the main goal of which was protecting the farming class as land owners. That family was a *bondefamilj* (yeoman family) more vertically organised in generations and with a clearly defined historical class identity.²²

The 1942 committee preferred a new, larger model for farms, *standard farms*, (*normjordbruk*) involving two families (of which one family was employed by the other). On this larger farm, the committee argued, the owner family was no longer so bound to the farm, as the two men (one employed) would share farm labour, while the farmer's wife was freed from milking and cattle feeding by the employed woman.²³ These standard farms were also advocated by many of the conservative MPs. In these descriptions, what was thought to be new and modern, the family farm and the housewife, depended on the cotter like work organisation of large-scale 19th century farms.

However, both the committee and the proposal clarified that the transformation of average Swedish farms of 10 ha into the desired standard two family farms of 50 ha or more, was too much of a political challenge as it would require a total nationalisation of the land. In reality this meant that the housewife ideal could not be fully realised because of the existing small-scale farming structure.

In the final agricultural policy proposal in 1947, the question marks raised by the inquiry regarding the lack of man power in the families, gender issues and reproductive issues were smoothed over. Instead, it was maintained that the prevailing agricultural structure had been acknowledged. To work towards an increased completeness in the form of economically sound basic farms, yeomen farm units and family farms were considered to be a sufficient modernising challenge.²⁴ In consequence, the farming women had to go on with their agricultural duties.

GENDER OUTCOMES OF THE 1940s

A political conflict existed between those who sought a development towards large-scale farming, and those wanting a gradual development of traditional farming. Idiomatically, this came to be an issue of the basic unit farm, the yeoman farm and the family farm, versus the standard farm, of one family versus two families.

A compromise resulted in a declaration that yeoman farming, basic unit farming and family farming were synonymous concepts. The compromise camouflaged the larger problem with the term family farming, namely the need to look into men, women and children and thus gender relations. The mundane word *family* evokes the need to talk about women, which was not necessary when the terms basic farm or yeoman farm were used. Obviously the latter concepts had more universalistic connotations which masked the gender bias.

The fields of agriculture and animal husbandry were where the idea of the modern gender order (with housewives) collided with the real world. The traditional gender division of farm work in Swedish agriculture challenged the parliamentary proposed gender order. In reality women were in charge of handling the livestock, in particular hand milking, (men hand milking was almost unthinkable, as shown by various studies on agriculture and gender performed in the Nordic countries. Thorsen, 1993; Flygare, 1999; Östman, 2000). The boundaries of a future male-oriented agriculture seemed to be breached when men had to take over strongly gender coded, almost taboo tasks. Instead it was suggested that the workforce should be supplemented with an additional employed family, where the wife (and a potential mother) was to take charge of the livestock. The ideal that women should be protected from work and kept at home was found wanting when confronted with un-mechanised animal husbandry.

I have in an earlier study shown that Laquer's single gender model (Laquer, 1994), with women as weaker but almost equivalent to men in terms of physical capacity and mental ability, presents a comprehensible representation of many relationships within the rural community (Flygare, 1999). This gender model also relates to Hirdman's category *A-a* in which *A* is the perfect and complete manifestation of the man, while *a*, is perceived as an incomplete version of the man. *A* is placed at the top of the scale whereas *a*, with some effort, can advance to a higher degree, but never to the top, because of the lack of certain innate abilities. The opposite gender model in Hirdman's terminology, is *A-B*, where *A* still is the ideal type of man, putting *B*, the woman, in an opposite position with opposite mental and physical capacities compared to the man. The essential *B*-woman is completed in a totally different way (Hirdman, 2001/2004).

There was, in the day-to-day handling of the farm, no room to physically consign women to a private sphere as was advocated by the new ideal (cf. Sommestad, 1994). In the agrarian culture, it is also possible to discern another model, where some female tasks were perceived as parts of a domain which was perilous for men to enter. Hand milking was definitely one of those tasks. Dairy production however, was also the economic cornerstone of the Swedish farm units of the 20th century (Morell, 1998, 2001; Flygare & Isacson, 2003). Milk was agriculture, and milk was women's work. This problem was solved by the general proliferation of the milking machine just after the end of the Second World War (Morell, 2001, pp. 285–287). As a way out of this dilemma of agricultural policy, the old gender order was reproduced by way of an employed family, for which, apparently, the modern ideals were not fully applicable.

If future agriculture would develop into a male breadwinner project, not only must the female part of the gender contract be altered, even the behaviour of men had to be restyled. Men's traditional multitasking, sometimes far away from home, had to cease. The texts underlined that the future farmer was a professional.²⁵ It was not only the gender division that should be clear-cut, even the boundaries of what was not recognised as real agricultural labour had to be well defined.

I see this longing for purity and rationality as a true modernistic approach. Men and women should be separated in different spheres – in line with Hirdman's model *A* for men and *B* for women – (Hirdman, 2001/2004). But not only should the internal organisation be divided, farming in it self should be kept apart from forestry and other undertakings.

THE 1960s: FAMILY AND AGRICULTURE IN THE OMNIPRESENT WELFARE STATE

In the 1960s, at a time of rapid economic and technical development and a time of strong belief in the future, the idea of the *folkhem* gradually changed into a vision of the strong state with large-scale solutions for welfare issues. Official agricultural inquiries and committees had been set up as early as the late 1950s and the early 1960s. One important difference compared to the 1940s was that agriculture policy was not intermingled with issues of demography. The fear of under-population did no longer have the same relevance.

The proposals of 1965 and 1967 depicted agriculture as *antiquated* and out of step with time, where the workforce were *tied up* in unproductive farming. *Dynamic* social development demanded an *increased* pace of agricultural reform. The new policies were aggressive, spurring agriculture toward increased mobility, faster, larger and more industrially organised production units. Grants were needed to persuade people to leave their farms and facilitate the transition of farmers to other trades.²⁶ In itself the ownership structure also inhibited the development towards large-scale efficiency. Restrictions against companies and industries acquiring land had to be removed and State pre-emption had to be intensified.²⁷ Policy-wise modernisation had taken a different path compared to the more scientific and principled rationality of the 1940s. In the 1960s, the term “rational” became practically synonymous with the logic of large-scale management.²⁸

The focus of the intense debate gradually shifted as the decade proceeded. The outside world had interfered, be it starvation in Africa or Asia, the exploitation of nature or Man’s situation in modernity. Agricultural policy making was not immune to these sentiments. The discussions mirrored the ongoing shift of perspective in society as a whole. Even though the modernisation of agriculture was in progress, policy making was heading towards a discourse where the rationally described progress curve of the 1940s was broken, when the collected environmental aspects compelled politicians to phrase themselves differently.²⁹

FAMILY, ENTERPRISE AND FARMER

In the 1960 agricultural committee texts and in the proposal of 1967, the terminology of the 1940s was all but forgotten. *Basic unit farms* and *standard farms* were no longer referred to. On the other hand, *family farms*,

which in the 1940s was a new and uncertain concept, was in the 1960s described as an established term that defined one form of production. When attempting to transform the existing family farming, the proposal maintained that future agriculture should be understood as *företag* (an *enterprise* or *company*), as this constituted a *neutral* form of organisation. The concept of enterprise was elucidated as economically *efficient*, *competitive* and *rational* organisation forms, in contrast to family farming. The most rational form of production was described as *industrial* and carried out in food factories. Family farming was portrayed as a stage soon to become obsolete, since they were organised along other, non-industrial principles. Farming was not an occupation that should be *inherited*, and its practitioners would in future be *foremen* rather than *workers*.³⁰ To emphasise family farming was to create *privileges* for one particular group of professionals.³¹ The categories contrasted in the proposal were therefore the business enterprise versus the family farm. Here two opposing political views existed, the non-socialist parties maintaining that policies should be geared towards family farming, while the Social Democrats opposed the idea of making family farming a governing principle.³²

Part of the problematic issue of whether future agriculture should be described as a business enterprise or a family farm was resolved when the term *familjeföretag* (family business) came into use, the prefix family effectively linking the two categories. In statements, family businesses often owned *larger units*, sometimes had *employees*, and had the possibility to evolve into *limited companies*.³³ Management and ownership were thought to resemble conditions in other types of businesses.

WOMEN AND MODERNISATION

In the business-orientated descriptions, be it family companies or food factories, there was an almost total lack of reference to women's role in both contemporary and future agriculture. The same lack of reference is demonstrated by Bettina Bock and Henk de Haan concerning the Dutch discourse on agricultural modernisation in the 1960s (Bock & de Haan, 2004). In the Swedish context the concept of the entrepreneur or enterprise never occurred together with the word woman. In practice, Swedish farm wives were still working with cultivation as well as with the livestock (Flygare & Isacson, 2003). In reality, an average of 16 ha of semi-mechanised mixed farming operated by both men and women, apparently had no place in the modernisation ideals of the 1960s. These were instead

modelled on the working conditions and gender order of a few large-scale farms, pork or broiler factories. The portrayal of the family enterprise was as solidly masculine as the portrayal of the *normjordbruk* (standard farm) of the 1940s, reproducing the same ideal types of agriculture. However, the whole rhetoric of agriculture as a business masked the actual physical labour, whether it was done by men or women.

On the other hand, smallholding and *part-time* farming were concepts where women were visible. One of the Social Democrat MPs declared that a woman's work was maintaining *part-time* agriculture and *livestock* when the man was working the forest or wage earning. This was *heavy* work for the woman, who often had a large family.³⁴ The minister of agriculture, E. Holmqvist himself, defined the part-time farmer as employed as a civil servant or a labourer.³⁵ A liberal MP defined *part-time farming* as *extra work*, where the wife took care of *everyday* tasks, while the man did labour elsewhere, but assisted in the maintenance of the farm. Even though special crops were often grown, the emphasis was on standard agriculture, focusing on dairy production.³⁶ Another Social Democrat believed that every man or woman who could be relieved from a small farm could be better *utilised* in the production of *tractors, threshing-machines, fertilisers* and perhaps even *plastic coils* and other *contraceptives*, which could be sent to the *starving peoples* of the *developing* world.³⁷

The part-time male farmer in question was depicted as a wage earner in different occupations, while the woman was described as working full time with the crops and animal husbandry. Regardless of this, it was the wage-earning work of the men that took the centre stage when it came to classification, defining whether or not the farm was a part-time enterprise. Despite the full-time character of women's farm work, it was the daily tasks of men that classified farms. It seems as if the problems with women and gender division remained. Women were occupied in different agricultural contexts, but in the modernistic political language they were depicted as anomalies, threatening the idea of a professional farming man.

FAMILY FARMS AND LANDSCAPE

Even though, in practice, farms increased in size, farmers got fewer, and parts of the former cultivated landscape more overgrown, it seemed as if the descriptions of the conditions within large-scale farming had become too instrumental and rational. Opposition – mainly from the non-socialists – to the 1965 proposal of land acquisition and discussions on the 1967 agricultural

policy, resulted in the formulation of new arguments considering family farming, based on biology, health and heritage, against what was perceived as a policy of large-scale solutions and an industrial outlook. These aspects of agriculture demanded a different rhetoric with other terms, such as *way of life*, *environment* and *landscape* (Flygare, 2006). Agriculture was now described as part of a *biological system* and *öppna landskap* (open landscape). By depicting some of the policy makers as *technocrats* and *centralist bureaucrats*, it was made clear that these did not comprehend how the biological factor interacted with agriculture in a complicated organic way. The *nature-bound system* of farming interacted with the *system of the family*. This was something industry could never achieve with its organised structure and designated work hours. The family submitted itself to *photosynthesis* and other biological demands, and interacted with everything that grew.³⁸ This discourse is in many respects similar to the one Jaap Frouws termed *cultural/hedonist* in the Dutch context (Frouws, 1998; cf. Goverde, 2004).

In this discourse women were neither obsolete nor mere appendixes to farming men. They were agents in a family system. Caring production methods – developed by women and men in conjunction – as well as ownership conditions of families – were used as arguments for the nurtured nature, protected culture and the open landscape.

When the advocates of modernisation described agriculture as merely a producer of raw material in the chain of food production they threatened a collective resource of ecological and cultural ways of life. By connecting descriptions of the landscape and the biological values to the notion of a rural, traditional way of life, the continued existence of this way of life had consequences outside the farming communities, providing additional values of happiness and beauty.³⁹ The motifs expressed in the 1940s discussion of folk and rurality, were in this way adapted to a new environmental and cultural-oriented discourse. The Social Democrats stressed that landscape, biology and way of life were nothing else than just irrational and romantic talk.⁴⁰

GENDER IN BETWEEN MODERNITY AND ENVIRONMENT

The parliamentary debate of the 1960s showed some contradictions. On the one hand there was an ongoing modernistic discourse, since the 1940s, indicating that women were not fully rational, and not qualified to meet the challenges of professional farming. But the 1940s discourse of making farm

wives into housewives had ceased by the 1960s. If the professional farmer with Hirdman's terminology was an *A* (the normative man and father), the texts are silent concerning *B* (the normative woman, wife and mother, Hirdman, 2001/2004). The agricultural policy documents raised no claims, however (with one exception presented above), that farm wives ought to seek their incomes outside the farm.

On the other hand women were described as being in full charge of the part-time farming (working full days) and when it comes to issues of maintaining cultural and ecological assets of the agricultural landscape, women were included as almost equal to men. When farming was represented in an organic and biological sense and as a way of life, women were more comfortably comprehended in an agriculture discourse. It is tempting to understand this in line with western thoughts of women being close to nature (cf. Merchant, 1994). From that point of view the *A-B* model is relevant. But a question may be raised if it might not have more in common with the *A-a*, because of its representing of both men and women as nurturing caretakers.

In Sweden a new general gender contract was under construction during the 1960s – the *jämlikhetskontrakt* (contract of equality) – stating the individuality of women and men in society as well in the family. However, the 1960s were also the days of growing environmental concern. The main target was the modern rational agriculture, showed by Rachel Carson and others as being the cause of several environmental catastrophes. This was a severe attack on modernity in general and agriculture in particular. Regardless of whether one prefers to label the coming times as post modern or high modern, it truly was a shift in society as a whole. Social, cultural and economical pressure raised gender problems (Hirdman, 1998a). From this the assumption can be made that the farming community, in the gap between the environmental and modernity discourses, was in need of a new interface between gender separating and gender-including models. Maybe this is one reason for the ambiguous approach towards the future role of women in the modernistic discourse.

A CONCLUDING REFLECTION OF GENDER, CONCEPTS AND FAMILY IDEALS FROM THE 1940s TO THE 1960s

Between the 1940s and 1960s the rate of the agriculture population diminished from 30 to 5 per cent. There was an immense exodus from rural

areas on the one hand and rapid increased degree in urbanisation on the other. New suburbs were built around the old small cities. But still 80 per cent of the Swedish farms were around 20 ha or less (almost half of the farms were around 10 ha). On a national level there were radical changes and the result of the immense political efforts was in line with those who wanted a modern society. On the remaining individual farmsteads however, important aspects of continuity were still to be found. Families still owned and managed small-scaled farms and farm work was carried out by women and men together (cf. Flygare, 1999; Flygare & Isacson, 2003). The fear of a total collapse of the farming community expressed by MPs advocating a more cautious modernizing was in that respect quite unwarranted.

According to Scott “‘language’ reveals entire systems of meaning or knowledge – not only ideas people have about particular issues but their representations and organisations of life and world” (Scott, 1988, p. 59). In Per Thullberg’s opinion the two discourses considering future agriculture had different points of departure both in the 1940s and the 1960s. Those who wanted rapid change towards much larger farms depicted agriculture as a question of national economy and rationality. Those who proposed a more gradual transformation took their starting points in social visions (Thullberg, 1980).

In the parliamentary process, however, both modernisation and traditionalistic proponents – unwanted or not – found themselves discussing family and gender issues. Due to their different standpoints these families were regarded as obstacles or assets. The agricultural discourses of the 1940s and the 1960s can in many aspects be seen as emblematic, and I would suggest that much of that character evolved around the ordering of family and gender in the welfare society (of which agriculture was a considerable part).

Henk de Haan underlines that the contrasting images of family farming represent an inherent cultural duality. In his studies of Dutch agriculture and agricultural policy making, de Haan discusses how two different views on the family signify the post-war ideological debate about family farming in the Netherlands. One view emphasised what was seen as traditional rural values, such as attachment and continuity within the family. The other view emphasised risk-taking entrepreneurship and individual satisfaction (De Haan, 1993, 1994). De Haan suggests that the prefix family masked contrasting value systems. He presents the notion that the suffixes *farm* and *enterprise* in the terms family farm or family enterprise actually imply different family ideologies (De Haan, 1993).

In her well known study of farmers in the mid-west, Sonya Salamon also identifies two separate value systems. She clarifies how two parallel

approaches to farming and family in reality resulted in two types of practices (Salamon, 1992). Salamon refers to one group of farmers as Yankee – Entrepreneur and the other as German – Yeoman. The entrepreneurial families were Protestants of English heritage with a history dating back to the earliest settlers. Their farms were larger than the average unit. They viewed the farm as the married couple's property. The children would have to break new land and develop a farm of their own. The efficient business, not the property, took centre stage. The women were either housewives or worked outside the farm, the families had limited commitments to the community and a small local network.

The type of farmer Solomon terms German or Yeoman consisted of Catholics, whose ancestors had emigrated from Germany in the 19th century. Their farms were smaller, and both men and women worked the land. The families were hierarchical, emphasising kinship and family union as well as the responsibility of maintaining the farm, and the transition from one generation to the next was common. They functioned in dedicated local communities with a densely settled landscape.

The Yankee entrepreneurs were very similar in character to the modern farmer ideal de Haan highlights in Dutch political debate and the ideals and the practices of the Yeoman – German farmers are very similar to the rural virtues suggested by him.

Apparently, much of Swedish parliamentary debate reflected ideal farming types even if the societal contexts altered in the course of two decades. In the 1940s the entrepreneurial model was emphasised by some of the Conservatives, and by the committee experts. Family farming was advocated by *Bondeförbundet*. In line with the desired increase in family establishment and the inclusion of farmers in the folk concept, many Social Democrats advocated family farms as well. In the 1960s, however, Social Democrats stressed the importance of a farm business enterprise, while parts of the Conservatives and *Centerpartiet* praised the caring and nurturing family farm.

When comparing the ideal types, be they Dutch, American or Swedish, the categories are not totally overlapping but sufficient to construct some opposite pairs of concepts: Entrepreneur–Yeoman; Modern–Traditional; Industrial farm–Family farm; Qualified–Unqualified; Rational–Irrational (romantic); Man–Woman; Father–Mother and so on. In the parliamentary texts, women as a conceptual category were never found together with other concepts such as modern, rational and entrepreneurial, probably because of their impossible connection with categories such as fathers and men. This gender model relied on separation of women and men, underpinned by

certain concepts and metaphors. It is truly opposite to Laquers single gender model and Hirdmans *A-a* model. This is *A* and *B* as opposite pairs. But in the Swedish parliamentary context it was challenged by an *A-a* model making representations of women and men taking care of the farm, and later in the 1960s as caretakers of the agricultural open landscape and way of life as well.

I will now return to the initial suggestion made by Sommestad that the modern Swedish two breadwinner model depends heavily on the strong tradition of farm women's farm work (Sommestad, 1994, 1995). By studying certain concepts in the agriculture debate in the 1940s and 1960s I think such a link has been shown in this chapter and can be summarised as follows:

The male breadwinner and housewife ideal was strongly manifested by such concepts as standard farms and two family farms but also by many male politicians making representations of women's laborious work in the existing farming system and the desire to relieve these burdens. It was a massive attack on the agrarian family gender model. Why did not this succeed to install housewives on Swedish farms?

Of course this question has many different answers, but one can perhaps be found in the way the minister of agriculture, P. E. Sköld, acted in the 1940s. Thullberg points out that when the minister prepared the 1947 proposal, he revised the rationalistic approach of the 1942 committee and declared a much more expressed social vision (Thullberg, 1980). When reading the text it is obvious that the minister made a strategic discursive choice when he declared basic units farms, family farms and yeoman farm as being the same concept. Everyone knew that women and men needed to share farm work on what was represented as *bondgårdar* (yeoman farms). The typical Swedish farm in that category had a mixed production with animal husbandry, fodder and grain growing and also some forestry. Women had heavy duties in all farm work, especially in cattle feeding and milking.

A comprehensive sole-provider model then, demanded far-reaching land reforms. However, putting an end to private land ownership in order to place housewives on the farms was too provocative. The small-scale farming structure could not be altered without threatening inheritance laws and the right of private property. The minister himself also advocated the advantage of farmer's landowning primacy in the 1945 proposal.

This chapter brings into focus the role of language, concepts and metaphors as one way of understanding meanings. The crucial point whether the housewife model would conquer or fade, or if the agrarian family gender system would be elaborated by the coming urban community,

is to be found in the outcomes of the agricultural discourse battle of the 1940s. In the 1960s modernisation was no longer in need of housewives. Rather, a more environmentally or part-time-oriented farming community was thought to be in need of women and men.

Perhaps the parliamentary discourses should be understood not only as different family and gender ideals regarding agriculture, but also as parallel perspectives of society. The agriculture debate was in certain aspects the epiphenomenon of a much greater debate concerning in what way Sweden should take a fast leap from a rural society to a vigorous industrialised country with great ambitions in public welfare. That debate not only mirrored an ambiguity about what gender relation women and men should have as citizens of the envisioned society, but also what kind of family metaphor legitimatised the parental demands claimed by the nation of the *folkhem* and welfare state.

NOTES

1. The Swedish word “bonde” does not translate easily into English. When used in political and cultural contexts during the 20th century it is not comparable to the term peasant, since bonde was usually seen as something culturally and politically valuable, or was seen as a privileged class. The term farmer, on the other hand, is more comparable to an agriculturalist with reference to a more commercial production. The German word Bauer, on the other hand, corresponds better to the Swedish word Bonde. Using Sonya Salamon’s classification of American agriculturalists in the Midwest where she distinguishes between the terms yeoman and farmer, I use the term yeoman as synonymous to bonde (Salamon, 1992).

2. The complete study covers the period 1944–1994 (Flygare, 2005).

3. Mot. 1944 AK:326.

4. Mot. 1944 AK:326, p. 5.

5. Mot. 1944 AK:326, pp. 7–8.

6. Mot. 1944 AK:237.

7. Prot. 1944 AK:nr 20–27 B3 Bd3, p.68,76f,85.

8. Prot.1944 AK:nr 20–27 B3 Bd3, p. 42.

9. Prot. 1944 AK:nr 20–27 B3 Bd3, p 38.

10. Prot. 1944 AK:nr 20–27 B3 Bd3, s. 64.

11. SOU 1938, pp. 34, 162.

12. SOU 1946, pp. 42, 135–137.

13. SOU 1946, p. 42.

14. Prop. 1947: 75, pp. 17–124, 162–172.

15. Prop. 1947: 75, pp. 26–29, 33, 70–74. See also SOU 1946, p. 42.

16. Prop. 1947: 75. Remiss. s. 159.

17. Prop. 1947: 75, Remiss. s. 101, 103, 150, 153.

18. Prop. 1947: 75, p. 206; Prot. 1947 AK:29. 2d, p. 8.

19. SOU 1938, pp. 34, 162–174.
20. Prot. 1947 FK:29 2d, pp. 79, 60, 68; AK:29 2d, p. 26. SOU 1938, pp. 34, 162–174, SOU 1946, pp. 42, 135–137.
21. SOU 1938, 34, pp. 162–174.
22. Prop. 1945:336; Prot. 1945: FK:40; AK:42.
23. Prop. 1947:75, p. 62; SOU 1946, p. 42.
24. Prop. 1947:75, p. 70–74. See also Prot. 1947 FK:29 2d, pp. 60, 67.
25. Prop. 1947: 75, pp. 205, 236.
26. Prop. 1967:95.
27. Prop. 1965:41.
28. Prop. 1965:41. Prop. 1967:95.
29. Prot. 1965:FK:21 10d; AK:21 10d; Prot. 1967: FK:35 3d; AK:35 3d.
30. Prop. 1967: 95, p. 33.
31. Prot. 1967: FK:35 3d, p. 45.
32. Prot. 1967: FK:35 3d; AK:35 3d.
33. Prot. 1967: FK:35 3d; AK:35 3d.
34. Prot. 1967 FK:35 3d, pp. 102–104.
35. Prot. 1967 FK:35 3d, p. 126.
36. Prot. 1967 AK:35 3d, p.101.
37. Prot. 1967 AK:35, 3d, pp. 88–89.
38. Prot. 1967 AK:35 s. 99; Prot. 1965 AK:21 10d, p. 74.
39. Prot. 1967: FK:35 3d; AK:35 3d.
40. Prot. 1967: FK:35 3d; AK:35 3d.

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PART IV:
CIVIL CITIZENSHIP: TRANSFER
AND INHERITANCE OF PROPERTY

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GENDERED INTEREST AND MOTIVATION OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION IN AGRICULTURE AND FARM SUCCESSION

Ruth Rossier and Brigitta Wyss

INTRODUCTION

In Switzerland farm succession is predominantly patrilinear and controlled by a patriarchal system of succession. A postal survey on farm succession in Switzerland in 2004 elucidated the gender patterns of conditions of succession: the current share of female farm operators stands at 6%. There are no trends towards change. The number of potential female successors ready to take over the farm in the next generation cited by the present operator is again 6% (Rossier & Wyss, 2006). In Switzerland by law women and men are considered equal in all ambits of life. The Act on Gender Equality came into force in 1996. Since then all federal laws that treated women differently from men have been amended.

So there must be stronger forces than law to keep girls from going into farming or discourage women to take over the family farm. This chapter analyses societal and private factors that explain why young men are preferred as farm successors. Apart from the general Swiss legal laws, regulations, and institutionalisation of trainings and education as well as the

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socialisation of girls and boys in farming families will be analysed. By investigating whether there is a gender bias in the way the political and the legal system regulating inheritance is formulated and implemented we track down explanations for the low number of female farm operators. Furthermore, we focus on the gender bias in the education systems and its possible impact to keep girls away from farming.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN FARM SUCCESSION

At the core of family farm ownership is the capacity of the land and the family to create a productive business operation whereby the traditions, skills and capital of farming are passed on to the next generation and endeavour to ensure the continuity of their family farm (McCrostie & Taylor, 1998). In the long run, the economic efficiency of the farm is dependent on how the generational change is managed (Potter & Lobley, 1996; Errington & Lobley, 2002). Access to property remains the key source of power in farming, and access to land continues to be governed by social norms and customs that perpetuate the transfer of land from father to son (Shortall, 1999). Thus, a large number of women drop out of agriculture. Another reason why women leave agriculture is because they refuse to continue with the traditional ways of living and working in agriculture. Evidence is growing that the patriarchal structure of gender relations in family farming is increasingly being contested by younger women leaving the land, unwilling to accept the limited opportunities for entering farming as a successor or business principal in their own right, or the conventional status of being a farmer's wife (Whatmore, 1994).

As international research has indicated, women's access to property played a crucial role in forming rural gender regimes. Shortall (1996) observed that even though no legal restrictions exist to prevent women from succeeding in farming, informal rules and cultural codes still uphold the male supremacy in the line of farm succession. Inheritance, entry to farming, gender role perceptions and conceptualisations of women's work role have shaped the situation of farm women. In addition, agricultural education and training provisions also shape the situation of farm women.

Contzen's (2003) study elucidates how farms with female farm operators differ from "traditional" farms with male farm operators in Switzerland. She elaborates four points that show how female farm operators break with the tradition of family farming and farms headed by men. First, on traditional farms, business and family are seen as an entity. On farms with

female farm operators, family and business are seen as two independent things. Furthermore, work is not or is far less family oriented. It is seen as gainful occupation. Second, on traditional farms, children usually have their duties. In the case of female farm operators, some children help out on the farm but have more rights to choose to work or not. Third, although female farm operators keep the duties like household, gardening and childcare, they break with a common tradition that farm operators are in any case male. Fourth, female farm operators also break with the tradition of farm continuity. In other words, women do not take over the family farm because of farm continuity, thus in consequence of their own professional interest. Female farm operators are not socialised as potential farm successors and therefore they do not put pressure on their children. They would like their children to follow their own interests and in consequence choose their own profession.

The above example illustrated the ways how female farm operators are breaking the norms, female operators remain the minority. Meanwhile, previous research elucidated the importance of social praxis (socialisation, professionalisation) rather than legal regulations, in reproducing gendered farm succession. In the following the chapter is to explore in the Swiss context how prevailing laws/regulations and their implementation provide for an institutional framework for the reproduction of gender inequalities in farm succession.

THE SWISS GENDER REGIME: THE GENDERED PRAXIS OF FARM SUCCESSION

Swiss women became equal political citizens obtaining the right to vote as late as 1971. Twenty five years later Swiss legislation implements the law against discrimination of men and women called the Act on Gender Equality (Federal Act of 24 March 1995 on equality of women and men). This law especially aims to equalise women in work force, e.g. equal salary for equal work, equal education and more. The law has improved women's situation and possibilities (Equality Office Switzerland 2006). Switzerland also ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1997 and accepted the general principle that all human beings are equal. The description of the general situation of the gender regime in Switzerland follows the Swiss Convention Report for CEDAW (2003). The new Federation Constitution

of Switzerland came into force on 1 January 2000 and takes up the principle of equality of rights. Article 9, paragraph 3 of the Constitution states that men and women have equal rights. According to the case law of the Federal Supreme Court, men and women must in principle be treated equally in all fields, without taking into account social situations and representations; in other words received ideas about gender roles are no longer decisive in law. Further under article 8, paragraph 3 of the Constitution, legislation shall ensure equality in law and in fact, particularly in family, education and work. This paragraph requires the lawmaker to guarantee *de jure* and at the same time to promote *de facto* equality. The constitutional text implies that the mandate given to the lawmaker is not limited to the public domain.

But there is more than law that needs to be changed to give women and men the same chances in life. Especially societal patterns and conditions concerning women's and men's role in society and typical male or female professions are not easily to be changed and influenced. Bürgisser (1996) has analysed in detail how much there is to overcome when families wish not to live the traditional man main-breadwinner model in Switzerland. Most of all there are few qualified part-time jobs for women as well as for men, there is a lack of daycare for small children and missing block times in schools, as well as the negative societal image of working mothers and fathers taking care of children and household.

Despite the formal equality before the law, the Swiss gender regime is characterised by the main male breadwinner model (Federal Office of Statistics, 2007a) which gains expression both in the public and private spheres. In the private, caretaking prevails as a female area (Federal Office of Statistics, 2007b), with a largely underdeveloped state daycare system (Iten, 2005). In the public there is a profound gender segregation of labour (Federal Office of Statistics, 2007c), which segregation is reproduced in the new generation, due to the prevailing gender segregation of education (Federal Office of Statistics, 2007d).

Patriarchal structures seem to dominate more the rural areas than the urban, since women's unemployment rate is lower here, there are less part-time jobs and a lack of childcare service (Iten, 2005). Farm succession is an area where relations of male dominance are reproduced, despite the persistence of formally gender neutral laws.

Family farming is the dominant farming system in Switzerland. Family farm businesses are generally handed down within the farm family, from one generation to the next through farm transfer (Rossier, 2004). The Swiss civil title of inheritance gives equal rights to women and men. This means that the nearest heirs of a deceased are her/his offspring. All children inherit at

equal parts (Federal Law, 1 April 1973). For legal succession in farming applies the civil title of inheritance. Thus, the Farmland Ownership Law endorses the civil title of inheritance to the special circumstances in agriculture. Whenever a farm business is part of the legacy every heir can claim the farm under the condition that she or he can manage the farm herself/himself (Art 11, paragraph 1, Farmland Ownership Law 1991). The surviving partner is always the inheritor and can keep on running the family farm under just mentioned conditions. The Farmland Ownership Law and the Agrarian Policy support family farming and the succession within the family when improving conditions by farmland price control and facilitating handover at earning capacity value. An acceptable price is most important for the farm operator and for strengthening its status when buying a farm or farmland. The Farmland Ownership Policy therefore incorporates an instrument to antagonise high prize for farmland. The prize is indicated too high when the prize for similar farms or similar farmland in the area exceeds 5% in the mean over the last five years (Art 66, Farmland Ownership Law 1991).

Law also regulates impartible inheritance of farmland in order to keep the original land as an intact unit (Art 17, paragraph 1, Farmland Ownership Law 1991). The heir to the farm must not sell the farm for the first ten years without the approval of his/her co-heirs. This is to prevent disposal of a farm that the heir has taken over at a special rate. During lifetime, the owner of a farm can give over the farm to whomever she/he wishes. Thus, the successor receives a part of his/her inheritance. After the death of the former farm owner this will be taken into account when comparing the successor's siblings. The Farmland Ownership Law makes no formal distinction between men and women. Thus, there must be hidden gender aspects as most of the farms are still owned by men. Women can become farm successors either as surviving partners or as daughters. Women can take over the farm as a surviving partner, in Switzerland, only under the condition that she has adequate education or know-how. They need to qualify with adequate education even as daughters beyond competing with their siblings for takeover of the farm. The system of agricultural educational qualifications functions as a gate-keeper to access farmer status, therefore the conditions of women's training is of great importance for the issue of succession.

In Switzerland the Farmland Ownership Law stipulates that access to the head of the farm status requires that the farm operator has completed formal agricultural training. Suitable training is provided by state county vocational school, leading to the Swiss federal certificate of qualification of

Table 1. Profession of a Farm Woman Compared to a (Female) Farmer as Seen by Swiss Vocational Guidance.

Profession Degree	Farm Woman Swiss Federal Certificate of Qualification	(Female) Farmer, Farm Operator Swiss Federal Certificate of Qualification
Activities	Household and farm A farm woman takes care of the children and household. She is responsible for the garden, small animals and, if there is one, the farm shop. She assists the farm operator in his/her daily work (e.g. in the stable or during peak-period demand in the fruit and hay harvest). She may also take care of guests on the farm. As partner of the farm operator she shares responsibility for planning, organisation and accomplishment of the work on the farm	Farm A (female) farmer works on the farm and cultivates the land. He/she cultivates plants and/or keeps animals for meat, milk or egg production. In plant production they are responsible for the choice of crop, cultivation and care and harvest. In animal production they feed, care and run out
Requirements	The training is open to women and men (but only women have taken this training so far). Practice in farm household	Completed elementary school. Love of nature, understanding for complex ecological relations, entrepreneurial thinking, flexibility and readiness, practical/mechanical skills, technical understanding, vigorous constitution, robust health
Conditions of profession	Farm women work in their own or another farm household or may be employed by farm vocational training centres, schools or homes or professional households and hospitals or work for consumers' or producers' organisations	(Female) farmers have their own or rented farm or may be employed on big farms as an employee or work with farm organisations or co-operatives

Source: www.biz-berufsinfo.ch

farmer (farm operator). Training appropriate for farm operator is described by the Swiss vocational guidance (Berufsinformationszentrum BIZ, 2007) (Table 1). A farm operator's main tasks are to cultivate plants and/or keep animals for meat, milk or egg production. In plant production she/he is

Table 2. Basic Agricultural Education in Switzerland (Agricultural Schools 1985/86–2004/05).

Year	Number of Pupils	Number of Women	Share of Women (%)
1985/86	6902	166	2.4
1990/91	4835	120	2.5
1995/96	3373	146	4.3
2000/01	2937	211	7.2
2004/05	2787	298	10.7

responsible for the choice of crop, cultivation, care and harvest. In animal production she/he feeds, cares and runs out. To carry out the profession it needs a love of nature, an understanding for complex ecological relations, an entrepreneurial thinking, flexibility and readiness as well as practical/mechanical skills, technical understanding, vigorous constitution and robust health. Depending on size and production sector of the farm also different forms of education are recognised, e.g. degree in commerce or degree in farm machine mechanics (Art 9, paragraph 2, Farmland Ownership Law 1991).

Due to the general structural change in the agrarian sector, fewer young people choose an agricultural career (Table 2). The data show an increasing quota of female students. In 2004/05, 298 women chose to do the basic agricultural education which is a share of 11% of all students. Although, women remain very much a minority among future farm operators (Federal Office of Statistics, 2006).

While the majority of graduates with appropriate degrees to become farm operators have been men, alternative training opportunities to become farm women were offered. Different institutions are offering these trainings. While the Swiss Association of Agriculture is responsible for the farm operator training, the Association of Rural Women is in charge of the farm women training. The women's training programme, in contrast to those aiming at farm operators, provides education towards a complementary role in the farm family, such as the guidance of the rural household and the ability to support the farm operator in planning, organisation and administration. "Graduating from this program the candidate proves competence and ability to rule a farmer's household as well as leading some production parts self-dependent and being co-responsible for the farm manager's decisions" (Regulations of the Swiss federal certificate of qualification for farm women, 2002, translation R.R.) (Table 1). The education has been restructured recently. The certificate today demands more than the traditional diploma. Women's agricultural education used to

lead from a rural household-oriented education over a complementary education to the diploma of farm woman. Nowadays, in the German-speaking part of Switzerland one-third of all women working in agriculture hold a certificate of qualification for farm women. Whereas in the French-speaking part about one out of ten go for the certificate and in the Italian-speaking part almost no woman holds a certificate. The reason therefore is a lack of an Italian-speaking school (Federal Office of Agriculture, 2002).

Since most farm women do not have agricultural training required to obtain a farm operator status, and typically have complementary training for farm women or no training at all, the requirements regulating farm succession indirectly promote the preference of a male succession. The lack of vocational training can be counterbalanced if necessary by vocational experience, for example if the farmer's wife has already managed an agricultural enterprise before. Then the experience acquired thereby becomes an indication for the required abilities. The gendered differentiation of the agricultural education of sons and daughters is a crucial point for gendered farm succession. Boys usually do the agricultural apprenticeship that makes them farm operators, whereas girls do an apprenticeship in the non-agricultural sector or do the farm women's apprentice when marrying a farm operator. Different professional training for women and men deepens the gap between women and men in the field of agriculture. While women mainly follow the profession of farm woman and are therefore trained in their traditional fields of duties which are centred around the farm household, men and especially potential male farm successors are encouraged to pursue agricultural training to ensure their professional career as future farm operators. The professional training of farm women, however, does not fulfil the criteria of agricultural education needed for farm succession defined by law, and automatically favours men over women in farm succession.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As it was argued above, despite the legal rights for equal inheritance gendered patterns of succession are reproduced within Swiss agrarian gender regime. The requirement of adequate training for farm operators seems to be a key institution for excluding women from succession. A gender gap prevailed in participation in necessary education. In the following analyses the focus is to be on the young generation of successors. The chapter is to analyse on the basis of survey and focus group data how the socialisation processes of the younger generation contribute to the

reproduction of gender inequalities in succession praxis. The chapter investigates whether (a) there are differences concerning the nature of interest in agriculture among female and male offspring and (b) whether there were gender differences in the socialisation of the offspring (i.e. through daughters and sons not having participated to the same degree in farming activities) which in turn would have contributed to the discrimination against daughters in favour of their brothers in farm succession.

RESEARCH METHODS

The methodological approach for this study is based on a mixed research design: a postal survey followed by focus group interviews. The combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods was chosen in order to complete the quantitative statements with more background information about the process of socialisation in agriculture and especially in farm succession. The representative Swiss national study on farm transfer was not exclusively designed for gender analysis in farm succession, but gender aspects were included both in the standardised questionnaire of the postal survey and in the focus group interviews.

POSTAL SURVEY

The data on the young farm generation for this study was collected during a representative postal survey of the present Swiss farming generation (43 female and 733 male farm operators) in 2004. In addition, a separate standardised questionnaire was given to all of the offspring of the present generation: 213 out of 354 potential successors (18 daughters and 195 sons) and 509 out of 2048 non-successors (253 daughters and 256 sons) responded to the questionnaire for the young generation. 731 children (277 daughters and 454 sons) aged from 14 to 34 gave their opinion on their interest in agriculture and farm succession. The questionnaire also surveyed the education and training of offspring. The responding daughters were on average 20.6 years old and the sons 19.2.

The aim of the postal survey was to record the up-and-coming generation's reasons for or against going into farming as a career. The statements of daughters and sons concerning their interest in agriculture and farm succession were explored by comparing the mathematical means of the answers of successors vs. non-successors, female successors vs. male

successors and female non-successors vs. male non-successors (*t*-Test). The response rate of successors was 59% and for the non-successors 25%.

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS

Following the postal survey, two focus group interviews were held in 2005: one with young male research respondents ($n=8$) and one with young female respondents ($n=6$). The aim of the qualitative study was to gain further information and interpretations of the findings. All participants were aged between 18 and 34 years, but they differed in characteristics like farm size, sideline or education. A balance had to be found between homogeneity and heterogeneity of the focus group although similarities enhance a confidential ambiance of discussion, but also no dichotomies (Finch & Lewis, 2002). Participants with a different background may stimulate an independent discussion of critical points. At the same time there is a risk of power relation formation within the group and single participants may be reticent in expressing their opinions (Krueger & Casey, 2000).

In the first focus group of sons only farm successors responded to the invitation (Table 3a). All five invited non-successors refused to participate (other priorities like business/events or simply lack of interest). The central subjects which came up in the discussion with sons were the motivation in farming, the determination of the farm successor, the importance of an additional income and the influence of partners.

In the second focus group of daughters only non-successors came to the meeting (Table 3b). No female successors participated in this focus group. Nine declined the invitation to participate in this focus group. The main topics which were covered in the discussion with daughters were the determination of farm successors, the socialisation of daughters and sons on a farm and the positive and negative aspects of agriculture.

The focus group interviews were held in the evening at a restaurant (including supper) and lasted several hours. Two people moderated the discussion. At the beginning of the meeting, the group members were confronted with some results of the postal survey to focus the discussion on farm succession. A rough guideline with some questions for the moderators was established for each focus group. The discussions were taped, transcribed and coded for a content analysis. According to Mayring (2002) qualitative content analysis is appropriate to explore focus group data because of the following main points of content analysis. First, the data are divided into manageable packages. Therefore, with content analysis even

Table 3a. Focus Group One: Male Successors.

Name	Family Affiliation	Position on the Farm	Education
Bernhard	Son (third out of five brothers and sisters)	Farm successor	Agricultural apprenticeship, non-agricultural apprenticeship (retail)
Adrian R.	Son (one elder brother, two sisters)	Farm successor, but in competition with his brother	Still at school
Klaus	Son (one sister, one brother)	Farm successor	Agricultural apprenticeship, plans another non-agricultural apprenticeship
David	Son (one sister, one brother)	Farm successor	Agricultural apprenticeship
Martin	Son (three sisters)	Farm successor	Agricultural apprenticeship, non-agricultural apprenticeship (carpenter)
Stefan	Son (two brothers and sisters)	Farm successor	Agricultural apprenticeship
Kilian	Son (one brother)	Farm successor	Agricultural apprenticeship
Adrian B.	Son (two sisters)	Farm successor	Agricultural apprenticeship, works as a carpenter

big amounts of interview material can easily be explored. Second, in the centre of the analysis is a category system that is literature-defined but worked out more specifically on the data. Third, compared to more interpretative and hermeneutic analysing methods, qualitative content analysis is a strongly systematic method.

FARM SUCCESSION AND NATURE OF INTEREST IN AGRICULTURE

According to our survey 12% of the daughters of the upcoming generation stated that they would be interested in taking over the family farm either as

Table 3b. Focus Group Two: Female Non-successors.

Name	Family Affiliation	Position on the Farm	Education
Regula	Eldest daughter (two brothers, one has an agricultural apprenticeship)	Is interested in farming, likes to work with the animals, younger brother is potential farm successor	Engineer (dairy industry), no agricultural apprenticeship
Regina	Daughter (one sister, three brothers)	Married a farm operator, likes haymaking and harvesting, brother is farm successor	Agricultural household year, non-agricultural apprenticeship (nurse)
Susanne	Eldest daughter (brothers and sisters)	Not interested (anymore) in farming, neither are her other siblings interested (no potential successor)	Non-agricultural apprenticeship (retail)
Fabienne	Daughter (two brothers)	Younger brother is potential farm successor	Non-agricultural apprenticeship (retail)
Katja	Daughter (two brothers)	Brother is farm successor	Non-agricultural apprenticeship (commerce)
Claudia	Daughter (two brothers, one has an agricultural apprenticeship)	Farm succession is in competition between the two brothers	Agricultural household year, non-agricultural apprenticeship (retail)

a full-time job or as a sideline, and a further 16% stated that they would perhaps be interested (Table 4). The realisation of those plans would at once double or even triple the rate of female farm owners and operators in the next generation. This indicates a much greater interest among young women in farming and farm succession than the 6% posted by their parents (Rossier & Wyss, 2006). In this former study – completed as part of research project concerning farm transfer in Switzerland – parents had underestimated therefore the interest of their daughters in farming and in running a farm enormously.

Table 4. Share of Girls and Boys Who are Interested in Taking over the Family Farm.

	Yes, as a Full-Time Job (%)	Yes, as a Part-Time Job (%)	Maybe (%)	Do Not Know (%)	No Interest (%)
Girls (<i>n</i> =271)	6	6	16	25	47
Boys (<i>n</i> =447)	37	9	14	15	25

But sons still have precedence in farm succession, although most farm operators generally think that farming nowadays is not an exclusively male profession (Rossier & Wyss, 2006). Nevertheless, daughters are in many cases only considered as successors when there is no son on the scene. Twelve out of twenty designated female successors have no brother.

The postal survey was designed to unravel how this gender pattern can be related to the attitudes of the younger generation to agriculture. The children (daughters and sons) of the present farming generation were questioned about their attitudes towards agriculture through different statements made in the standardised questionnaire of the postal survey. Results were analysed from the perspective of succession (prospective successors vs. non-successors) and gender (men vs. women). The results show a difference between potential female successors and potential male successors, as well as between female non-successors and male non-successors. The score of the statements ranged from agree entirely (1), mostly (2), partly (3), barely (4) or not at all (5). The lower the score of a statement, the higher the general agreement of the interviewee with a statement.

The main aspects were analysed looking at the next generation's reasons for taking over a family farm. Firstly, we looked at their general assessment of the situation in agriculture, and secondly, the features of the nature of their interests in agriculture.

ECONOMIC FEASIBILITY OF FARM SUCCESSION

Assessment of farm economy was studied from two aspects: a general assessment of farm profitability and the assessment of the prospective feasibility of the particular farm. In the past a farm meant economic security; today it can turn into a livelihood risk for the successive generation. The younger generation considers the economic acceptability

before taking over a farm. In many cases, farmers need to work in a non-agricultural sideline in order to make a decent income.

The analysis of the statements regarding the economic situation in agriculture shows that the differences between successors and non-successors are much greater than the differences between female successors and male successors or between female non-successors and male non-successors (Table 5a). Successors estimate the farmer's esteem in society higher and judge their income situation and the general agrarian policy conditions in agriculture better than non-successors. Female and male successors only disagree in taxing the income options. Male successors are almost twice as sure of achieving a satisfactory income in farming as female successors. Daughters and sons, successors and non-successors agree on the fact that only a sideline would help to generate a satisfactory income. Daughters and sons without the option of taking over a farm have similar ideas on the economic situation of agriculture.

In the survey, the economic prospects of agriculture are judged critically. The general situation of agriculture is normally rated as precarious, and it is difficult to achieve a satisfactory earned income in agriculture, or this is only possible in conjunction with a sideline. The economic prospects are rather a push factor that makes the young generation choose a career outside agriculture (ADAS, 2004). However, male successors assess the economic situation of agriculture much more optimistically than female successors. Female successors estimate the economic situation of agricultural businesses more critically. This may be due to a different biographical and professional career and non-agricultural experience in the labour market.

NATURE OF INTEREST IN AGRICULTURE

The statements of successors vary significantly as regards the nature of their interest in agriculture from those of non-successors (Table 5b).

What farm successors, daughters and sons, like best in agriculture is the practical nature of the work, working outdoors and the varied work. For sons and daughters the nature of the work is the most important motivation for taking over the family farm. Farm successors strongly agree that working with animals as well as working independently and being self-employed are crucial for them. However, non-successors show far less interest in these points. Also a significant variation shows points concerning family, the continuity of family tradition, working with parents and the combination of family and work. For successors, these three points

Table 5a. Differences in Statements Concerning Economic Feasibility of Farm Succession between Successors and Non-Successors, Potential Female Successors and Potential Male Successors, between Female Non-Successors and Male Non-Successors (Two-Sample *t*-Test).

Statements	Successors (Daughter and Sons) Mean Score	Non- Successors (Daughter and Sons) Mean Score	<i>p</i> -Value	Female Successors (Daughters) Mean Score (<i>n</i> = 18)	Male Successors (Sons) Mean Score (<i>n</i> = 195)	<i>p</i> -Value	Female Non- Successors (Daughters) Mean score (<i>n</i> = 253)	Male Non- Successors (Sons) Mean Score (<i>n</i> = 256)	<i>p</i> -Value
Farmers enjoy high esteem in society	3.10	3.60	0.00	2.88	3.12	0.34	3.62	3.58	0.81
In agriculture, I can achieve a satisfactory income	3.07	3.73	0.00	5.37	2.87	0.00	3.81	3.64	0.08
Only by combining farming with a sideline could I achieve a satisfactory income	2.61	2.50	0.30	2.17	2.65	0.10	2.50	2.51	0.87
General agricultural policy conditions will make farming profitable in the long term as well	3.22	3.74	0	3.11	3.23	0.60	3.75	3.72	0.73

Table 5b. Differences in Statements Concerning the Nature of Interest in Agriculture between Successors and Non-Successors, Potential Female Successors and Potential Male Successors, between Female Non-Successors and Male Non-Successors (Two-Sample *t*-Test).

Statements	Successors (Daughter and Sons) Mean Score	Non- successors (Daughter and Sons) Mean Score	<i>p</i> -Value	Female Successors (Daughters) Mean Score (<i>n</i> = 18)	Male Successors (Sons) Mean Score (<i>n</i> = 195)	<i>p</i> -Value	Female Non- successors (Daughters) Mean Score (<i>n</i> = 253)	Male Non- successors (Sons) Mean Score (<i>n</i> = 256)	<i>p</i> -Value
I like practical work, working with my hands	1.16	1.89	0	1.29	1.15	0.16	2.11	1.67	0
I like working outdoors	1.19	2.04	0	1.23	1.18	0.67	2.17	1.91	0.00
I enjoy working with animals	1.40	2.53	0	1.17	1.42	0.19	2.33	2.73	0.00
I like working independently and being self-employed	1.33	1.85	0	1.52	1.32	0.18	1.88	1.83	0.56
I value the varied nature of agricultural work	1.25	2.45	0	1.47	1.22	0.09	2.58	2.32	0.02
Continuity of family tradition is important for me	2.15	3.13	0	1.76	2.19	0.10	3.12	3.14	0.85
I could see myself working with my parents after a takeover of the farm	1.67	3.27	0	1.58	1.68	0.64	3.51	3.03	0.00
Farming allows me to combine work and family	1.74	2.55	0	1.52	1.76	0.24	2.51	2.60	0.41

are important as against for their siblings, the non-successors. Female and male successors, however, show no specific gender pattern. Female as well as male successors who take over the family farm value their interest in work and the concerns of work and family in a similar way. Females agree on enjoying working with animals at the same rate as their male counterparts. Likewise, females and males endorse the idea of working together with their parents after taking over the farm. In this case there seems to be a certain need for women as well as for men to count on their parents' aid.

A gender pattern can be elaborated among female and male non-successors. Non-succeeding daughters evaluate to a much lesser degree an appreciation for the importance of the joy for practical work. Also the idea of working with parents after a takeover varies significantly among non-succeeding daughters and sons, whereas the value of the varied nature of agricultural work is less significant. Thus, female and male non-successors agree to a similar degree that farming is independence and farming allows them to combine work and family; they even totally agree that the continuity of family tradition is not important for them.

GENDER-SPECIFIC SOCIALISATION

Interest in farming and motivation are very important, but they do not give a satisfactory explanation for the prevailing gender patterns favouring male succession. The survey data were complemented by focus interviews in order to elucidate gender patterns working in the succession process.

The focus group interviews indicate that daughters are seldom confronted with the question of whether they want to take over the farm at a later date. Their upbringing is therefore less geared to agriculture than the upbringing of sons who are seen as potential successors. There are indeed clear-cut differences in interest between male and female farm successors and the other siblings. These different interests, however, are a result of a gender-specific and farm heir-specific socialisation.

Gender-specific socialisation is in part explained by the clear-cut separation between men's and women's fields of activity (Schwarz, 2004). Men look after machines, field work and animals. Women raise children and run the household, additionally helping out on the farm – depending on the workload – or work part-time. In this division of working spheres, daughters tend to help their mothers and sons tend to work

with their fathers. So, both are guided by their gender roles. As a woman put it:

So, it was somehow simply clear to us that the men drove the tractors and the women did the raking. (Katja, 11.5.2005)

These gender-specific differences manifest most clearly when dealing with heavy machinery and driving the tractor. Women mentioned the division of labour as a reason for the low number of women farm operators.

The way it is for all of us here is that the women have to rake and the men get to drive the tractor and such. I think that some of them [the women] stop [farming] because of this, at least I assume so. (Fabienne, 11.5.2005)

An interest in agriculture is not actively encouraged in girls. Some male farm successors simply assume that their sisters are not in competition with them. If a girl is interested in taking over the farm, she must explicitly volunteer this information:

Well, my sister was never interested, she never said, I want to milk cows now, or farm. Nor did anyone say to her, you should do such-and-such there. (Klaus, 28.4.2005)

The group discussion with the farm successors indicated that daughters were not considered as potential successors where the family had sons:

In most families, the issue's not even brought up if there's a son. It's not discussed at all, it's actually just assumed that the son will take over. The daughter's not even asked, unless she comes off her own bat and says "I'd like to." (Bernhard, 28.4.2005)

I have two sisters, and otherwise it's actually taken for granted that I'll take over the farm. (Adrian, 28.4.2005)

Girls are expected not to assert their claims to taking over the farm against the interests of a brother.

If a brother wants to [take over the family farm], then a sister will probably not stand in his way, or rebel against him. If a brother says he's willing to farm, then it's still part of the mindset of "first a boy, then a girl." But if no boy wants to take over, then a girl would probably succeed to the farm, is the impression I get. (Bernhard, 28.4.2005)

Families without sons often wait till their daughters marry, partly in the hope that a son-in-law will carry on running the farm together with the daughter. This discrimination against the daughter in terms of farm succession is also sometimes justified by the assumption that she may marry a farmer and go and live with him on his farm. Even when a sister shows an

interest in farming, this does not threaten the male successor's claim to the farm.

If a farmer happened to cross her path, she would surely not say no. (Adrian, 28.4.2005)

As we have seen, sons are favoured for farm succession. These gender-specific expectations of the parents are already manifest at an early stage of socialisation, when boys' interest in agriculture is more strongly encouraged than girls'.

Compared to other jobs, the farming profession has lost some of its appeal. Designated successors frequently learn another trade before they embark on a farming career. This non-agricultural profession is a good basis for a skilled sideline, which is of increasing importance as a "second leg to stand on" in view of the uncertain future of farming.

However, although the gender pattern of succession favouring sons dominates the interviews, some of the informants also indicate that although this division of labour between the sexes is widespread, there are signs that it is becoming less rigid. There are families in which the children have to help out in all areas of work, regardless of their sex, and in which the daughters are also encouraged to drive a tractor:

My mother drives all the vehicles, she does everything. She's always said, 'You drive too, then you'll learn how to do it. (Regina M, 11.5.2005)

Most interesting are the cases of Regina, Suanne and Regula. All women claim that they enjoy farm work. Although there are four brothers, Regina had a supporting mother gestalt who encourages her daughter to do interesting farm work like driving the tractors and working with other machines, too. Regina says that she became interested in farming because she was able and allowed to do everything.

Also Regula is very interested in agriculture. Being the oldest of the children she was allowed to learn how to drive the tractor and do some of the interesting jobs. Thus, she has two younger brothers who showed interest in farming and therefore she did not do a degree in farming. She still says that she would take over the family farm if she had a degree. But since her brother has the know-how and also the apprenticeship to manage a farm, it is not a point of discussion in her family. Her brother is the preferred successor. Regula puts it like this:

I have decided to make an apprenticeship in the milk industry and then I went on to become an engineer. That was a little bit a fingerpost, I would say. And to fight for it [to take over the farm], I don't know. I don't want to. I have seen now something else and I like my job a lot. So what do I want more? (Regula, 11.5.2005)

In Susanne's case it gets clear how much influence parents attitude has on the interests of a child. Susanne says that as a teenager she was interested in learning how to drive the tractor and work with the machines, but her parents have always preferred her younger brother Daniel:

And of course he was better driving the tractor and working with the other machines. He got to practise more. And I always said, I can never learn it if I never get the chance to practice. (Susanne, 11.5.2005)

It seems that Susanne's parents supported the wrong child. Susanne's brother is not interested to take over the farm. Susanne says by doing only the boring work (picking fruit, hay racking) she also lost the interest in farming. Apart from that her degree is in a non-agricultural profession.

It is important to take into consideration that there was a bias in the composition of the focus groups, where successor sons and non-successor daughters volunteered. The experiences of these respondents are consistent with the dominant gender pattern. Due to this they might conceal alternative patterns in motion.

CONCLUSION

There are differences concerning the interest in agriculture among female and male offspring. In general, the economic prospects of agriculture are judged critically by all offspring, whereas successors assess the economic situation of agriculture more optimistically than non-succeeding siblings, independently of gender. The gender aspect shows in taxing the income options. Female successors are not as sure as male successors of achieving a satisfactory income in farming. This may relate to the fact that most of the female successors only get a chance to take over a family farm when no brother is interested. For them reasons against a farm succession might be a lack of interest in agriculture and the focus on a different professional career, as well as the small size of a farm and lack of income.

Female and male successors, however, show no specific gender pattern as far as the nature of their interest in agriculture is concerned. Potential female and male farm successors have a greater interest in all kinds of activities in agriculture than their siblings. For succeeding daughters and sons the nature of the work is the most important motivation to take over the family farm. The continuity of family tradition, working with parents and the combination of family and work are more important for successors

than for their siblings, the non-successors. Likewise, female and male successors endorse the idea of working together with their parents after taking over the farm. In this case there seems to be a certain need for women as well as for men to count on their parents' aid. A gender pattern can only be elaborated among female and male non-successors. Non-succeeding daughters indicate much lesser than sons in the nature of their interest in agriculture such as the pleasure of practical work, working outdoors and enjoying working with animals. These differences in interest, however, are at least in part the result of a gender- and farm heir-specific socialisation.

Daughters and sons on a farm grow up with a different socialisation, and daughters are discriminated against in favour of their brothers in farm succession. This can be seen clearly in the early designation of the male farm successor, and in the different expectations towards daughters and sons. On the one hand, sons are favoured for farm succession, which also implies, however, that they are to an extent pressured to carry on their parents' work. Daughters have a sort of stop-gap function in the succession process, or must articulate their interest more explicitly than sons in order to be taken into consideration as farm successors. Daughters who are interested in farming are clearly at a disadvantage with respect to their brothers. Because the farming profession is strongly associated with male roles, daughters tend to be exempt from expectations of continuing the family tradition.

Female farm operators are crossing the gender border in agriculture and are therefore initiators for societal change in the farming milieu. Still, farming daughters have limited options in farm families. Daughters are only promoted in their agricultural ambitions when there are no brothers or they do not claim the farm succession. New technology and changed social attitudes should encourage women to take up the role of principal operator in family farm businesses. The role of women in agriculture under the present social and economic conditions is no longer attractive for women. The situation of women is shown in the patrilinear practice of inheritance limits, access to land and capital resources as well as in the social position of farm women as supporting family members without an income of their own.

The interplay of the Farmland Ownership Law and the different agricultural education of women and men have a strong impact on farm succession. Children can inherit a farm when they are able to manage the business themselves meaning run the farm operations. Farmland Ownership Law states more precisely persons need to hold a Swiss federal certificate of

qualification as farm operator. Ironically enough a farm woman's education as such does not fulfil the criteria to manage a farm autonomously. Therefore the strong gender pattern of education in agriculture maintains a gender pattern in farm succession and farming in general. To push a shift of the male-dominated farm succession either the farm woman's education had to be expanded with more commerce and operating skills concerning farm business or young women had to be encouraged to do the farm operator apprenticeship. Therefore more wives or even widows of farm owners would be able to take over their husband's farms or daughters would have taken one hurdle to become a potential successor. The cancellation of a gender separate agricultural education would increase the chance for women to become successors. Interested female farm successors would not speculate to stay in farming by marrying a farmer, but would go for an apprenticeship as farm operators. Automatically, with the adequate precondition they would be more of a threat as successors to their brothers than to date.

To increase the interest of daughters for farming parents need to encourage their daughters to work in all areas of the farm. The gender-specific socialisation on a farm had to be changed. As long as daughters are not encouraged to engage in the whole farming process and are socialised as future farm women taking care of the household, gardening, and childcare and only sons are taken into account as potential successors, nothing will change. The interest of daughters in farming and in farm succession is not even stimulated when there are no sons. The gender pattern of the patrilinear farm succession is rooted deeply. This phenomenon is not specific to the agricultural sector but can be found in other branches (Tagesanzeiger, 2007). Especially for small-scale businesses in the technical sector fathers do not see their daughters as potential successors. For fathers who are usually founder of a business it is not easy to trust in their daughters skills. Successful female successors have always had a very intense and close relationship to their fathers.

This chapter has made clear that today farm operators misjudge their daughters attitude towards farm succession and the interest in farming and therefore are not taken into consideration when coming into the process of handing over the farm. To break up gender pattern in farm succession it is crucial for farm families to dispute about and discuss future farm succession among all children. Not taking the son for granted as potential successor might be profitable for all siblings. Furthermore, the chapter highlighted how the stipulation of adequate education as the conditions for farm operator status combined with the institution of gender-segregated

agricultural education contributes to the reinforcement of gendered patterns of succession despite the formal gender equal rights of inheritance.

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SUCCESSION PATTERNS IN NORWEGIAN FARM GENERATIONS: GENDERED RESPONSES TO MODERNITY[☆]

Kjersti Melberg

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on Norwegian farm families by analysing succession patterns across generations and genders in “beanpole” families, i.e. those with several living generations (Brannen, Moss, & Mooney, 2004). The focus is on transfer of property in the case of farm families and its importance for gender relations. Succession here refers to the transfer of farm management control, which may be seen as a continuous, multi-phase process in farm families which begins when the successor is young with gradual assumption of specific responsibilities within the farm business (Symes, 1990). One aim of the chapter is to connect changes in succession praxis in the case of farm families in Norway with the societal changes of three-four generations over the twentieth century. The dynamics of families

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and households are regarded as key elements of issues such as farm structure (Bengtson, 2001; Bokemeier, 1997; Hareven, 1996; Willson, Shuey, & Elder, 2003), and farm families offer an interesting case for examining intergenerational relations (Brandth, 2002; Elder, Rudkin, & Conger, 1995; Elder, Robertson, & Rudkin, 1996; Lee & Cassidy, 1981; Melberg, 2003).

The empirical emphasis in this chapter is on life history data from 3 four-generational farm families. The stories of three families are selected to explore different pathways into succession, aiming to uncover family-gender regimes across generations. Each represents a specific family type and socialisation process which is often found in Norwegian farm families. The Knudsen family is a male-dominated farm family type which has a traditional line of succession. The Nilsen family is nuclear oriented and had a traditional succession process which failed and changed direction. The Madsen family's intergenerational orientation influences the way they run and hand over the farm. Whether gendered traditions have developed in the historical period and if such traditions can be transmitted through succession processes in these extended farm families are the analytical questions in this chapter.

In attempting to identify the positions of women and men in farming, research has focused on the importance of property ownership and demonstrated its influence on the labour process, individual access to agricultural education and political power (Brandth, 2002; Shortall, 1999). A common point of view in Norway is that women still suffer from prejudice in matters of farm succession and inheritance; although women enjoy equal opportunities in common law, custom ensures that ownership of farm land is still a male prerogative (Haugen, 1994; Jervell, 2002). Within the historical context of four generations, the succession issue will here be discussed from four perspectives: (a) socialisation, (b) ways of taking over and running a farm, (c) ownership and (d) leadership of the farm, while family form serves as a contextual category.

Thus the aim of the study presented in this chapter is to contribute to the issue of rights and praxis in farm succession by exploring mechanisms of transfer in three farm families. The chapter examines the factors which account for the differing roles which men and women in different generations assume. Questions to be asked are: How are inheritance dispute matters solved? How does the successor take over farm land and property from the older generation? Are transfers of property and power gendered and how has this changed over the generations? To answer these questions, the work takes its theoretical starting point in civil citizenship research.

BACKGROUND

One of the fundamental civil rights in democratic societies is the individual right to own property. Although they preceded other types of citizen participation, many civil rights – like the right to own landed property – were not extended to women until after they obtained political rights (see also Chapter 10 by Holmlund). In most European countries, the right to own property was granted to farm women during the twentieth century. Not until many women left agricultural work did the revised Norwegian Allodial Act of 1974 improve opportunities for Norwegian farm women to become successors by giving the oldest child (regardless of sex) born after 1965 the right to inherit the farm. Although women had owned and run farms also prior to the Allodial Act, firstborn daughters and sons were now given inheritance advantages.

Thirty years after the amendment, many changes have taken place in the status and relationship of men and women in farming (Haugen, 1998). First, extensive changes in Norwegian agriculture had profound changes in farm spouses' work and home spheres (Brandth & Verstad, 1993), pushing gender roles into transition (Almås & Haugen, 1991). The variety in paid work is the most severe structural transformation. Statistics show that the majority of Norwegian farm women now have an off-farm job.¹ Also, structural rationalisation and mechanisation reduced the agricultural workforce, actuating a masculinisation process in which female labour force left farms (Haugen, 1998). In a wider sense, changes in farm family patterns have been caused by decades of gender equity policy movements and welfare state developments.

Although the number of female farmers has increased slowly in the last decades, male and female successors still live in a gendered reality (Haugen, 2002); only 11% of current farm owners are women.² As farming is much a self-ascribed role reflecting involvement in farm work (to which many farm women subscribe), the percentage of female farmers is not necessarily an immediate reflection of succession changes. Property ownership is however a key factor in explaining the gender superiority (Shortall, 1999). Current numbers reflect the legal construction of farming, and the superior power of male farm owners illustrates a discrepancy between the formal civil right to inherit farm property and the social praxis. Studies confirm that the gender-structured division of work on Norwegian family farms persists to a large degree (Haugen & Brandth, 1994; Haugen & Blekesaune, 2005). The patrilineal nature of land transfer from father to son and women who still entered farm life through marriage have preserved the current power divisions within farm families (Brandth, 2002; Shortall, 1992, 2006).

THEORETICAL APPROACHES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Gender, Civil Citizenship and Farming

Feminist literature has extended the framing of social-civil rights to include family, domestic and social rights and the rights to transfer and inherit property. Citizenship is one of the concepts in which the exclusion of women has been firmly stressed, and access to citizenship is assumed to be gendered in much research literature (Walby, 1997). Gender can be understood as a power structure appurtenant in family life with many roles being differentially allocated by gender (Barnett, Biener, & Baruch, 1987). Feminist scholarship emphasises the ways in which citizenship developed as a male practice and idea, and suggests a scientific approach to a gendered nature which focuses on *both* the female and the male side of citizenship (Hobson & Lister, 2002). Equal rights of political, economic and social citizenship are practised in gendered ways, resulting in gender inequalities in ownership, power, representation, etc.

Farm life is an arena for the implementation of citizen rights, and one major finding of the power analysis of farm women is that they often occupy subordinate positions in farming (Werbner & Yuval-Davis, 1999). In this chapter, it is anticipated that the farming lifestyles, practised in work and home spheres, differ between men and women, reflecting the power situation in Norwegian farming. In a tradition-oriented sector like agriculture, role-identifications and value-orientations are assumed to be perpetual, unlike those of other sectors (Melberg, 2003, 2005). Haugen (1998) asserts that although the ideology of gender equity in the Norwegian society assumes equal opportunities, agriculture is a sector in which custom and law still support male dominance. Farming has to a large degree been regarded as a male occupation, while women are referred to as farmer's wives, mothers, daughters, helpers or assistants, when they in fact participate in farm work (Alston, 1998; Bjørkhaug, Heggem, & Melberg, 2006). It is here expected to find *a continued male-dominated succession line*.

Succession, Socialisation and Gender in Farming

The aging of the agricultural labour force and the difficulties in the farming succession process are major challenges in agriculture, and the key to understanding what happens on family farms as retirement approaches is

succession (Potter & Lobley, 1992). Planning for succession and inheritance has long been an integral part of the long-term “business plan” for the farm. On the one hand, these decisions lead to confusion, uncertainty and potentially harmful divisions between the generations. Effective planning can, on the other hand, create a sense of security and harmony within the farm household (see e.g. Symes, 1990). Research suggests that the succession status is important in shaping the way farm businesses develop over time (Potter & Lobley, 1992, 1996a). The presence of a successor is an important influence on the way farmers behave and make decisions, and provides an incentive to invest and expand the production; this is where a “successor effect” comes into play (Potter & Lobley, 1996b).

In the literature on farm succession, the “succession ladder” describes the steps in the succession process, focusing on the changing responsibilities of the successor from socialisation (learning basic farm skills), via technical apprenticeship (general farm work, day-to-day planning, supervision of staff) and partnership (increase in managerial responsibility), to controller (final transfer as the farmer ages and his/her health declines). Earlier research suggests that the intergenerational dynamics of transferring assets and business control are complex and often very different between farms (Potter & Lobley, 1992). Also Gasson and Errington (1993) state that a farm business cannot be properly understood without reference to the family that operates it. It is just as likely to find farmers whose successors are driven by a powerful bequest motive throughout their lives as to find farmers with multiple descendants who delay in investing due to the uncertainty in the sector. In other cases, a farm may lack a successor because it is run down or under-capitalised.

Farmers without successors or farms in which the likelihood of succession is low are, however, more prone to make capital investment and changes or simply reduce the workload late in the life stages (Potter & Lobley, 1992). Thus the succession process culminates as farmers enter retirement age. Such a process has been evident in Norwegian farming. Since the early 1990s investments have not increased significantly before a generational shift in Norwegian farming, a change in behaviour which indicates that the older generation is careful in predicting the decisions of the young generation (Jervell, 2002). Currently more than half of all farmers lack an interested successor.³ This development is the main challenge in Norwegian agriculture: although farms in selected areas of Norway are an attractive inheritance, the biggest problem today is actually finding a willing successor. These intergenerational issues can be explained by several factors; the smaller number of children born into farm families results in less

competition for the right to inherit the farm. Also the social revolution in educational and career opportunities has sent many young, rural people to urban areas.

Issues of succession and inheritance do, however, continue to relate to another key area of concern in Norwegian agriculture – the question of gender. The number and sex of the farmer's children are important in the process of identifying a successor. In Britain, the most significant factor in determining whether a successor has been identified in the farming family is the arrival of one or more sons (Gasson & Errington, 1993). Norwegian interview data point out how “being the oldest boy on the farm” once limited some young men to a life in farming because “that was common at the time” (Villa, 1999). Young, male successors were socialised into the farmers' life mode as an intergenerational, hardworking and undisputed way of living. Farm successors still tend to be identified early in their lives and enter a long period of socialisation. Thus the successors develop a personality and attitudes to farm life and learn basic farm skills. The most likely result of this socialisation-into-succession process is that only a minority of farms are run by women. It is here expected to find a prevalent patrilineal line of inheritance as an indication of a gendered power division within Norwegian farm families.

Symes (1990) argues that the gross inequalities in gender relations to be found in farming are rooted in customary practice concerning succession and inheritance rather than in statutory law. The environment within which the socialisation of farm children takes place is however developing quickly, facing farm youth with a wide range of educational and career opportunities which changes their life images. Also, the connection between changing social norms and customs and inheritance may cause new inheritance patterns. Villa (1999) found that while Norwegian farmers in previous generations were governed by family farm obligations, the youngest farmers believed they had several life course opportunities. The premise of this chapter is that *from a very young age farm children are socialised into an acceptance of stereotyped gender roles in agriculture, which is displayed later in life through succession praxis.*

Data Material and Analytical Model

The analysis of this chapter is based on a case study of 10 three- or four-generational farm families. Data were collected during 2003–2005 in western and southern regions of Norway. Interviews were carried out with the main

farmer, her or his spouse and parents (former farmers), and one child (potential farmer) and his/her partner. A total of 56 persons were interviewed. The interviews centred on individual life history information, and focused on mapping the relations among the generations and uncovering gender differences in the distribution of farm and off-farm work, domestic and caring tasks, and succession and leadership issues.

The families do not represent a particular geographical area, production or farm type, but were chosen on the basis of family type, variety and relevance. They vary in farm size and production, household economy, work organisation and family composition. Among these, three families were chosen for this chapter on the basis of three criteria. First, they represent three different family types with a particular succession story. Secondly, their stories are illustrative in understanding the potential impact of socialisation on succession praxis. Finally, the three families are of significance for the chosen analytical categories. Thus each family illustrates a process that influences the pathway into succession in which different socialisation patterns are present. These family types are found in many Norwegian farm families. Table 1 summarises how the families may be categorised.

In Table 1, farm family type categorises the three case families according to: (a) whether the current everyday farm life is gendered structured and (b) the degree to which their current way of living together is centred around two or more generations. In a wider sense, farm family type is linked to succession praxis and intergenerational relations.

Table 1. Three Selected Farm Families and Their Different Pathways into Succession.

Family Name	Farm Family Type	Socialisation Process	Way of Taking Over	Farm Leadership	Farm Ownership
Knudsen	Male dominated, intergenerational oriented	Planned and traditional	Traditional, male successors	Hierarchical, gradual	Male dominance
Nilsen	Nuclear family oriented	Traditional, but failed	Late succession, gender-divided	Male, unplanned	Female
Madsen	Intergenerational oriented, cooperative	Untraditional	Follow succession line, gender-neutral	Female, stepwise	Male, changing into female

The socialisation process is here categorised according to gender and generation characteristics by asking: Does the family or family members socialise successors and/or other children into the successor role or other social roles? If so: Is this a long-lasting family tradition on this farm?

The way of taking over a farm is here viewed as the result of socialisation and succession processes, for instance, if early work inclusion and on-farm-training is part of the socialisation process which influences the later succession and way of running a farm.

Farm leadership is characterised by gender and style: (a) If the farm manager is male or female and (b) if the change in farm leadership has been a gradual, planned process, or if the leadership change was sudden and unexpected.

Farm ownership is tightly connected to the farm management question, and is here analysed according to gender and generation by asking: Who is the legal owner of the farm? Does he/she also run the farm and/or participate in the farm work? How has the ownership praxis changed over the generations and in line with the Allodial Act?

LIFE HISTORIES FROM THREE FARM FAMILIES

This section explores processes of succession along the main dimensions of gender and generation in the three selected farm families. Before discussing succession along analytical dimensions in Table 1 and comparing the cases, the families are here presented as descriptive cases to each highlight selected themes in focus.

Socialisation: The Knudsen Family

Socialisation and the learning of basic farm skills are important parts of intergenerational interaction and the succession process. On one middle-sized farm, the main farmer stands out as the “paterfamilias” in a family which has a long-standing paternal structure. Grandmother Eva Knudsen explains what it was like when she came to the farm in the 1940s (interviewer’s questions in italics).

... I grew up on a farm. Yes. *What tasks did you do on the farm?* I just kind of entered the daily routine. *Did your mother-in-law include you in the daily work?* Yes, they lived in the same house, and we shared the tasks between us. ... The year after, I gave birth to the first child; we had five all together.

Jacob is child number three? Yes, he was in the middle. Was he the one who was expected to take over the farm? Yes, that is the way we thought about it from day one. He was the one who mattered, you know. (Eva, 84)

Eva started her married life home at her husband's farm, quickly taking on the role that was expected of her – the milking, caretaking, being a mother, wife and housekeeper. These tasks were delegated to Eva by her mother-in-law, presented to her through late succession socialisation. Eva and her husband took for granted that the firstborn boy was to be the successor. Her son, who is the current farmer, was interviewed:

Was farming something that you wanted to do? Yes, I was expected and wanted as the holder of the allodial right, so from the time I was born, I think, it was given that I was the one who should take over the farm. That suited me fine. I grew up like this and took early an interest in farming. To me it was a given and obvious choice, it really was. (Jacob, 49)

Although saying it in a witty tone, Jacob refers to himself as “of importance” in the family farm context. The role as a future farmer was assigned to him so early that he is not even conscious about when and how. He emphasises the gender aspect of farm work distribution:

Were you and your siblings given similar tasks on the farm? Well, my youngest sister says that my oldest sister used to drive the tractor until I was old enough to do it, but that they didn't need a girl number two – because the inheritor was born right after her. I was the one who got the interesting work tasks. (Jacob, 49)

Jacob insists that his parents deliberately involved both him and his sisters in the farm work, and he underlines that this was also necessary. Still he unveils a pattern where girls and boys were given different responsibilities – and where the successor is being brought up to assume a particular role. Jacob is still in charge of the farm and actively involves only his son – preparing him for his future role on the farm:

Have your children been involved in the farm work? Yes! At a maximum. All four of them. Have they (girls and boys) been given the same working tasks? No, I would say that they have different interests, but on the farm here ... they have been given equal opportunities. I think it has been great and it has been natural to me to transfer what I have been part of. (Jacob, 49)

He states that the sons and the daughters were asked to do same sorts of work, but explains the apparent gender difference by saying “they have different interests”:

I made sure that we had two boys first (laughs ...). And, eh, then, of course, it is something about the allodial right, I guess we just believe that it is the first one you can count on. (Jacob, 49)

Jacob sums up by concluding that he counts on his son Arne to take over – and that he is qualified to do so. Arne, the successor, actively assists his father on the farm:

My father has been good at bringing me along. It started with the machineries. That is what I was most interested in. I got to do most things, really, and then I learnt more and more, got interested. (Arne, 23)

When asked how he and his siblings worked on the farm, Arne stresses that his father used to include him more than his siblings. Arne was introduced to certain tasks and got to perform the ones that interested him the most. He is one of many farmers of all three generations who says that children of both genders work on the farm. The distribution of the interesting tasks was, however, settled by age (the oldest one had priority) and gender (at a certain age, boys got to handle the machinery, tractor, etc.). Still his father Jacob remembers the tradition when he was a young man and successor:

It was the tradition then – a lot more than it is now. In my opinion, many (farmers) of my generation were tied to it, yes – more or less forced into farming. In my generation, the oldest one should take over. It hurts to say, but what would have happened to agriculture if things hadn't been like that? It was also part of the upbringing of my children that they should learn to work hard on the farm. (Jacob, 49)

Ways of Taking Over and Running the Farm: The Nilsen Family

Other important aspects of the succession process and the assumption of power are how the successor takes over responsibilities from the older generation and how inheritance matters are solved. In the Nilsen family, a daughter took over the farm some years ago from her brother, who had been running it for ten years. In their mid thirties, the new farm couple was well settled in an urban area, and had never considered farming as a way of life. The two siblings agreed upon a reasonable purchase price for the farm, and the sister formally took over. It was, however, her husband – the brother-in-law – who became the active farm manager:

Her brother was running the farm. He had been doing so for almost ten years. He was sick and tired and mentioned it to us. We were in doubt whether we should do it, and discussed it intensely. But we jumped into it. I do not think we have regretted it. We are satisfied and I think he is too. (Jarle, 41)

Several family members describe the first farmer as uninterested in animals and farm life. Back in 1990, he still built a house on the farm and

established a family there. He did it out of commitment to his father, claim his relatives. His mother tells what kind of responsibility the successor was given at an early age:

He had duties from a very young age and helped us whenever we needed it. His plan was to take over the farm, even though he had a full time job as a teacher. But Magne (husband/father) was very clear about him not taking over if he did not want to. But I guess it's not that simple just to *say* it. (Ella, 67)

The brother-in-law saw the renunciation as an opportunity for him and his family:

I guess I like practical work. I can combine it with other things that engage me. It is an occupation that requires knowledge; you have to know what you are doing. I enjoy making decisions and to be "my own man," so to say. (Jarle, 41)

Jarle's wife Anita, who initially came from this farm, reveals that she had never considered becoming a farmer or living on the farm and that it was her husband who was the initiator and driving force in this *late succession process*:

From our childhood, it was all planned. My father controlled it, and my brother was the one who did the outdoor work, he was in the barn and he was the successor. I did not even think about taking over the farm until many, many years later. When I was young, I was happy I wasn't the one with the allodial right. (Anita, 39)

Anita's formulation is typical of many farm girls; they experience the inheritance of a gendered culture. Female offspring refer to their subordinate role as "a relief," and say "it didn't cross my mind to take over," or "although being interested, farm work and farm life was temporary to me." Although conscious of it, Anita admits that they transmit this pattern to their children. Her husband Jarle describes how tasks are distributed between their sons and daughters:

Our daughter is a bit "girly"; she cleans the house once a week. It has sort of become her responsibility around here. She would have come with me to the barn if I had asked her. A little bit traditional. I guess she should have been outdoors and he (the son) indoors. (Jarle, 41)

The work patterns which are still practised at family farms today preserve gender roles. The story of Anita and Jarle illustrates this aspect:

There are several tasks that I think we shared more equally before we moved here. I see that now we just have to divide the responsibility between us. (Anita, 39)

The farm's history, plans for the future and driving forces for taking over the family farm are themes that still engage farm family members of all

generations. While the reluctant and indecisive way of farm take over is characteristic of many farm families today, the stories of past generations tell about valuable land, influence and power. The obligation and joy that farm work brought was a driving force for the oldest generation in their succession process, as described by Anita's father Magne:

It has been life to me to grow things and to create something new. I have always worked. You can say that what my father built up – I wanted to sustain that as long as he lived – and improve, always improve. The connection between me and my father was strong. He was also interested in expansion and the farm, learned me all about it ... (Magne, 69)

Magne felt a vocation to be a farmer, but says he took over the farm both out of duty and joy. He was devoted, and administered his inheritance carefully, but retired early because, "it was about time for my son to take over when he turned 30." Magne is stunned by the way the second succession process has taken place on the family farm; his main objection being that "they (his daughter) got it so cheap, much too cheap." Having his lifework on the farm in mind, the father thinks the farm was too low-priced, and interprets this as an insult.

Farmer Jarle is reluctant to speak about his future plans:

Regarding investment, we are a bit passive. You can say I am afraid to gain too much dept. If I invest too much, I am stuck here. Now I can get rid of machinery and animals, and just live here. (Jarle, 41)

The main reason for this point of view is his children's reluctance to take over the farm:

The oldest one comes along in the barn sometimes. He does not like it particularly well. I think it is the pocket money that keeps him doing it. No, we do not know much about the next generation. I have to be certain about them taking over the farm before they turn 25. ... It is no point in spending millions on a new barn if nobody is taking over. (Jarle, 41).

The Leadership of the Farm: The Madsen Family

This section focuses on how the successor takes over responsibility from the older generation and the ways of leading the farm. On the Madsen farm, a hard-working family has developed the farm production under the leadership of many generations since the 1860s. The farm today is a successful, pluriactive and profitable business. Although the farm formally

belonged to her husband, Grandma Hanna explains her informal leadership style this way:

I was a farm talent. I had worked on another farm for many years, so I was used to the work and knew how to handle the life here when we got married. David had other jobs as a carpenter and bricklayer. I was in charge of the household and the childcare, and was gradually handed over the responsibility for the farm from my parents-in-law. (Hanna, 75)

Through her story Hanna describes a line of female dominance on the family farm and in their farm community in the mid 1950s. She also stands out as a strong, independent and capable farm manager, something her husband David confirms:

I was not one of the most interested (in farm work). There have always been very capable women on our farm. Hannah was more qualified than me. The women were responsible for the animals, for the farm. It was difficult times then, we did not have any money, but we had food. As a man I had to take other jobs. Men's work on the farm back then was seasonal. That's changed radically during my time at the farm. (David, 80)

David describes a work culture where all generations had to generate income through a range of activities on and off the farm. This created opportunities for female leadership on many Norwegian farms in the early post-war period. The male succession line did, however, remain though custom and law. Hannah and David had two sons and a daughter, and the older son John was early given responsibility for the farm work:

We all worked a lot. I have never been that interested in animals, but I love the nature. *Who ran the farm when you were a child?* Well, it was my grandparents when I was a child. They made the decisions. My mother must have been really strong, coming to the farm. She had to find her role. My father had other work; he was never much of a farmer. *What did you think about the takeover?* Well, by then I had worked for 12 years as a teacher. I regarded it as my duty to take over. And my parents still managed farm then, I could relax, and just let them organise everything. But they reminded and pushed me. (John, 52)

Like many successors, John gradually was handed over the leadership of the farm. His mother, who was in charge of running the farm, had a central role in this process. Since then, John has reduced the traditional farm production and built an economically viable farm tourism business. John, who wants to keep the farm land and buildings, still receives a lot of help from his elderly parents.

I have had invaluable help from my parents, from my mother in particular. She knew how to run a business ... She has been and is still very active on the farm. *Why do you keep on working?* It has something to do with commitment; I would never have done this if I knew strangers were going to take over the farm, if other people could just buy it. (John, 52)

John, his parents and his children (two daughters and one son) run the farm business together. He expects his oldest daughter, who currently lives and studies abroad, to take over the farm:

I am looking forward to handing it over to Aida. She has worked here a lot; we have worked together a lot. I know she can handle it very well. But I would like us the two of us to cooperate for a couple of years, develop new ideas, new business concepts. (John, 52)

Currently, John is preparing for Aida to take over the leadership of the farm business, once again handing it over to a female family member. He finds her qualified, skilled and adequately trained for the task, but is prepared to spend some years to train her leadership qualities. Aida herself is positive about taking over the farm:

I really want to run the farm myself. I want to come home to the farm, in two years, in five years – I do not know. ... I deliberately chose a university education which will be useful the day I am the one in charge here. (Aida, 26).

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The aim of this section is to compare the three family farms along the one contextual category (family type) and four analytical dimensions (socialisation process, way of taking over and running the farm, farm leadership and ownership) in Table 1.

Family Type

The Knudsen family is a *male-dominated family type*, i.e. a male line of power runs through the generations. In the generations studied, male successors have inherited the farm, been responsible for the farm work and passed it on to the next male heir. Through his patrilineal leadership the current farmer maintains tight *intergenerational* bonds in this family, expecting a continuation of the male succession line. By assigning secondary farm work tasks to the female family members, women have been excluded from power and influence.

The Nilsen farm family is *nuclear-family oriented*. Although the older generation once left the farm to the male successor as the result of a long-term plan, the late succession process concluded the succession by leaving the farm responsibility to a daughter and her husband. Although living on the same farm, the generations maintain separate households and have little contact. The Nilsen family is nuclear family-oriented also in viewing the farm merely as a place to live, rather than as a valuable, inherited business run on family lines.

In contrast, there are close intergenerational ties between both genders in the three living generations of the Madsen family. They have the interests of the young female successor in focus, and in order to maintain family ties and secure the succession line, they cooperate in multiple farm business development. The adaptation is a break in their male succession line. Thus, they are an *intergenerational oriented, cooperative family*.

The Socialisation Process

The socialisation process runs differently in the studied families. In the Knudsen family, which is a male, intergenerational oriented type, a quite valuable farm has been handed over from father to son for generations, and succession has followed a *planned and traditional line of socialisation* through the last century. The current farmer has strongly contributed to socialise his son into taking over the family farm by including him in the farm work and gradually handing over responsibilities. By placing farm girls and women in traditional social roles and delegating tasks of secondary importance to them, the traditional gender-divided aspect of the Knudsen farm family is evident.

The socialisation processes in the Nilsen and the Madsen family are different. The parental farm generation socialised the son into farming, but he chose a life outside of farming. Although the oldest generation at the Nilsen farm aimed at keeping a male succession line through socialising, the male inheritance process in the current farm generation was unsuccessful. Neither the daughter nor the son-in-law who took over were brought up to be farmers; they belong to a generation with preferences for city life. While socialisation used to be traditional (from father to son), the children in current, nuclear oriented, farm family are raised in an off-farm life. The current farm couple claim that in due time, they will probably have to look for an out-of-family successor. Thus the traditional socialisation process has changed direction – it is a *traditional, but failed socialisation process*.

In the Madsen family, a male succession line is currently reoriented by a female successor who is both willing to and encouraged by her father and grandparents to take over. Currently they have an *untraditional socialisation process*; the young female successor is encouraged and given time to find her own way into farming. As in many farm families, members of all generations and both genders work on this family farm, and an early socialisation into social roles and work praxis have taken place. The grandmother is a leadership figure who has inspired the younger generation of farm girls to take responsibility. Thus they keep up an intergenerational, cooperative family style and view succession as a slow takeover process on the Madsen farm.

Ways of Taking Over and Running the Farm

In two of the families, the Knudsen's and the Nilsen's, a male succession line has been preferred. A *traditional, male succession* process continues in the male-dominated Knudsen family through socialisation, the leadership of a strong paterfamilias and close intergenerational ties. This has been more complicated in the nuclear-oriented Nilsen family. As a consequence of the initial succession process, the first inheritor left the farm after some years of farming. Decreased well-being and another job offer actuated this *late succession* phase which has resulted in a *gender-divided take over* – the male leadership and female farm ownership.

The Nilsen case illustrates how a succession can take a loop with an indecisive farmer before being finally settled, a way of taking over which might be called a late succession process. Although a daughter finally took over the farm, this is also a case which illustrates how farming in praxis continue to be handed over from one man (farmer/successor) to another man (here the brother-in-law/farmer) even when regular male succession fails. The intergenerational oriented Madsen family has, however, long prepared for a transition to a future female successor. The older generations have adapted to the girl successor's professional interests and prepared for her to take over. Thus they *follow the succession line*, but are open to *gendered transitions*. In all three families, the future succession line is certainly more open than it was in earlier generations.

The Leadership of the Farm

While all three families describe similar, incremental leadership change processes, they differ from each other in several respects. While a

hierarchical and a *male management* line dominates in the Knudsen and Nilsen families, respectively, a strong *female line of leadership* runs in the Madsen family. In the Knudsen family, a strong leadership is performed by the farmer in charge, and specific tasks are delegated to the children according to succession status – as has been the tradition for generations. The current farmer teaches his son a certain leadership style through a gradual delegation and handover of farm work tasks and duties. Through this particular management style, the farmer influences the male succession process and maintains the male, intergenerational family style on the farm.

The Nilsen family tells quite a different leadership story. Although the former farmer brought his son early into farm management and succeeded in handing over power to him, the late succession process resulted in another *male*, but this time *unplanned leadership* by the son-in-law. This was a change in power which the former farmer did not endorse. Thus the male line of leadership was sustainable enough to exclude the female inheritor from the farm management.

The line of *female leadership* in the Madsen family is interesting. While owning the farm has been a male prerogative for generations, women have run and managed the farm. Through the passage of time, generations of men have owned the Madsen farm, but with Grandmother Eva a female line of leadership came to the farm. Many family members emphasise her good leadership qualities. Eva has inspired both her son and granddaughter to study business development and to *step-by-step* take over the farm belonging to this intergenerational, cooperative family.

The Ownership of the Farm

On the male-dominated Knudsen farm, a *male line of ownership* runs parallel with the male leadership tradition. Traditionally, the male Knudsen farmer makes all major decisions on the farm, his closest work partner being his father and/or son. The current farmer is very concerned about the Allodial Act, which secures his oldest child Arne the right to inherit the farm. Strategically, he often makes reference to the legal framework both to motivate and commit his son. A possible female ownership on the traditional Knudsen farm will not occur until the now 3-year-old granddaughter grows up.

The more complex family situation on the Nilsen farm includes an interesting gender division between male leadership and *female farm ownership*. While a woman held the legal right to take over, her

husband is the active farm manager. At the time of the takeover, this nuclear family-oriented family chose the farm as a place of residence. While her husband took over the farm management, the female farm owner is the proprietor who continued in her off-farm job. Although choosing their own way into farming, they follow the praxis of generations by socialising their son into considering farming as a future occupation. The mother's passive ownership and the father who practises a passive leadership style do not, however, motivate the young successor. If they succeed, they will re-establish the male line of farm ownership.

The intergenerational oriented Madsen family farm has a female successor who has the legal right to own the farm and is interested in taking over the farm production. Her family very much encourages her to take over. She is in apprenticeship both at her grandmother's and father's, making investments for future business. Up to her time, the farm was owned by men, but family members reveal that the farm in praxis has been run by enterprising women. Thus the responsible role women have had through generations on this farm, has encouraged and inspired the *future female successor* – she has been socialised into taking over.

CONCLUSION

The main approach of this chapter has been on the transfer of property and power which takes place through succession within each family. The aim has been to uncover potential gendered power divisions within the farm families for better understanding of the positions of men and women in Norwegian farming. From this vantage point the extent to which social roles are being transmitted from one generation to the next was examined, i.e. if a tradition where mothers, fathers, in-laws and grandparents give shape to the lives of young people exists in agriculture. The main questions were: What is the significance of socialisation for succession? How are the pathways in which different socialisation patterns reflected in the way successors take over, run, own and manage the farm? A prevalent patrilineal line of inheritance in the Norwegian farm families studied was expected to emerge from this line of inquiry.

The first conclusion of this chapter is that the ways of taking over, running and managing a farm are interconnected with the shared lives between the generations. Farm life is formed by a tradition of transmission; i.e. social roles are maintained through complex succession processes. Through socialisation, occupational and caretaking roles are passed on

from father to son, from mother to daughter, and from grandparents to grandchildren over a given historical period. Several factors create such a tradition. Farm life is intertwined with off-farm life and blurs the distinctions between work and family as members live and work in close proximity (Elder, Conger, Swisher, & Lorenz, 1998; Melberg, 2003, 2005). We may view the processes of transmission among family members of different generations and the negotiations and reciprocities that these imply as in constant change. Such transmissions take place in current farm structures, but in a more complex and ambivalent way than in times past.

The second conclusion of this chapter is that succession and power distribution have changed considerably during the generations studied. Succession is still very much a power issue – of leaving, handing over and gaining power. The analyses show how farm families through a long and stepwise succession process, have planned responsibility for the farm production, investments and other activities to prepare farm transfers. Parental strategies for the upbringing of the future successor have a crucial effect on how many young women and men will use their allodial rights. A rational way for parents to interest their children in farm work is to integrate and include them in work and family responsibility from early childhood – to socialise them into certain roles. The third conclusion of this study is that to a degree they still do. The tradition where children of both genders contribute to farm work persists and the rationality of socialising young successors into future farm managers is present in many families. Thus a family subculture or in some cases even a family-gender regime exists.

Farm parents are however, ambivalent towards successions; they encourage their children to educate themselves and seek an easier way of life outside farming, but still socialise successors to take over. The succession process is becoming increasingly challenging as many members of the young farm generations have off-farm preferences. While older generations recall the power, respect and professional pride they felt when taking over the farm, many of today's successors view farming as an unattractive way of life. Farm sons and daughters seem to choose their own pathways into adulthood, and especially young women are likely to leave rural areas. Thus farm girls have left the farm power arena which was given to them through civil rights. A to-the-point formulation would be that while young women run away from farming, young men are socialised into an uncertain future on Norwegian farms. In sum, this makes the future of Norwegian farming open. Thus, as expected, a *continued male-dominated succession line* is found in the analysis.

The gendering of citizenship involves reconfiguring a paradigm that was patterned around a male citizen (see Hobson & Lister, 2002). When agriculture is going through restructuring and decline, a likely effect could be that of less stereotypical gender identity (Brandth, 2006). Hoggart (2004) holds that, from a gender equality perspective, rural society is not changing fast enough. In order to improve the gender balance in rural areas, the government has acknowledged that there is a need for better employment opportunities for women in Norway. The civil right of succession was once enforced upon agriculture through general processes of gender equalisation. This chapter supports the view that an integrated understanding of gendered, social roles persists in farming communities. Thus the view of the civil citizen approach that women in many respects still hold a secondary position on Norwegian family farms is here supported. Thirty years after the Allodial Act, young men and women still live in gender-structured realities, with divergent expectations and possibilities (Haugen, 2002). This chapter concludes that socialisation contributes to the gender-structured division of work in Norwegian farm life, despite the modernisation of rural areas.

NOTES

1. *Source:* The Norwegian Living Conditions Survey of the Farming Population (2002) (see www.ssb.no).
2. *Source:* The Norwegian Living Conditions Survey of the Farming Population (2002).
3. *Source:* The Norwegian Living Conditions Survey of the Farming Population (2002).

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FROM FORMAL TO FEMALE PROPERTY RIGHTS: GENDER AND INHERITANCE OF LANDED PROPERTY IN ESTUNA, SWEDEN, 1810–1845

Sofia Holmlund

One of the fundamental civil rights that democratic societies are built upon is the right for individuals to own property. According to the British sociologist T. H. Marshall, the development of civil rights historically preceded other types of citizen participation, like the political and social ones. However, this perspective has been criticized, not least by feminist scholars. It has been shown that in many countries the elements of civil citizenship embraced women only after they had achieved political citizenship.¹ Among the rights that were not fully granted to women in most Western societies until the 20th century were property rights. This counts especially for married women. This chapter deals with an important historical aspect of the civil rights of rural women in Sweden, namely their right to inheritance and the judicial protection of these rights within marriage.

From a historical perspective, the right to own property is synonymous with the right to own *landed* property. For the great majority of people, for

those who lived in rural societies and supported themselves from agricultural production, access to landed property was indispensable. Especially within the social sciences scholars have taken interest in the concept of the rights of landed property and its historical development. There is consensus that in the Western world from 18th century onwards, a general development took place towards exclusively individual and legally defined forms of ownership.²

WOMEN, INHERITANCE, AND PROPERTY RIGHTS IN RURAL SWEDEN

Inheritance practice and rules are important keys to understanding the property rights of any rural society. This is especially true for Swedish rural society, traditionally predominated by freeholders. Freeholders, unlike tenants, owned their own farms. This means among other things that their children had the right of inheritance to the landed property.

The subject of this essay is inheritance and property rights of women in rural Sweden during the first half of the 19th century. During this time, property rights of the Swedish peasantry were changing. In fact, the very concept of ownership was being transformed into a more modern one, similar to the individual property rights that we take for granted in the developed societies of today. In the 18th and 19th centuries, a number of decrees and reforms had strengthened the position of individual property-owners against the Crown, but also against the owner's own family and relatives.³

However, none of these changes really concerned women. Indeed, women did have the right to inherit and to own both landed and personal property. However, they lacked the right to administer their own property. During most of their lives, women had the legal status of minors. This meant that the properties of women were managed by their fathers, their husbands, or by other male guardians. Only widows were considered legally competent. The subordination of women in property matters was also manifest in both marital law and inheritance law up till 1845. According to marital law, wives possessed one-third and men two-thirds of the marital property. According to inheritance law, daughters inherited half the amount of sons of the parental property. Inheritance law did not expressly give sons the priority to *landed* property. Nevertheless, male succession on the estates was strongly supported, since the unequal rights of inheritance was supplemented by a

statute saying that if an estate could not be divided, the owner of the *largest* part was entitled to buy out his joint-heirs.⁴

To sum up, Swedish inheritance law before 1846 which is the period studied in this essay, disfavoured female heirs, making it unlikely for most of them to get their share of inheritance in the form of landed property. From 1846 and onwards women were granted equal rights of inheritance with men. Then, however, a regulation in inheritance law gave male heirs explicit priority to landed property.⁵

OUTLINE

The arguments pursued in this chapter are based on an analysis of assignments of landed property between parents and children in a Swedish parish between 1810 and 1845. As we shall see, the inheritance system of the area was markedly patriarchal. For example, peasant daughters who had brothers almost never got their inheritance in the form of landed property. Most often, they were pecuniarily compensated instead. And whatever property they got, they were not allowed to manage it themselves; this was done by their fathers, their husbands, or by their male guardians. In spite of this, I will claim that these women here had a relatively strong position in inheritance matters. Even if they did not get it in the form of landed property, daughters generally got the shares of inheritance they were entitled to by law. Because of this, once married, many of them did end up as landowners. I will also claim that the relatively strong position of women was due to an involvement of inheritance matters in the local judicial sphere, resulting from the ongoing transformation of the property system in general.

The area investigated is the parish of Estuna in central-eastern Sweden, situated about 80 km north of Stockholm and close to the country town of Norrtälje. This was a typical agricultural district with few side lines. The population was involved in market relations at a relatively early stage, and commercial land transactions were common throughout the period. Estates were quite large in comparison to other areas, but most of the owners were peasant proprietors. The main source of the assignments are land-transaction registers in the Rural Court of Lyhundra which the parish of Estuna belonged to. The judicial material has been completed with information from the Estuna parish records.⁶

I will first briefly present some data from the investigation, showing a marked preference for male successors on the estates. Then I will describe the way in which these inter-generational transfers were realized, giving

examples of how daughters were compensated and how their inherited means were protected in marriage. After that comes an outline of the development of a formal property system in the studied area and its consequences for female property rights. Finally I conclude with brief a discussion of female property rights and civil citizenship.

ESTATE INHERITORS: MALE FAVOURITES AND FEMALE SUBSTITUTES

As previously described, inheritance law prior to 1846 did not designate inheritors of landed property.⁷ Sons inherited twice as much as daughters of the total parental property, and it was up to the families involved to decide what would become of the landed property in particular. However, if the landed property in question could not be divided, sons, since they inherited the larger part, had the right to buy their sisters out. In the parish of Estuna, as in most Swedish regions, estates were most often not divided between the heirs (unless they consisted of several separate holdings, which was the case for 33 of the assignments accounted for in Table 1). Inheritance assignments could very well include *fictive* divisions of the separate holdings, but only to be followed by transactions where one of the heirs bought the others out. The custom of keeping the landed property undivided is generally called *impartible inheritance*, as opposed to *partible inheritance* which refers to a *factual* division where the landed property is permanently divided between the heirs in every generation. Partible inheritance has been less common in Sweden, as well as in the rest of Europe, and was usually concentrated to districts with diversified economies.⁸

Table 1. Inheritors of Landed Property in 106 Families (Parish of Estuna, Sweden, 1810–1845).

Sons	53 (50%)	Among which there were landless sisters	33
Daughters	20 (19%)	Among which there were landless brothers	5
Several siblings	33 (31%)		
Total	106 (100%)		

Sources: Rural Court of Lyhundra: legal confirmations of acquiring land; Parish archives of Estuna: records of catechetical meetings; Collection district of Mellersta Roslagen: registers of population.

Note: The table includes only assignments between parents and children.

The combination of unequal rights of inheritance, impartible inheritance, and the right of the owner of the largest part to buy the others out, indeed furthered male inheritors. Table 1 below shows the outcome of 106 inheritance assignments made between 1810 and 1845 in the parish of Estuna.

It is clear that sons generally took over the family farm. In half of the families, one son took over the whole estate, while a majority of these sons had sisters who did not inherit any landed property at all. Daughters could take over as well, and they did so in about one-fifth (19%) of the cases. However, in most of those families there were no sons. In the five cases where a daughter took over despite having brothers, there were generally special circumstances. In one case, all siblings except for a daughter had died, though leaving children who inherited in their place. In another case the father was 68 years old and the only son only 10. Since it was not possible for the father to postpone his withdrawal until the son had grown up, the estate was assigned to the 21years-old daughter and her husband.⁹

CASES OF SEVERAL SIBLINGS INHERITING LANDED PROPERTY

Table 1 also contains a number of assignments (33 cases) where landed property was distributed to more than one child. As indicated, this was not a question of splitting unitary holdings between heirs, but of distributing several *separate* and economically sound farms, often located in different hamlets. These families were among the wealthiest of the parish, and they used their resources to provide several children with properties of their own. Here, daughters were more likely to have a share of the landed property. Table 2 shows the distribution of land among these 33 families.

In quite a few of these cases, daughters ended up as inheritors of landed property. But just like the heiresses in Table 1, their inheriting land was almost never at the expense of a brother's. As shown in Table 2, such a thing occurred only twice during the whole period. And here, just as in the five cases of Table 1 where a daughter was given priority before a son, the circumstances were out of the ordinary. For example, one of the two cases in Table 2 concerns Jan Larsson, age 39. In 1825, after the death of both his parents, he conveyed his share of the inherited estate to his brother Erik, 49 years of age, and to his sister Maria, 43 years of age. As against Jan Larsson did not demand money in return. Instead a contract was drawn up,

Table 2. Inheritors of Landed Property within Families Distributing Landed Property to Several Children (Parish of Estuna, Sweden, 1810–1845).

Only sons	13	Among which there were landless sisters	8
Only daughters	8	Among which there were landless brothers	0
Both sons and daughters	12	Among which there were landless:	
		Sisters	5
		Brothers	2
Total	33		

Sources: See Table 1.

Note: See Table 1.

according to which Erik and Maria were to support Jan with food and housing for the rest of his life. Jan Larsson was still unmarried (and remained so until his death 1843) while both his siblings had large families.¹⁰

All told, only in 7 out of 106 families in the researched area were daughters given priority over sons in inheriting the landed property. The opposite case, where sons were given the priority over daughters, was far more common and occurred in all in all 46 cases. As is shown, daughters could indeed take over parental property, but only if there were no sons, or if there was landed property left after the sons had been provided with economically sound estates. The exceptions to this rule are the 7 cases mentioned where the circumstances of the families were unusual. Male succession on the estates was undoubtedly the overall preferred outcome of inheritance transfers, and saying that the inheritance system of the region studied was markedly patriarchal is not an overstatement.¹¹ How then, can I claim that women had a strong position in inheritance matters here?

THE REALIZATION OF ASSIGNMENTS: FEMALE PROPERTY RIGHTS PROTECTED

What we have seen so far are merely the *results* of the inheritance assignments. As we saw, only a minority of the estate inheritors were women. To investigate what happened with the rest of the heiresses, we need to look closer into the *realization* of the assignments. One could describe the assignment as a process that began when the parents disposed of the estate, and ended when one (or sometimes several) of the children became the sole

owner of the estate. This process usually contained settlements between parents and children and between siblings, and it is here that the rights of heirs and heiresses are perceived. Below is an example of an assignment made in Estuna in the 1820s.

On February 19, 1821, a young peasant proprietor, Mats Matsson, comes before the district court to apply for a legal ratification of his inherited and bought estate constituting 1/2 *mantal* in the hamlet Haggård in the parish of Estuna. To prove his legal ownership he shows some documents which are copied into the court record. The first document is a bill of sale, dated August 5, 1820, in which his mother, Anna Ersdotter, widow of the late peasant proprietor Mats Matsson, assigns her half of the landed property to their three children: young Mats Matsson, 25 years of age, his brother Johan, 21, and his sister Margareta, 18. The other half of the property has been automatically transferred to the children through the death of their father. In return for her share, Anna gets a retirement contract (*lagan*) according to which she is to be supported during the rest of her life by the owner of the land.

The second document shown to the court by young Mats Matsson is another bill of sale of the same date, where Johan and Margareta (through her guardian) sell both their paternal and maternal inheritance to young Mats Matsson, for 389 and 194.5 *riksdaler*, respectively.¹² Young Mats Matsson is also to house and support their mother Anna Ersdotter in accordance with her contract.¹³

The assignment of the estate in Haggård is typical in several ways. As we could see, it consisted of two separate moments: one where the property was handed over to the next generation, and one where the heirs traded with each other, making one of them the sole owner of the estate. This was the way in which virtually all inheritance assignments in Estuna were made, provided that there was more than one child in the family. Moreover, and importantly, these family transactions were registered in the rural court record, just like purely commercial transactions between buyers and sellers that were not family.¹⁴ The reasons and the consequences of this formal way of dealing with all kinds of property matters will be discussed shortly.

BEING BOUGHT OUT OF THE ESTATE

I have already mentioned that daughters were generally bought out from the lands by their brothers. This was the case with the family in Haggård as well. And here, not only the daughter was being bought out, but the younger

brother as well. Since the amounts paid to them are mentioned in the bill of sale we can observe the unequal inheritance law put into practice. As we saw, the bought-out brother Johan got 389 *riksdaler* for his share of the inheritance, while the sister Margareta got 194.5 *riksdaler*. Margareta got only half as much as her brother, because her inherited share of the estate was correspondingly smaller than his. But what more can be said of the compensation she got? Did the sums paid to Margareta and Johan correspond with the actual market value of the land?

Knowing that there were two brothers and one sister in this family we can conclude that the estimated value of the whole estate, underlying the compensation to Johan and Margareta, was two brother shares of 389 *riksdaler* and one sister share of 194.5 *riksdaler*, which makes a total of 972.5 *riksdaler*. The question is whether this was even near the price that would have been paid for the estate on the open market? That is very hard to verify. The relation between commercial selling prices and prices paid to bought-out joint-heirs is generally very difficult to establish, since no reliable measurement method exists that allows for comparisons between units that were inherited and units that were sold.

By comparing both kinds of prices to the contemporary *rateable values* that were registered for all Swedish estates from 1810 and onwards, however, I have made an estimation of the connection between “family prices” and commercial prices. This method is reliable when applied to a large number of transactions rather than to an individual case like the one described. Yet we can use this case as an example. The rateable value of the whole property, consisting of 1/2 *mantal* in the hamlet Haggård, was 1,575 *riksdaler*. This is considerably higher than the “family value” of 972.5 *riksdaler*. In fact, the amounts paid by young Mats Matsson to his younger siblings Johan and Margareta constituted barely 62% of the rateable value of their respective shares of the property. This seems like an extremely low compensation. However, we do not know all the details of this individual case. On the one hand, the land in this hamlet (Haggård) might have been overestimated by the official valuers, making the rateable value too high. On the other hand, the value of the land might have been underestimated by the family. This could very well have been done deliberately to facilitate for the successor to take over the estate.¹⁵ During the whole period 1810–1845, selling prices in Estuna constituted, on the average, 155%, and “inheritance prices” 117% of the rateable values. These figures show a considerable, but not huge, difference between “family prices” and commercial prices that must be owing to the fact that inheritors of landed property paid reduced prices to their siblings. Can this be due to the duty of the inheritor to

support the parents? Probably, but only to a less extent. The obligations of an inheritor of landed property were in most cases specified in a retirement contract. This contract was tied to the property and not to the inheritor in person, which meant that if the property was sold outside the family, the new owner took on the obligations of the contract. Retirement contracts were quite often made also between buyers and sellers that were not related to each other. In fact, nearly all estates in the parish, the ones sold on the open market as well as the ones transferred within a family, were burdened with retirement contracts drawn up with former owners. The lower prices paid within a family thus cannot be explained only by the retirement contracts. No doubt the differences we see are due to “family discounts” given to some heirs at the expense of others. At the same time, since the difference was not greater than it was, the prices paid for land within a family cannot have been totally disconnected from the market prices.¹⁶

The conclusion so far must be that the women in this study were doubly disfavoured by the inheritance system. In law as well as in practice, their shares of inheritance were only half the size. Then, when these half-sized shares were sold to their brothers, they did not, by far, receive the amounts the properties were worth on the open land market. However, in spite of being legally and practically disfavoured, heiresses in Estuna could be quite sure to get what they were entitled to by law. This is because the property rights of minors – all unmarried women had the legal capacity of minors – in Estuna were looked after by the local court, even in those cases when the minor’s father was alive and held the guardianship.

THE RIGHTS OF HEIRESSES WERE THE RIGHTS OF MINORS

The following example is constituted by an inheritance assignment made within a family in another hamlet in the parish, namely Finngarne. This was the family of the *wife* of young Mats Matsson from Haggård. Soon after taking over the estate in Haggård, young Mats Matsson got married to a girl named Margareta Jansdotter, born in the neighbouring hamlet Finngarne. Margareta Jansdotter had two younger sisters: Anna Maria and Katarina. Margareta and Anna Maria were married and their interests were looked after by their husbands. The youngest sister, Katarina, was a minor under

the guardianship of their father. The parents of the three sisters assigned their estate in 1822:

In a bill of sale, dated March 23, 1822, Margareta Jansdotter's father, Jan Matsson, and mother, Anna Larsdotter, assign their 7/24 *mantal* in the village Finngarne, to their three daughters Margareta, Anna Maria, and Katarina.

In a second bill of sale of the same date, young Mats Matsson from Haggård, with the consent of his wife Margareta Jansdotter, sells her inherited third of the Finngarne property to his brother-in-law, Olof Ersson, and his wife, Margareta's sister Anna Maria Jansdotter, for 583 *riksdaler*.

The share of the minor sister Katarina is sold by her father Jan Matsson for the same amount. A note in the court record maintains that the panel of lay assessors together with the assembled people substantiated that the amount paid to the minor sister Katarina for her share was favourable for her.¹⁷

This assignment shows, among other things, how the rights of *minor* heiresses were protected. Unlike her sisters, the youngest sister Katarina was not married, and thus she was under the guardianship of her father. As we saw, he was the one selling her share of the estate to her elder sister and brother-in-law. Before giving its approval of this transaction, however, the court asked the panel of lay assessors and the assembled people to substantiate that she was not being disfavoured. Notes of such substantiations occurred quite frequently in the court records studied, and only in cases where *fathers* were selling the property of their children.

However – quite often actually since mortality was high during the researched period – the father was not always alive and able to take on guardianship over his children. In those cases a guardian was appointed by the rural court. Towards such guardians, the rural court was even more demanding, and verbal substantiations would not be enough. A guardian in this district who wanted to sell off the landed property of his ward first had to obtain a bill of permission, issued at a regular court session. Before the buyer could have his title legally registered, that obtained licence had to be made known at a court session of property matters. In several cases, inheritors of land were denied the registration of their titles until the sales of the shares of their minor siblings had been approved of by the judge of a regular court session. Sometimes legal valuations of the estates were expressly required to ensure that minors were not disfavoured.¹⁸ The stipulations from the court became more frequent over time, and eventually the licences started containing not only allowances,

but also minimum amounts for which the property of the minors could be disposed of.¹⁹

These judicial practices of the Rural Court of Lyhundra were not entirely connected with the legislation of the time. Guardians were indeed not allowed by law to sell the property of their wards except in cases of absolute necessity. But this was meant as a protection against sales *outside* the family.²⁰ In Estuna, however, the court applied these rules on transactions *within* the family as well, and it did so consequently. The special approach to the property rights of minors by the rural court of Lyhundra affected female heiresses in particular. They were most often the ones to have their inherited shares of the parental land sold. They were also the ones who remained minors also in adulthood. When a woman got married, however, guardianship passed on to her husband. What happened then with her property rights?

THE WEAK PROPERTY RIGHTS OF WIVES

As is evident in the assignment in the hamlet Finngarne, the property matters of married women were handled by their husbands. It was not Margareta Jansdotter herself who sold her inherited property, but her husband, young Mats Matsson. Moreover, he did not sell it to her sister Anna Maria in the first place, but to her husband Olof Ersson.

The proprietorship of wives was not a matter of course during this time. To the side of the husband's guardianship over his wife and her property, other significant inequalities concerning the marital economy existed too. As mentioned before, wives possessed only one-third of the married spouses' joint property. The only exception was hereditary estates or other landed property that had been acquired by either of the spouses before the marriage. Such land was kept separate from the marital property. Yet even if a wife did have such landed property of her own, it was administered by her husband. To a certain extent, law protected the property of wives against misuse by irresponsible husbands. For example, a wife's hereditary estate could not be sold off by her husband without her consent. This meant that she – at least in theory – was fairly well protected, not only against her husband's misuse of the property but also against his heirs in case of his untimely death. However, as we have seen, a household's landed property in general consisted of the hereditary estate of the *husband*, not of the wife. Women rarely brought any landed property into the marriage. Instead they brought money, just like the wife Margareta Jansdotter who

was bought out of her parents' land in Finngarne. If no measures were taken, this money was included in the joint property of the marriage and the husband was free to use it in any way he pleased.

In practice, the inherited means of a wife was often used to buy her husband's siblings out of their hereditary estate. This becomes clear if we take a closer look at the assignments of property made in the hamlets Haggård and Finngarne, and compare the amounts that were paid to the bought-out siblings. In 1820, young Mats Matsson bought his siblings out of their hereditary estate in Haggård for an amount of $389 + 194.5 = 583.5$ riksdaler. Two years later, in 1822, his wife Margareta Jansdotter was bought out from her hereditary estate in Finngarne for an amount of 583 riksdaler. The two amounts are almost exactly the same! No doubt the money Margareta Jansdotter got was used to cover up the debts of her husband young Mats Matsson to his siblings.

This transaction, however, where Margareta Jansdotter's inherited means were used to buy her husband's joint-heirs out of his hereditary estate, could have involved future problems, for her as for any wife in her situation. Her money was spent on property that was the hereditary estate of her husband and as such *not* included in the marital property. This meant that she could not even claim the right to the usual one-third of the land; in fact she had no rights to it at all. The legal protection of the property of women was insufficient and not adjusted to a system where hereditary estate was exchanged for money.

However, there seems to have been an awareness of this legal problem within the peasantry of the region studied. Practical solutions were made up, and again the judicial system served as the instance where legislative deficiencies were compensated.

THE SOLUTION: "BRINGING IN" THE WIVES

Let us continue with the young couple Mats Matsson from Haggård and his wife Margareta Jansdotter from Finngarne. We have seen that Margareta Jansdotter in 1822 received an amount of money from her family that was almost exactly the same that her husband young Mats Matsson had used to buy his siblings out less than two years earlier. Most probably, this amount had been decided even before their marriage and maybe even paid in advance as a dowry. In any case it is clear that young Mats Matsson knew at an early stage that he could count on this money from his wife,

for soon after the marriage he gave her a compensation in the form of landed property:

Young Mats Matsson and Margareta Jansdotter are married on December 23, 1820. Less than two months later, on February 12, 1821, Mats comes before the rural court with a written document saying that he has married Margareta Jansdotter and that he applies for her to be registered as the owner of half of his landed property in the hamlet Haggård.²¹

In this way, by using the judicial system of registering property, the wife Margareta Jansdotter became joint-owner of her husband's hereditary estate. Most probably, the transaction was directly related to the sum of money she was to receive from her family later on.

These transactions, where wives acquired separate shares of the hereditary estate of their husbands, were called *införsel* (literally "bringing in"). They were very common in Estuna throughout the period studied. In the case above, nothing is said of the reason for the transaction. Most often however, the documents copied into the court records explicitly refer to the means of inheritance (*arvejordsmedel*) of the wife.²² Selling landed property within marriage seems to have been an established practice already before 1810, when my investigation begins, since wives then generally already owned large parts of the estates assigned. An example of this is the earlier described property assignment made in 1820 to young Mats Matsson in Haggård and his siblings by their mother Anna Ersdotter, then owner of half the estate.

The "bringing in" transactions seem to have had the same legal effect as any other transaction including landed property. Within marriage, landed property acquired in this way had the status of hereditary estates or other separate landed property. For example, it could not be sold without the consent of the wife if the buyer was to get a legal ratification of his acquisition.²³

The registration of title to specific shares of the husband's estate could indeed be decisive for the future of the wife. For Margareta Jansdotter, in the case described, the "bringing in" transaction meant that she was secured against future claims from young Mats Matsson's heirs if he died before they had any children. Without this security, his mother, brother and sister would inherit the whole estate, leaving Margareta Jansdotter, the wife, with nothing. But even if they did have children together, the legal ownership could be important to her. If she did not have a legally registered claim, the whole estate would automatically pass on to them if the husband died before she did. This seems less complicated at first sight since the children would then also be hers. However, with her ownership legally ratified, the mother

could keep her part of the landed property as long as she pleased and assign it to her children at a time that was suitable for her. Moreover, she could specify and legally register a retirement contract with conditions about housing and annual benefits in kind *tied to the land*. The retirement contract being tied to the land and not to the children themselves was very important because it meant that her support was protected ever after. If the inheritor of the land became insolvent and it was sold outside the family, the contract obligations would be fulfilled by the new owner.

One can say that the *införsel* or “bringing in” transfer was the terminal point in a series of inheritance transactions involving landed property as well as money. These pseudo-commercial transactions within families existed in a borderland between inheritance and purchase and there was actually no room for them in the legislation of the time. The protection of personal, in opposite to landed, property was not sufficient for women within marriage. Hence phenomena like *införsel*, where peasantry used the local judicial system to create property relations that corresponded better both with practical needs and with common conception of justice. The incentive to and the means of execution were found in the well-established formal property system of the district under study. All property matters there were handled in a thoroughly formalized way, using written documents and legal registrations for any kind of transaction concerning landed property. Below, I shall discuss the development of this system, and its impact on the inheritance practices in the area studied.

FORMAL PROPERTY ASSIGNMENTS: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

Since 1734, law provided registration of all acquisitions of landed property, except for land acquired through inheritance. The obligations were hardly conformed to in practice, however. Transactions of all kinds were still made without any legal registration at all, well into the 19th century and particularly in more peripheral regions.²⁴ In the area studied here, however, practically all land transactions made were registered and thus handed down to posterity. Obviously, there was a well-established practice among landowners here of applying for the registration of their title shortly after the acquisition. Purchasers as well inheritors of lands had their landed property legally registered, irrespective of legislative decrees. The reason for this is to be found in the location, and the character of this specific area.

WHY MAKE PROPERTY MATTERS JUDICIAL MATTERS?

As described, the parish of Estuna was situated in a fertile area close to several towns. The agricultural population was consequently involved in market relations at an early stage. For example, commercial land transactions between non-related people were very common.²⁵ As we have seen, even transactions within families contained a commercial element as inheritors of lands generally bought their siblings out for sums of money.²⁶ This had several implications.

First, it very likely led to an increased need for ready money among inheritors as well as other landowners. One way of achieving that was taking loans on mortgage, leaving the landed property as security. Mortgage loans were very common in Estuna and seem to have increased during the period studied. Many of the properties conveyed were still encumbered by mortgages though decades might have passed since the credit was first raised. Raising mortgages, however, required that the landowner had his title legally registered. From 1798, mortgage was accorded only for registered lands, while non-registered lands could be mortgaged only for the debts of the previous owner.²⁷ This undoubtedly accelerated the formalization of the property system.

Second, commercialization itself prompted formalization, since it involved an increased number of land transactions between people that were not family. Land was bought and sold by people that were not related to each other, and perhaps not even acquainted. Doubtlessly, this encompassed an internal need for written documents and legal confirmations of ownership. In 1805, a decree was initiated saying that the buyer of land was to prove the legal possession of the seller by showing the title deeds to the court.²⁸ This was in all probability meant to prevent sellers from disposing of their lands to several buyers, or from selling land that was actually not theirs. The rural court of Lyhundra, to which Estuna belonged, demanded an absolute observance of this, and of other decrees. Landowners not fulfilling the demands were not allowed registration of their titles.

Considering a present or future need for borrowing money on security, or for selling the estate, there were good reasons for any landowner in Estuna to apply for registration of his title. Without title registration, he could not obtain a mortgage loan. Neither could he sell the property off to someone else because the new owner in his turn would not be able to have his title legally registered. This was true for inheritors as well as for purchasers of land.

MAKING INHERITANCE MATTERS JUDICIAL MATTERS: A WINNING TICKET FOR WOMEN?

By the time concerned by this study, that is the first half of the 19th century, inheritance assignments as well as other land transactions in Estuna were entirely drawn into the system of formal property relations. Inheritors as well as purchasers of landed property needed to have their acquisitions legally registered. However, applying for the registration of one's title to inherited land meant a zealous inspection by the rural court. Not only the title deeds of the parents', but also the bills of sale from the joint-heirs of the inheritor had to be shown to the court. In fact, if the inheritor was to have his title registered, there was hardly any way a legal – albeit fictive – division of the landed property.²⁹ Any possession resulting from a conveyance of land between parent and child would inevitably raise questions from the part of the court on whether the assignment had been realized in accordance with the law. But this was not enough. As we have seen there was also a particularly careful scrutiny of all sales concerning the shares of minor siblings'. This meant that on their behalf, no conspicuous deviation from market prices was possible.

Since the landed property in general was a household's most valuable asset, and since other resources most often were limited, there was an apparent risk that the heirs who did not get land would be disfavoured. And as we have seen, these were generally the female ones, who also remained minors until they got married. The inescapable distribution of the landed property, together with the looking after the rights of minors, was therefore advantageous for female heiresses in particular. The practice of safeguarding inherited property within marriage through legally registered transactions – *införsel* – was a logical consequence of the general protection of property rights. And so we can say that one of the consequences of making inheritance matters judicial matters was the strengthening of the position of women.

CONCLUSION: THE FORMAL RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUAL WOMEN

In this essay I have studied inheritance practices and female property rights in an agricultural area in central-eastern Sweden during the first half of the 19th century. The district investigated was characterized by a well-developed

judicial system and an advanced, formalized system of property rights. By the time studied in the essay, these elements had turned *informal* inheritance matters into *formal judicial matters* completely. This seems to have been favourable for female proprietors in particular, since the property rights of minors and wives were strengthened.

However there is no reason to believe that judicial protection of the property rights of heiresses and minors was due to any concern for these groups in particular. Rather these phenomena were manifestations of a general, ongoing judicial development, focusing on the *individual's* property rights rather than on the collective's, including family and relatives. The development of a system where the government and its representatives protect the rights of individual owners constitutes a decisive part of the formation of civil citizenship. The very existence of formal property systems has been crucial for the development of all Western economies and for the industrialized welfare countries of today.³⁰ In this sense, they are the foundation on which the financial as well as the political systems of Western societies are built.

CIVIL RIGHTS ON THE LEGISLATIVE LEVEL

On the national and legislative level, the formation of individual property rights in Sweden was an exclusively male project. As we have seen, both marital and inheritance laws before 1846 were unequal, granting husbands twice the amount of the marital property and sons twice the amount of the parental property. Inheritance practices were unequal as well, giving sons priority to landed property. This was not to change even after 1846 when daughters were granted equal rights of inheritance: men were still given both legal and practical priority to the landed property. As for the parish of Estuna, male inheritors continued taking over the estates and buying their sisters out well into the 20th century. We know from other studies that this pattern prevails in most agrarian societies even in our days.³¹ An even more important matter that excluded women from benefiting from the individualization of property rights, is the mere fact that for very long they lacked the right to administer or to conclude valid contracts regarding the property that they did possess. These basic civil rights were not granted to Swedish women before the 20th century. From 1884 onward, unmarried women attained their majority at the same age as men. *Married* women, however, remained under the guardianship of their husbands until 1920.

In this perspective one could say that Swedish women did not benefit at all before the late 19th century, and not fully until the 20th century, from the civil rights that were granted to male proprietors.³² This is true as far as the national and legislative level is concerned. However, as shown in this essay, the development on the local, judicial level could take different paths.

CIVIL RIGHTS ON THE JUDICIAL LEVEL

I have shown a local example from Estuna parish in Sweden, where female proprietorship was strengthened in practice through the judicial development of formal property rights. This process, although encouraged by the government through legislative changes, was in fact a very slow and lengthy one. The main part of it took place on the local level, in the rural courts where property matters were handled in practice. As with all legal changes in past times, the judicial and the legislative levels were not synchronized. New laws were not always implemented on the local level, and in the same way judicial practices developed without any explicit legal authority. This meant that changes in the conception of property rights took place on different times in different ways in different areas within the same country. In the district studied here, where women were markedly subordinated both by law and custom, the judicial development of individual property rights – including female individuals – proved to be favourable.

Yet it is important to state that this improvement concerned only women owning landed property or means that could be exchanged for landed property. In the same way, the general strengthening of the property rights of the peasantry, taking place on the legislative as well as the judicial level, concerned only the landowning peasants, the freeholders. From this point of view one could say that women from landowning families were able to benefit from what was the formation of a civil citizenship – intended for landowning men.

NOTES

1. Marshall (1950) and Walby (1997, pp. 166–179).

2. The general displacement towards a more individualized conception of proprietorship has been treated within many fields of research in Sweden, among them the so-called Property-Rights school. Ågren (1992) places the development in a theoretical framework in her study of proprietorship and indebtedness in Dalecarlia

1650–1850. Eriksson-Trenter (2002) studies the significance of the district court, and the local judicial interpretation of property matters.

3. For example, the Swedish crown tenants were enabled to buy off their farms which they also did to a great extent during the 18th century. In 1789, peasant proprietors were granted full ownership of the land, and in 1810, they were also given the unlimited right to acquire noble land. Furthermore, the individual ownership of landed property was strengthened through a number of decrees that limited the so-called *böfdrätt* (“right of birth”). This ancient right, which enabled the relatives of a landowner to claim the land if it was sold out of the family, was finally abolished in 1863.

4. For a survey of inheritance and marital laws in Sweden, see Hafström (1970, pp. 63–68, 104–109, 113–124).

5. Marital law was changed at the same time: from 1846 and onwards the wife’s and the husband’s share of the marital property was equal. The unequal rights of inheritance and to the marital property before 1846 only concerned the countryside. In towns, they had been equal since the middle ages. This had few practical consequences however since the towns in Sweden were underdeveloped and of little social or economic importance well into the 19th century.

6. The discussion in this chapter is based on research that I have done for my coming thesis. It is to be published in 2007 and deals with inheritance assignments of landed property between 1810 and 1930.

7. In the chapter, the term “inheritor” refers exclusively to the heirs that got the landed property, whereas the term heir/heiress includes all the heirs, irrespective of the distribution of the landed property.

8. An example of such a district is the upper part of Dalecarlia in mid-Sweden, where partible inheritance predominated and led to an advanced fragmentation of the land. Partible inheritance and its consequences has been studied by Sporrang and Wennersten (1995, p. 26).

9. Legal confirmations of acquiring land, Rural Court of Lyhundra, November 17, 1817 (Svanberga) respective April 2, 1842 (Svanberga). All individual cases described in the chapter are derived from legal confirmations of acquiring land, in the records of Rural Court of Lyhundra. The information in the court records has sometimes been completed information from the contemporary parish registers. Henceforth references will only be given to the dates of the cases, referring to the court records, and the name of the hamlet or village where the property in question is located.

10. October 24, 1824 (Tarv and Åsby).

11. This pattern agrees with studies made of other regions comparable to Estuna, that is central agricultural districts predominated by impartible inheritance. Christer Winberg (1981) deals with three parishes in the fertile county of Skaraborg in south-central Sweden. Ulla Rosén (1994) treats the likewise crop-dominated parish of Kumla in the county of Örebro. Eva Zernell-Durhån (1990) deals with a less fertile region in the north of Sweden but treats a village which is bent on agriculture, without side lines. All studies see an obvious preference for male successors. A more egalitarian structure is seen in those few districts where partible inheritance was practiced. In the study mentioned before by Sporrang and Wennersten (1995), daughters consequently took over parts of the parental estate.

However, sons were favoured in other ways, for example in the distribution of personal property.

12. Mantal was a fiscal unit measuring the tax capacity of landed properties. It cannot easily be used as a standard for lands in different parts of Sweden. A property of 1/2 mantal would be considered quite large in many regions. In Estuna, this was the medium size of a holding. Riksdaler was the species of coin in Sweden during this time. There were two sorts, riksdaler Banco and riksdaler Riksgäldssedlar. All amounts in this chapter are given in riksdaler Riksgäldssedlar. The riksdaler was not parted in tenths so the decimals given in the examples are not exact.

13. The assignment of 1/2 mantal in Haggård: February 19, 1821.

14. I have compared the transactions registered in the court records against the information of changes of ownership noted in the tax records and in the parish registration. All the changes noted in the two latter sources, proved to be registered in the court records as well, except for a few uncomplicated cases of inheritance within families with only one child.

15. Several Swedish scholars (Hellspong & Löfgren, 1974; Wohlin, 1910) have claimed that lands often were underrated by the family in order to facilitate the takeover by one of the heirs. There is however a lack of empirical evidence probably due to the difficulty of comparing different kinds of prices to each other.

16. As shown by Herlitz (1974, pp. 344–346). His investigation of land transactions during the 18th century suggests that prices paid between related people were considerably lower than those paid between non-related people. But the former prices were still connected to the latter, and rose concurrently with them.

17. June 3, 1822 (Finngarne).

18. Examples of denials: March 13, 1817 (Söder Nånö), and June 8, 1820 (Svanberga no: 1). Example of an express requirement of a legal valuation for the proceeding of the registration: June 4, 1823 (Norr Nånö).

19. Examples: October 23, 1827 (Grävsta, extract from previous court records is shown to prove that the sale of the share of a ward to her elder brother has been permitted by the regular court); June 19, 1833 (Finngarne 1/3 mantal, shares of minors are sold to elder sibling for amounts specified by the court).

20. Statute Law of Sweden 1734. Inheritance code, chapter 22, §3.

21. February 12, 1821 (Haggård).

22. An example: Mats Jansson from the village Kullsta gives half of his estate to his future wife Brita Jansdotter as a compensation for her means of inheritance (1221 riksdaler) with which she takes parts in the purchase sum paid to his siblings. June 19, 1832 (Mats Jansson receives his estate); December 7, 1832 (his wife Brita Jansdotter is “brought in” to the estate). Further examples of various dates and locations within the parish: October 27, 1812 (Norr Nånö); February 21, 1826 (Kullsta); March 18, 1842 (Berga).

23. For example a buyer of 11/32 mantal in Norr Nånö does not get his title registered because the court has learned from title deeds of the seller that the seller’s wife had once taken part in buying his sisters out from his estate. The court therefore requires her signature on the bill of sale. Not until it is informed that the wife of the seller has been dead for three years, the buyer gets the legal confirmation of his acquisition. June 17, 1834; October 22, 1834.

24. An earlier study of mine (Irinarchos, 1995) treating land transactions in Dalecarlia shows that far from all land transactions in the area were registered in the 1820s. In the wooded district in the province of Hälsingland studied by Eriksson-Treter (2002) the inclination to apply for the legal ratification of properties did not increase until the second half of the 19th century. Christer Winberg (1981), studying inheritance conveyances in Gudhem in the south of Sweden 1810–1870, finds the information of the title registrations very imperfect when compared to the land transactions actually made in the area.

25. Among all 287 land transactions made between 1809 and 1845 in Estuna, 116 pcs or 40% were entirely commercial, that is where money was the only means of payment, and where buyers and sellers were not related to each other in any way. The latter criterion in fact excluded a large number of transactions between parties who were not said to be relatives in the deeds of conveyance, since checks against the parish records proved them to be closely related, that is siblings, sisters- and brothers-in-law and so on.

26. The habit of compensating joint-heirs with sums of money was widespread during this time and not limited to the area studied here.

27. Royal Ordinance of June 28, 1798.

28. Royal Ordinance of May 14, 1805.

29. In fact, there was a way of getting around a distribution of the land: by selling it directly to the chosen heir in a “quasi-commercial” transaction. However this was rarely done during the period studied here. Only after 1845, when equal right of inheritance was inaugurated, this kind of approach became common.

30. The Peruan economist Hernando de Soto (2000) goes so far as to blame the underdevelopment of non-western countries on the very lack of such formal property rights.

31. I have surveyed the inheritance practices in the parish of Estuna up until 1930 and there is in fact no change at all in this matter. As for the present situation in Sweden, see Flygare (1999, pp. 367–368).

32. Or, as the historian Maria Sjöberg has put it, before 1920 individual property rights were not actually inaugurated in Sweden, since they did not include individuals of both sexes.

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- Parish Archives of Estuna: Records of Catechetical Meetings.
 Rural Court of Lyhundra: Legal Confirmations of Acquiring Land.
 Collection District of Mellersta Roslagen: Registers of Population.

**PART V:
POLITICAL CITIZENSHIP:
(NON)PARTICIPATION AND
EMPOWERMENT**

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BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN RURAL POLICY MAKING

Bettina B. Bock and Petra Derkzen

INTRODUCTION

The governance of rural areas has undergone considerable changes over the past decades. Its scope has broadened to incorporate a range of issues beyond, the once dominant, agricultural interests. At the same time, the process of policy making has changed from one of government to one of governance: from centralist and state-led policy initiatives to policy formation and delivery by a combination of public and private stakeholders with a growing role for the local and regional levels (Winter, 2002; Goodwin, 1998; Storey, 1999; Rhodes, 1996). The European Union has fuelled the emphasis on the regional and local level through its regulations for the delivery of structural funds (Geddes, 2000). The EC's White Paper on European Governance states that working in partnership is one of the leading principles of 'good governance' (CEC, 2001). In several countries national governments have embraced multi-sector partnership working, or area-based policy making with the objective of enhancing efficient and inclusive policy delivery.

Area based programmes are frequently presented as a means of addressing civic exclusion, both through the inclusive nature of the partnership structure, and through the local nature of the partnership, which is perceived to allow greater access to excluded groups than centralised policy. (Shortall, 2004, p. 113)

However, while policy declarations highlight the benefits from closer links between governments and the communities that policies are targeted at, different empirical studies show that in practice such initiatives “struggle to move beyond the rhetoric of inclusion” (Bristow et al., 2003; Taylor, 2000; Geddes, 2000; Shortall, 2004; Edwards, Goodwin, Pemberton, & Woods, 2000; Herbert-Cheshire & Higgins, 2004). While the inclusion of stakeholders non-elected representatives into the policy making and delivery process can be welcomed on some counts, the inclusion of non-elected representatives can also undermine the legitimacy of the democratic process (Bock, 2002; Shortall, 2004; Hayward, Simpson, & Wood, 2004). Administrations tend to invite representatives of well known and established interest organisations and elites to participate in policy processes (Bock & Derkzen, 2003; Woods & Goodwin, 2003; Shucksmith, 2000). Such organisations readily find their way into the policy-making process and community, leaving new organisations or loosely organised grassroots groups marginalised from the process and without institutional support. According to Lawrence, as well as having better access to the policy process the local elite also

can increase their power while at the same time denying it to already marginalised and excluded groups in the community. (Lawrence, 2004, p. 10)

Women are one of the groups rarely represented in rural governance structures. Several studies have demonstrated that few women are actively involved in the newly established political bodies and it seems that women hardly benefit at all from the implementation of new rural governance modes (Shortall, 2002; Little, 2001, 2002; Pini, 2004; Bock, 2002). Pini (2004, p. 1) argues that new modes of rural governance are basically “more of the same” for rural women and in practice do not improve their access to political power. This is perhaps a surprising conclusion, as the new political arrangements are intended to work differently to ‘normal politics’ and are assumed to be more inclusive. But although several studies have demonstrated the continued genderedness of new rural governance, it is not yet clear why this is so. Moreover, little is known about those factors that reproduce the ‘maleness’ of rural politics, even in the new governance arrangements. By reviewing recent studies from several countries this chapter hopes to identify those general factors that constrain women’s

access to these new governance structures, independent of the specific political context.

Although several studies have looked at the issue of women's access, few have studied the experiences of women within new rural governance arenas. This is important as the issue of political inclusion should stretch questions over access so that they also encompass the opportunities that exist for meaningful participation once access is gained. It has been argued that, while in theory, decentralisation aims to increase local actors' agency, in practice, the degree of empowerment is bounded by the aims and conditions set by central government (Bock, 2002; Lane, 2003; Frouws & van Tatenhove, 1999). This leads to questioning of whether these partnerships are involved in 'real' decision making since the structure and rules under which they operate are "firmly controlled by the public sector" (Taylor, 2000, p. 1023).

There are indications that some participants have more opportunities than others to participate in a meaningful way. The literature suggests that "'partnership governance' reinforces rather than reduces processes of exclusion" within partnerships (Geddes, 2000, p. 787). A number of studies reveal that smaller organisations or loosely organised groups are disadvantaged as they lack the resources to participate in a meaningful way. Representatives of these smaller organisations or loosely organised groups therefore risk becoming 'peripheral insiders,' having a place at the table but lacking the ability to influence central issues (Taylor, 2000). Again this is a gender issue as (rural) women's organisations tend to be among the smaller and 'poorer' organisations, often run by a staff on voluntary basis.

This chapter aims to provide insights into how and why rural women have difficulty in entering the new governance structures and why women run a high risk of becoming peripheral insiders once they do manage to conquer the barriers of entry. In doing so the chapter aims to increase insights into the genderedness of rural politics and to contribute to the more general understanding of processes of exclusion from and within rural governance structures.

The remainder part of the chapter is organised as follows. The next two sections explain the background to the Dutch case study material. The chapter then compares findings from this case study with research from Great Britain and Australia. In doing so it identifies common factors that constrain rural women's access to governance processes and constrain the effectiveness of their participation if and when they do manage to acquire access to formal consultative and decision-making bodies.

METHODOLOGY

This analysis of exclusion from access to rural governance is based primarily on field work by the authors undertaken in the Netherlands. The results and analysis are compared with other recent case studies from Great Britain and Australia to see if broader conclusions and experiences can be drawn out. In the last decade all three countries have implemented new rural governance arrangements that emphasise the importance of strengthening the inclusion and participation of local stakeholders (see for example, Woods, 2006; Herbert-Cheshire, 2000; Shortall, 2004; Boonstra & Frouws, 2005; Pini, 2004). Moreover, most of the recently published studies on women in rural governance originate from these countries.

The field work draws on a single case study from the central eastern part of the Netherlands (the Achterhoek region). It focuses upon a group of rural women 'Women in support of the Quality of Life in Graafschap' (hereafter referred to as WQLG), and their representatives involved in promoting quality of life issues within a regional policy-making process, known as the Reconstruction Process. Between February 2003 and February 2005 we followed their progress and participated as observers in their activities and meetings. All the women in the group were interviewed about their experiences. Interviews were also carried out with eight other representatives of the 'Reconstruction Committee' responsible for developing the regional reconstruction plans, two civil servants and one consultant to a women's support organisation. The researchers followed and documented nine out of fourteen meetings of the WQLG as participant observants, and seven of ten gatherings organised by three different support organisations. These gatherings were particularly aimed at representatives championing quality of life issues within the Reconstruction Committees (not all of whom were by women) and their support groups. The meetings of the Reconstruction Committee in which the women participated as holders of the 'quality of life seat' (see below) were also observed. In addition documentary analysis was carried out of e-mail correspondence, minutes of meetings, policy documents and evaluations of the planning process. Before elaborating on the institutional barriers that the nature of the planning process poses on the participation of rural women, we briefly outline the aim and structure of the planning process and the context in which it developed.

SETTING THE CONTEXT

The Achterhoek region is part of the province of Gelderland, which lies in the East of the Netherlands. Administratively the region occupies a role between the provincial and municipality levels. It covers about one quarter of Gelderland and includes 30 municipalities. Within the national context, the area is defined as rural, its population density is about half the Dutch average (450 inhabitants per square kilometre). Of approximately 155,000 hectares, 120,000 are used for agriculture and there are 16,000 hectares of urban area and infrastructure. The remainder consists of water or is set aside for nature. The region has many intensive pig farms, which contributed to the rapid spread of the swine fever virus in 1997. Immediately after the swine fever outbreak the Dutch government initiated a law aimed at reorganising ('reconstructing') the intensive husbandry sector. The 'reconstruction plan' proposed the creation of 'areas of concentration' and of pig-free zones. Pig farms outside the areas of concentration would have to relocate to within them to stay in the business. As well as giving more space over for nature preservation, recreation and tourism, the programme also aimed to decrease the overall number of pigs. This initiative fitted with the government's strategy to reduce the environmental pressures of agriculture. Not surprisingly it provoked angry opposition from farmers' unions and some members of Parliament. As a result, it took until 2002 to effectuate the law.

Since this time provincial governments are responsible for the delivery of the reconstruction policy in the East and South of the Netherlands. They are obliged by law to involve regional stakeholders in the making of plans, which is done by inviting regional stakeholders representing the municipalities, the farmers' unions, environmental and nature conservation organisations, the water board and non-agricultural businesses to participate in Regional Advisory Reconstruction Committees. The Achterhoek has four committees, one central 'Reconstruction Committee' dedicated to designing the boundaries in the spatial plan and three sub-regional committees. These sub-regional committees discuss the same issues and advise the central Reconstruction Committee on relevant issues, including (EU) funding for rural development projects. During the first year of the planning process, there were no social or voluntary sector interests represented on these committees and membership was restricted exclusively to public agencies, state supported interest organisations, farmers' unions and the private sector. Lobbying from rural women and their organisations

led to more seats being allocated for 'quality of life issues' on both the sub-regional and the central committees. Three of the four seats were taken by rural women, two of whom organised their own support groups or 'constituency' of rural women, all involved on a voluntary basis. The analysis is focussed at one of these groups called WQLG.

WOMEN'S EXCLUSION FROM RURAL GOVERNANCE STRUCTURES

To recognise the factors that constrain and enable women's participation in the process of rural governance a number of case studies from the UK, Australia and the Netherlands have been drawn upon (Shortall, 2002, 2004; Alston, 2003; Bock, 2002, 2004; Bock & Derkzen, 2006; Little, 2001, 2002; Little & Jones, 2000; Midgley, 2006; Pini, 2004, 2006). These studied women's participation in the new political arrangements of the rural political arena and analysed their inclusion in rural development programmes. Although the countries differ in their political structures and cultures and in the manner in which new rural governance arrangements have been organised and institutionalised, the similarity of the causes of women's exclusion is striking. The studies reveal very similar factors that constrain rural women's access to the political arena. In general four factors may be distinguished:

- (1) women's position in rural society and their weak socio-economic and political integration;
- (2) a traditional gender ideology that underlines women's domestic responsibilities and their civil involvement in the community which is seen as being apolitical in nature;
- (3) the dominance of agriculture and the economy within rural development discourses; and
- (4) the lack of structural and cultural changes in new governance arrangements.

The first two factors stem from the conservative character of the rural gender regime in terms of societal structures, such as the gender-specific division of labour and the dominant culture and gender-ideology. They also highlight the interrelation between women's economic and political citizenship. The importance of these factors confirms findings from earlier studies of the genderedness of politics and citizenship and the inter-relationship

between women's lack of social and political rights (Lister, 1997; Yuval-Davis, 1997; Siim, 2000).

Citizenship rights are anchored in both the social and the political domains, without 'enabling' social conditions, political rights are vacuous. (Yuval-Davis, 1997, p. 21)

As these studies seem to show, recent innovations in rural politics have not addressed the lack of socio-economic and political resources which act as one of the 'classic barriers' to women's political participation.

The second set of factors relate to the structure and culture of the new rural governance arrangements, both in terms of formal organisation and rules of access but also the informal 'rules of the game' and the persistent dominance of agriculture and economy within rural political agendas and policy discourses. Again these are not very surprising factors, and very much resemble another set of 'classic obstructions' to women's political participation, such as the recruitment of committee members through established political and societal organisation and the highly competitive, 'macho' communication style and culture within politics (Lovenduski, 1998, 1986; Leijenaar, 1996; Philips, 1991). It appears that the new rural governance structures have maintained or reproduced some of these traditional aspects of the political structure and culture, and these continue to constrain women's access.

To better understand why these factors continue to limit women's political participation, the main findings of the case studies in the three countries are discussed in more detail below.

WOMEN'S POSITION IN (RURAL) SOCIETY

Many studies point at the interrelation between women's weak socio-economic position and their lack of political integration in rural societies (Shortall, 2004; Little & Jones, 2000). In all three countries women were less involved in the rural labour market than men, working in lower paid positions, sectors and segments of the labour market, or both (Little, 1997a, 1997b; Bock, Derkzen, & Joosse, 2004). As a result women had less access to economic resources and less access to powerful social and professional networks than men. For the same reason they also had fewer chances to be regarded and selected as relevant participants in the policy-making process. Another UK study (Midgley, 2006) emphasises the importance of taking this gender difference into account. As Midgley points out wealthier women had more opportunities for political participation than less affluent women.

Yet, socio-economic resources are not the only influence, as farm women often play an important role in terms of farm labour and farm economics (see Bock, 2006, for a discussion). As Alston (2003) shows rural women play an important economic role in Australian agriculture so their public invisibility is at least in part socially constructed (Alston, 2003). Thus it is not women's lack of resources that prevents their entry into politics in the first place, but their lack of integration with established social and professional organisations. Alston identifies several contributory factors including the predominantly male membership of rural industry bodies and corporate boards which are usually asked to nominate delegates to political bodies and generally choose from among their own members. Dutch studies also show that rural women are poorly organised as a group and are poorly integrated in established organisations (such as farmers' unions), which is another important barrier to entry in the political arena. In terms of resources one could argue that women lack recognised political capital, such as political knowledge and experience as well as politically relevant contacts and alliances (Bock & Derkzen, 2006; Bock, 2004).

A TRADITIONAL GENDER IDEOLOGY

Rural women's involvement in politics is also constrained through the working of a specifically rural gender-ideology and thus by the cultural characteristics of the rural gender regime. Little and Austin (1996) point out that the traditional rural gender ideology in the UK promoted motherhood and voluntary community work above paid work and a professional career (Little, 1997a, 1997b). This not only discouraged women's involvement in politics but also negatively affected women's perceived eligibility for political involvement. This has been confirmed by Shortall (2002) in a study on rural women's involvement in politics in Northern Ireland where rural women's activities in the domain of rural development and regeneration were taken for granted, being self-evidently restricted to civil engagement as part of their traditional voluntary work. Their activities were perceived as apolitical and aprofessional and, thus, irrelevant to rural development politics. At the same time the women were defined as not eligible or qualified to participate in the policy-making process.

In comparing rural women's involvement in politics in Northern Ireland, Canada and Australia, Shortall (1999) revealed that as long as gender equality was not perceived as an important societal aim, it was generally also not considered important to give specific attention and support to

promoting women's involvement as political actors and inviting them to participate in formal policy networks.

Pini (2006) confirms the general precedence given to male participants in Australian rural political networks and emphasises how preference is given to a specific group: young, non-agricultural, married and able-bodied men. She found that not all men were equally welcome. Similarly some women had more chance to get invited than others. Pini also emphasised the importance of looking, not only at the sheer number of women involved in new governance institutions but also, at which women were represented, and with what results. In doing so she underlined the importance of differences between different groups of women and their presence and absence in these structures. She also highlighted the importance of regional gender relations and the regional levels of gender inequality as an explanation for different levels of representation of rural women throughout Australia.

THE DOMINANCE OF AGRICULTURE AND ECONOMY IN RURAL POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Thus, the social importance attached to women's participation in rural governance is based on the (regional) gender ideology and women's integration in different areas of rural society. It also depends on the dominant political discourse, the hegemony of specific political domains and how women's (expected) knowledge and engagement matches with these.

Our research in the Netherlands demonstrates that Dutch rural policy programmes have tended to focus on a limited number of traditional spatial policy issues, such as agriculture, nature and the environment, and economic issues, and that they have generally disregarded or sidelined social issues (Derkzen, 2006). Policymakers were frequently unfamiliar with rural women's initiatives and their specific interests and did not expect women to be at all involved in rural development as defined by them (Bock, 2004). In Northern Ireland, Shortall (2002) found that this hegemony of the economic and agricultural or 'masculine' approach to rural development weakened recognition of women's activities as meaningfully contributing to rural development. The same was found in rural Australia where the prioritisation of masculine policy areas has also been found to negatively affect women's perceived eligibility for politics (Dempsey, 1992; in Grace & Lennie, 1997). Following Alston (2003) the exclusion of women from the

regular political bodies served to perpetuate the male framing of agricultural and rural discourses, forcing women to express their voice through women's organisations. These organisations, however, had little impact, largely because of their lack of organisational resources.

Additionally the loss of women's voices means that a narrow agricultural agenda framed around production issues is endorsed. The possibility of a wider vision incorporating the environment, land management, social issues and the interconnectedness of people, communities and the earth is lost. (Alston, 2003, p. 486)

Midgley's (2006) study in the UK indirectly confirmed these findings by pointing out that women had more chance of holding a meaningful position in rural regeneration when the local policy discourse of rural development was broadened to include, not only economic, but also civil aspects of regeneration which led to the traditional female dominated area of community oriented voluntary work being more valued.

THE LACK OF FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN NEW GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS

Several studies claim that the lack of real changes in the structure and culture of rural governance arrangements is another factor that explains the persistence of women's weak political integration.

In Australia rural women's weak representation in the new governance structure was caused by the persistence of traditional selection practices and the continuous search for potential participants in male-dominated networks (Pini, 2006; Alston, 2003).

In the Netherlands the low level of women's involvement has also been explained in terms of the characteristics of the political arena. Such structural factors include traditional selection practices which are selective in their definition of relevant issues and stakeholder groups, and result in only established organisations being invited to participate and new, loosely and/or unorganised stakeholders being disregarded (Bock & Derkzen, 2006).

Little and Jones (2000) demonstrate that the "highly masculinist approach to regeneration" in the UK, expressed through the dominance of economic outcomes, business interests and competitive male culture, supported male dominance in political decision-making as well as in access to funding for rural regeneration projects. Similar results have been found in Australia. In Pini's view the "new discourse of managerialism and its

associated notions of instrumentality, targeting, control, performance and effectiveness” (Pini, 2006, p. 402) which are core elements of the new governance culture resonate strongly with masculinity. According to her this hegemonic discourse of masculinity is expressed through

an emphasis on competition, entrepreneurialism, and aggression, and a focus on economic concerns over and above social issues. (Pini, 2006, p. 396)

Pini's analysis of masculine culture explains why women were often not considered as relevant participants in the political process and also discourages women from applying. Alston (2003, pp. 478, 484) describes the male culture of Australian agricultural politics as a 'rugby scrum mentality' that not only prevents women from entering but also

attempts to control the few women in leadership positions by excluding them, by making them uncomfortable, by stereotyping or belittling them, and by reinforcing powerful stereotypes about leadership. (Alston, 2003, p. 484)

CONSTRAINTS TO MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION

The above studies deal with the exclusion of women from the political process. They point at the persistence of tradition in rural politics in terms of the structural and cultural elements of new political arrangements and the ongoing dominance of agriculture and the economy in discourses of rural politics. Moreover, they underline the centrality of the rural gender regime in constraining women's participation and accentuate the interrelatedness of different domains of women's citizenship. Change in one domain depends upon changes in others. They show that rural women's political citizenship is greatly influenced by their economic citizenship.

The following section examines the risk of women being excluded even when they have managed to conquer entry barriers. As the case study of women in the Achterhoek region shows, many of the factors that block women's entrance also constrain their chances for meaningful participation. First, we examine the structure of the new political arrangements in which these women participated and then look at the formal and informal rules of the game and the dominant culture of policy making in such arrangements. Finally, the dominant discourse in rural politics and the hegemony of a traditional, 'masculinist' definition of rural development issues is analysed.

THE FORMAL STRUCTURE

The meetings of the Reconstruction Planning Committees follow highly formalised rules for conducting meetings (impersonal minutes, voting procedures), adhere to central government regulations and the administrative structures imposed by funding timetables. Boland (2005) has identified how the bureaucratic nature of working partnerships administering EU structural funds both frustrates and disempowers local people working in these partnerships. The Dutch group of rural women found the reconstruction planning process to be frustrating in that they could not participate as they wished to. Within one year of successfully lobbied for a seat(s) on the committees they found that this demotivated them.

“All the organisations react to the draft plan [the formal written consultation that guides the meetings]. We do not react. As volunteers, we don’t have the time or the skills to write our own formal response to the consultation documents” (G. member of WQLG). “I think our own meetings have become a bit difficult lately. There are less active women.”

Asked what would motivate her continued involvement the same respondent replied “We would need to know that quality of life is a real issue on the agenda in the Reconstruction Committee, and that we can achieve tangible results!”

Others have also noted that “community partners,” such as this group of rural woman lack administrative resources and “are often unused to operating effectively within bureaucratic processes” (Geddes, 2000, p. 793). The presence of, and resources available to, professionals, officers, politicians and private-sector participants mean that community groups enter a situation which is heavily weighted against them (Atkinson, 1999, p. 62). As a result WQLG members feel powerless and the majority of the group thought they had no ‘real’ influence.

THE USE OF KNOWLEDGE

The women were also aware that their influence was not only constrained by the nature of the process but also by the way in which knowledge was used. The reconstruction planning process is highly knowledge intensive. The design of the spatial plan is firmly rooted in the Dutch spatial planning tradition, based on a technical and detailed grid of defined areas, categorised by their functions. Discussions are highly detailed and can go as far as questioning the legal consequences of specific words. For example there

were endless discussions about the meaning of the word 'industry' in rural areas, driven by the wish of the authorities to stimulate non-agricultural businesses and yet prevent non-agricultural businesses from growing 'too big' (and thereby spoiling the landscape). This knowledge intensity tends to favour 'professional members,' who sit on committee or partnership as part of their job in a public or semi-public organisation (Boland, 2005; Lane, 2003), as illustrated beneath.

No, I don't think could have participated effectively without the professional background and education that I have. It is a very knowledge intensive process. But, of course, we have civil servants available for support, and I certainly needed them. (Water board representative)

At the start they said that it would not involve that much work. Nobody knew what it would be like. With that in mind I said yes, but for someone from the private sector this is very tedious material. Civil servants start talking in jargon and using acronyms and in the beginning I thought, where the hell am I. (Private sector representative)

Other representatives get the main topics and key points for discussion prepared for them by civil servants or their employees, It is impossible to go through all the documents and to do it all by yourself! (WQLG representative)

Besides the large quantities of planning documents, numerous scientific research reports were fed into the discussion by key representatives to legitimise and objectify their arguments and claims. Scientific 'evidence' on, for example, ammonia emissions and deposition, soil quality and natural habitats all influenced spatial decisions. It was not only difficult for women as 'ordinary rural citizens' to follow such debates, but their own experiential knowledge rooted in their everyday life as rural citizens, was also devalued as a result. Following Derksen (2006) this puts the very idea of citizen participation at risk, as the need for highly developed deliberative skills, self confidence and time, means that only professional elites can participate effectively in such policy networks.

THE POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Such use of knowledge is interrelated with the role that discourses play in structuring what is 'possible' and what is not even regarded as an option. According to Atkinson (1999) "discourse determines what can be legitimately included and what is excluded from debates. A discourse produces its own 'regime of truth' in which knowledge and power are inextricably bound together" (p. 60).

He argues that the notion of discourse operates in two interrelated ways. Firstly, based on Foucault's notion of discourse, it sets the context within which knowledge is produced; which can be characterised by a dominant discourse that channels policy options in a certain direction. From a more narrow perspective, discourse may merely refer to language, grammar and syntax (Atkinson, 1999).

Both forms of operations were relevant in the reconstruction planning process. To begin with the last, it is through the medium of language that the dominant discourse is articulated. As Young (2000) points out, certain norms of speaking privilege a mode of expression that is eloquent, self-controlled, unaffected and logical. She argues that a certain type of 'articulateness' more typically found among highly educated people can constrain the contribution of people who are not used to, or trained in, this mode of speaking (Young, 2000, pp. 37–40; van Stokkum, 2003). Related to this Geddes (2000, p. 793) argues that

the experiential knowledge of poverty and exclusion which the excluded can offer is often not valued by partners who recognize the 'expert' codified knowledge of formal organisations.

The rural women, who act as representatives of 'quality of life,' use experiential knowledge when commenting on the potential social effects of the reconstruction policy and the probable consequences for quality of life in their area when, for example, some farms have to relocate or rural businesses are confronted by constraints on their growth. The rural women are unable to refer to scientific studies when forecasting certain effects, but rely on their own experiences as residents of the area.

SOCIAL AND EXPERIENTIAL KNOWLEDGE

Language is not the only issue. The rural women also felt marginalised as they realised that their issues and interests were not regarded as being as relevant as other issues because the dominant discourse was around agriculture, nature and water. This is reflected in the central government's formulation of the objective of the planning process:

Article 4: Reconstruction of these areas is intended to create a good spatial structure in which the demarcation of concentrated pig rearing areas will benefit agriculture, nature, forest, landscape, recreation, water, environment and infrastructure, and contribute to the improvement of a good living and working climate and economic structure. (Staatsblad, 2002, p. 3)

Thus the primary objective had a spatial and material focus, and a 'good living and working climate and economic structure' was a secondary and derived objective. This legal formulation seems to imply that the quality of life will be provided for if and when the 'appropriate' land activities are situated in the right areas. During the Committees' discussions it became obvious that the most powerful positions were held by those who owned or were responsible for managing land. They succeeded in maintaining a narrow focus on defining spatial zones for specific activities (nature preservation, agriculture, water storage) and in this endeavour they were backed up by the central government's objectives. This narrow focus not only marginalised the contribution that the rural women could make over the issue of quality of life, but also cast other representatives into the role of playing second fiddle.

There were three principal players, nature, agriculture and water. If those three agreed on something, the others might as well have gone home. (Recreation board representative)

If we talk about the spatial aspect, then agriculture, nature and environment, and water were the key players. But all these spatial claims have side effects and people wanted attention to be paid to those side effects too, so there was a bit of juggling really. (Municipal representative)

The two aspects of discourse come together in the next statement of the rural women's representative, who refers to the technical language of discussions and to the dominance of one particular line of argument.

The biggest part of meetings were filled with very technical discussions about nature and environmental facts and figures. Quality of life is an issue in this respect but to such a minimum extent that it was hard to put the interest forward during the meetings. (B. representative of WQLG)

Although the rural women, defending quality of life issues, were not the only ones playing second fiddle in the reconstruction planning process, they were particularly disadvantaged by being a loosely organised group. They had no experience with the dominant discourse and the formal way of decision-making and no financial resources to hire professionals to prepare for meetings or to fund research to support their own expertise. This meant not only that the needs of rural women and citizens in general were not heard but also that social issues in general were absent from the committees' agenda.

CONCLUSION

The practice of governing rural areas has changed considerably over recent decades. Today many private and public stakeholders co-operate with governments in developing regional and local rural policies. It has been assumed that this process of working in partnership would allow for the involvement of more diverse or previously excluded social groups and would encourage citizens to play a more active political role. However, several studies have demonstrated that so-called bottom-up regional rural policy making is in fact a highly institutionalised process that favours the participation of established interest organisations and prevents the inclusion of loosely organised groups. Women have been one of the groups that, in practice, have hardly managed to enter or influence these new political arrangements.

The analysis of case studies in the UK, Australian and the Netherlands has shown that two sets of factors constrain women's access. The first lies in the traditional character of the rural gender regime as expressed in both societal structures and the dominant culture. This highlights the inter-relationship between rural women's economic and political citizenship. The second set of factors deals with the structure and culture of new rural governance arrangements in terms of their formal organisation and rules of access but also the informal 'rules of the game' and the persistent dominance of the economy and agriculture within the rural political agenda and policy discourses. From this we can conclude that the shift from government to governance has changed very little in the way that rural politics work. Those structural and cultural characteristics of rural politics that, for a long time have been recognised as constraining women's entry, are still very present in the new political arrangements. This is largely because women's position in rural society and the characteristics of the rural gender regime have not changed much or, at least, not enough to permit women's entry in politics.

The Dutch case study demonstrates that accessibility is not the only problem. Even when access is granted, meaningful participation is hard to achieve. Four interrelated characteristics appeared to constrain women's effective participation: the formal 'rules of the game' and women's unfamiliarity with these rules; the use of professional and scientific language that is inaccessible for lay people without a relevant professional background; the dominance of a scientific, agricultural discourse and a resulting disrespect for social or experiential knowledge and quality of life issues.

What hindered women's entry into rural politics in the Dutch case study is more or less what constraints women's entry into politics in general.

The structure and culture of the policy-making process and the lack of fundamental change in how politics work constrain women's participation. Even in new political arrangements that are meant to encourage the inclusion of new political actors and enable the sharing of different forms of knowledge, the formal and informal rules of the game work to the detriment of new political actors, such as women. Women's lack of resources, in terms of money and institutional support and political capital reconfirms their weaker position. In the words of Pini (2004, p. 1) one could conclude that new rural governance is basically "more of the same" and therefore is not improving women's access to political power. Research in Denmark (Siim, 2000) has shown that the participation of women in formal politics was only achieved in combination with the presence and mobilisation of a women's movement 'from below.' Maybe rural women can learn from that and instead of focusing on participation in formal arrangements, build up a movement from below that pushes for broader changes in the rural gender regime while simultaneously connecting to and co-operating with those women who do manage to enter such institutions, either as femocrats or as political actors. This study shows that women's emancipation is not yet complete. On the contrary, we argue that renewed attention is needed to address the structural political and economic inequality of (rural) women.

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THE RURAL GENDER REGIME: THE AUSTRIAN CASE

Theresia Oedl-Wieser

INTRODUCTION

In Austria, more than three quarters of the population live in either predominantly or significantly rural areas. With structural adjustment and the integration of agriculture into the rural economy, the concern for the development of rural areas has risen considerably over the past decades. The rural is one area for the articulation and performance of citizenship rights and it constitutes a challenge to assumptions of universalistic citizenship. Commonly, agricultural policy and rural development policy are seen as “gender-neutral” policy fields but the institutionalised patterns of policies for rural areas in Austria likewise tend to favour male perspectives. It is assumed that both men and women can benefit from the effects of programmes, projects and measures. But because of the mostly different living conditions of men and women – differences in the participation in the working sphere, household and care work, mobility, income and qualification – political measures and instruments have different effects on men and women (Hobson, Lewis, & Siim, 2002, p. 12). Compared to men, women have limited opportunities to take an active part in the shaping of agricultural and rural development policy. This can lead to reduced relevance and efficiency of interventions in rural development policy and

regional policy (Aufhauser, Herzog, Hinterleitner, Oedl-Wieser, & Reisinger, 2003).

Since Austria's accession to the European Union in 1995 rural development policy has received increasing political and economic attention. During this dynamic process, many new actors have emerged at various spatial levels and the professionalisation of rural development policy as a result of the framework of EU-programme planning has been evident. This brought not only a turning point in the practice of subsidising the rural development. At the same time a dynamic discourse on gender equality issues started in some policy fields with spatial dimensions. The rural gender regime in Austria is affected in many ways by the extending field of rural development policy. As spatial policy it provides a framework for the allocation of resources and plays an increasingly important indirect and direct role in resource distribution. It is one of the key mechanisms for achieving sustainable social, economic and environmental development whereby gender equality is an important aspect of social sustainability (Reeves, 2002, p. 199).

The importance of rural women for the rural development process is often emphasised by the European Union. In the Memorandum of the Council from April 2002 the implementation of the principle of gender mainstreaming is considered as absolutely necessary and urgent (Council of Agricultural Ministers, 2002, p. 2). Since the Treaty of Amsterdam 1997 gender equality is a central commitment of the European Union. It is a main overlapping objective which has to be considered in all political and administrative activities of the European Union.

The promotion and the implementation of equality between men and women in the EU structural fund programmes – in the sense of gender mainstreaming – have become a great challenge and an important commitment for the Austrian rural development policy. Actors in rural areas are explicitly requested to contribute within their work to equality between women and men. But till now the actors in rural development policy find it hard to see the importance of gender issues for their own field of work and there is still great scepticism regarding the possibility and necessity of linking gender-equality policy with initiating and implementing rural development processes (Oedl-Wieser, 2004a).

This missing gender awareness and competence in rural development processes by the stakeholders in politics, administration and bodies representing interests have implications to the status of citizenship of rural women – their civil, political and social rights – and to the relevance and efficiency of rural development projects and programmes. Rural

development policy is no longer primarily about agriculture, but has to address each economic sector and actor in the regions individually. Rural areas need the participation of all their members in order to promote better development.

This chapter presents the results of the study “Women and Politics in Rural Areas in Austria”¹ which was carried out in 2005–2006. Within the study two investigations were conducted – a gender-sensitive quantitative analysis of the agricultural sector and the rural policy setting as well as a questionnaire made among politically active women in and for rural areas in Austria. Almost 600 women were identified as target group – women who are already active in legislative bodies on EU-, national- and regional level, in farm women organisations, in rural initiatives and in NGOs related to agricultural and rural issues. The response rate of the questionnaire with mainly closed questions was 42.5%.

These two surveys were made on the one hand to reveal the unbalanced and patriarchal gender regime in rural areas in Austria and on the other hand to find explanations for the evidence that, although approximately 35% of the Austria farms are already managed by women, the decisions in agricultural and rural development policy are made mainly by men. This chapter tries to elucidate this contradiction between women’s presence in the farm and in farm management and their continuing absence in agricultural politics against the background of a changing rural gender regime. After having mapped the male dominance of rural politics in the following paragraph, the rural gender regime will be analysed and its change in the context of rural development described. But even in the broader field of rural development politics, the absence of women is striking as the section on “The rural gender regime” will show. The chapter then turns to the experiences of women and their motives to enter politics or not.

THE MALE DOMINANCE OF RURAL POLITICS

The representation of women in the Austrian political arena differs considerably across level and place (Oedl-Wieser, 2006). At high political level more women are participating but at regional and local level very few women are active in politics. Approximately 40% of the Austrian members of the European Parliament are women – this is a top position in the ranking of the EU-25. At the national level 33% of the members of the National Council and 27% of the Federal Council are women. At provincial level in Austria 18 out of the 72 members (25%) of all provincial

Table 1. Women Participating in Political Bodies in Austria.

	Total	Mandates Absolute		Mandates (%)	
		Men	Women	Men	Women
European Parliament	18	11	7	61	39
National Council	183	122	61	67	33
Federal Council	62	45	17	73	27
Provincial Councils	448	317	131	71	29
Mayors	2,359	2,285	74	97	3

Source: Oedl-Wieser (2006, 67ff.).

governments are women. At municipal level the lowest rate of women's participation rate in political functions can be observed. Being a mayor in Austria is a "typical male" position. In 2006 only 3.2% or 74 of the 2,359 mayors are women and in the municipal councils only 14% of the delegates are female (Table 1).

Women are thus generally poorly represented in politics but this is especially true for the rural areas. This can be explained by the conservative rural gender regime and the ongoing male dominance in the areas of political and economic citizenship. Some changes may be witnessed in the domain of rural development where gender-sensitive projects have been implemented, but in many rural municipalities and especially in the agricultural world the gender roles are firmly established and not very flexible. This means that in addition to their professional and political work women are still primarily responsible for the household and care work. Women's involvement in politics often depends on the agreement of the partner. These circumstances make it much more difficult for women to be active in local politics than for men. Fact is that the political socialisation at local level is often the basis and the gate for a political career at provincial or national level and in that case women are clearly disadvantaged (Oedl-Wieser, 2006, p. 99).

During the last years rural development policy has been restructured and the involvement of many new actors has increased in many countries. The key elements of these shifts have been (i) decentralisation of policy administration and (ii) the increased utilisation of partnerships between public, private and voluntary sectors in the development and implementation of local and regional policies (OECD, 2002). These changes in administration and increasing co-operation and networking of various actors on all spatial levels can be seen as a shift towards "regional

governance.” In Austria, the upgrading of rural and regional development policy through the EU structural funds and EU community initiatives and the extension of intermediary structures (regional managements, local action groups, etc.) have established a new quality of networking and co-operation between the various actors on regional and local level. Among those are also women networks and partnerships, often established in projects implemented by the women’s issues commissioners of the Austrian Provinces. They have often been driving forces in building up project partnerships (e.g. EQUAL) and networks (INTERREG IIIB) among women and women’s organisations in the regions. These projects and networks are dealing with institutional capacity building, empowerment of rural women, trans-border networking, implementing gender mainstreaming in rural and regional development, deconstruction of fixed gender roles and strengthening the position of women on the local and regional labour market (Oedl-Wieser, 2004b). The biggest contribution towards the presence of women in rural development policy and regional policy is made by the numerous women experts today active in public administration at the federal and provincial levels. Nowadays more often women are also working as managers and counsellors in regional policy partnerships: 23% of the regional managers (7 out of 31) are women; in the LEADER Local Action Groups already 33% of the managers are female but at the board level you can find only 3.5% female chairs and 12.4% female board members (Oedl-Wieser, 2006, p. 108).

THE RURAL GENDER REGIME

The agricultural sector still plays a decisive role in the land use and in the rural society in Austria, although even in the predominantly rural areas, less than 10% of the total workforce is engaged in the agricultural sector. The pluri-activity of many Austrian farm households and the external effects of agriculture, e.g. for tourism, are important factors in the rural development process. Many incentives and innovations for this dynamic process of pluri-activity and diversification stem from farm women. They are often more sensitive towards new ideas and products or alternative methods in agriculture (Dax, Loibl, & Oedl-Wieser, 1995). Farm women have always played a crucial role in the rural economy and the social life in the villages and regions through their work on the farm, the care work for their families and their voluntary work in society. Though engagement and the benefits for the public have always been appreciated, this rarely has strengthened their position in the local and regional public sphere.

In general, the gender regime in the Austrian agricultural sector can be described as unbalanced and hierarchical (Brandth, 2002; Prugl, 2004). In this the typical construction of the “family farm” is considered to be of great importance (Whatmore, 1991). This dominant form of agriculture, which combines the social and (re-)productive sphere in one place, has been characterised for centuries by hierarchical and patriarchal structures. On the family farms there are different spaces for men and women, both actually and in a symbolic way. Men used to work only on the farm – in the productive sphere – but the female working sphere is unlimited and manifold. This task allocation has been regarded as a “natural” distribution of work on the basis of certain gender-specific attributes, the so-called gender roles (Oedl-Wieser, 1997; Goldberg, 2003; Rossier, 2004). Women are responsible for care and household tasks and they also perform productive work on the farm and they are adaptable and flexible as a workforce and for this reason are often regarded as the farmer’s helper or assistant. Furthermore, these “male” and “female” working spaces are valued differently in society. The productive work on the farm has higher prestige than women’s work in the shadow of privacy, which is often publicly unrecognised. The paradox of the invisibility and necessity of farm women in all spheres can be recognised in general for the construction of femininity, a kind of importance that has no official expression (Goldberg, 2003; Oedl-Wieser, 2004a). In reality, the importance of farm women for the productive sphere or their off-farm work often guarantees the survival of the family farm (O’Hara, 1998; Shortall, 1999).

But there is also a trend towards the feminisation of Austrian agriculture (Inhetveen & Schmitt, 2005, for an indepth discussion of this trend). Nowadays, the number of women managing farms in Austria is one of the highest in Europe. Statistics on farms show that more than 30% of Austrian farms are managed by women and around 50% of all family members working on the farms are female (European Commission, 2002, p. 15). The increasing number of female farm managers since the EU accession has also been caused, to some extent, by social insurance law and subsidy considerations (Table 2). However, these figures reflect the real working relations on Austrian farms and make women’s work more visible (Oedl-Wieser, 2004a).

Other structural features underpin the “feminisation” and increased role of female farm managers in Austria: (i) 34% of Austrian part-time farms are managed by women, (ii) 37% of the Austrian mountain farms and organic farms have female managers and (iii) women tend to manage smaller farms – 40% of farms with less than 20 ha have female managers but for farms of

Table 2. Male and Female Farm Managers and Family Member 1995, 1999 and 2003 in Austria.

	1995		1999		2003	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Farm managers	74.3	25.7	70.4	29.6	66.1	33.9
Family members	44.4	55.6	46.7	53.3	49.1	50.9

Sources: Farm structure surveys 1995, 1999 and 2003 (Statistik Austria, 1997, 2001, 2005).

more than 100 ha this figure falls to 16%. There are however regional variations within Austria. In the western provinces (Vorarlberg, Tyrol) less than 20% of farms are managed by women and in the central and eastern provinces (Upper Austria, Lower Austria and Burgenland) more than 45% of farms have female managers. But also the non-agricultural activities or other gainful activities on Austrian farms show that women are less involved in these activities than men. Traditionally men have jobs outside the farm (BMLFUW, 2005).

Until now women have in many cases no property rights on the farm because the family farm is passed on from father to the son. This practice has ensured that farms are owned and controlled to a large extent by men. There are different family farm transfer habits in Austria (Oedl-Wieser, 2004a, p. 19). In some provinces the ratio of conjugal farms is 20% and more (Upper Austria, Lower Austria and Styria). The provinces of Carinthia, Tyrol and Vienna have the lowest ratio – less than 5% (BMLFUW, 2005). But another remarkable trend can be observed: more often the farms are being passed on to the child who is most interested in farming and not just to sons any more. This new behaviour will increase in future the chances of women acquiring property rights on farms.

“Hegemonic Masculinity” in Agricultural and Rural Development Politics

The social construction of ‘farm women’ is often used for the conservation of the gender regime in the agricultural sector. The state plays a crucial role in this reproduction of patriarchal gender regimes. The state is not gender-neutral and acts in his patriarchal manner in enabling or hindering women’s involvement in the decision-making processes in the agricultural sector and in rural development. It promotes the current structures and ways of acting

that restrict the women's personal, social and economic chances and ensures male dominance (Alston, 2000, p. 52). Robert W. Connell (2006) formulated the concept of "hegemonic masculinity" which can be described commonly as the subordination of women and different groups of men under a dominating masculinity. It is characterised by specific ways of acting, institutional arrangements and the relations and networks between men. But not only the state, also the politicians, the administration and the chambers of agriculture, the agricultural statistics and the educational system are reproducing "hegemonic masculinity" in the agricultural sector in Austria.

It seems that, although the number of female farm managers is increasing steadily in Austrian agriculture they cannot implement their political citizenship rights in the agricultural sector. Research reveals (Oedl-Wieser, 2006, pp. 80ff.) that in all relevant institutions and bodies the main leading positions are held by men: the percentage of women in the committees of federal and provincial parliaments dealing with agricultural policy and rural development is very low – below 20%. Nearly 100% of the members of federal or provincial governments which are responsible for agriculture and rural development issues are men. In the Austrian chambers of agriculture most of the leading positions are held by men (Oedl-Wieser, 2006, pp. 104f.):

- All nine presidents of the chambers of agriculture are male, only three of the twelve vice-presidents are women;
- All administrative directors are men;
- Only 17% of the managers of the departments are female (departments of extension service, pluri-activity, diversification, women and youth in agriculture and nutrition);
- Two of the eighty regional chambers are managed by women;
- The delegates to the assemblies of the nine chambers of agriculture are overwhelmingly male – only 14.6% of the delegates are women.

The powerful "Austrian Raiffeisenorganisation" has no woman in the top management. The narrow personal interweaving of men in the agricultural politics, in the administration and in the bodies of representing interests as well as the visible exclusion of women in this policy network can be seen as significant indicators for "hegemonic masculinity" in this sector. In this male policy network it is very difficult for women to act as citizen for example to participate in the formulation and the implementation of policies in rural areas. In legislation and bureaucracy some few "femocrats" have already found their position and in the chambers of agriculture a few women (14.6%) are members of the general assemblies (see also Table 3).

Table 3. Gender Relations in the Austrian Chambers of Agriculture (Absolute Figures).

Province	President		Vice-President		Assembly	
	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀
Burgenland	1	–	1	–	27	5
Carinthia	1	–	2	–	31	5
Lower Austria	1	–	1	1	33	3
Upper Austria	1	–	1	–	26	9
Salzburg	1	–	1	1	23	5
Styria	1	–	–	1	34	5
Tyrol	1	–	1	–	22	2
Vorarlberg	1	–	1	–	12	2
Vienna	1	–	2	–	21	2
Total	9	–	10	3	229	38

Source: Oedl-Wieser (2006).

But generally speaking today, as previously, agricultural policy is still a male-dominated field of policy and does not reflect that by now 30% of Austrian farms are managed by women. The chambers of agriculture, for example, are one of the most powerful players in agricultural policy in Austria.

Parallel to these powerful male-dominated institutions and bodies, there exist some farm women's organisations in Austria. But most of them engage primarily in social and educational issues, and are not involved in decision making in agricultural and rural development policy. The major organisation of farm women is the "Association of Rural Women," which is in most provinces integrated in the Austrian chambers of agriculture. Sometimes representatives of this farm women's organisation are nominated to the National or Federal Council or are Members of the Provincial Councils. Furthermore there are some smaller groups, e.g. the Women's Section of Social Democratic Farmers, Green Farm Women or the Working Group on Farm Women of the Austrian Mountain Farmers Organisation (ÖBV). Most of these farm women's organisations see their main tasks in the fields of social affairs and education.

Networking and co-operation among farm women's organisations is just at its starting point in Austria, and still many ideological and political resentments are existing. The initial co-operation among some farm women's organisations was a campaign in the early 1990s for an old-age pension system for farm women when the amendments to the Equal

Treatment Acts were being discussed. Ten years later a motion on “Gender equality in rural areas,” prepared by the Greens, was supported by women from all political parties of the Parliamentary Committee on Agriculture. This motion was passed by parliament in December 2003 (Oedl-Wieser, 2004a).

In fact, with regard to this marked trend of “feminisation” of the Austrian agriculture, which started in the 1970s and intensified in the 1990s, many questions arise in respect to the rural gender regime and gender equality in agricultural and rural development policy. In the Austrian Rural Development Programme (RDP) (2000–2006) the most important measures are the agri-environmental programme (ÖPUL) (61%) and the compensatory allowance for mountainous and less-favoured areas (26%). The budget for human resource-related measures, used by women in the former period, is very low in Austria compared to other EU member states: young farmers (4%), diversification measures through Article 33 measures (3%) and vocational training (1%). In the Austrian RDP only a general clause was formulated that all measures of the RDP are eligible for both men and women. This formal declaration supporting equality between men and women in the RDP was not followed through the creation of some women-specific or gender-sensitive measures. But to improve and strengthen further the situation and position of women in the Austrian agriculture and in rural areas it would be necessary to formulate and implement systematic interventions and to be pro-active (Oedl-Wieser, 2004a).

WOMEN’S EXPERIENCE IN RURAL POLITICS

The causes for women’s dramatic under-representation in agricultural and rural politics are very complex. On the one hand the reasons lie in the historical exclusion of women from the public sphere and the political participation. On the other hand explanations can be found in the gender regime of the agricultural sector where men are dominating all spheres of economic and political relevance. But how do women themselves experience their exclusion and how do the few women manage to enter into politics? Other fields of interest of the survey, which was conducted amongst politically active women in agricultural and rural politics, were their political career, the acceptance and assistance from their social environment for their political work, reasons for the low participation rate of women in politics and the personal views about strategies to enhance women’s participation (Oedl-Wieser, 2006).

Half of the women entered politics because “they want to actively develop their municipality, their region and to represent their interest group.” Political engagement in the own family is often a starting point for women to be also political active – 40% of the fathers, 17% of the grandfathers but only 8% of the mothers of the respondents were politicians. The political careers of the interviewed women are different depending on their professional background. For farm women the engagement in a farm women’s organisation had often been a springboard for further engagement in the municipality or in other political institutions. But also the participation in a farm youth organisations is considered as an experimental field for further political engagement by some interviewed persons. Communication skills, professional competence and teamwork are seen by the interviewees to a large extent as important ingredients for doing successful political work.

The chances for women to be more active in decision-making in agriculture and rural development could be summarised as “a shift in political focus and politics which get closer to daily life.” In this statement, aspects such as “politics would become more human,” “social issues and a fair distribution of resources would be on the top of the political agenda” and “children, families and the issue of peace would become more important” were articulated. It would contribute to a change of values towards “social competence against neo-liberal necessities.”

The so called soft political issues as children, family and human dignity would be more important than hard economic calculations, road constructions, towards the so called “neo-liberal” necessities. The eco-social economy could be implemented. (Oedl-Wieser, 2006, p. 14)

Family and work could be better arranged! If men would have to look more for the children, there would be enough crèches, kindergarten and after-school care centres. (p. 151)

Women are doing a lot of the constituency-level work, but the decision-makers are mostly men. (p. 133)

The most important reasons for the low participation rate of women in the political institutions were seen in the responsibility of women for the family, the lack of time for political engagement and in the dominant role of men in politics.

Husbands are not very tolerant towards a political engagement of their wives. (p. 203)

The political culture, we are living in, is patriarchal. With more women in politics, the situation would be changed. (p. 166)

There are only few “practical” examples of political active women, feelings of deficiency, avoiding conflicts and diplomacy as socialisation for women. (p. 239)

Political meetings and dates are not very women and family friendly. (p. 74)

Those women already active in rural policy underline the importance to enhance specifically the role of women in political organisations and re-orientate political education for the youth towards this concern in the future. The active women consider their political work a high potential for action in rural policy that particularly focuses on informing about the gender effects of actual policy, on increasing knowledge to participate and on initiating structural changes and new types of development action.

If women are interested in politics, they should be active. Each woman is an enrichment for the committee or body representing interests. Women issues should be treated and decided by women. (p. 5)

My self-esteem has risen, more information – also back-ground information, to spend time to others, less leisure time, greater burden and more hectic, very little time for myself. (p. 123)

Moreover the close contact to people and the appreciation gained through their work are very positive additional aspects of their political work which should provide a stimulus to increase women’s involvement in rural policy.

CONCLUSIONS

In Austria the rural gender regime today is still male dominated although there exists generally a wide social consensus that gender equality should be reached in the medium term. The analysis of the rural gender regime in Austria shows that women cannot implement their full political citizenship rights in rural areas. Both, in the agricultural sector and in the rural policy setting men are dominating the decisive political bodies although women play a crucial role in the rural economy and the social life of villages and regions through their work on the farm, the care work for their families and their voluntary work in society.

The causes for this dramatically under-representation of women in leadership in agriculture and rural development are manifold. They lie in the historical exclusion of women from the public sphere and the political participation and in the gender regime in the agricultural sector where men are dominating all spheres of economic and political relevance. The gender regime is manifested in the institutions of the state (legislation,

bureaucracy), in the bodies representing interests (chambers of agriculture, social insurance of agriculture, Österreichischer Raiffeisenverband) and in the social institution of the family farm as a gender-sensitive quantitative analysis in Austria shows. Furthermore this hierarchical and unbalanced gender regime is preserved through agricultural media, the educational system and the agricultural statistics. The closely interwoven networks of mostly male actors in these spheres and the marked seclusion of women's political system can be characterised as "hegemonic masculinity" in the agricultural sector.

This unbalanced situation is still valid in Austria despite the high number of women managing farms. There are however regional variations within Austria. In the western provinces less than 20% of farms are managed by women and in the central and eastern provinces more than 45% of farms have female managers. The results of the questionnaire made among political active women in agricultural and rural politics underpin that it is of big importance to enhance specifically the role of women in political organisations and re-orientate political education for the youth towards this concern in the future. The most important reasons for the low participation of women in the political institutions were seen in the responsibility of women for the family, the lack of time for political engagement and in the dominant role of men in politics.

So far women's presence in the farm and increasingly also in farm management does not challenge their absence in agricultural politics. In spite of the changes in social and economic practices, traditional norms and values continue to withhold women's entrance into politics. A more fundamental change of the political system in agriculture and rural development is necessary. As long as the question of "equality between women and men" is not a priority of the political agenda on all levels, including the stakeholders involved in rural action, there will be no meaningful reflection about "doing gender" in the political process and how the traditional gender relations are kept in place. More awareness and sensitivity for gender issues among political actors is necessary and this calls for a process of self-evaluation and cultural change. Such an approach would open access to the institutional structures and relevance in the political discourse in agriculture for women and make it easier for more women to enter in the future.

The Austrian case underlines how slowly gender regimes are changing. Even when the socio-economic situation is quite fundamentally changing as in the case of the Austrian countryside and women become essential economic actors, the political side of the gender regime needs more time to

adapt. As this study has shown it is especially in the political and public domain where traditional norms and values are difficult to change. This is most probably true not only for Austria but for many countries in Europe where rural women have difficulty to enter the political arena. To get more detailed information about women's participation in decisive structures in agriculture and rural development in other European Countries the conduction of a comparative study would be very useful. By including countries with different rural gender regimes, it would then also be possible to better understand the interaction of change in different domains of the rural gender regime.

NOTE

1. This study was carried out at the Federal Institute for Less-Favoured and Mountainous Areas in Vienna, Austria.

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MEN, MASCULINITIES AND THE (RE)GENDERING OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN RURAL AUSTRALIA

Barbara Pini

INTRODUCTION

While feminist scholars have highlighted the fact that citizenship should not simply be equated with political representation, they have also emphasized the importance of equity of participation for women in the formal sphere of politics (e.g., Lister, 2003; Staeheli & Kofman, 2004). Thus, the focus of this chapter is on women's representation in mainstream politics and more particularly, within the political arena of local governments in rural and regional areas. The aim of the chapter is to use a feminist theoretical lens to examine gender and representation in rural local governments in Australia. To do so, I draw on data from nineteen interviews with women elected mayors in the Australian state of Queensland. While women continue to be seriously under-represented in the local government sector in rural areas in Australia (see Table 1), women's presence has increased dramatically in the arena of local government in recent years (Sawer, 2001; Pini, Brown, & Ryan, 2004). Nineteen represented a record number of women mayors in the state of Queensland in 2002. Furthermore, all of these women represented

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Table 1. Women's Representation on Local Governments: Excluding Capital Cities.

State	Regional LGAs	Women Mayors (N)	Women Mayors (%)	Women CEOs (N)	Women CEOs (%)
New South Wales	109	7	6	4	4
Northern Territory	58	16	28	11	19
Queensland	118	19	16	5	4
South Australia	50	8	16	2	4
Tasmania	23	5	22	2	9
Victoria	47	12	26	6	13
Western Australia	122	25	20	4	3
<i>Total</i>	527	92	17	34	6

Source: Department of Transport and Regional Services, 2005.

constituencies outside the state's capital city of Brisbane. In fact, ten were located in very sparsely populated shires in the western areas of the state (populations ranging from 400 to 7,000 people), two in areas with populations of approximately 15,000, and the remainder in regional towns with populations ranging from 40,000 to 120,000.

The chapter is divided into five sections. It begins with a discussion of the theoretical framework informing the study. The second part of the chapter provides an overview of the research methodology. The presentation of empirical data in the third part of the chapter begins with participants' description of a particular feminine subject position they call 'woman councillor'. This is a subjectivity men found acceptable, but which women rejected. In the fourth section of the chapter I report on the resistance strategies men have deployed in order to (re)gender the local government space as masculine in the face of women's entry. These include minimizing women's power as mayor, excluding women from networks, knowledge and information, denigrating women and sexualizing women. The concluding section of the chapter identifies areas for future research.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Feminist writers have been instrumental in debunking and critiquing the fallacy that organizations are benign and gender neutral. In a seminal paper Acker (1990) espoused a 'theory of gendered organisations' in which she

argues that gender is implicated in a myriad of organizational processes, practices, symbols and images. These may include the tendency of particular occupational roles to be gendered as masculine or feminine, the typical over-representation of women in subordinate positions structurally within organizations as well as the continued lack of responsibility organizations take for the familial and care work of employees. To demonstrate the dynamism and pervasiveness of this process, Acker (1990, p. 146) uses the term 'gendering' arguing that every facet of organizational life can be viewed as producing and reproducing hierarchical gendered divisions and differentiations which position the female/feminine/woman as subordinate to the man/masculine/male.

In seeking to further Acker's (1990) examination of gender as a relational social process embedded in organizations, a number of scholars have found it useful to engage West and Zimmerman's (1987) concept of 'doing gender', which suggests that gender is not something we have or are, but something that is done (e.g., Gatenby & Humphries, 1999; Kvande, 1999). A central tenet of this work is a rejection of the conceptualization of the subject as unitary, singular and stable, for an understanding of subjectivity as fragmented, contradictory and plural (Hekman, 1990; McLaren, 2002). Thus, subjectivity is never complete or fixed but, as de Lauretis (1990, p. 116) explains 'shifting and multiply organized across variable axes of difference' or, according to Weedon (1987, p. 32) 'in process, constantly being reconstituted in discourse each time we think or speak'. There are different discourses – the historically, socially and culturally specific terms, beliefs, values, institutions, statements and practices – by which we may constitute ourselves as 'feminine' or 'masculine' (as the widely adopted terms 'masculinities' and 'femininities' indicates), but there is no fundamental self-evident category 'man' or 'woman' (Scott, 1988; Probyn, 1993). Any sense that these are immutable, durable and natural is illusory (Butler, 1990).

There is, of course, a wide variety of ways in which we 'do gender' in organizational contexts and thus mark ourselves as located inside/outside of particular discourses of masculinity or femininity. Indeed, the doing of gender has been described as riding a metaphorical bicycle because its creation is so routine and repetitive (Martin, 2003). Important to this chapter is the fact that management and leadership are occupational roles that are strongly connected to particular definitions of masculinity. 'Doing masculinity' and 'doing management' are thereby often conflated as one and the same. In the first instance this is related to the fact that, as Collinson and Hearn (1996, p. 1) note, 'most managers in most organizations in most

countries are men'. The local government sector – both in terms of elected leaders and employed staff – has traditionally been no different. It is, however, not merely the dominance of men's biological bodies in managerial positions that is of concern. More important is that, in both definition and practice, leadership and management have largely been constructed around notions of 'hegemonic masculinity'. This is a particular version of masculinity which, in a given site and time, is culturally dominant or idealized and defined in terms of other subordinated masculinities as well as all femininities (Carrigan, Lee, & Connell, 1985). While emphasizing its fluidity and slipperiness, Connell (1995) suggests that hegemonic masculinity as it is currently manifest in western culture revolves around notions of heterosexuality, competitiveness, instrumentality, aggression, independence and rationality. This definition is strongly suggestive of dominant socially constructed notions of what it means to be a manager/leader. That is, someone who is controlling, authoritative, decisive, strong, unemotional and resolute (Kerfoot, 2002).

As stated, specific studies of masculinities and political representatives in local government have not been undertaken. Evidence from the broader literature on gender and politics however, suggests that hegemonic masculinity is strongly embedded in the processes and practices of political institutions. Whitehead (1999, p. 28), for example, describes Westminster as having a 'prevailing adversarial culture of aggressive, manipulative and vicious competition'. Further, the more specific literature on women and local government indicates that hegemonic masculinities may be equally manifest within local tiers of government. Yule (2000, p. 42), for example, recounts the way in which male British councillors position themselves as innately more rational and intelligent than their female counterparts. Similarly, in their study of women's experience of local government in Northern Ireland Wilford, Miller, Bell, and Donoghue (1993, p. 347) describe the 'clubby nature of male councillors' characterized by 'slaps on the back and drinks at the bar' while in Japan Bochel, Bochel, Kasuga, and Takeyasu (2003) describe the 'masculine political culture' as a key constraint for women in local government. Further exemplifying that the environment of local government has been one in which hegemonic masculinity has been able to flourish is a report by Irwin (2001), which documents bullying, adversarial politics and personal attacks as common among councillors.

Given that hegemonic masculinities appear to have been strongly embedded in local government, women's relatively recent entry to the sector is of significant theoretical interest. This is particularly so given the fact that the literature on gender and organizations demonstrates that men

are highly resistant to women trespassing on previously male terrain (Sinclair, 1998; Cockburn, 1991). In a recent study on the subject Prokos and Padavic (2002) turn their attention to the police academy. They report that, in the absence of any legislative barriers to exclude women, police force officers have enacted informal barriers to restrict female entry. The doing of particular discourses of masculinity that objectify and denigrate women is central to these barriers. The need to display masculinity as well as the means for displaying masculinity is bound up with the women recruits. Women and feminine subjectivities are positioned by the male trainees and supervisors as 'other' as a 'gendered boundary marker' against their own masculine subjectivities (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). In much the same way, Agostino (1997, p. 15) describes how Australian navy men have reacted to women's entry and policies of equal employment opportunity by adopting practices which establish and reinforce 'binaries' between discourses of masculinity and femininity. These collective male practices, which include watching pornographic videos and boasting about sexual exploits, de-center and marginalize any alternative gender discourses beyond one focused on heterosexuality, power and strength.

The organizational contexts of the police/military are strongly infused materially and symbolically with hegemonic masculinity. They are therefore quite distinct from many other sites, including the local government sector. At the same time, I have suggested that local government has also been an arena that has provided opportunities for the articulation of hegemonic masculinity. It is in this light that I seek to address the question of how gendered identities in local government have been shaped and reshaped in the presence of women.

METHODOLOGY

Data for this chapter are drawn from nineteen semi-structured interviews with women mayors in the Australian state of Queensland. This approach to data collection, described by Mason (2003, p. 225) as 'interactive, situational and generative' was useful on a range of counts. First, the method gave voice to women's own perceptions and experiences of being leaders in the local government sector and was thereby consistent with our feminist intent to privilege the subjective as we uncovered different layers of understandings about the phenomena in question (Moss, 2002). Second, while it ensured that the three interviewers undertaking the research¹ covered the same general territory in their questioning, it also allowed for flexibility in the

manner and order in which questions were asked as well as opening up space for participants to raise issues not anticipated by the researchers (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995).

The 19 women interviewed represented the entire cohort of mayors in the state of Queensland in the period 2000–2004. The selection of this group to interview is consistent with the notion of purposeful sampling in qualitative interviewing described by Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell, and Alexander (1995, p. 162) as ‘selecting informants on the basis of relevant issues, categories and themes’. In a number of respects the women were typical of the broader population of women in local government in Australia (Purdon & Associates, 1997; Whip & Fletcher, 1999; Irwin, 2001). None was under the age of 40 and just three were aged between 40 and 50. Prior to becoming mayor all but one had been involved in paid work in a range of sectors including health, education, public administration and small business. Seven had tertiary qualifications. While most had been elected as mayor only in 1999 or 1996, all but one had prior experience as a councillor. Over half had first entered local government before 1990. The sixteen mayors who had children had thus had to juggle work and family over the course of their elected life, although the majority now were the mothers of teenagers or young adults.

Interviews took approximately one hour. They began with questions about the women’s background prior to entering local government before moving on to questions which focused on the participant’s initial entry into political office, such as motivations for seeking office, campaigning strategies and skill development. Following this, attention shifted to women’s experience of being a mayor. In the state of Queensland mayors are directly elected by the people rather than by council members so the position holds particular prominence and status. Women were asked a range of questions to elicit information about their gendered experiences of the mayoral role. For example, they were asked what advice they would give to aspiring women candidates, what major challenges they had faced and achievements they had enjoyed while in office and what their opinion was of women-specific local government organizations.

Interviews were transcribed in full for analysis and followed a four-stage process that was iterative and ongoing rather than linear and definitive. The first was the detailed and repeated readings of the women’s narratives as texts while the second was the development of analytical categories, which were developed through both an inductive and deductive approach (Schmidt, 2004). That is, they emerged from the data as well as from the researcher’s own knowledge of the literature and theory. Qualitative software was

engaged to assist with the third stage in the process, that is, the coding of data according to the identified thematic categories. At the same time the fourth stage of the process involved returning to the transcripts to review themes, examine the relationship between themes and the interweaving of themes across the narrative whole. Cumulatively, this analytic investigation revealed the ways in which men in local government enact hegemonic masculinity as a means of resistance against women's presence in the sector.

PATERNALISTIC MANAGERIAL MEN AND THE 'WOMAN COUNCILLOR'

When the nineteen women participants first entered local government, they were typically the only woman councillor or one of two women councillors. Their recollection of this period was that it was not their presence as a woman on council which generated resistance, but their failure to configure their identities around normative constructions of femininity. The women described entering councils run by older male figures who had been in their positions for extended periods of time. These male mayors, along with other senior male councillors privileged a form of paternalistic managerial masculinity (Collinson & Hearn, 1994; McDowell, 2001). The literature has demonstrated that while in many contemporary organizations this discourse of management has been superseded by new discursive regimes, paternalism remains prevalent in some rural and farming organizations (Charles & Davies, 2000; Pini, 2004). This also seems to be the case in terms of rural local governments. When the women transgressed the contract of paternalism and sought to contest the traditional discourse of femininity ascribed to them they experienced significant resistance. One described how at her first council meeting, two incumbent female colleagues took her aside to explain that the practice was for the women to take it in turns to organize and serve refreshments at the conclusion of business. The newly elected woman member suggested that she would only do so when every other man in the room had done so. Then, she stated, 'I heard the story that this radical feminist had been elected'.

This anecdote provides a rich picture of the 'way things were' – and perhaps still are – in some rural local government offices. Female administrative staff and female councillors provide a service role for the male councillors, fulfilling domestic duties as required (Pringle, 1988). This is an extension of their socially constructed roles as rural women/wives/daughters/mothers (Little, 1997; Hughes, 1997). Present at the particular

meeting described by the women above was the male chief executive officer (CEO). Clearly, food preparation was not a work related task designated to be undertaken by employed staff for representative staff, but a gendered task for women to undertake for men. Importantly, it was not merely this woman's presence as a council member which led to the appellation 'radical feminist', but her failure to subscribe to the discursive construction of the 'woman councillor' acceptable to male colleagues. It appears that there is a 'new' feminine subject position available to women to take up as they enter local government. It is a subject position that locates women within a discourse of domesticity and servitude rather than one of public leadership and management.

In another interview a second participant shared her own experience of not conforming to the expectations of a paternalistic and authoritarian male leader in terms of appropriate actions and behaviours and being sanctioned. What was different in this instance was that the male council of which Agnes became a member acted in stereotypically feminine ways in relation to the leadership of the former male mayor. It was, she explained, expected that she do the same:

Agnes: There was an expectation from the Chairman who was a wife batterer and a bully, that women were very submissive. He was quite comfortable having me there as long as I behaved as the men did in that I would be submissive and that he would say what the go was. But it turned out that the one woman, me, was the only one who would occasionally seriously question his view ... For that I had three, I won't say violent, but very aggressive council meetings where he was literally standing up and leaning over the table, shake his fist at me and roaring at me, and with not one fellow backing me up because they were all terrified to do so.

Agnes' failure to locate herself within the dominant discourses of acceptable council behaviour – as passive, compliant and acquiescent – elicited a powerful reaction from the male mayor. Her revelation is important for revealing the complexity of gender relations and the need to decouple notions of masculinity/femininity and male/female.

Even if they had, in the past, subscribed to the male version of acceptable behaviour and practices as a 'woman councillor', once elected to mayor this was no longer an option for women members. They were the leaders of their councils – the managers of staff, budgets and policies. It is not surprising then, that it was at this stage that women mayors experienced a strengthening of resistance they had previously not encountered in their roles as councillors. The strategies by which men mobilized masculine subjectivities as a means of (re)gendering the space of local government are outlined below.

DISCOURSES OF RESISTANCE

Mayors in Queensland have a role that is significantly different from mayors in other parts of Australia. In Queensland, as well as Western Australia and South Australia, all mayors are popularly elected directly to the position by the public. This differs from Victoria, Tasmania, the Northern Territory and some local government authorities of New South Wales, where mayors are elected by Council members from amongst their own numbers; they serve one term and then step down from the position. As such, these mayors perform a largely ceremonial role, and do not carry responsibility for community leadership over and above that of an ordinary Council member (LGF, 2003). In contrast, those directly elected as Queensland mayors perform a managerial function acting as leaders of Councils. As Neylan and Tucker (1996) argue, in this role mayors are high profile political and community leaders in their own right. The fact that the role of mayor is quite different from that of councillor, and the gendered implications of this did not go unnoticed by the women participants. One explained that 'being one of eight or so wasn't so bad. They could live with that. But having a strong woman run for mayor. That was different'.

It is perhaps not surprising that one of the most typical forms of resistance engaged against the women mayors was to undermine this authority, and minimize the formal position she held. One of the women mayors, for example, commented, 'The line used most frequently at the council table is, "Well, you're just a councillor like us, you just happen to be full time and that's all the difference is"'. Participants also reported being constantly reminded of any limitations in their powers or constraints to their enacting their powers such as needing to gain approval for decisions from an all-male council. Some of the attempts to diminish the standing and role of the woman mayor were highly aggressive and adversarial. In the quotation below Wanda describes the actions of a councillor who deliberately sought a public confrontation with her, not only as a means of undermining and discrediting her, but also as a means of demonstrating his masculinity as a powerful and strong fighter.

Wanda: This one particular councillor who didn't want to work with me. He stood up in a council meeting over a particular issue rather than come and see me privately he's basically torn me to shreds in front of a full council. When I said to him, 'Well, you know the right thing you should have done was to actually come in and talk to me'. And he said, 'Oh, I'm not going to be treated like a school kid and go into your office and talk to you'.

This male councillor attempts to discredit Wanda's leadership, by locating her power and authority, not within the masculine identity of 'mayor', but

the highly feminized and diminished identity of 'school marm'. He seeks to delegitimize her position not only by refusing to meet with her, but also by constructing any such dialogue as infantile and beneath him.

The second form of resistance was one of exclusion. This was manifest in a number of different ways. One was simply to vote as a block of men and refuse to support a woman mayor on any issue, or particularly salient issues. Another was to exclude women from vital information or knowledge. This was a form of resistance women mayors experienced from male council staff as well as representative colleagues. When elected to office, the women inherited the staff of the previous administration. This became problematic when the staff, and particularly the CEO acted against rather than with the new female mayoral incumbent. Typically, these resistant CEOs had been in their positions for an extended period of time. In some instances they used the knowledge gained through this employment experience to undermine the newly elected mayoral women. The women mayors were critically aware of the importance of information, and the fact that denial of information, had, on occasions, caused them to be labelled as uninformed, and incompetent. Those males who were privy to information were able to correspondingly position themselves as knowledgeable and efficient. The gendered hierarchy between femininity/masculinity and female/male was thus afforded voice, and the reinscription of local government as a legitimately masculine arena legitimized.

Women mayors were also excluded from information and knowledge through the use of jargon and technical language as the following participant explained:

Martha: The stuff that you deal with is boys' stuff. It's roads and it's water and it's sewerage. The engineer in place here at the time I was elected as councillor was really difficult. There were gutters not operating properly in my division and he was there saying, 'no, the water flows from here to here'. And I'm saying, 'Well, it can't because that goes uphill and you've got the inlet up the top up there'. And then he'd start to use jargon and he actually at one stage told me not to bother my little head about it.

Martha's statement is useful in highlighting the fact that historically local government has been a space in which hegemonic masculinity has been propagated and affirmed. Male councillors have been able to draw upon some of the central artifacts, objects and metaphors of hegemonic masculinity as they attended to the traditional 'roads, rates and rubbish'. It has been a space in which 'boys' stuff' has predominated. Like the Health and Environment Unit of a British authority Maile (1999, p. 150) calls 'Westward District', managerial masculinities were traditionally 'secured' through particular modes of operating and work priorities such as an

emphasis on utilities over services and engineering over the environment. Now, however, there has been considerable change in the local government sector and the possibilities for enacting hegemonic masculinity are lost or highly fragile. As one woman mayor explained, 'You're more a board of directors now. There is less hands on. You can't go out there and tell someone how to build a road or not to build a road like that'.

The changed role of local governments has removed some of the important resources through which male councillors have traditionally been able to demonstrate their masculinity. While new and emerging roles may offer other opportunities for masculine identity work, the evidence suggests that some male councillors remain strongly attached to past responsibilities in which they had invested so much of their masculine selves. The issue of a reshaped local government agenda was further gendered by the fact that women reported that for some long-term male councillors, this unwanted change was viewed as synonymous with their entry to local government. Within a range of changes introduced, some could be positioned as 'feminizing' the agenda of local government in that the sector was now designated responsible for community building and environmental management. The refusal of some male councillors to see these roles as the 'real' business of local government could be read as a reaction against what they saw as a de-masculinizing of the local government agenda.

The form of exclusion which women found most difficult to name and identify was exclusion from social networks and informal gatherings. At the same time this type of exclusion has been found to be profoundly effective in positioning rural women as 'outsiders' in seeking leadership positions to regional development boards (Grant & Rainnie, 2005), agri-political groups (Pini, 2002) and new rural local governance organizations (Pini, 2006). Women were aware that male councillors tended to congregate at particular pubs, all-male service clubs or sporting events outside of meetings and discuss council business. Homosocial relations between representative and employee men in local government were also maintained and solidified in these networks outside of the formal spaces of the council. Women mayors were also conversant with the fact that different masculinized environments provided men with opportunities for fraternal networking, solidarity and politicking and that their sex largely denied them entry to these spaces, but found it difficult to label what was occurring.

Rita: It's sort of hard to put your finger on. It's more just a feeling and an awareness. You couldn't say they make you go over into the corner there because you're a woman. I mean you're not treated like that, but there's still – you just get that feeling of male dominance. It's hard to identify specific things but we ladies often do chat about it.

While urban studies of women and leadership report that exclusion is not a problem encountered only by rural women (e.g., Sinclair, 1998). Little (2002, p. 94) reminds us that the use of space is profoundly gendered in rural areas. Indeed, in his detailed and long-term study of 'Small Town' Australian sociologist Ken Dempsey (1992) observes that particular spaces such as the pub and sporting field serve as important symbols of masculinity for rural men. Further, women's entry to these spaces is closely monitored and trespassers sanctioned. In more recent work authors such as Leyshon (2005) and Campbell (2006) also demonstrate the way in which spaces such as pubs operate as sites of power in rural communities as they provide particular men with opportunities to demonstrate hegemonic masculinity and to exclude those (women and some men) who do not conform to this gender discourse.

The final form of resistance male councillors enacted against women entrants to local government was to sexualize them. The most pronounced illustration of this was that directed at a woman mayor in a large regional centre. During her campaign for mayor web sites were established which labelled the woman a 'lesbian'. This was taken up by some of the male protagonists on council and became front page news in the local paper. Dot believed that an important factor in the questioning of her sexuality was her decision to shave her head for leukemia research. She also spoke of the fact that she had never been a 'girlie-girl' and afforded little attention to matters of dress or make-up. Beyond her bodily transgressions, she also named her strength, resilience and forthrightness as factors that would have contributed to rumours about her sexuality. These rumours coalesced with other discourses of denigration that positioned Dot in masculinized ways as 'ball-breaker' or 'bitch'. To understand the impact these claims may have had on Dot and her family, as well as her position in the community and her future electoral success, one needs to recognize the centrality of heterosexuality to notions of rurality. As Little (2003, p. 406) has commented, 'rural society normalizes and reinforces a conventional form of moral heterosexuality' (Little, 2003, p. 406). Thus, the men who labelled Dot 'a lesbian' positioned her outside of accepted and conventional intersecting discourses of femininity/sexuality/rurality. She was an anathema.

While Dot's experience was most extreme, all women mayors were acutely aware of the negative consequences of sexuality for females in positions of leadership, and described being vigilant in managing their sexuality to avoid it being used against them. This was a constant struggle as they were routinely subjected to displays of men's heterosexuality through joke telling, innuendo and physical actions.

Jessica: You've got to be careful of the sleaze factor. The men throw sleaze on a woman and it really matters. Whereas being a male, things like that don't seem to carry much weight. But for a woman it can really destroy her. So you've got to be squeaky clean at every level. Make sure you dot your "i's" and cross your t's.

Collinson and Collinson's (1989, p. 103) observation that 'where women enter male-dominated areas, men may use sexuality to maintain their dominant position', is evident in Jessica's quotation. She reveals the truism that for men leaders (hetero)sexuality is valorized and unproblematic, but for women troublesome and a liability (Sinclair, 1995; Pini, 2005). Women's desire to dissociate themselves from sexuality is not easily done as they are typically defined in terms of their sexuality and also expected to support men's performance of heterosexuality (Ozga & Walker, 1999). They are subsequently controlled and subordinated by the dominance of hegemonic discourses of heterosexual masculinity in the local government sector.

DISCUSSION

In recent years rural studies scholars have documented Australian farm and rural women's increased participation in political arena and their engagement of new gendered subjectivities such as 'woman leader' and 'woman political activist' (Liepins, 1998a, 1998b, 1999; Panelli, 2002; Panelli & Pini, 2005). What has not been examined is how rural and farm men have reacted as women have taken up these new subject positions. The question is: If rural men have traditionally used particular arenas (such as local government) and undertaken particular activities (such as the role of councilor or mayor) as a means of demonstrating and affirming hegemonic masculinity what happens when women enter this environment and begin taking on these roles? The data presented in this chapter reveal that this leads to considerable tensions. Importantly, this is not the case if women take up the feminine subject position 'the woman councillor'. This subject position is strongly connected to notions of normative femininity and traditional socially constructed definitions of 'rural woman' (Little, 1997, 2002; Hughes, 1997). It emphasizes passivity, compliance, care and deference to men. According to participants, those women who have subscribed to this configuration of gendered subjectivity have met with little resistance from men. This is not the case however, for the women mayors who, by definition, do not 'fit traditional feminine identity patterns' in their rural communities (Hughes, 1997, p. 135). These women have been subjected to a range of resistance strategies from men who have minimized

their role as mayor, excluded them from knowledge and networks as well as denigrated and sexualized them. These discursive regimes have served a dual purpose. In the first instance they undermine and problematize the place of feminine subjectivities in local government. They emphasize and legitimate the lack of fit between being both a 'mayor' and a 'woman'. In the second instance these strategies enhance men's own performance of hegemonic masculinity and strengthen the allegiances and connections between male councillors and employees in the sector. Men thus validate, reinforce and repair their own gendered subjectivities as masculine men in local government. This recuperative identity work is complex in that it is connected, not just to women's entry to the sector, but to the changing role of local government. The process is thus one of both 'keeping women out' and 'writing men back in'. In this respect, despite rural and regional women's increased presence in the sector, local government is (re)gendered as masculine. Thus, while we may view rural women's electoral success positively as it indicates that constructions of rural womanhood and leadership are shifting amongst the constituents of non-metropolitan areas, we can also see that this is being powerfully resisted by some male local government incumbents.

NOTE

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SHIFTING IMAGES OF THE 'COMMUNITY': COMMUNITY- BASED POLITICS AND WOMEN'S CITIZENSHIP IN INDIA AND SWEDEN

Seema Arora-Jonsson

INTRODUCTION

The 1990s have been the decade of state decentralisation both in India and in Sweden. Decentralisation of political power has been accompanied by the rhetoric of community participation in natural resource management and rural development initiatives. In light of this, questions about whom or what constitutes the 'community' and 'the local' take on important connotations. Women and men living in many rural areas (often peripheral in relation to State and other decision-making structures) have sought to 'redefine' community citizenship and their relationships with the forests and nature around them. They have tried to play a more active and responsible role in the relationships that they already share by virtue of living together with the forests. Although considerable research has now turned to look at these processes, the gendered nature of these efforts is often subsumed in all-encompassing terms such as community, state or forests. Research with

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women in two forest communities, one in Sweden and the other in India illustrated that natural resource management is clearly gendered and has tangible effects on the gendering of citizenship in rural areas.

In this chapter, I explore gendered relationships to the forests and community that become apparent in research with the women's groups in the villages. The focus is on women's citizenship in relation to their participation in local politics especially with regard to forest management and local development. The role played by outsiders such as development agents and researchers like myself in defining the contours of local politics forms an important part of the analysis. The first section briefly reviews some of the literature on women's citizenship in relation to community-based politics. The approach used in the chapter that provided the theoretical and methodological underpinning for the research is delineated in the following section that also includes a description of the research settings. The third section presents the case studies. Based on this information, I examine the parallels and the insights that follow: on the gendered nature of their marginality and of community politics, on the struggles over meanings given to community and participation in village activities as well as on the role played by outside interventions. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the implications of starting research from within the women's groups for an understanding of forest management and rural development and discusses this in relation to women's citizenship in the arena of community-based politics.

COMMUNITY-BASED POLITICS AND WOMEN'S CITIZENSHIP

Women's political citizenship has been the focus of considerable literature in the recent past. Feminists have expanded the scope to conceptualise citizenship as a more total relationship, developing an understanding of both the nature of citizenship as membership of a community and locating gender in a broader analysis of diversity and social divisions that shape the patterns of inclusion and exclusion of that membership (Hobson, 2000, p. 23). They illustrate how citizenship is imbued with gender-specific assumptions and rests on the construct of the public vs. the private sphere. Feminist scholarship has traced the historical template of citizenship as being based on a quintessentially male practice and ideal (Hobson & Lister, 2002). It has shown how all that is deemed incompatible with citizenship is relegated to the private, female sphere while the public sphere associated

with the male public citizen is related to the market and the state (see Lister, 1997; Walby, 1997). The 'ethic of justice' emphasising universal standards, moral rules and impartiality is seen to form the basis of the public sphere while an 'ethic of care' where values such as care and connectedness are considered central, is assigned to the private sphere (cf. Hobson & Lister, 2002). Community-based politics in rural areas especially with regard to natural resource management is an arena that serves well to highlight some of the contradictions that plague questions of citizenship and the dichotomous relationships in which it is positioned viz. the 'ethic of justice' of the public sphere vs. the 'ethic of care' of the private sphere (cf. Lister, 1997). Community activities and the labour that is put into working with these activities, especially that of women, take place in an arena that straddles what has been considered as the public and the private. Women's activism in the two cases in this chapter illustrates the inadequacy of this split that comes more from theory rather than the messy practices that these divisions seek to theorise. The arena of community politics in relation to the management of natural resources and rural development activities therefore provides an interesting area for studying participation of men and women and claims for political legitimacy and citizenship.

Community activities and its local politics constitute an important form of political citizenship (Lister, 1997, p. 148). Researchers, both in the North and the South, have positioned local development groups as filling the space between citizens and political authorities and have drawn attention to the need to work with new forms of local democracy (e.g. Colfer, 2005; Herlitz, 2002). Environmental politics have been central to claims over citizenship in rural areas. Since the 1990s, the participation of local communities in development and natural resource management has gained popularity both in policy and in practice. On the one hand, this has provided women and men in rural communities with openings to take control over their own development and of their surroundings. On the other, these changes in policies have coincided with neo-liberal impulses that in many cases have also been shown to transfer responsibilities without any real delegation of power (e.g. Larner, 1998; Mirafteb, 2004).

In literature on the South, there has been considerable focus on community organisations for collective action around the management of natural resources. According to Cleaver (2002), this focus on community organisations has been highly attractive to theorists, development practitioners and policy makers as these organisations help to render legible 'community' and codify the translation of individual to collective endeavour. The visible often formal images of community are attributed

normative value. In practice, in spite of their sometimes skewed composition, especially in terms of gender, these organisations are taken as representatives of the community by development agents and also researchers (Guijt & Shah, 1998). Studies in the North also point to the fact that the community is often represented by men without this necessarily being problematised or even noticed (e.g. Little, 2002). This has important consequences on gender and power relations in the communities as well as on women's social and political citizenship.

Studies on women's activism in the rural areas related to community and environmental issues have highlighted women's roles in creating a new place for doing politics. Women's groups in rural areas have confronted state authorities, multi-national companies, commercial loggers and challenged the basis of state policies (cf. Dianne Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, & Wangari, 1996; Shiva, 1989). However, their activism is often not perceived as relevant to mainstream negotiations or theorising and perceived as temporary extensions of what are believed to be their social roles as carers. A tendency, also within some feminist literature, especially that on women's environmental action has been the preoccupation with public acts (Reed, 2000, p. 366). For example, in an analysis of collective action on the forests, Agarwal distinguishes women's involvement in resource management as having a propensity towards agitational actions, in contrast to the cooperative organisations that are often dominated by men and are more long-term. She suggests that women's rich social networks in the villages offer the potential for building cooperative organisations for more sustainable forest management, from which they are otherwise excluded (Agarwal, 2003). Although recognising the strength of women's social networks, such an assumption can serve to mask the importance of the work and contributions made by women in their everyday work.

It can blur the contestations over what constitutes village development and resource management as women organise in a variety of forms not considered formal or legitimate and challenge mainstream conceptualisations of community and resource management. A reconceptualisation of agency where women's everyday actions are taken to be political and relevant (as sites where power relations are realised) need to inform understandings of citizenship and political decision-making. Eduards argues that the seemingly gender-neutral concept of agency has an obvious male bias. 'Agency is limited here to the capacity to initiate, guide and control developments – "to executive power" ... The collective actions of women are also measured against this yardstick' (Eduards, 1992, p. 96). Many women's groups in the countryside tend to take up multiple issues (Bull, 1995; Purushottaman, 1998).

These do not take on the recognisable, more permanent forms that are seen as viable organisations in the public arenas of development work (Arora-Jonsson, 2005). Women often transcend the boundaries of the public and the private as they work with various activities. Putting women's activism in the spotlight and analysing what that means for conceptualisations of 'community', local natural resource management and citizenship forms the core of this chapter. But these aspects have been elusive to capture, necessitating an approach that differs from the typical.

*A Somewhat Different Approach: Seeing the Forest through the Women,
Not the 'Community'*

Preliminary studies at both case study sites revealed that there were hardly any women in the formal village and forest committees/association in either of the two countries. Feminist research has shown how mainstream research uncritically adopts the norm and in the name of objective research has sustained and legitimated male experiences of the world as neutral (e.g. de Lauretis, 1989; Hirdman, 1990). Even in participatory research, gender gets hidden 'in seemingly inclusive terms: "the people", "the oppressed", "the campesinos" or simply "the community"'. It was only when comparing ... projects that it became clear that "the community" was all too often the male-community' (Maguire, 1996, pp. 29–30). By starting from the vantage point of the women's groups in the village, i.e. in looking from the margins (cf. Harding, 1998) and turning attention to women's agency, it was possible to understand how ideas about community, development and resource management were being constructed. Using the material from the two case studies I carry on a dialogue between the two that enabled me to question established positions and to look for categories not obvious at first sight. In order to do so, I use three methodological approaches: that of freezing time (i.e. analysing relationships and activities at that particular time in either place as an indicator of societal relationships), reversing the gaze, from 'South' to 'North', and critical subjectivity where the role of the researcher is also subject to critical examination during the research process and in the text.¹

THE RESEARCH SETTINGS AND METHODS

Drevdagen is a village in the north-west corner of the county of Dalarna in Sweden and had a population of around 115 in 1998. The village lies in a picturesque valley surrounded by mountains. The community lives in what

is known as a sparsely populated area, the *glesbygd*, with long distances to nearby towns. The forests are an important part of the lives of the people and an integral part of their local identity. In interviews and discussions, they differentiated their area from other areas that did not have this nature around them. Several younger women had moved back to the village with their families to be 'close to nature' and for a healthy environment for their children. The area around the village is forested mainly with pine and fir, which grow slowly at this high altitude. Large bald patches where the forests have been clear-felled recur around the village. The villagers had, in the past, protested against the clear-cutting of the forests around their village by the state-owned forest company that managed the forests in that area at the time. On one occasion, they occupied the machines of the loggers in order to stop them from logging a forest and the areas around a forest path. The *glesbygd* is also defined by its lack of 'social infrastructure' (Forsberg, 1997b) with minimum public facilities compared to urban areas. Several facilities like the village shop, a petrol pump and postal outlet had shut down in the village in the past few years. In a long drawn conflict with the authorities who had wanted to shut down the school due to the small number of students, the villagers had struggled and succeeded in keeping the village school open. A few men in the village had their own small firms in carpentry, construction. A couple owned a small 'hotel' while many women worked as nurses or in other forms of health or elderly care. Both men and women were dependent on temporary and seasonal employment as for instance in a nearby ski resort or further off in the country.

The research in Drevdagen was carried out through a process of participatory action research.² The structure of the process was inspired by an approach called collaborative inquiry (cf. Treleaven, 1994) and the Swedish tradition of research circles (cf. Härnsten, 1991). Such an approach entailed working together to make sense of village life and politics. It meant analysing and discussing village life and development activities as well as transforming our practices and taking action based on our analyses. The women were part of deciding the framework of the study and the aim was to make the research relevant for them.³ From the research point of view, it was to explore how the 'people in place' perceived their community and lives and the forests and the ways in which they acted upon them. The process of knowledge creation was sought to be made more transparent as we together discussed the many ways in which the women defined themselves, the forests and its care and management. Preliminary interviews were carried out with three men and five women active in village activities

(September 1998). At the suggestion of some of the women, I carried out interviews with 22 women between 25 and 80 years (May 1999), and they comprised almost all the women in the village, at the time. The purpose of the interviews was to understand how the women worked with village development and resource management but more importantly it was to ascertain if they were interested in collaborating with each other and with me, a researcher, in discussing and working on these issues. Three women took the initiative to invite all the other women in the village to a joint meeting in June 1999 to discuss the interview report and arrive at future plans.

The group continued to meet approximately once every six weeks between 1999 and 2000 and the number of women present at the meetings varied from time to time (7–22). We met to discuss and reflect on the community, the forests and living in the village. Since the group decided on the direction of the process together, what had started as a group for reflection, was slowly also transformed to a site for a 'women's forum'. The women wanted the forum to be a space that was open to all women who wanted to come. They felt that there were no community or joint spaces in the village where women could take up questions of interest to themselves in ways in which they wanted to. Some women from neighbouring villages heard about the forum and also expressed an interest in attending. The need for the forum, how the women organised themselves and the responses that it provoked in the village has been taken up elsewhere (Arora-Jonsson, 2005). I became a part of a process that is usually invisible to research though the presence of a researcher probably made the process more formal for the others in the village than it might have been otherwise.

Nayagarh district in the state of Orissa lies on India's eastern coast facing the Bay of Bengal. The fieldwork in the village of Kesharpur and in the rest of Nayagarh was carried out differently, with more conventional qualitative methods. However, interviews and participant observation revealed aspects that showed striking similarities between the North and South and gave rise to new questions for both cases. The villages that I visited in Nayagarh were populated by the 'general castes' such as the *khandait*, *chasa*, *kumithi*, *telegu* that are generally low in the caste hierarchy there. The villages also had *dalit* residents living in separate hamlets. The forests of Nayagarh play an important part in the lives of the people and in sustaining livelihoods, especially for the tribal populations. The forests are dry, deciduous, and *sal* (*shorea robusta*) is a common species. In addition to timber for housing and furniture, many men and women from farming families gather supplementary food from the forests and other non-timber

forest produce (NTFPs). Kesharpur is a village in the district of Nayagarh where the forest protection movement, the Friends of Trees and Living Beings (*Brukshay O' Jeevar Bandhu Parishad*) began. The movement that started here has now swept over the entire district. Kesharpur lies at the foot of the Binjhagiri hill, now dense with trees and foliage, but that merely 30 years ago was totally bare. The Kusumi river flows past Kesharpur and is fed by many small streams from the hill that came back to life when the forests returned. The state of the forests of Kesharpur and of the rest of Nayagarh changed dramatically since the people first started protecting them. What were bare patches are now clothed in green, which has also recharged springs that had dried up. Wild animals are being sighted again in the forests. The regenerated forests gave them a new identity and they began to call themselves the forest castes (*ban jatis*), a new caste united by the forests that they lived with. For many women in the villages, the forests were a site of work but it was also a social space as groups of women went out together to collect fuelwood. For the upper caste women it was also the space that was out of bounds since it was considered inappropriate for them to go to the forests on their own. When they did enter the forests it was for short walks mainly on the outskirts. Yet, they said the forests were very much a part of their lives. For the young women especially from the lower castes who worked in the forests, it was in a way a free space, beyond the rules of the villages.

Kesharpur is where I started looking at the women's network. However, I also shifted the focus to other villages in Nayagarh, which at different times became the strong points of the women's network of *mahila samitis* (women's groups). Between November 1998 and February 1999, I interviewed already existing women's groups in several villages in the district of Nayagarh. Some of them were part of a women's development programme run by the community forestry movement while others were autonomous women's groups outside of the programme. I spoke to the women in the groups about their relationships to the forest, the community forestry movement and their own organising. For the purposes of this chapter, I refer specifically to incidents from women's groups in four villages although my understanding of the context was informed by my visits to the other villages as well. I also interviewed the groups' field organisers and the coordinator of the women's programme.

I had previously carried out research in the area in 1994 on the community forestry movement and the respondents had been only men. The history of the movement described further below is based on much of that material. In 1998–99 I chose to focus mainly on the women's groups

although I also interviewed men in the community forestry federation and attended the federation meetings. I conducted group interviews with the women and on some occasions with men in the forest organisations, interviews with individual men and women and also visited families in their homes. Many of the interviews with the women's groups were filmed and they were then replayed for them. Often, the ensuing discussion was even more interesting as the women made sense of how they had interacted with each other and spoke about various issues. The data from the fieldwork (notes, tapes/film) have been complemented by my research journal. Also documents, minutes from meetings and other background material like reports, secondary material, etc. on the two cases has been used.

A Similar Tale from Two Parts of the World

Drevdagen, Sweden

Construction of Marginality and of Forests as a Masculine Domain. Many women and men in Drevdagen spoke about the forests as being the men's domain. Several women explained their non-involvement in the project for local forest management because of this reason. Some told me, 'that is the way it is ... The men worked in the forests and the women took care of the cattle ... The forests have always been the men's domain'. This notion is echoed in different ways in other places in Sweden and even in academic writing (cf. Ednarsson, 2002). Yet, in conversations with the women, it became clear how much their lives were linked to the forests and to the nature around them. What did they mean? Their statements seem especially incongruous on reading the early history of the area. Well into the 1800s, cattle rearing carried out mainly by the women, was the bulwark of the farm economy in this area (Montelius, 1977). The forests were the summer home (*fäbod*/*shielings*) of the cattle and also provided the fodder necessary for the winter months. Dairy work was often carried out in the *fäbod* in the summer months. Much of the work that the women did was in the forests.

However, what came increasingly to be defined as 'forest work' from the 1800s onwards was that done by the men employed by the forest companies. Montelius writes that the importance assigned to mining by the state and the timber needed for that has in past research overshadowed the important role that the forests actually played to sustain the agrarian society. The increasing importance that timber assumed in the 1800s foreshadowed the coming decades when the forests would become the economic and commercial resource that Sweden would use to build up the national economy.

The definition of 'work' in the forests began to be narrowed down to wage-earning activities carried out mainly by men. This was accompanied by the increasing formalisation of property rights that benefited men. The *storskifte* or the great redistribution of landholdings took place in the late 1800s in this area. The long-term effect of the *storskifte* also made it possible for individual landholders to delineate their property and to be able to sell it. In many ways, ownership rights began to take precedence over user rights in forest land that was hitherto regarded as forest land for common use (Sjöberg, 2002). As a result of this process that is still contested in the villages in this area, the crown appropriated large areas of forest land, which came under the Swedish Forest Service, Domänverket. It is interesting to note that crown appropriated forest land on the grounds that they could then supply the populace with timber and also to secure the forests from the adverse effects of excessive logging and deforestation, an argument not very different from the ways in which the forest problem was defined in India. Such protection, they explained to the villagers, would be undertaken by the authorities based on scientific methods and would serve as an example to other forest owners (Alinder, 1945).

The villagers in Drevdagen related that from the time that the state took over the forests to the present, villagers in their area successively lost most of their user rights like fishing, hunting that they had been exercising despite the formal transfer of ownership to the crown. The crown/state forest land under Domänverket, was taken over by a semi-private forest company in 1993 and one part of the forest was made a nature reserve in 1992. The professionalisation of forest work and the move towards more formal ownership led to the increasing identification of the forests as a male domain (Arora-Jonsson, 2005). These processes were accompanied in the 1950s with the beginning of mechanisation of work in the forests and the rationalisation of agriculture. Industrialisation and intensive urbanisation absorbed most of the forest workers who were encouraged to move to the towns with their families in order to work in the factories. It was in the aftermath of this that policy makers became alarmed at the depopulation in these areas and migration flows between various parts of the country became central to the Swedish discussion of regional balance (Borgegård & Håkansson, 1997). A regional equalisation policy was formulated in the 1960s with an end to support 'weaker' regions. Ideas about marginality were constructed in dominant images, as areas in need of support and where growth was 'weak'.

This policy has changed in recent years and the emphasis is on the regions competing for resources for development (Forsberg, 1997a). In light of both

these policies, it might appear anomalous that efforts by the villagers to try and use their resources in order to revive their area, was met with disapproval. However, this may be explained, in part, by how regional development is conceived in the country. Although there have been some measures to encourage community activity and grassroots development work, regional development is conceived not in community activity but on economic development. Policies are normally divided into different sectors (as for e.g. forestry), despite the increasing rhetoric on inter-sectoral collaboration. Room for small-scale local solutions and initiatives is limited in this perspective.

Village Action. The village of Drevdagen is known in the country for its community action especially because of their struggle for the village school. The memories of the school struggle in the 1980s, where the entire village had rallied for its cause, was still a source of pride for the villagers and symbolic of one Drevdagen identity. The media had taken up their cause and the village is well known in the country for defying local authority and succeeding in keeping their school and village alive. The school was vital for the village as it ensured that families with children would continue to live there. The strike had led to the fact that everyone outside the village had some sort of opinion about them. However, over the years, the memory of the school struggle also cast a long shadow. It was as much a burden as a resource, especially when negotiating with the municipal authorities about other issues such as childcare.

The influence of outside actors including researchers in how communities are conceptualised in the academy and how that affects the people in the place is an aspect that is rarely discussed. Media, development practitioners and researchers all contributed to the ways in which events unfolded in the village of Drevdagen. The school strike as well as outside interventions in efforts towards forest management and my involvement in the women's forum are examples that need closer examination. Troubling to many in the village was that the extensive media coverage during the school strike had led to the fact that everyone outside the village had some sort of opinion about them, as strong people but also as troublemakers who refused to accept authority. It is striking how some identities become the identity of a place. For people outside (at the university and development practitioners working with rural development in Sweden), it was due to the school strike that many knew of this small village. The public nature of the strike assumed overwhelming importance and most discussions on Drevdagen among rural development practitioners and also at the university harked

back to the strike. Though the importance of the strike is not to be underestimated this is an indication also of how particular incidents associated with specific places get frozen in disregard of the history that follows. It is a sign of how our desires as researchers or practitioners working in marginal areas and wanting to contribute to its development can lead to attributing the presence of 'social capital' to overt manifestations of collective action. In doing so, researchers and development practitioners contribute to defining the 'place' and setting lines around village identities, a process that needs to be acknowledged and a point that I go on to discuss further in relation to efforts for village development and local forest management.

In 1995 the villagers formed a village association to work with issues of village development where the forests were an important part. It was meant as a coordinating organisation for the many other associations active in the village, as for example the sports association, the pensioners association, the sewing bee. Some women in the association took up what they called important 'social issues' – housing, schooling, day-care, tourist activities. They had been able to organise childcare after protracted discussions with the municipal authorities. The women were also the lynchpins in arranging village and community activities. The men in the association, including the chairperson were spurred to work with the forests by the news of the sale of the forest land to private buyers. They were certain that the sale of the forests to private buyers would speed up the logging in the areas as the buyers would log to finance the purchase of the land. They hoped to discuss the issues with the company and that they could perhaps approach the authorities with a plan to manage parts of the nature reserve on a small scale in order to generate employment for the villagers.

The forest question taken up by the association was spearheaded by some men with the help of development practitioners working at an agricultural university and initially with local politicians. Help from the people at the university interested in working with issues of community forestry led the men leading the association to concentrate their activities on the forests and on events mainly outside the village. This, perhaps inadvertently distanced the 'place' from the 'issue'. Many women and men felt estranged from the forest project. They felt that they no longer understood what was happening in the forest project and were not informed about the project's activities which were supposed to be for the benefit of the village. The emphasis on the forests pushed the women's more immediate concerns into the background within the association. This led to the dropping out of the few women involved in the association as they did not find support for their ideas and their way of working. Other women who felt that they had shown an interest

in working with the forests were not considered knowledgeable since as one woman put it, 'being women they were mainly expected to make coffee and bake buns for the meetings'. 'The men are scared of strong women', said another woman who felt that her efforts to work on the forest project had been ignored. Several women felt that the village needed to take up several issues together, such as the running of the village shop, day-care, old age homes, animals as these were the issues, which needed immediate attention.

The Women's Forum. In a joint meeting that followed my initial interviews with the women in the village, some felt that the men in the association looked at the forests from within the 'gaze of forest productionism' or rather only the economic aspects. They spoke of many other ways of relating to the forests, which found no place in the routines and practices of the association's project on the forests. One woman spoke of the need for her to get away to the forests and just be there for a day or two – not to hunt, not to fish but 'to be there'. Another spoke of how hugging trees and living in and spending time in the forests gave her the energy to continue with life down in the village. The forests could be a sanctuary, a social place, a source of livelihood, for tourism and many other things. Women from the older generation (70 and above) spoke of the toil and hardships faced by their mothers in cattle rearing and farming that enabled the communities to survive in this area. Several women in their 40s and 50s wanted to start cattle-rearing activities although in new times and in new ways. The ways in which different women chose to work could differ with their background, education, if they had moved to the village in recent times, their age or whether they were single or had children.

Many women defined the forests as a social place. Whether or not this was the way the men in the association constructed the forests, the aim of the association was increased economic activity. The women who came to form a women's forum during the course of the research, believed that they needed other points of departure. They spoke of the need for community spirit and for *gemenskap*, or togetherness, as a building block for economic or social activity in the village and around it. The women's forum became a place to talk about those things or articulate those 'constructions' of the forests and the village, which did not find place in the many village associations. Networks and local engagement are often equated with rural areas, and are seen to compensate for the lack of service facilities in these places (e.g. Westholm, 2003, p. 92). The women's process in Drevdagen showed that these networks or sociality needed to be continuously and consciously

created. The many social events that the women organised in the village were meant to foster a sense of community and cooperation among the people in the village. For them, the point of departure for rural development was the community and not a (forest) project. It was not the issue itself (management of forests) that was being questioned by the women who came to the forum or the fact that the village association was disregarding 'social' issues. Their need for a women's forum stemmed from their dissatisfaction about being represented by the structure of the village association that did not give them voice about their participation.

Nayagarh, Orissa

Creating Marginality and the Importance of Timber. There are a number of parallels regarding the creation of marginal spaces in Nayagarh with the processes that took place in Drevdagen. The taking over of the forests as State property began during British rule. On an all-India basis, the systematic public management of forests began in 1864, as forests began to be converted into state property. This conversion continued after India's independence in 1947 when the former landholdings of princely states and big landholders came under state control. Feudal and customary rights were eroded but the pressure on the forests continued to increase. Although the recognition of people's rights on forests as state property existed in post independence policy, this changed over time and in the revised forest policy of 1952, the emphasis shifted to prioritising national needs (Kant, Singh, & Singh, 1991). Environmental degradation became and remains a central part of the discourse on forest management. Scholars contend that a narrative of deforestation was constructed and used by the state to extend its authority in rural areas, so much so that this standard 'deforestation narrative' has submerged alternative constructions of the 'forest problem' and ignored the contributions of villagers in the care of the forests (Jefferey & Sundar, 1999, p. 20).

Much like in Drevdagen, commercial interests also became significant. More was taken out of the forests than was put back into them. Large areas of forest were converted to agricultural land and much of the bamboo forest was leased out to paper mills. The forest produce on which the poor subsisted during the lean months and gathered predominantly by women became difficult to obtain. A market evolved for products such as small timber leading to even greater pressure on the forests. The marginal status of forest communities in relation to what was defined as more important national interests, led researchers to identify these as 'violent environments' as different groups and interests clashed with each other and the state over

access and control of resources (Sundar, 2001). Although policies have changed to accommodate access to and management by local communities of the forests, men dominate local organisations and all formal committees many of which have come to mirror the formalised official bureaucratic system. Development in Nayagarh is also at the confluence of different policies: for example agricultural policy that encourages expansion of fields while forest policies promote conservation.

Village Action. In the early 1970s in Nayagarh, a prolonged spell of drought occurred for six consecutive years and it was believed by the villagers of Kesharpur that the drought was caused by deforestation. This and a confluence of a number of other crises in Kesharpur led the school teachers in the village to get together in 1976 and decide to take up the protection of the forests. Drawing inspiration from the Gandhian philosophy of self-sacrifice, men, women and children in the community went through a period of foot marches and hunger strikes as well as consistent protection efforts. In 1982, people from Kesharpur and the villages around them met together and named their movement, the Friends of Trees and Living Beings, *Brukshy O' Jeevar Bandhu Parishad* (referred to as BOJBP in the rest of the chapter). The religious and spiritual idiom was strong in the movement and appealed to the sentiments of people. Through music and theatre and the written word, the men in the village, communicated their message of environmental protection at traditional gatherings and other occasions. School children were active in the movement and their teachers organised several planting campaigns with them. They discussed the environment and in many ways brought these issues back home to their parents. The leaders of the movement accompanied environmental efforts with a drive to give up their caste belonging. They spoke of their movement as the 'buddhagram' movement, translated literally as that which brought them enlightenment. Narayan Hazari, one of the forces behind the movement in the early days writes, 'The Buddhagram movement stands not only for environmental conservation ... but for total development. It stands for development in its economic, social, political, cultural, humanitarian, moral and spiritual aspects' (Hazari & Hazari, 1990).

In the early days, the BOJBP's moral appeal to bring an end to untouchability, to exchange saplings at weddings instead of dowry, put a stop to violence against women appealed to many women and others outside the circle of men spearheading the movement. 'The strong religious and moral dimension to their work ... gave it an imperative beyond pure self-interest' (Human & Pattanaik, 2000, p. 74) and these aspects played a large

part in drawing in the women. 'It was when they used to have Ramayana⁴ recitals that we women joined them and also became interested'. Early volunteers recalled during my study in 1994 that it was often women who were first swayed by the school teacher, Joginath Sahu's message and then the men in the village followed. Human and Pattanaik (2000, p. 80) in their book on the movement write, 'There is no doubt that Friends of Trees have tapped into a deep vein of "green spirituality" that lies within rural Hinduism, a spirituality which embraces all living things'. However, not unlike in Drevdagen, a confluence of events such as, support from outside and the emphasis on environmental issues nationally and among international agencies, led to a focus on the forests that shaded the social justice agenda of the movement.

The village network grew from Kesharpur as a result of the untiring and dedicated work of its leaders and the people. Several other 'sister organisations' were also set up (which together comprised about 356 villages). The various sister organisations finally linked into a larger federation, the *Nayagarh Jungle Suraksha Mahasangha* (Nayagarh Forest Protection Federation) that spanned the whole district of Nayagarh. Since then, the federation has expanded to become a platform for forest communities in the entire state of Orissa. Over the years, from being a more spontaneous movement, the BOJBP moved towards greater formalisation in terms of rules and norms. Although women were not involved in formal decision-making, several women were active during the foot marches (*padayatras*) and other functions in addition to their day-to-day care of the families and the village. However, as the movement became institutionalised, there was increasingly less space for women.

Realising the gendered disparities, Oxfam, an international NGO that had started supporting the movement in a small way since 1984 stressed the need to involve more women in network activities. They began to fund a women's development programme and provided funds for field organisers and a co-ordinator who would help the women in the villages organise themselves. This was in tune with other government programmes in India (e.g. for income generation) targeted at women. Such activities were usually organised by the *mahila samitis* (women's groups) in villages. In the BOJBP area, this was supported with the help of the Oxfam-funded women's programme.

The Women's Groups. In some places the women's programme coordinated by the BOJBP resulted in very active and vocal groups as the women organised and carried out collective activities. The groups became

an accepted forum for women to meet and discuss. They began to take up domestic disputes around dowry and to an extent, violence against women. Those men who did not let the women in their households attend were often approached by the whole women's group 'peacefully' and an appeal was made to let the woman come to the meeting. This was often effective since the group had the sanction of the village and the BOJBP.

Their collectivity also helped them to successfully challenge local elites like the male landowners and moneylenders, or to resist oppression by the police in protecting their forests and take up questions of violence against women within the family. For instance, in the village of Hariharpur, the women related that they were in the forests one day when they came upon men who were quarrying for stone and were preparing to log a part of the forest. They refused to let them do so and when the stone-cutters obviously paid no heed to them, the women began by taking away their implements and then began protecting the forest by *thengapalli*.⁵ The stone-cutters tried to threaten them but when that did not work, they called in the police. The women patrolled the forest for 22 days until 'the village men shamed by their inactivity' agreed to take on their responsibility. After a meeting attended by the villagers of Hariharpur, the Friends of Trees and Living Beings and the federation, the men took over the protection of the forest. The women lobbied with the District Forest Officer (DFO) and the matter was finally resolved in their favour. Although the women in this group were not part of the women's programme, on hearing their story, the women from the other groups approached them and they joined the network of groups in the women's programme.

The forest committees in Nayagarh concentrated mainly on issues concerning forests, such as protection, conflicts, management and sale of forest products. The women's groups on the other hand tended to take up other issues as well, such as their work for the village commons, planting fruit trees on the outskirts of the forests or collecting forest produce for local consumption. Further, as one of the field organisers of the women's programme wrote in a report, there was no point in talking about saving the environment if the women had no power themselves. 'They cannot join a movement without looking at themselves and doing something about their own potential and about gender relations'. Since the programme was specifically for the women, they had the space to focus on their needs and claims.

The women's groups had been discussing the idea of a women's federation, and a large number of women from the villages of Nayagarh met to give form to this need. Eventually they hoped to link up at the state level.

One woman said, 'At the moment we lack funds or organisers. We have only a token presence in politics. We want to be a part of law-making. Even in the Friends of Trees and Living Beings and the forest federation we have no place in the decision-making. They just want to make us "statues" and not really involve us in meetings'. The women's activism and the response to it in the villages in both countries bring up striking parallels. These provide insights into the gendered nature of community, into the political location of the village or its marginality and into aspects of outside intervention that I examine in the next section.

DISCUSSION

Gendered Marginality

The political meaning of the geographic location of the two sites played an important part in gender relations, how women and men in these forested areas conceived of themselves, of development as well as how they represented the 'community' to the outside world. The taking over of the forests by state authorities, justified on the grounds of the inability of the people to manage resources and on the state's scientific management contributed to a strong sense of marginalisation among the people. Especially in Sweden this 'marginality' contributed to a distinct discourse of the centre and the periphery. This was due, not merely to the village's geographic location but was evident also in policy-making dominated by an urban mindset. The sparsely populated regions in rural areas were seen as backward and in need of development. Stories about being marginalised by central authorities abounded in the area. The most outstanding example was of the authorities' attempt to shut down the village school and the villagers' struggle and success in being able to keep it running. Men and women both experienced 'spatial' marginality due to their geographic location. This marginality did not run parallel to gender rather marginality itself was gendered (cf. Tsing, 1993).

As I show earlier, the professionalisation of forestry in Sweden in the second half of the 1800s was accompanied by a masculinisation of the forest domain. The male forest logger, hunter and forester are images that had important consequences for gender relations and work with the forests: in assumptions that women were not interested in the forests, that they did not know much about it, that the work might be too heavy for them, regardless of the fact that neither men nor women carried out such forest

work any more. In Nayagarh and in India more generally, despite the fact that women spent most of their days in the forest, it was men's work with timber that was considered important. It has been the painstaking empirical work of scholars working with gender that showed the work that women did in the forests and its important contribution to the social and economic life of these communities (e.g. Harcourt, 1994). In Nayagarh, the BOJBP succeeded in welding people together in a movement that spans hundreds of villages and many thousands of people. This resulted in greening the area and the return of fauna, which had disappeared in recent times. However, slowly, the 'community' in community forestry, with few exceptions, came to refer to the middle aged and older men of the general castes. Several men in Nayagarh believed that the women's wish to form their federation was pointless and they should approach the forest federation to take on their cause.

Both in Nayagarh and in Drevdagen, when it came to the forests, the women were expected to comply with the decisions made in the committees. The association dominated by a few men was considered to be the legitimate body to make such decisions. This was assumed to be in the best interests of the village. In Sweden it was taken for granted by the men in the association and by the men from the university who also carried out participatory exercises in the village to support the forest project, that the major struggle for everyone was to be able to exercise power vis-à-vis the centre. The women's critique of the association was seen as the result of personal politics in the village and not as important. Their choice to have their own space was considered a threat to village harmony that was needed to work with the forests and local development. As Maguire (1996, p. 30) points out, 'even in participatory research, a community is all too often the male community'. The outsiders' support to the men in the village association strengthened the formal leadership in the community. It led to the prioritisation of the aspects that focussed on negotiations with outside authorities rather than grounding it in the village. This made the issue increasingly complicated for most villagers who were not involved. Thus, the political economy of the forests with its importance to timber and the involvement of development practitioners who turned to some men as the representatives of the community in both places led to the invisibility of the women's work and to their marginalisation in decision-making about forest development.⁶

Struggles over Meanings

Both in Nayagarh and in Drevdagen, the formal associations appropriated the right to define the community and the forests for the others as they

positioned themselves in opposition to government authorities. But by organising themselves, the women chose to formulate other meanings to local development and local forest management. In Drevdagen, the forests were an integral part of the women's identity. But many women also felt constrained by the way the discussions around local management were being constructed in their communities. They did not necessarily find a place for themselves in those structures. As far as the forest was concerned the importance of providing employment seemed to overshadow other ways that the men and women conceptualised the forests – as a refuge, as a social place and where children grow up on a whole tradition of the forests troll – but also in ways that could sustain the community and engage women and men in working for the village and their countryside. In Nayagarh, when the federation actively sought to include women, the women insisted that in order to address their concerns, they needed their own federation as much as they needed to be part of the forest federation.

By bringing onto Drevdagen's community agenda what they called the social issues, i.e. the importance of community spirit and issues such as schooling, childcare, the village shop, the women in the village may be seen to be espousing an ethic of care. Lister writes about the 'ethic of care', the realm of the social issues and the care work done by the women that is assumed to be in the private sphere vs. the 'ethic of justice' that is marked by the public nature of its activities. However, theirs was not merely an effort to get what may be assumed as private issues onto the public agenda but also a different conception of community development and management. For many women active in organising themselves in both places, putting efforts towards local management in context meant putting them in the context of the community. They believed that men's and women's concerns for what they called 'a living countryside' included a whole range of issues besides the forests. Their attempts at working with rural development took the community as the starting point. By emphasising informality and openness in their own group, they also called for different ways of dealing with village questions where others outside the few men in the association especially women, could be involved. They made clear that especially in a small community such as theirs, the public sphere that is characterised by an 'ethic of justice' is in practice indivisible from an ethic of care and vice versa. Local development and forest management could not be separated from the care work of women and men in the community but their work was in fact integral to making local development and forest management work.

Development Practice and Research as a Co-Actor in Constructing the World

Theoretical preoccupations become a reality as local management is very much a political issue and academic theorising can have significant implications and is used in various ways in community politics. Research and development practice is complicit in how issues of resource management and development are conceptualised and whose voice gets heard in constructing dominant frameworks in local development and natural resource management. Instead of accepting the dominant form as the norm and trying to fill in its weaknesses, as for example filling the gaps in existing institutions with the inclusion of women, researchers and development practitioners also need to examine other definitions and constructions of what might constitute citizenship and community work. As I show earlier, assumptions about the politics of resource management and gender on the part of the development practitioners in the two different settings directed the course of events and also played a part in community politics, at times reinforcing the marginality experienced by the women.

Reviewing several traditions of academic work with the concept of community, Liepins (2000) propounds an understanding that builds upon the notion of the community as a social construct, with people at its centre, and one that involves cultural, material and political dimensions. She writes that 'community must be analysed for the diversities, silences, gaps and marginalisation that simultaneously occur even while some people engaged with a community may believe a communal set of understandings and relations are being held'.

The community in rural studies is usually posited as a collectivity linked to the place, rurality and nature (e.g. Marsden, 2003; Skogen, 2003). But the emphasis on place and nature in conceptualising the cohesiveness of 'community' can serve to mask the contestations and discordant notes in its conceptualisation as well as the messiness of everyday practice. A singular focus on 'place' may also underplay the impulses from outside, that illustrate, how local efforts and identities are in fact prompted from other places and by outsiders (policy, activists, researchers ...) especially so in a world where people, concepts and images move around more than ever before.

In the case of Nayagarh although development practitioners were supportive of the women's groups, the main attention to power relations with those outside the communities served to obscure the discrimination in the villages. In a draft evaluation report of the forest movement (Mitra & Patnaik, 1997) as well as within a scholarly work on the movement

(Human & Pattanaik, 2000), acts of agency by women were hailed but seen as one-time events. The reader is cautioned not to read too much into the fact that some of the women's groups had organised themselves. Although structural constraints were recognised, women's agency that disturbed these structures was not acknowledged. Support was given to the existing structures that continued to underprivilege the women's groups. Measures for gender equity and social justice were stressed but they were done in a frame that was taken as given. This was obvious in the case in Sweden, where assumptions about everyone's equality and gender neutrality of common spaces made it all the more problematic for the women to claim a space of their own.

Although in several incidents in Nayagarh, the women had organised themselves, their efforts were seen as sporadic and informal and not necessarily as part of a long-term strategy. While women's agitational actions get more attention due to their public nature, their everyday activities that might change from day-to-day escape attention. Empirical evidence from social movement studies indicate that participating in protest is not a one-step phenomenon. Individuals embedded in organisations are more likely to participate in political activity (Schussman & Soule, 2005). The difference in the cases presented in this chapter is that the form in which the women chose to organise did not always fit with conventional forms of organising. The women may well be carrying out activities such as the protection and care of the forests but they do so without the legitimacy accorded to the male-dominated organisations from actors within and outside their communities. The cooperative organisations dominated by the men have often been the starting point of analysis for research, often with an interest in a single issue such as the forests. The recognisable norm of how to organise and bring about change did not fit in with their way of organising. The informal, the invisible to the eye, then escapes notice. It does not take the shape that the official world of research, development practice or policy-making may recognise. The underlying assumption in the reports and among the development practitioners in both places was that the women should join the mainstream organisations rather than spend energy on having their own forums. That the women had been beginning to question how the programme in Nayagarh was planned and how the money was being spent 'on them' without them having a say was not taken up in the report. The outsiders in both places reinforced the authority of the men in the committees. By being a part of the women's forum and writing about it, I may have contributed to surfacing gendered conflicts in the village. Development practitioners and researchers contributed to the power

relations that impacted directly and indirectly on development initiatives and gender relations in the villages.

In terms of research on communities and 'place', viewing the forests/nature in isolation and ignoring interrelationships between village issues such as housing, day-care, schooling obscures the motivations of many people and what may really matter in their immediate everyday life. Groups with differential responsibilities and power relations construct nature in different ways and in response to varying material and political situations. It is not uncommon that the in-between spaces (Dianne Rocheleau & Edmunds, 1995) and the in-between times (Johansson & Mlengi, 1993) that women may have access to remain hidden in dominant representations of the community. The community and its work often get defined by the norms of those in formal committees and associations who are taken as representative of the community, usually middle aged/elderly men in Sweden and in the case in India, in addition, men from the higher castes. And more often than not this is accepted as the 'community' view unless one makes an effort to identify discordant tones. Although the place is important, in trying to theorise collective community identity linked to 'place' social relations may be forgotten especially when they may be unequal or discordant and it may become difficult to have any one bottom-line on place or community. The same geographical place may be the subject of many different constructions of 'place' as well as receptive of and subject to conflicting external forces and ideologies. Social groups do 'naturalise their spaces' in their own way (Marsden, Milbourne, Kitchen, & Kevin, 2003) but it is quite another thing which spaces and its sets of interlocking relations researchers choose to see and how aware we are that there may be other ways of seeing them.

CONCLUSION

Community efforts are often based on informal networking and on more or less formalised social relationships. The space of community activities is an in-between space between the so-called public and the private space of the family. It is here that care work within the family and common community issues converge. In both case studies, attention to women's agency illustrated how local management of the forests was and needed to be grounded in community spirit and in the care of the community. However, the work of the women, who did the major part of the care work in the families and the community often went unseen in the formal associations.

For example in Nayagarh, women's contributions to the upkeep of the forest outskirts and village spaces were not considered in the formal village forums and nor was it recognised how their activities contributed to overall community development. The need for inclusion of women in the formal organisations in both places was often couched as needing to include them to motivate them to work with these organisations and did not take account of the work they already did in relation to the forests and community development.

For the women, local forest management and village development was not only a question of moving decision-making from the centre to the local communities but also for different ways of working as well as an acknowledgment of unequal power relations. Forest work had increasingly come to be identified as a male domain, especially in Drevdagen, regardless of the work the women did in the forests or the time they spent there. This has a correlate in the 'historical template of citizenship' as a 'silence has persisted on the category of men (as gendered actors) in both theory and practice around citizenship' (Hearn in Hobson & Lister, 2002). According to Hearn, by naming men as men "the gendering of citizenship is made explicit" (*ibid.*). In choosing to organise separately the women in the villages in India and Sweden named men as men and not merely as neutral individuals who happened to find themselves in the formal organisations. Through the women's actions and alternative formulations, village development and citizenship were revealed as gendered rather than as neutral processes. The women in the forum and the groups tried to bring to the community agenda the indivisibility of 'care' and 'justice'. In doing so they had also challenged the narrow definition of the forests and community work. Their struggle may be seen as one for recognition and influence over the boundaries and meanings of community citizenship (cf. Fraser, 2003).

Participatory research with the women helped to look beyond obvious constructions of the forests and its management and for the 'significant otherness' (Haraway, 2003) in my object of scrutiny. Positioning my research with the women's group enabled me to analyse local politics and citizenship from outside of the formal organisations that happened to be only a small part of the complex web of networks that interacted to give form to development and local citizenship in the two places. It also put into perspective the efforts to include women into the formal organisations as efforts that did not necessarily challenge the status quo but in fact kept it in place. Citizenship as a 'process' needs to be studied in its social and relational context where researchers are part of the analysis. Development

and research approaches play an important part in defining topics and exclusions and inclusions, contributing in direct and indirect ways in local politics and to the lives of the people that researchers choose to study.

NOTES

1. For an explication of this approach, see Arora-Jonsson (2005).
2. There is no one definition of PAR. To quote Reason and Bradbury's (Reason & Bradbury, 2001, pp. 1–2) working definition, "it is a participatory democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing ... and creating new forms of understanding ... In many ways the process of inquiry is as important as specific outcomes. ... the 'language turn' drew our attention to the way knowledge is a social construction: the action turn accepts this and asks us how we can act in intelligent and informed ways in a socially constructed world."
3. For a detailed description of the method, see Arora-Jonsson (2005).
4. Ramayana is a famous epic in India.
5. Thengapalli was an innovative method used in the villages of Nayagarh for forest protection. Four sticks were made and one member each from four families used to go and patrol the hill. In the evening they would put the sticks in the verandah of the neighbouring four families and the person on whose verandah the stick was placed would patrol on the succeeding day. The number of persons going on thengapalli varied with the size and value of the forest, the time of year, perceived threat and so on.
6. However, a focus on the actions taken by the women reveals how they resisted this marginalization and actively defined rural development and local forest management (Arora-Jonsson, 2007).

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PART VI:
CONCLUDING REMARKS

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DYNAMICS OF CHANGE AND RECONSTITUTION IN HEGEMONIC AND RURAL GENDER REGIMES

Ildikó Asztalos Morell and Bettina B. Bock

This book has aimed to elucidate how the dynamics between patriarchal power relations and forces for change create and form the conditions and interpretations of everyday existence in gender-differential terms in rural gender regimes throughout Europe and beyond, and how rurality constitutes a specific context for the constitution of gender. It illuminates, in this specific rural context, and under the economic and social relations characterizing rurality, how patriarchal power relations are reproduced and contested. This process is conceptualized as a dynamic force, where, inspired by gender regime analysis, power relations between the state, market and family form the prevailing hegemonic (legal, institutional) frameworks within which everyday life is reproduced. We see this as a fundamentally gendered process, which nonetheless is intertwined with other constitutive forces (ethnicity, class, age, sexuality). For us, rurality and class relations (i.e., the prevalence and entrepreneurial class in rurality) stand in focus as a constitutive force.

The chapters in this book cover a wide range of societies, primarily from Europe, but also Australia and India. This breadth allows us to compare how recognition struggles (see Hobson, 2003) as well as countervailing societal forces in the individual countries succeeded in forming hegemonic

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state-regulated gender regimes, as well as specifically rural gender regimes. It also provides a comparative horizon from which we can shed light on the role rurality has played in the different countries in the creation of laws and institutions that, in turn, contributed to the establishment of specific and distinct rural gender regimes.

The book as a whole illuminates the dynamic between hegemonic and local rural gender regimes. Hegemonic gender regimes are created and enforced along a chain of institutional processes. Laws on the hegemonic level are *created* in a power field, where rurality (and within it the farm family) often became the object of national aspirations, which typically aimed to maintain rurality as central to national identity. Meanwhile, rurality was formed in the context of power relations with its gender and class dimensions characterizing the rural scene. Laws need to be *implemented*, which requires institutions that can interpret and transfer the values and norms in which the laws are grounded. Furthermore, laws are to be *enforced* in daily praxis, which can take form in judicial praxis or utilization of welfare subsidies (Flygare, Hanrahan).

On the local rural gender regime level, hegemonic laws function as frameworks, which nonetheless allow for certain degrees of freedom and are open for interpretation. From a Foucauldian perspective, the hegemonic intent is that the citizens as legal subjects should internalize the values and norms that form the ground of these regimes. Case studies show diverse ways in which the hegemonic intents are enacted. These diverse forms are seen as outcomes of the relative elasticity allowed by the ongoing interpretation of hegemonic laws within the context of local gender regimes (Stenbacka, Sireni, Asztalos Morell, Holmlund). The grades of freedom that this local context constitutes opened both for, by the hegemonic powers' unintended progressive developments in rural praxis (Holmlund) or for the reproduction of patriarchal power relations despite the laws' intents (Melberg), while in other nations, for the creation of local gender regimes giving specific content reaching beyond the values the laws aimed to express (Sireni). However, in all cases, the intents of the hegemonic gender regimes were reformulated in the context of local rural gender regimes.

Local gender regimes were found to have varying degrees of liberty according to the type of hegemonic gender regimes over them. The laws and institutions in liberal hegemonic gender regimes rooted in the main male breadwinner model, such as Switzerland or Ireland, show greater consistency and force in reinforcing patriarchal structures in agriculture and rural gender regimes (Rossier, Hanrahan). Meanwhile, gender regimes rooted in the weak male main breadwinner model show greater elasticity both

in terms of allowing for empowering ways of interpreting the laws' intents (Sireni) and reinforcing patriarchal structures locally, despite the laws' intents (Stenbacka, Melberg). We interpret these differences as created by the relation between local and hegemonic gender regimes. In main male breadwinner regimes the hegemonic regime reinforces the local patriarchal structures, while in weak male breadwinner models a dissonance is created between diverse forms of initiating gender equality and local patriarchal structures. This dissonance opens a power field with potential for change depending on the prevailing social and economic forces.

The chapters in this book document how patriarchal structures and ways of thinking are still apparent in rural gender regimes. Some of the chapters elucidate the *struggles* of rural women for recognition and inclusion in male-dominated spaces, especially the male-dominated arena of politics (Oedl-Wieser, Pini, Bock and Derkzen, Arora-Jonsson). They reveal how strong the countervailing forces are which protect not primarily the interests of men as such, but the interests of the established interest groups at the national level. Besides the unequal distribution of resources, the one-sidedness of the dominant political discourse is of utmost importance and hinders the transformation of social and gender relations.

In the realm of politics, there seems to be some underlying similarities between the countries studied (the Netherlands, Austria, Australia, Sweden and India). In each of the described and analysed rural gender regimes the difficulties for women attempting to access the political domain are obvious, as are the difficulties with participating effectively once the problem of entrance is solved. Even in a weak male breadwinner country with gender egalitarian policies patriarchal discourses and praxis prevail in rural local politics.

Finally, the book gives a perspective on the emancipatory potential contained in the dynamics between the hegemonic and local gender regimes, and the inherent freedom, even if in variable degree, in this dynamic.

While the main focus of the book is to explore the varied ways in which hegemonic state regimes interrelate with rural everyday life, these relations are also articulated in the global context of economic, social and political development. Thus relations between the state and the family (as units of production or reproduction) are mediated through ongoing forces of economic and social transition. Following Polányi's (1976) theory of forms of economic integration, resources are controlled in four diverse forms of integration: redistributive (state), market, household and reciprocal. While the main focus is on relations between the state and the household/family, the chapters also shed light on the impact of market forces on the formation

of rural gender regimes. These market forces affect local socio-economic conditions in diverse ways – they transform the markets for agricultural products, and they also transform the rural labour market and, hence, local conditions of employment.

The chapters in this book explore the interrelation between local rural and hegemonic gender regimes through the concept of citizenship, as discussed in the introductory chapter. In the following, we weave together in a comparative network some key indices of transformation in the local gender regimes from the perspectives of civil, social, economic and political citizenship.

RURAL GENDER REGIMES AND CIVIL CITIZENSHIP

Marshall (1950, p. 10) saw civil citizenship rights as concerning individual liberties, such as freedom of speech, property ownership rights, personal liberties and rights to justice. Women obtained many of these rights only after the acknowledgement of their political citizenship (Walby, 1997, p. 175) and much later than men did. Civil citizenship includes a whole range of issues which cannot be covered in this book. This book focuses on the gender aspects of ownership and land succession. Land succession is interrelated with a series of other civil citizenship rights issues such as access to training and education. While succession is also interrelated with issues of social (social security eligibility), economic (division of labour in the families) and political (political participation and representation) citizenship issues, these relations are to be discussed later.

A recurrent question emerges from the diverse fields of research in the area of civil citizenship rights in a rural context. How is the reproduction of gender inequalities possible after almost a century of struggle for equal opportunities and equal rights, including the right of equal inheritance and access to education and occupations? This book explores some of these issues, focusing on the interplay between nation-state frameworks of rights and rural praxis. The three case studies are carried out in gender regimes that are varied both in time and in type.

Kjersti Melberg's study explores succession patterns in Norwegian farm families. The overall focus is on socialization processes and succession praxis in the case of farm families, with the aim of connecting changes in succession praxis with the societal changes experienced by three to four generations during the twentieth century. Although gender-equal farm succession was promoted by the introduction of the 1974 Allodial Law by

giving the right of succession to the firstborn child irrespective of sex, farm succession continues to be a male prerogative. The main research question of the chapter is: What has created and maintained the positions that men and women hold in Norwegian farming? The main premise of Melberg's study is that farm succession is an outcome in a later life stage of a socialization process that starts from an early age.

She explores intergenerational patterns of inheritance with an in-depth study of three three- or four-generational farm families in Norway, using life-history interviews of spouses. The stories of the three families are selected to explore different pathways to succession. Each represents a specific family type and socialization process often found in Norwegian farm families. The empirical variation in these cases leads Melberg to identify four distinct farm family types (male dominated, intergenerational oriented, nuclear family oriented and intergenerational oriented co-operative) through an analysis using four analytical categories (socialization process, way of taking over, farm leadership and farm ownership types).

The results indicate that farm families still have role expectations and that many roles are gender defined in Norwegian agriculture. We can say that a gender-structured division persists in Norwegian farm life, regardless of civil rights and an extensive public welfare system. Also, intergenerational transmissions continue to play a key role in farm succession, but these processes are more complex today than they were for earlier generations. Succession is, however, still a power issue in which parental strategies play a crucial role. This process is intertwined with family subcultures and gender regimes. The most profound change in Melberg's study was found in the current generation of parents and successors. Thus the older generations' decisiveness in socializing a successor into a valuable livelihood has been challenged. However, despite wishing an easier future for their children outside of farming they continue to socialize them into the successor role. While young girls were first to leave the "power-arena" that the Allodial Law gave them "young sons are still socialized into an uncertain future," as Melberg puts it. The gender-differential relations are expected to contribute to continued male dominance on farms.

One could also add to Melberg's analysis that the uncertainty in the future of farming, as well as the conditions of farms where men historically were encouraged to seek off-farm employment, have opened up opportunities for ownership and/or leadership of farms by daughters and daughter-in-laws' and can indicate potential forces triggering change in gender relations. Melberg argues that rural society is not moving fast enough and

intergenerational transmission plays a role in the reproduction of gendered patterns of succession.

Even though civil rights of ownership and education were early areas in which gender equality was achieved, the everyday praxis in rural spaces continues to reproduce gender inequalities in these spheres. *Ruth Rossier's* study shows, in the case of Switzerland, where gender equality legislation prevails in which way farm family expectations and the prevailing institutionalization of farm education contribute to the persistence of male succession of farms despite laws granting gender equality formally. The laws do not specifically promote male succession; however, because proof of formal competence is required to be eligible to manage a farm, daughters and widows (who typically participate in the gender-coded farm education as farm wives, a category that does not qualify as farm management) are excluded from taking over the farms. The institutionalization of the gendered educational system divided into training for farm managers (both sexes, but primarily men) and training for farm women (open to both sexes, but taken only by women), where the function of the latter is to take care of the household and assist the main farmer, fits well with the main male breadwinner system dominating the gender regime of Switzerland.

Rossier complements her study of the Swiss farm education and inheritance system with a study entailing a postal survey and focus group interviews with young male and female successors/not successors from farms. The number of daughters who indicated a desire to become farmers was higher than the number of parents who indicated that their daughters would like to become farmers. Parental expectations clearly favour the sons. Daughters have to explicitly articulate their desire to become farmers, and they are given the opportunity only if no sons are available or willing to take over. A future expectation of becoming a supporting farm family member without an independent income makes farming unattractive to girls. Rossier finds that the cancellation of the gender-streamed farm education would open opportunities for the daughters of farmers to seek farming as a profession on their own, rather than through marrying farmers. Beyond the educational system, gendered expectations are deeply rooted in family socialization strategies that cut across agriculture and other family-based entrepreneurial branches.

Rossier's study from Switzerland and Melberg's from Norway also provide valuable contrasts in terms of hegemonic gender regimes characterizing the two countries. While both states adhere to the principle of gender equality in legislation, the prevailing gender regimes expressed in the features of the dominant welfare institutions diverge. In the Swiss case,

gender inequalities are apparent in the functioning of dominant welfare institutions (such as the education system, and laws regulating farm succession and inheritance) and dominant cultural expectations. In contrast, in Norway the promotion of gender equality has a long-lasting political tradition which mobilized forces to realize the 1974 Allodial Act, which actively promotes equal inheritance rights. By law, firstborn daughters become successors. Their resignation has to be actively pursued. In contrast, such supporting regulation is absent in Switzerland; instead, central legal guidance does not interrupt the customary praxis of appointing the heir. The gender-segregated training for farm operator qualifications reinforces the dominant cultural expectations that identify women with domestic and assistant roles on farms in Switzerland. Despite the dissimilarities in the hegemonic gender regimes in the two countries, the gender patterns of succession show striking similarities. Women's succession as farm heads has increased somewhat in Norway (Haugen, 1994), but the initial increase seems to have halted (Björkhaug & Blekesaune, 2007) and, with the achieved increase, the proportion of female farm operators (11%) is very close to that in Switzerland (6%). Both Melberg's and Rossier's studies indicate the overwhelming importance of farm family socialization in the choice of successor. An investment, which is made in the growing up of the successor from early age. This process is fostered by the strong intergenerational bonds on farms.

Both of the studies indicate a historical momentum for changing long-lasting cultural patterns. Recent economic instability in the agrarian sphere has made farming occupations less attractive to younger generations. Succession seems to be undecided in an increasing proportion of farm families. This can open up opportunities for daughters to take over. The Norwegian study indicates yet another important aspect. Melberg argues for the existence of familial gender regimes, with a tradition of powerful female farm leadership. Such traditions seem to be bound to favourable regional conditions, where male off-farm labour was historically abundant, leaving women to head the farms. Similar conclusions are drawn in Safilidou-Rothschild, Dimopoulou, Lagogianni and Sotiropoulou (2007) study of a Greek region, Kastoria, with a high level of feminization of farm leadership. Bock (2004) also emphasized that rural gender studies ought to place more emphasis on the importance of regional differences in local gender regimes.

Sofia Holmlund's study gives a longer historical frame for the development of legal regulations and rural praxis concerning inheritance. Historically ownership became more individualized from the eighteenth

century onwards in the Western world. The birth of modern individual property ownership can be traced to the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the rights of the individual were strengthened both in relation to the crown and to members of one's own family. In Sweden, up to 1845, women inherited half as much land as men. They gained equal rights to inherit in 1845. However, women were considered minors and could not administer their own property until 1920 (Hedenborg & Morell, 2006, p. 192). Prior to 1845 the inheritor of the largest share had the right to buy out the siblings, while after 1845 this right was implicitly given to the male heirs. This meant that women in praxis could not inherit landed property if there were male siblings. The process of ongoing judicial development strengthening individual property rights formed a central part in the evolution of civil citizenship and constituted a milestone in the formation of Western economies. This process, which was originally shaped by the interests of landowning men, had indirectly led to the strengthening of the juridical position of landowning women as well, both as inheritors and as spouses.

This process evolved reflexively between economic and judicial praxis on the local level and governmental legislation on the state level. As the paper illuminates, governmental legislation increasingly secured the position of individuals, especially that of minors (which implied even to women, who made up a large group of minors) by imposing rules regulating formal property rights, including entitlement to inherited land and obligatory registration of ownership titles. However, changes in legislation did not bring about automatic changes in local judicial praxis. The formalization of property exchange proceeded faster in the Estuna parish than in other regions of Sweden due to the general economic prosperity there. Considerable market transactions of land both within and outside the family required the registration of ownership titles, which assumed that previous transactions (such as property divisions in the case of inheritance) were handled correctly, according to the laws. Since it was assumed that daughters would not inherit the land but would be paid out, the sibling who would be in charge of the property was to mortgage the land. He had to be able to prove his legal title to the land for this. Due to the prevailing legislation supporting the property rights of minors, this could be done only if the proper division of assets was proved. Consequently, local economic processes, the strengthening of the land and financial markets valorized the implementation of legislative intentions and laws. Even if these laws were formed in the interests of male landowners, until 1845 giving them up to twice the share of inherited land women received, it indirectly led to the formalization of women's property rights also. The fact that the

formalization of property rights had already progressed prior to 1845 meant that the introduction of equal inheritance in 1845 could strengthen women's legal position with respect to land inheritance.

Holmlund's study of early eighteenth-century Sweden introduces a long-term perspective and further elucidates key aspects of the formation of gender regimes concerning civil citizenship. First, it explores the deep historical roots of the present praxis prioritizing male succession. It is a system that was cemented in early legislation of property rights, giving male inheritors exclusive rights of succession. It also shows the historical roots of disclaiming women's right to administer property, which had not changed prior to 1920. Second, it highlights dynamics similar to those discussed in the case of contemporary Norway and Switzerland. Legislative changes are brought into praxis by economic and social forces acting at the local level. Praxis does not necessarily result in the consequences intended by the laws. Meanwhile, from a longer historical perspective, legislative change acting for the strengthening of the rights of individuals evolved hand in hand with the economic changes formalizing property ownership. Finally, the formalization of property rights was a crucial step towards the strengthening of women's property rights, and indicates that legislative change has potential for reducing gender inequalities.

RURAL GENDER REGIMES AND SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP

The concept of social citizenship is closely related to the forces of de commodification (Esping-Andersen, 1998 [1990]). Within market societies, the welfare state emerged in order to provide a minimum standard of living to its citizens. Forms of, and eligibility for, these rights vary largely between regimes and through time. As Esping-Andersen argued, welfare societies are typically wage labour societies. This elucidates the key gender aspect of social citizenship, since men and women have a special relation to wage labour. The contribution of women's unpaid care work was highlighted, not only to the reproduction of paid labour power (Molyneux, 1979) but also to the reproduction of patriarchal structures on farms (Delphy & Leonard, 1992; O'Hara, 1998). The state's interest in supporting motherhood emerged typically in combination with pro-natalistic ambitions (Goven, 2000; Haney, 1997; Bock & Thane, 1991; Oláh, 2001). However, political measures supporting reproduction also found ideological support

in enforcing specific gender ideals either supporting motherhood as a specific female calling (Hungarian three-year childcare subsidy from 1967) or aimed at encouraging gender equality in the field of caring (Swedish parental leave from 1972).

Care work is typically associated with childcare. However, the organization of care for the elderly (Melberg, 2005) and handicapped has also emerged from the gender paradigm. As visualized in Gluckmann's (1995) concept of the "total organization of labour," conceptualizing the limited time paradigm, the organization of care is trapped in the triangle of the state, market and family. A lack of state support for childcare presents families, and within them women adhering to the patriarchal paradigm, with the challenge of either providing unpaid care, thus limiting women's ability to participate in paid labour, or choosing market-based options, which are available only to higher-income families-and the women within them.

The chapters in this book have sought to unravel the ways in which state policies formed with a view to governing wage labour societies can fit rural conditions in general, and the social conditions of self-employed farm families in particular. Social benefits include not only compensation for care work for children, the elderly and the handicapped, but also other basic social rights such as eligibility for unemployment insurance, pension, and health insurance. Thus, the state's regulation of social rights in farm families posits specific challenges for rural women, specifically farm wives. Not only do farm wives provide unpaid care work, but they also provide unpaid productive work on the farm, which is essential for the reproduction of the farm as an economic unit. However, the degree to which these inputs lead to social citizenship rights varies largely according to the gender ideologies dominating the diverse gender regimes.

Maarit Sireni's chapter investigates gender identities of Finnish farm women, based on semi-structured interviews. Finland as a Nordic type of welfare state provides a specific context for the formation of agrarian femininities. The Nordic model is characterized by the two-earner family and taxation based on the individual rather than the family, which promotes women's labour force participation. First, the welfare state policies have challenged the patriarchal power relations on farms through agricultural and social policy reforms, including guaranteed pension, support at farm succession, and parental benefits. Second, current policies enable farm women to be both earners and carers by compensating the mothers of small children for part of the loss of their income. The housewife ideal has not been widespread in Finland with industrialization partly due to the dominance of rural society where farm women had a crucial role in farm

production. In the context of large families, older women took the caring role, while young women participated in farming. Sireni argues that the situation of today's farm women has changed radically. Farm women chose to stay home on the homecare allowance and take care of their children. Thanks to the welfare state, they are not left without resources during this period. Neither are they powerless, but engaged with administrative and decision-making tasks. They also engage in farm production activities; however the scope of their engagement has narrowed compared to the premodernized period. Thus welfare state institutions that were built up from the 1960s onwards contributed to women's empowerment on farms, which evolved hand in hand with women actively redefining their identities. In today's farm women's identities, home-centred roles are central.

While the Finnish model has fundamental similarities with the Nordic models, it also deviates from them by promoting longer periods of maternal care, restricted to mothers (five months' duration) and allowing a longer period of homecare allowance (up to the child's third year) than other Scandinavian countries. In comparison, the Swedish welfare state has promoted a pronouncedly gender-neutral policy. Although parental allowances are shorter in length (up to one year) these are fully gender neutral, with the exception of one month that is available only to fathers. Thus the Finnish model contains greater potential for women's identification with homecare duties. As Sireni's study indicates, the welfare state benefits created a special opportunity for rural women's identification, identifying home-centred duties as valued roles; this has also reinforced gender-differential role identification.

Ildikó Asztalos Morell's chapter explores how care work is performed in rural entrepreneurial families in post-socialist Hungary. In Hungary a special version of the state socialist gender regime evolved during the latter part of the 1960s. In 1967 a childcare subsidy system was introduced that granted three years' paid leave for mothers (in 1985 it was extended to fathers) to care for children in the home. A day-care system was developed to take care of children over the age of three. While state socialism actively supported women's labour force participation it also reinforced women's role as primary care givers. This welfare system was severely cut by successive post-socialist governments. However, cuts primarily affected subsidy levels. The gendered care regime (maternal care in the home up to age three and then day care for children over three) that evolved during state socialism prevails. Rural entrepreneurial family farms evolved following the de-collectivization of agriculture, which meant the transition from public to private organization of production. Entrepreneurial families were forced to

mobilize all resources, including the unpaid labour of family members, to achieve the capital accumulation required for the reproduction of the farm under globalizing capitalist market conditions. While women's labour was in demand for farm production, women could participate only if they were freed from care duties. The frames set by the welfare state placed the care responsibility onto mothers during the small-child period. This conspicuously opened the opportunity for many women to participate in farm work. Nonetheless, care duties remained to be solved. Families with kinship networks could rely primarily on the help of the extended family. Families lacking such support experimented with market-based solutions if the budget allowed. Many cut consumption standards. While most families preserved the gender segregation of care tasks, some families broke with the gender patterns. Breaking with gender roles opened alternative arrangements, especially in families with wage-working women whose husbands' productive duties slowed down in winter. Asztalos Morell argues that the state socialist care regime has moulded the forms of today's praxis. However, the care praxis of rural entrepreneurial families is formed in the context of prevailing pressures on the enterprises forcing women's participation in production duties. Women's participation was conditional on solving their primary care responsibilities. Most families chose solutions that did not involve changing gender patterns.

The Hungarian subsidy system has close similarities with the Finnish system in combining the dual-earner system with an emphasis on women's maternal roles. Adapted to the rural setting, women combined care duties with production duties according to the type of production on the farm. Demands of capital accumulation on Hungarian farms placed greater pressure on women to contribute to production and prompted the mobilization of assistance to replace women as care givers in these families. While the Finnish care regime clearly reinforced women's care duties, in the Hungarian case solutions were formed to liberate women from their primary care responsibilities in order to allow their participation in farming.

Susanne Stenbacka's chapter investigates men's coping strategies with regard to unemployment in the context of local gender regimes. She argues for the interplay between four major arenas – the state, the market, the family and the civil society – in forming local praxis. Large-scale economic transitions led to a decline in the dominant primary-sector industry in marginalized rural areas of northern Sweden, leading to unemployment. Meanwhile, the expansion of the care and service sector provided employment opportunities, primarily for women. While the Swedish welfare state

formally promotes gender equality and gender neutrality, coping with the shift in the labour market is done in the context of local gender regimes.

A “breadwinner model of masculinity” is created by the separation of private and public in industrial societies. Sweden, where the welfare state provides gender-neutral support for care institutions (both in the form of day care and paid parental leave), and where women’s labour force participation is one of the highest, is considered a weak male breadwinner regime. However, despite gender-neutral laws and policies promoting gender equality, policies indirectly promote gender-differential utilization since the support levels make it economically more feasible for wives to take parental leave.

Stenbacka argues that unemployed men in the studied marginal communities not only receive welfare but also actively produce the welfare regime by interpreting it, reacting to it and positioning themselves within it. She identifies three coping strategies for unemployment. One strategy is adaptation, in which unemployed men take the changing employment market at face value and pursue new opportunities by adapting to the new conditions and seeking new occupations, yet staying within the culturally dominant gender code. In contrast, the second strategy entails men crossing the gender divide to take on jobs offered in the service/care sector, and so risk being labelled as “knapsu” (feminine man) by society. With the third strategy, men retreat from finding a position in the formal labour market and instead find a role in the informal economy or alternative meaningful activities in civil society outside the market.

Stenbacka argues that these strategies are not used solely by individuals but are also transferred through the agency of the unemployment office, the local representative of the welfare state. Some of the cases in the study indicate that local authorities act in gender-differential ways when they more easily accept unemployed men’s resistance to taking “feminine” jobs. Such gender-differential evaluation is not in tune with the intentions of governmental gender-equality policies. This deviation underlines the importance of local power in the formation of gendered welfare regimes.

The diverse paths of development of different national gender regimes can be perceived as reflections of those locally specific processes that evolve reflexively between the forces of transition in the state, market, family and civil society. The local gender regimes reacted in diverse ways in the three settings. In Finland, the paid maternal and parental leave and homecare allowances have opened opportunities for farm wives to re-evaluate their care roles in a period when labour demand on the farms has been declining

due to mechanization, while modernization has strengthened the individualization of family ties. Thus, the welfare state institutions strengthened the position of farm wives by appraising and rewarding their care-taking roles and formalizing their productive contributions to the farm by regulating pension and insurance entitlements. Thus, the local gender regime evolved in articulation with processes on the level of welfare state, market relations for farming, family relations and the local civil society.

In contrast, in Hungary, where state socialist welfare policies have traditionally offered paid childcare leave, the pressing economic conditions of ascending entrepreneurial families (related to reprivatization of agriculture and the global integration process) relied heavily on farm wives' economic contributions to the farm family. Their contributions were made possible due to the traditionally strong extended family ties, which released farm women from care duties. While caring remained a strongly female-coded activity, farm wives were empowered more through their productive roles, while the capital accumulation process of the farms has increasingly frustrated the families, and women in particular, in the performance of caring functions to desired standards.

In Sweden, neutralizing welfare policy directives collided with the local society, which had been uprooted by the impacts of de-industrialization. Local civil societies characterized by stark gender traditionalism reacted partly by challenging central policies and not adhering to their gender-neutralizing intentions. However, the expectations that men should be providers have brought about changes in the gender pattern leading to men taking on traditionally female caring occupations.

RURAL GENDER REGIMES AND ECONOMIC CITIZENSHIP

When dealing with economic citizenship, welfare state literature generally refers to women's problematic position in the labour market and their resulting lack of access to income and other work-related public services and privileges (e.g., sick leave, pensions, etc.). In the context of rural gender studies the genderedness of employment and the labour market is certainly relevant (Little, 1991; Bock, 2004), but more dominant in terms of the rural discourse are entrepreneurship, family business and the masculine identity of farming. In the male-dominated context of farming, a women's identity is secondary and derives from her position as the farmer's spouse

(Whatmore, 1990). This affects her position on the farm and her voice in farm management; it also affects her access to the farm's capital and income (O'Hara, 1998). Moreover, it affects her income from all kinds of agricultural funds that are generally tailored to the male farm head's needs. The perception and assessment of the economic importance of farm women depends, however, on the overall economic context. Recently it has been apparent that, with farm families' need to raise extra income in order to sustain the household and the farm, women's competences are framed in different ways – not only in terms of qualities such as motherly love and care giving, but as talents to be used in such endeavours as the business of agritourism (Brandth & Haugen, 2007). This change in perception is also reflected in agricultural and rural policies, as the studies presented in this book show.

Sheena Hanrahan studies how farm wives were conceived of in agricultural policy texts. Hanrahan argues that the state occupies a hegemonic position in forming discourses, and through institutions in its power, governs the prevailing norms, creating subject positions for diverse actors in society. The construction of farm wives in post-war Ireland reinforced the subordinate position of farm wives on the farm and thus actively framed their social/civil/economic citizenship. These constructions were partly informed by the shift in liberal gender regime policies which safeguarded the privacy of the family by seeing it as a consensual unit, by considering the family as a basic unit of society for taxation and, in terms of the farm family, by seeing the farm as responsible for the welfare of its dependent members. Farm women's labour is thereby made invisible, and their social rights are not secure (they are not considered self-employed workers eligible for benefits). Farm wives' civil rights are especially fragile since they move upon marriage to the household of the farmer. Despite their varied contribution to the farm their status is not acknowledged in the form of property rights given as marital rights. Neither do daughters customarily inherit land, nor do they receive compensation from farm assets when the farms are handed down to the successor (typically a son). This exclusion from property rights is closely tied to the division of labour on the farm and is the major source of the valorization of farm wives' economic and social standing. Farm women's exclusion from civil/social/economic rights on the farms was legitimated through diverse hegemonic discourses.

Comparing current Irish agricultural policy discourses with discourses of the period between the 1960s and the 1980s, Hanrahan distinguishes two discourses: the *pluriactive farming discourse* and the *home economics discourse*. These discourses reflected the prevailing concerns for the

development of agriculture and the prominent role family farming attained within Irish state politics. In contemporary Irish farm families, farm wives have relatively high levels of education and high levels of participation in off-farm work. This work is essential for the reproduction of the farm. Despite women's multifaceted contribution through unpaid domestic work and assistance with farm work and incomes from off-farm employment, their contributions are not expressed in terms of property rights or social benefits procured through the farm. Government documents acknowledge the contribution of farm wives; however, they choose not to address it in terms of citizenship rights, rather presenting it as a "sensitive" matter belonging to the "consensual" field of the family. Where the situation of farm wives is problematized, suggested actions include increasing their educational level, improving local transport and improving the availability of day-care services in order to encourage women's off-farm paid labour. All this, nonetheless, is discussed in terms of promoting the family farms, not empowering women.

Threads to the construction of contemporary farm wives were explored in publications of the Farm Home Advisory Service, which operated between 1962 and 1983. During this period women's off-farm labour was limited. However, women's role was constructed within the *home economics discourse*. This discourse was built on a clear separation of male sphere (farmer in the production) and female sphere (responsible for consumption and assistance to the farmer). The production needs of the farm were prioritized. The role of the farm wife was to secure the farm's economy by means of a restrictive consumer attitude. The farmer was perceived as the decision maker, and the farm wife as the advisor. Farm investments were prioritized.

Hanrahan finds that the state's interest in rural development has its roots in Ireland's late industrialization, the central role of agriculture in the economy and farm life's being part of Irish national identity. This prompted the state's priorities for enhancing the reproduction of farms at the expense of dealing with women's exploited situation on the farms. The way women's rights were constructed by the law, and the way farm women were constructed in state agency discourses identifying women with subordinate subject positions, had an active role in normalizing women's status and enforcing the prevailing structures conserving their role.

Irène Flygare studied the representation of farming in the Swedish parliamentary debate of the 1940s and 1960s. The concept of a family farm was introduced in the Swedish political debate just before World War II. "Family farming" was, on the one hand, understood as referring to nuclear

families, male entrepreneurs and female housewives. On the other hand, the concept of the family farm was defined in terms of traditional virtues. Before Sweden entered the EU, the focus of agricultural policy on rational enterprises was reconsidered, mainly in terms of its negative environmental influences. The gender regime of industrial farming was challenged by representations of farm families as producers of landscape and biological diversity, whereas the ecological discourse seems to rely on a post-modern gender structure.

Flygare's study demonstrates that much of Swedish parliamentary debate reflected ideal farming types even if the societal contexts had changed in the course of two decades. In the 1940s the modernization of agriculture was a chief political goal. The entrepreneurial model was emphasized by some of the Conservatives, and by the committee experts. Family farming was advocated by *Bondeförbundet*. In line with the desired increase in family establishment and the inclusion of farmers in the folk concept, many Social Democrats, envisaging larger-scale, efficient, rational agrarian enterprises, accepted family farms as well. Different ideals led to the compromising term of "family enterprises" describing the desired model for modern agriculture.

These ideal types were clearly gendered and both modernization and traditionalistic proponents implicitly and (often) unconsciously referred to family and gender issues when debating the future of agriculture in parliament.

In the parliamentary texts, women as a conceptual category were never found together with other concepts such as modern, rational and entrepreneurial, which were connected with men seen as the "farmers." Farms should be run by professional farmers, and these were seen as men. This gender model relied on separation of women and men, underpinned by certain concepts and metaphors.

The male breadwinner and housewife ideal was strongly manifested by the *folkhem* ideal of the social democrats and gained expression in such concepts as standard farms and two-family farms. It was also supported by many male politicians making representations of women's hard work in the existing farming system and expressing the desire to relieve these burdens. It was a massive attack on the agrarian family gender model. Why did this not succeed in installing housewives on Swedish farms? A comprehensive sole-provider model demanded far-reaching land reforms. However, putting an end to private land ownership in order to place housewives on the farms was too provocative. The small-scale farming structure could not be altered without threatening inheritance laws and private property rights. Another underlying fact was women's importance to family farming at that

time. Prior to the widespread use of milking machines, milking was a strictly female-coded area. Dairy production was a key area for Swedish agriculture, and women's labour could not be replaced prior to mechanization (Morell, 1998). Sweden being a late industrializing country, one-third of the population was still working in agriculture.

The modernized farms of the 1960s no longer needed housewives. The overall political discourse turned towards the development of the "Swedish model" based on a gender-equal model. Flygare finds support for the thesis, which others argued for. Women's important role within agriculture was claimed as a key reason for the failure of political goals to bind modernization together with the ideal of a main breadwinner with a dependent housewife (Sommestad, 1994). Meanwhile, the political discourse continued to be divided. Social Democrats stressed the importance of a farm business enterprise, while some Conservatives and *Centerpartiet* members praised the caring and nurturing family farm. A more environmentally or part-time oriented farming community was thought to be in need of women and men.

Perhaps the parliamentary discourses should be understood not only as different family and gender ideals regarding agriculture, but also as parallel perspectives on society. The agriculture debate was, in certain respects, the epiphenomenon of a much greater debate concerning how Sweden should take a fast leap from a rural society to a vigorous industrialized country with great ambitions for public welfare. That debate mirrored an ambiguity about gender relations between women and men as citizens of the envisioned society, and also what kind of family metaphor legitimized the parental demands claimed by the nation of the *folkhem* and welfare state.

The comparison of the Swedish and Irish cases can shed light on the workings of dynamic forces between the forming of state policies and prevailing rural gender regimes. There were discursive pressures in politics both in 1960s Ireland and 1940s Sweden to enforce the subject position of farm wives as housewives. In Ireland, these pressures found support both in civil society, due to the importance of the Church, and rural society at its prevailing stage of agricultural development. Although farming played a key economic role for the nation, it was hampered by emigration and risked losing its reproductive base. The role of the farm-wife was formed in the context of economic pressures on the farm and in opposition to the strengthening consumer society, as the force guarding the farm from superfluous expenditures. In contrast, political ideals of the housewife model were not enforced in Sweden in the 1940s. Women's productive roles were crucial for dairy farming, while the prevailing system of farm succession

resisted the pressures to form the politically desired rational, large-scale production units.

One could also add to the analysis of the Swedish case that the fact that the rural housewife ideal was promoted in relation to the models of modernization, envisaging at the same time a fundamental transition of the traditional farm ideal to modernistic farm ideals (such as the standard farm based on the combination of a dominant farm family with a housewife and a subordinated farm family with a working wife) led to discursively irresolvable dissonance and was deemed to fail. Thus, the very dominance of social-democratic, modernistic ideals rooted in industrialism confronted rural realities. Meanwhile, in Ireland, the forces for the discursive housewifeization of farm wives were associated with the political discourse of strengthening and idealizing the traditional Irish family farm.

However, conspicuously, the economic forces in both cases led, from the longer perspective, to the generalization of the farm family model with off-farm working wives. Nonetheless, while in Ireland this model became cemented with the weak position of farm wives, in Sweden, women's off-farm labour expanded from the 1960s onwards in the context of the evolving Swedish welfare state emphasizing gender equality.

Another diverging factor was the system of succession in the two countries. In Sweden, daughters' equal inheritance had been guaranteed by law since 1845 (Holmlund). Even if, in praxis, the successor taking over not only the farm but also the responsibility for caring for elderly parents might have received a larger share than the siblings (*undantagstillstånd*), daughters were granted by law a share equal to the sons'. In contrast, the Irish legal recommendations have promoted succession by will, which typically left property to the eldest son, leaving the other siblings with nothing or a minor inheritance. This system contributed to the reproduction of the farm wife's subordinate position, leaving her without the chance to bring land into the marriage.

Thus, the idealized rural farm wife as nurturer, supporting the male, professional farmer surfaced in both the Irish and Swedish discourses. However, this discourse could not obtain the hegemonic position in Sweden, while it did in Ireland. The possible explanation for this difference rests in complex factors related to the historical roots of the gender regimes, political constellations and market forces.

While the Irish and Swedish articles focused on discourses related to the creation and implementation of laws, the Greek article unravels how laws and economic regulations are interpreted and turned into praxis in rural communities.

Isabella Gidarakou, Leonidas Kazakopoulos and Alex Koutsouris analysed women's involvement in the Greek "young farmers" programme, which offers women extra support to set up farms. The study aimed at finding out whether and to what extent the programme sustains women's position in farming and contributes to changing the "male" image of farming in Greece. The results are disappointing, however. Although a considerable number of women were induced to enter the programme and start farms, most did not follow their personal aspirations but gave in to pressure from their families. By becoming "the" farmer, the family could access extra funding that would allow for the survival of the family farm. Lacking off-farm employment and individual income, most women felt they had no choice.

In addition, it was found that the prospect of women acquiring property (particularly land) through the programme was not realized to any significant degree. Land was perceived as a collective, family property and not a personal asset. Parents and, more frequently, husbands proved unwilling to transfer ownership titles of the land used to establish women's farms; rental of family land to young women was the preferred mode for enabling the latter to establish their farms. Such preferences signify that the current gender regime within the rural households resisted the challenges posed by the programme, which are in turn fundamental for gender equity. Women's attitudes towards land ownership clearly diverge from the values attributed within gender discourse to land possession as an empowering factor. There was no serious challenge to the gender regime within the farm holding. This is also reflected in the marginality of their presence in the professional farming bodies, such as co-operatives.

The ostensible lack of change obscures some empowerment processes entailed by entry into the "young farmers" programme, which are admittedly small-scale and slow and pertain more to gender relationships within the family farm than to the public image of farming generally. The fact that today one woman in five claims to have the first say in decision-making, and the fact that equal participation in decision-making between spouses has become the prevalent arrangement are both reflections of an empowerment process in progress. Women's sense that they have contributed to improvement of their family's economic situation is a similarly empowering experience. Research to date has demonstrated that the "young farmers" programme's reciprocation in different parts of Greece varies from one region to another and also between men and women. Findings in any one area cannot be generalized, and so indicating that uniform application of measures all over the country is not helpful. Instead, a space- and gender-sensitive, and thus differentiated, approach is much

more appropriate as a means of providing the support needed for the renewal of the farming population and, more specifically, attracting and empowering women.

Comparing the three case studies we find that hegemonic policies interact with powers forming local gender regimes in diverse ways. In Greece these relations are made even more complex due to the impact of EU intervention. EU subsidies supporting agriculture are bound to the main breadwinner status, which men have lost in rural areas where alternative employment opportunities have been available. Family strategies for the survival of the farms had to reframe the role of women in farms and allow them to take the formal position of head of the farm. However, this led to only limited empowerment for women. While their economic role strengthened (increased decision-making power), women did not experience empowerment in relation to property ownership (civil rights). Thus, state interference was rephrased in the local rural context and led to reconstitution of gender inequalities, even if in a weakened form.

Conversely, the Swedish case from the 1940s shows an opposite attempt, whereas parliamentary discourses, aiming at a radical reframing of the rural family farm, constructing the rural equivalent of the urban housewife, were forced to compromise. The reality of the key productive role of farm women in agriculture “resisted” the discursive reframing of farm women. In this sense, both cases (Greek and Swedish) constitute examples of dynamic processes related to the conflicting values inherent in hegemonic state policies compared to rural gender regimes. Meanwhile, the Irish example indicates how dominant rural values are reinforced by hegemonic regimes and suppress the consideration of women’s interests.

The three chapters dealing with economic citizenship represent different welfare state models. Ireland surely belongs to the liberal male breadwinner models, Greece to the rudimentary ones and Sweden to the weak male breadwinner models, certainly when we look at contemporary Sweden. For the position of farm women this does not seem to make an enormous difference in the cases of Ireland and Greece. Here, according to the studies, farm women are perceived primarily as wives and mothers. As such they have a responsibility for the business insofar as it contributes to the family’s survival strategy, but this is in essence an expectation that they will adapt to what has been decided and do their share in order to maintain the family farm. Women are not perceived as farm heads even when they are actually installed as farm heads, as in the Greek programme. They remain farm wives as far as their public image is concerned – assistants to their fathers and husbands. This identity seems to still be internalized by most women,

who seldom choose agriculture as a profession unless there are no other options and contribution to the family's involvement in agriculture is expected and unavoidable. In contrast, the Swedish case refers to the situation of the 1940s and 1960s when women's strong economic role in agriculture was perceived as formative of the weak male breadwinner model. However, the study does not allow us to draw conclusions of farm women's positions today.

RURAL GENDER REGIMES AND POLITICAL CITIZENSHIP

Political citizenship refers to women's right to participate in political decision-making. The first interest is, generally, women's involvement in governmental politics, but when it comes to the rural context, professional and spatial politics are of utmost importance. It is also in the rural gender regime where the interrelation between economic and political citizenship comes very clearly to the fore. Women's weak integration in agricultural economics undermines women's involvement in not only agricultural but rural politics in general, as the use of land is one of the major issues of rural politics (Derksen, 2006). In the rural context politics seems to be especially masculine, even more than urban politics because of the uncontested hegemony of economic and agricultural issues, in which women are only weakly involved due to the perceived masculine character of rural economies and labour markets (Bock, 2004). The chapters in this book examine women's involvement in rural politics in very different rural contexts and in very different political arenas. They deal with rural development policies, rural politics in general and also the issue of natural resource management.

Bettina Bock and Petra Derksen look into the barriers that hamper participation of rural women in local policy making and planning in the eastern part of the Netherlands.

The practice of governing rural areas has changed considerably over recent decades. Today many private and public stakeholders co-operate with governments in developing regional and local rural policies. It has been assumed that this process of working in partnership facilitated the involvement of more diverse or previously excluded social groups. The analysis of case studies in the UK, Australian and the Netherlands has shown that this is not the case for women and that women's access is constrained by two sets of factors. The first lies in the traditional character

of the rural gender regime as expressed in both societal structures and the dominant culture. The second set of factors deals with the structure and culture of new rural governance arrangements in terms of their formal and informal organization and “rules of the game.” The importance attached to economy and agriculture within the rural political agenda and policy discourses comprise part of this. From this we can conclude that the shift from government to governance has changed very little with respect to the way that rural politics work. Those structural and cultural characteristics of rural politics that have long been recognized as constraining women’s entry are still very present in the new political arrangements. This is largely because women’s position in rural society and the characteristics of the rural gender regime have not changed much, or at least not enough to permit women’s entry into politics.

Accessibility, however, is not the only problem. Even when access is granted, meaningful participation is harder for women to achieve compared to men. Four interrelated characteristics appeared to constrain women’s effective participation: the formal “rules of the game” and women’s unfamiliarity with these rules; the use of professional and scientific language that is inaccessible to laypeople without a relevant professional background; the dominance of a scientific, agricultural discourse; and a resulting disrespect for social or experiential knowledge and quality-of-life issues.

Taken together these case studies show that even in new political arrangements that are meant to encourage the inclusion of new political actors and enable the sharing of different forms of knowledge, the formal and informal rules of the game work to the detriment of new political actors, such as women. Time and again, lack of resources such as money, institutional support and political capital reconfirms the relative weakness of female actors and will continue to do so unless their structural position is substantially improved and the script of the “political play” rewritten.

Theresia Oedl-Wieser focuses on the gendered citizenship in rural Austria and looks for strategies to overcome the gender gap in the access to power and resources. The analysis of the rural gender regime in Austria shows that women cannot implement their full political citizenship rights in rural areas. In both the agricultural sector and rural policy setting, men dominate the decisive political bodies, although women play a crucial role in the rural economy and the social life of villages and regions through their work on the farm, care work for their families and their voluntary work in society.

The causes for women’s dramatic under-representation in leadership in agriculture and rural development are manifold. They lie in the historical exclusion of women from the public sphere and political participation and in

the gender regime in the agricultural sector where men dominate all spheres of economic and political relevance. The closely interwoven networks of mostly male actors in these spheres and the marked seclusion of women's political system can be characterized as "hegemonic masculinity" in the agricultural sector. This unbalanced situation is still valid in Austria despite the high number of women managing farms. The results of the questionnaire distributed among women who are politically active in agricultural and rural politics emphasize the importance of enhancing the role of women in political organizations and reorientating political education for youth to address this concern. The most important reasons for women's low levels of participation in political institutions were seen in women's responsibility for the family, the lack of time for political engagement and the dominant role of men in politics. The Austrian case underlines how slowly gender regimes are changing. Even though the socio-economic situation is quite fundamentally changing and women are becoming essential economic actors, the political side of the gender regime needs more time to adapt. As this study has shown, it is in the political and public domain where traditional norms and values are especially difficult to change.

Barbara Pini studies women's participation in rural local governments in Australia. She interviewed 19 woman mayors to explore men's response to women's increased political presence in this sphere. Her study reveals that women's presence in the traditionally "male" domain leads to considerable tension. It makes a difference, however, which position women choose to take. There is considerably less tension if women take up the position of "the woman councillor." This subject position is strongly connected to notions of normative femininity and traditional socially constructed definitions of "rural woman." It emphasizes passivity, compliance, care and deference to men. According to participants, those women who have subscribed to this configuration of gendered subjectivity have met with little resistance from men. This is not the case however, for the women mayors. These women have been subjected to a range of resistance strategies from men who have minimized their role as mayor, excluded them from knowledge and networks and denigrated and sexualized them. These discursive regimes have served a dual purpose. In the first instance they emphasize and legitimate the lack of fit between being both a mayor and a woman. In the second instance these strategies validate, reinforce and repair men's own gendered subjectivities as masculine men in local government. This recuperative identity work is complex in that it is connected not just to women's entry into the sector, but to the changing role of local government.

The process is thus one of both “keeping women out” and “writing men back in.” In this respect, despite rural and regional women’s increased presence in the sector, local government is (re)gendered as masculine. Thus, while we may view rural women’s electoral success positively as it indicates that constructions of rural womanhood and leadership are shifting amongst the constituents of non-metropolitan areas, we can also see that this is being powerfully resisted by some male local government incumbents.

Seema Arora-Jonsson analyses women’s involvement in local forest management in two very different locations – a small village in Sweden and a small village in India. In both places she looks at how people construct nature and community and highlights the active role of research and development bodies in this process. She demonstrates that, although there has been a shift towards people’s participation in the management of natural resources in policy and practice, women are still often not recognized as relevant participants. This is related to the gender-specific discourse on rural development and local resource management. In both case studies, attention to women’s agency illustrated how local management of the forests was grounded in community engagement. Women’s work for the community often went unseen in the formal association, and was not recognized as a relevant contribution to the community. The need to include women in formal organizations was often couched as encouraging women to join in with the association’s work without taking account of the work they were doing in forest management and in the community.

For the women, local forest management and village development were important as an acknowledgment of unequal power relations. Forest work had increasingly come to be identified as a male domain. In choosing to organize separately, the women in the villages in India and Sweden demonstrated that village development and citizenship were gendered rather than neutral processes. Participatory research with the women enabled a look beyond obvious constructions of the forests and their management. It also put into perspective efforts to include women in the formal organizations, revealing that such efforts did not necessarily challenge the status quo but in fact maintained it.

Gendered features of political change in rural arenas have been conceptualized in different ways by the authors of this chapter. Mainstream political research highlighted the importance of formal political institutions in furthering citizenship rights and ensuring that the individual citizen’s interests are reflected in the political struggles over resources. Women’s marginalization in representation in terms of numbers (Oedl-Wieser), the ability to voice women’s concerns (Bock and Derkzen) and marginalization

by means of stigmatization (Pini) are recurrent issues that are documented in a wide range of contexts in this book. The chapters shed light on dynamic processes ranging from grassroots civil organizations to mainstream local political institutions. Bock and Derkzen illuminate how women's organizations are marginalized in the playroom of formal rural politics in the Netherlands. Arora-Jonsson's focus is on the workings and abilities of women's organizations to define the agenda for local politics and influence decision-making beyond the arenas of formal organizations. She finds that in diverse societies such as Sweden and India, women's groups have succeeded in setting agendas for change from outside the arenas of formal power, which were dominated by men. The primacy of men's issues in forming political agendas is striking across diverse types of gender regimes (be they liberal, rudimentary or social democratic). Most strikingly, it was the very rhetoric of gender equality and neutrality in the case of Sweden that masked the masculinity of the terms of setting the agendas (i.e., agendas set by men were interpreted as gender neutral rather than masculine).

SUMMARY

We hope that this book has succeeded in achieving its goals by bringing forward our understanding of rural gender processes from a comparative gender regime perspective. Focusing on the interplay between state regulations as expressions of citizenship rights and local rural processes, the gender regime perspective has proved useful in various ways.

By focusing on diverse aspects of citizenship rights the chapters shed light on how different national-level gender regimes provided diverse settings for the development of rural gender regimes. We found that hegemonic policies at the state level either confronted the rural gender regimes formed along local power relations or enforced prevailing gender inequalities. In general terms we found a trend that strong male breadwinner regimes (Ireland, Switzerland) reinforced rural patriarchal regimes. In contrast, hegemonic state policies in weak male breadwinner systems (Scandinavian countries, Hungary) often led to diverse patterns of implementation. In some cases equalizing policies met challenges and were confronted by forces working for the reinstatement of patriarchal local gender regimes (such as the case of succession in Norway). Other examples show how equalizing policies were supportive in the development of women's empowerment (such as the case of Finland). Outcomes are varied even in cases where strong male

breadwinner systems such as Greece are confronted by gender-equalizing EU policies (women farmers were reframed as heads of farms in order to enable families to acquire subsidies, only partially leading to an increase in their economic status).

The chapters in this book illuminated how the persistence of patriarchal structures were nonetheless differentiated with respect to ongoing recognition struggles in diverse forms of citizenship rights. Conspicuously, patriarchal rural structures seem to persist even in the context of gender equalizing regimes, and women's empowerment seems to advance at an unequal rate in the diverse aspects of citizenship. While in Greece, women's formal advancement as heads of households was shown to have led to increased influence in decision-making, they nonetheless gained no further access to property rights and their involvement in economic organizations did not increase. While there is an apparent feminization of agriculture in Austria, farming women do not gain access to political power.

The chapters have also shed light on the prevalence of a gap between laws expressing political intent and their translation into rural praxis. This gap can also be seen as providing degrees of freedom from hegemonic rules. Class, gender, age and family-specific relations create specific positions for the realization of citizenship rights. Rural families, and specifically farm families, provide a specific cultural context within which citizenship rights are ordered. In most rural cultures, being a firstborn son has signified a stronger position with respect to property inheritance, economic power and ways express to social citizenship and political influence. Farm family structures based on age and gender have deep historical roots which were formalized and reinforced in legal systems that, in turn, were formed in the context of the formation and development of nation states. Thus, changing these deep-rooted cultures requires more than just policy change.

This book has not aimed to elucidate the situation of women alone. Rather, it has aimed to show women's and men's life situations as embedded in gender relations. These gender relations were seen to be entangled with relations beyond the horizons of individual lives, and were presented as being unravelled in the context and active in relation to frames formed in local and national-level arenas. While perspectives focusing on women might seem to dominate, beyond a focus on gender relations we also aimed to shed light on the formation of masculinities – both dominant forms (Pini) and subordinate forms (Stenbacka). Thus, neither men nor women were seen as a homogenous group. Unemployed men in a patriarchal society are not only deprived of power, but are also restricted with respect to the alternatives open to them to enable them to break out of disempowerment in

the margins of a market society. The very dominance of masculine discursive frames that signify accepted paths for men define them outside of a labour market, where the available alternatives are defined as “feminine.” Meanwhile, looking into the arenas of political power, men continue to dominate not only in numbers (Oedl-Wieser) but also by their power in framing discourses and female actors (Pini, Bock and Derkzen). Similarly, we found that rural/farm women’s lives are entrenched within frameworks provided by the hegemonic and local gender regimes. Even if we found the recurring dominance of patriarchal structures and discourses, we could unravel from a comparative perspective dynamics of change, which shed light and optimism to the long-term impacts of institutional change.

By adding a historical perspective to the studies (Holmlund, Hanrahan, Flygare) we were able to examine the machinery of institutional change. In the case of Sweden, we got a glimpse of what might be considered the cradle of the “women friendly” welfare state, which might well have started back in the first half of the eighteenth century. Together with favourable economic forces, it led to the strengthening of women’s status in property ownership (Holmlund). The massive force of prevailing traditions of property ownership and transfer, together with the importance of women’s economic contribution on the farms, was shown (Flygare) to have been formative not only of agricultural policies of the 1940s and 1960s in Sweden but also of the constitution of gender frames for welfare regimes in Sweden, Finland and Norway (Sireni, Melberg). Thus we see in these processes that rural gender regimes are not only framed by hegemonic gender regimes, but are also constitutive of them.

Rural gender regimes resisted the fundamental forces of modernization and industrialization. However, the different stages towards modernization followed by the evolving nation states led also to different configurations between gender regimes and welfare systems. As the Scandinavian systems indicate, late industrialization meant that, at the rise of the welfare state regimes, peasant societies were powerful political forces and the women within them had key productive roles through dairy production. This configuration was considered a key formative factor of the rise of Scandinavian regimes as weak male breadwinner (or dual breadwinner) systems and it accounts for the failure of political attempts to install a housewife ideal in the context of farm families.

Nonetheless, the interplay between rural gender regimes and hegemonic gender regimes was mediated not only by the power of family/household relations but also by market forces and the influence of civil society. State policies demanding the formalization of inheritance issues could not have

gained power in eighteenth-century Sweden without the help of market forces which also pushed for the formalization of transactions. Economic recession, emigration and the perceived threat against the survival of the Irish countryside during the 1960s strengthened the arguments, together with the ideological support of the Catholic church, for cementing women's role as caregivers and as assistants to their husbands, rather than seeing them as equal economic partners.

Furthermore, rural/farm women's conditions (like men's conditions) are framed very differently in diverse gender regimes, despite some fundamental bonds, which are related to the similarities in class conditions (farming and enterprising) and rural living. Both of these are associated with recurring patriarchal institutional structures and traditions. Nonetheless, shifting hegemonic frames could provide openings for challenging dominant structures. While women's caring role is typically interpreted as the source of their subordination, the Finnish case provides a strong challenge to this thesis. Finland's three-year paid maternal/parental leave gave farm women the opportunity to redefine their identity and lifestyle. Maternal roles are central to today's Finnish farm women's identity (in contrast with the past generation's femininity, which was much more interwoven with hard physical labour). Their contributions are acknowledged in the form of equal access to social welfare benefits (such as pensions and unemployment insurance) and in the transforming property structures, where farm women are part-owners of farm property. Thus, while hegemonic institutional frameworks do not determine all aspects of local- and private-level life conditions, they do provide opportunity structures that either hamper or facilitate the dissolution of patriarchal relations.

Grassroots organizations play an increasingly important role in effecting change. As Arora-Jonsson's paper demonstrated, studying political citizenship by shifting focus to the informal sphere organized along women's networks, and away from the dominant focus on the hegemonic world of political power organized along formal institutions (male domain), challenges not only prevailing political institutions but also the ways researchers construct their analyses of political arenas.

Although the chapters in this book focused largely on the importance of institutions (hegemonic or local/rural), we also believe it is vital to illuminate the formation of gender regimes as an ongoing process and as a process that is propelled by actors – the forces constituting, interpreting, enacting and resisting the frames of the system.

We have found that summing up research from different gender regimes in a comparative framework not only provides a scientific tool for better

understanding, but also strengthens our critical arguments for a continued engagement for changing disempowering power relations.

We hope that this book has shown how the merging of gender-regime analysis with rural gender studies can provide useful conceptual tools for the development of both fields and further our understanding of how gender relations are reconstituted. We also hope that the comparative framework can shed light on some ways in which prevailing gender structures may be challenged. Let women be empowered and men emancipated from their dominant gender roles, which compel them to frame their masculinities outside of caring roles. It is our hope that this book may inspire such change and the use of this perspective in future studies to come.

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