

New Patterns of Gender Division of Work on Norwegian Family Farms?

Hilde Bjørkhaug and Arild Blekesaune

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Hilde Bjørkhaug
Centre for Rural Research
Norwegian University of Science and Technology
N-7491 Trondheim
Norway
Telephone +47 73591781
<http://www.bygdeforskning.no/>

hilde.bjorkhaug@rural.no

Arild Blekesaune
Departement of sociology and political science
Norwegian University of Science and Tecnology
N-7491 Trondheim
Norway
Telephone +47 73591754

arild.blekesaune@svt.ntnu.no

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*Introduction*¹

The penetration of the market economy within family farming has been held as the force behind factors like increased mechanization and productivity, and the masculinisation of farm work. Empirical studies have described a long process of masculinisation of farm work within Norwegian agriculture (Almås and Haugen 1991). Women's roles have changed from being 'real farmers' with distinct tasks, to become the farmer's assistant. The expansion of the public service sector created new job opportunities for farm women, and changed the format of many farms from being an integrated part of a household-wide activity, to one which provided a job for only one professional farmer. On the other hand, empirical studies of contemporary Norwegian agriculture emphasize a number of women have become professional farmers (Haugen 1990). Through training, these women have achieved a professional status within agriculture. In a study of women having the sole or main responsibility for operating a farm, Haugen (1998) found that while many of the older women adapted to gender expectations and accounted for their positions as farmers as a result of circumstances out of their control, younger women were more likely to explain their position as a result of individual choices and preferences, indicating a rupture with gender expectations and customary practices.

This paper analyses data from different sources to test whether these changes in men and women's farm work can be described as a transition towards a one-person farm structure. The main hypothesis is that men and women tend to specialize in either on-farm or off-farm work, and that their allocation of work time depends on their educational training in agriculture, their interests in farm work, and the capacity of the farm to provide work for both partners. If this is the case we should moderate the hypothesis of masculinisation and rather talk about a gender independent professionalisation of farm work in Norwegian agriculture.

The masculinisation hypothesis

Women's exit from farming started a process of masculinisation of agriculture and agricultural work in Norway (Almås 1983:7). Almås (1983) has described how Norwegian farm women left agriculture through three phases after the Second World War. The first women to leave were paid female labourers as there was no longer work for them. This first phase lasted until the 1950s. In the second phase, female kinfolk, aunts and unmarried sisters, left the farms. This was during the 1960s, a period also known as "the rural exodus", when a lot of people moved to the cities (Almås 1983:6). In the third phase the wives also left farm work. This process started in the 1960s with rationalisation of agriculture, a process which is still not over. A fourth phase has also been identified, when daughters are also leaving the farm and the rural community, leaving the sons behind (O'Hara 1998 cited in Brandth 2002). Among women left on the farm the role has changed to a role of "the male's assistant" (Almås 1983:22). Almås and Haugen (1991) argue that the mechanisation of agriculture was the most

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important factor in pushing out superfluous labour in the first phases, while new labour market opportunities emerged as important pull factors from the 1970s.

Women work less in Norwegian agriculture than they used to, and more and more women are working off-farm (Bjørkhaug and Blekesaune 2004). Off-farm work and personal income may reduce women's dependence on a male partner's wage and also reduce psychological and moral dependence, but increased off-farm activities has not reduced women's on-farm workloads (Jennings and Stehlik 2000:75). When men earn more off-farm, and when men are employed away, women take over a larger share of the farm work. When women have an off-farm job little changes in their level of house and farm work (Blekesaune and Haugen 2002). Still, an important implication of the trend towards more off-farm work is that women achieve new positions outside farming (Brandth 2002), and with that achieve a professional identity and satisfaction (Almås and Haugen 1991). Professionalisation, involvement in labour marked employment and pluriactivity might also play an important role in breaking the construction of 'farmers' wives' (Brandth 2002:194).

The descriptions of the process of masculinisation within Norwegian agriculture have to a great extent been based on evolutionary descriptions of how gender relations have changed during the capitalization of agriculture. Berggreen (1982) connects the masculinisation process explicitly to the commoditization of agriculture during the second half of the 19th century. Haugen (1990) has asserted that male farmers took over farm work when agricultural production became profitable, and attained control over production through mechanization. The pre-capitalist gender division of farm work has, on the other hand, been described as complementary (Foldøy 1982; Avdem 1984). Hovdhaugen (1971) has even asserted that farm women had a strong and equal position in relation to men in pre-capitalist agriculture.

Historically, in the pre-productivist or pre-capitalistic agricultural era there was a clear gender division relating to the different activities on the farms. Traditionally men were responsible for 'out-door' activities and the 'hard work' whilst women took care of the house and the barn (Almås 2004). Even if men and women operated in separate spheres, women always worked on the farms. A woman's area, in addition to the traditional work in the household and the barn, was connected to refining farm outputs. This could for instance be the processing of milk and wool, for the household's own use and for sale. Norwegian studies (Berggreen 1982) also show that until the middle of the nineteenth century, agrarian production in Norway was female dominated to a much greater extent than it is today. As many farm operations were pluriactive, women ran the farms while men were out fishing, hunting or working in forestry (Brandth 2002), an activity that has labelled farm women as "the flexible gender" (Thorsen 1993).

There are still some stories of contemporary agriculture that emphasize women as independent farmers. Bratrein (1976) has stressed the distinctive characteristics of women working in the combination of farming and fishing in North Norway. Within that farm structure, women have the main responsibility for farming while their husbands are fishing. This system, where male farmers combine farming with fishing, forestry, or other short-term off-farm work represents a tradition in many parts of Norway (Feiring et al. 1988), but a more recent analysis shows that this system has mostly been replaced by "new" forms of part-time farming where women combine off-farm and household work while men farm full time, or combine farming with all-year off-farm jobs (Blekesaune 1996).

Two major shifts have altered the gender roles in agrarian production. Women used to 'control' the barn but not the economic output. The first shift came as livestock products increased in importance as a source of income and the economic viability of the farm. Men entered the barn and women's control was wrested (Almås and Haugen 1991). In the same period farm households, as with other households, experienced a technological revolution. Electricity and water was installed in the houses and barns. The second shift is related to this, with the introduction of modern technologies such as milking machines. When machines were introduced, milking shifted to become a man's job (Almås 2002; Brandht 2002). Descriptions imply that women's roles have been important, but disparaged and subordinated (Bruvold 1982; Bruvold 1989; Korsvold 1989). For instance, it was not accepted that men could do "women's work" (Leira and Bergh 1974; Thorsen 1993).

In addition to these Norwegian studies, there is some evidence from studies in Denmark and Sweden (Mørkeberg 1978; Ravn and Bak 1982; Djurfeldt 1990) regarding the increase, in what we prefer to call a modern part-time farming, in which the number of farm women taking off-farm work has grown. In USA, it has also been recognized over a period of time that women have increased their participation in off-farm labour markets (Bokemeier et al. 1983; Buttel et al. 1984). For instance, Buttel, Gilbert and Gillespie (1984), in a study of New York State farm households, found that men and women, especially among small farm households, tended to specialize mutually in either on-farm or off-farm work. However, in Southern Italy (Bell et al. 1990), in Japan (Kazuhiko 1993), and on part-time farms in certain areas of the former Federal Republic of Germany (Inhetveen 1982; Pfeffer 1989), a feminisation of the agricultural labour force has taken place. These studies indicate that feminisation has come about in situations with little or no male competition on farm work. This feminisation is probably a result of increased off-farm work among men, and not necessarily a result of women's choices and preferences.

In a Norwegian study of women having the sole or main responsibility for operating a farm, Haugen (1998) found that while many of the older women adapted to gender expectations and accounted for their positions as farmers as a result of circumstances out of their control, younger women were more likely to explain their position as a result of individual choices and preferences. This study implies that we have a new generation of young farm women who challenge the traditional expectations of farm women and their customary practices. One important result of this description is that we have to reconsider our understanding of women in farm households. The concept "farm women" is commonly used very comprehensively to include all women living on a farm, from those who are married to a farmer and live on a farm but do not participate in farm work, to those who manage a farm on their own. Rather than describing women's actual work status, the concept "farm women" might refer to women's marital status (married to or cohabiting with a farmer), and place of residence (a farm). Also, Oldrup (1999) has argued that we should be careful when we handle "farm woman" in the singular, and Gasson and Errington (1993) have argued that differences in roles and relationships will be brought into sharper focus if we divide "farm women" into more homogeneous sub-groups.

Professional female farmers

In her study of women farmers, Haugen (1998a) found that women construct their work identity as farmers in distinct ways (Haugen identified three major groups; traditional and professional women farmers and female farm managers. *Professional women farmers* are defined as "(...) women who has the main or sole responsibility for a farm operation. This

includes women who farm largely on their own because they are single or have husbands who work elsewhere” (Haugen 1998b: 20). The younger, professional women emphasized that farming was their occupational choice (Haugen 1998a:159). A number of studies have focussed upon Norwegian female farmers who by choosing farming as a profession, have entered a masculine area (Haugen 1990; Haugen and Brandth 1994; Haugen 1998b). By taking vocational training to compensate for missing training in their childhood, these women have achieved a professional status within agriculture. As female farmers they have changed the role of women as farmers’ wives and helpers. Haugen’s (1998) analyses, which are mainly descriptive with a focus on women’s strategies within men’s areas, has been followed by series of innovative studies of how these women construct a “new” femininity when they break with the traditional division of work within a masculine area (Brandth 1993; Brandth 1994; Haugen and Brandth 1994; Brandth and Bolsø 1995; Brandth 2001; Brandth 2002). These women have gradually constructed and internalised a “new” femininity which is based on both masculine and feminine values.

Norwegian farms have traditionally been handed over to new generations on allodial rights, where the oldest son inherited the farm from his parents. In 1974 women and men gained equal rights to become successors, and this amendment of the law was given retrospective force to 1964. This means that girls and boys born after 1964 have the same formal right to inherit the family farm and become farmers. The share of women taking over the farm has risen commensurately over time. Rogstad (2002) found in her analyses of Norwegian agricultural data, that the amount of women taking over a farm on allodial rights increased from 9 percent in 1969 to 22 percent in 1999. This does not mean that there were 22 percent female farmers in Norway in 1999 but rather, as shown by Bjørkhaug and Blekesaune (2004), a large proportion of women coming into agriculture in 1969 left early. An explanation of this is that women inherit the farm as widowers late in life. They rarely keep the farm for very long and they do not become *farmers* (Rogstad 2002:15). In 2004, 13 percent of farmers were women (Trend-data 2004)

The numbers of women farmers are rising very slowly, if at all. In a newspaper article in May 2005 (Nationen 2005) we could read that the number of women farmers had actually decreased during the last three years. The decline in female farmers was especially on larger farms. The share of women taking over the family farm is far from 50 percent. In the period of 1996 to 2002 only one out of four farms was handed over to a woman. Many of these women chose a traditional farming style together with a partner (Bjørkhaug and Blekesaune 2004).

Women’s freedom of choice is paradoxical. Haugen (1998) states, as the farm society is still moulded by a gender system, which subordinates women’s interests, most farms are still passed on to sons in Norway (Haugen 1998b; Bjørkhaug and Blekesaune 2004; Heggem 2005). In addition, women, as mothers, tend to subscribe to a traditional patrilinear system of transferring the farm to the sons (Brandth 2002). What has changed and what is to be changed on the farms, for the sake of gender equality in agriculture?

There is a politically expressed goal of gender equality within Norwegian agricultural production (Ministry of Agriculture and Food 1999-2000), but the Committee on Gender Equality and Recruitment in Norwegian Agriculture points to the fact that girls face more barriers to entering farming than boys.

This paper analyses the possibility of new work patterns between men and women in Norwegian agriculture. Time spent on farm work is explored by using farmer and farmers' spouse reports in surveys. We analyse data from two time periods to reveal possible changes over time. In the final section, the state of masculinisation versus professionalisation, and the possible implications of either, is further discussed.

Data and analyses

The paper is based on data from two surveys collected by Statistics Norway. The first survey (*Living conditions among farm households 1995*) was carried out in 1995, and consists of a representative sample of 1 395 Norwegian farm households (Løwe 1998). All farmers and their spouses were interviewed. The second survey (*Living conditions among farm households 2002*) was carried out between January and April 2002 (Vågane 2002) where 1 552 farm households were interviewed. In the first survey, the farmer, his or her spouse and all other family members who contributed with farm work were interviewed, whereas only the farmer and his or her spouse was interviewed in the second survey.

In this paper, a farmer is a man or a woman who, as active farmer, owns or operates a farm alone or together with their spouse. For the sake of reporting the analysis we use farmer as a concept of the person who, in the survey was coded as the main person responsible for the farm. A farmer's partner will be reported as spouse. We recognise the possibility of degrading spouses with a farmer identity. We are of course risking the opposite for farm holders without a farming identity.

Table 1. Distribution of female and male farmers in 1995 and 2002. Percentage.

	1995		2002	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Men	1261	90	1364	88
Women	134	10	188	12
Total	1395	100	1552	100

Pearson's chi-squared = 4.747 $p = 0.029$

The amount of female farmers has risen significantly in the period from 1995 to 2002. The numbers are in accordance with earlier studies using different sets of data (Bjørkhaug and Blekesaune 2004; Bjørkhaug 2004). The findings, however, give a pessimistic signal about a more balanced proportion of male and female farmers in Norway in the near future.

In our analysis we only use data from farmers and their spouses, and in our analysis we only include farmers with a spouse or a cohabiter. These include around 80 percent of the farming households in both surveys (Table 2).

Table 2. Farmer's marital status by sex and year. Percentage.

	1995		2002	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Married or cohabit	80	83	80	78
Single	20	17	20	22
Total	100	100	100	100
(n=)	(1261)	(134)	(1364)	(188)

The amount of farm work done by the farmer and his and her spouse is measured by twelve questions, one for an average week in each of the month during the year. We have calculated the average value for these answers.

Table 3 shows changes in the farming couple's share of time spent on farm work in 1995 and 2002. The mean illustrates how much, in percent, the farmer works compared to his or her spouse.

Table 3. Share of the farming couple's total farm work carried out by the farmer in 1995 and 2002 by farmer's sex. Mean percentage.

		Male farmers	Female farmers
1995	Mean	77.23	55.13
	Std. Deviation	21.48	21.97
	(n=)	(927)	(81)
2002	Mean	83.64	57.73
	Std. Deviation	18.45	29.38
	(n=)	(1087)	(131)
Differences		6.22	2.60
t-values		7.14	0.73
p-values		< 0.01	0.43

According to the analyses in Table 3, the farmers themselves have increased their share of work on the farm between 1995 and 2002 on male operated farms. From doing 77 percent of the work in 1995 they carried out 84 percent of the work in 2002. There are no significant changes in the farmers work input on farms operated by female farmers. As farmers, women carried out around 55 percent of the work in both of the time periods studied. This shows that the masculinisation of farm work on farms operated by men have not been weakened by the increase of farms operated by women. With a sweeping majority of farms run by men, the general masculinisation of farm work on Norwegian family farms is still going strong. The stable pattern of work division on farms run by female farmers indicates that family farming in a traditional understanding might be preserved on these farms.

Table 3 implies that female farmers are much more “dependent” on their husband's assistance on the farm. While male farmers do substantial more farm work than their spouses, women farmers receive much more farm work assistance from their spouses. This indicates that female farmers are, to a high degree, dependent on their spouses in their daily farm activities. What this analysis does not show is the level of support in housework for male farmers. Blekesaune and Haugen (2002) found that farmwomen spent more hours on housework than other women, while farm men on the other hand did less housework than other men. A point made by Blekesaune and Haugen (2002) is that the high level of household work carried out by women frees more time for farm work for men.

We started out with a hypothesis that men and women specialize in either on-farm or off-farm work, and that their allocation of work time depends on their educational training in agriculture, their interests in farm work, and capacity of the farm to provide work for both partners. Table 4 shows regression models estimating the time spent on farm work by male and female farmers in 2002. The purpose of the models is to find out what influences time use in Norwegian agriculture. Time use is an indicator of intensity of farming and distinguishes

full-time farmers from part-time farmers. Farm size and form of production is included in the model as relevant indicators on what time is needed to be spent on the farm. Background characteristics of the farmer are also included. The table shows how distinctions in educational background, age and farming preferences influence the farmers work habits on the farm. Two separate models of male and female farmers are presented in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Linear regression models estimating hours of farm work carried out by male and female farmers in 2002.

	<i>Male farmers</i>			<i>Female farmers</i>		
	B	S.E	p-value	B	S.E	p-value
Constant	27.901	4.499	< 0.001	-3.221	16.231	0.843
Farm size (in hectares)	0.912	0.092	< 0.001	0.123	0.312	0.694
Dairy farms (dummies with other prod. as reference)	15.174	1.111	< 0.001	10.182	4.196	0.017
Farmer's age (number of years)	0.039	0.048	0.422	0.350	0.175	0.048
Education (years after primary school)	-1.413	0.261	< 0.001	0.258	0.985	0.794
Agricultural training (dummy)	2.153	1.072	0.045	5.898	4.907	0.232
Pref. for full-time farming (dummy)	5.266	1.028	< 0.001	10.687	3.633	0.004
Partner's hours of farm work	0.270	00.035	< 0.001	0.030	0.095	0.754
(N=)	(1094)			(119)		
R ²	0.440			0.210		
F	121.796		< 0.001	4.219		< 0.001

The model for male farmers shows that most of the included variables gives a significant explanation for the amount of working hours spent in farming; Men work more on large farms; Dairy farmers work more than other farmers; Agricultural-trained farmers work more than non-trained farmers; Preferences for full-time farming increases the workload on the farm. On the other hand, years of education reveals the opposite- more years of education decreases the time spent on farm work. Male farmers' working time also increases with his spouse's participation. Farmers' age is irrelevant for the amount of time spent in farming by male farmers.

The regression model of female farmers explains less of the variation in female farmers' time spent on farm work than the corresponding model for male farmers. Female dairy farmers work more than other female farmers. As for male farmers this can be explained by the fact that dairy farming is one of the most labour intensive forms of production in Norwegian agriculture in itself. Our analysis also shows that the workload carried out by female farmers is influenced by their preferences for farming. Preference for full-time farming is the most important factor for spending time farming according to our model. Our model also shows that female farmers work more the older she gets. These findings are in accordance with Haugen's (1998) studies of female farmers. When women break into the masculine discourse of farming they need to be motivated. Haugen (1998) also found that especially older women on farms tended to work hard in the production of food and fibre. Seeing that younger women

farmers do not participate as much in the farm work, the masculinisation process will continue.

Comparing the two models, one striking difference is very interesting. While spouses' time spent in farming correlates positively with male farmers' hours spent on farming, the amount of spouses' contribution to farm work on female operated farms is not significant. One interpretation could be that female farmers are dependent on spouses' assistance no matter size or intensity of her production.

We found for both models that preferences for full-time farming explained much of the variance in farmers time use. We know from other studies that some men, conventional farmers in particular, farm out of family obligation (Bjørkhaug 2002; Bjørkhaug 2004). Such reasons for farming hardly exist among female farmers. Future agriculture depends on motivated farmers, and our analysis clearly supports that preferences are of importance for farming in Norway.

New patterns of gender division of work on Norwegian farms?

In this paper, we have asked if there was any evidence for new patterns of gender division of work on Norwegian family farms. In the following section we will point at some new patterns, but emphasize possible problems where new patterns have not been found.

Further masculinisation of the Norwegian Agriculture

The analyses of the two surveys presented in this paper show three main trends. One general trend, is that farm work on Norwegian farms is increasingly being done by one person. On farms operated by male farmers, there is a distinct tendency or strategy to change the farm work from being an integrated part of the couple's conjugal activity, towards a job for one farmer alone. This change could imply that we should no longer talk about family strategies but farmer strategies, because farming has been isolated as a specific occupation.

In contrast to this, the analysis implies that female farmers are much more dependent on their spouse's assistance on the farm. Our analyses indicate that female farmers are supported by a spouse in their daily farm activities. The amount farm work executed by a female farmer has hardly risen over the period studied. This might be interpreted as that the traditional role interpretation of male and female work is still applied, as found by Silvasti (1999) and in Bjørkhaug and Blekesaune (2004). Brandth (2001) accounts for this as men handling the machinery and driving the tractors whilst women do the 'soft' farm-work and housework (Blekesaune and Haugen 2002).

With rationalization and mechanization of farm work, there has been an ongoing masculinisation, both literally understood as masculine concepts whereby men not only dominate agricultural work but the whole agricultural industry (Bjørkhaug 2004, Bjørkhaug and Heggem 2005). We have seen a long, ongoing restructuring of work within the organisation of the family farm. New technology has both rationalised people out of farming and work operations have been 'regendered' as men have entered former women's traditional

areas when technology or machines replaced manual labour. Women in particular have been affected by these shifts, as the farms no longer offer ‘recognised’ or ‘legitimate’ work ‘and women’s daily duties are not counted in surveys like the ones used in this study. Our analyses support the masculinisation hypothesis put forward by Almås (1983), but only on farms operated by a male farmer. “Traditional” family farming is maintained on female operated farms.

The third strategy can be found on farms run by professional female farmers (Haugen 1990). By taking vocational training in agriculture these women prove their skills and run farms on a single person basis. Our analyses have not revealed that agricultural-educated women work more in Norwegian agriculture. Preferences for a full-time farming strategy are one of two main reasons for spending time on farming for women. Form of production is a second reason as women in dairy farming are more active farmers than female farmers in other modes of production. These women have chosen to enter a traditionally masculine arena and are farmers by profession (Haugen 1990; Haugen 1998b; Haugen and Brandth 1994). In contrast to Haugen and Brandth’s studies of these female farmers in the 1990s, however, our analyses do not support that there has been a substantial growth in the amount of professional female farmers. Norwegian agriculture in 2002 has not become less masculine.

Implications for the work for gender equalities in agriculture

Research of agricultural restructuring during post-war decades has pointed to several important changes. Earlier, we pointed to changes in the work situation with mechanization and rationalization of farm work. Farms are increasing in the size of land and number of livestock. This involves more time spent on farm work for the single farmer as most farms still do not support wages for more than one farmer. At the same time, source of income, in particular off-farm income, has increased its importance in farming households in Norway and most European countries (Jervell and Løyland 1998).

Analysis of data from Statistics Norway between 1987 and 1997 has shown a decrease in the share of income to agricultural households coming *from* agricultural work (Bjørkhaug and Blekesaune 2004). This is a continuation of an ongoing process found in analyses of agricultural statistics from before 1989 (Rognstad 1991). Even in the early 1980s over 50 percent of Norwegian farmers earned less than half of their income from farm work (Jervell and Løyland 1998). A Norwegian survey from 2002 also showed that this development has continued, with 64 percent reporting that more than half of their income from 2001 was achieved outside of the farm (Rye et.al. 2002). There was also an increase in the amount of farmers working off-farm.

The difference between male and female farmers was significant. While 62 percent of male farmers got more than 50 percent of their income from off-farm work, the percentage among female farmers was 76. Farms operated by female farmers also had significantly lower farm income than farms operated by men (Bjørkhaug and Blekesaune 2004). Our analyses fully support previous analyses of survey data which reveal similar differences between male and female farmers (Bjørkhaug and Blekesaune 2004). The typical single farmer is a man. Women farm mainly in partnership. The latter indicates that women need to negotiate many obstacles before choosing a farming profession.

In a legal sense, there is nothing preventing young women from taking over the family farm. This right is enforced through law. The Ministry of Agriculture and Food wish to recruit motivated, competent and resourceful young people, and especially girls into Norwegian agriculture (Ministry of Agriculture and Food 1998, 1999-2000). Politically there is an expressed goal to recruit women. The agricultural organizations support this view when they aim for equal numbers of men and women in their work and on their boards. Are these external means good enough to ensure boys and girls equal rights to Norwegian farms and farm work?

Our analyses show that preferences for a full-time farming strategy is important for the amount work conducted in farming, especially for women. Parental strategies are of great importance as well. In a survey carried out by Centre for Rural Research among Norwegian farmers in 2004, it was found that 60 percent of the farmers expected their offspring to succeed the farm (Trend-data 2004). Among these, 26 percent expected a son to succeed, while only 11 percent expected a daughter to be the family farm successor. Qualitative studies indicate that parents motivate their children differently (Heggem 2005). Heggem (2005) finds that parental values relating to the existence of an inborn “hidden tractor gene” prove to them that boys are better skilled for farming than girls. Where this inevitably influences the socialization of girls and boys, girls might need to consider vocational training to prove her skills as a farmer and her right to farm. For some, prospects of a farming partner might be also considered.

It takes time to change established norms about what is suitable work for men and women in agriculture. At this stage, there is no established tradition for girls taking over the family farm. Often a girl with an allodial first right will find herself in a competition with a younger brother. When a younger sister challenges an older brother, we might start talking about gender equality in agriculture. In the current situation, Norwegian agriculture needs to adjust to the incoming recruits or successors’ needs and wishes for a sustainable agriculture. These adjustments are most needed on a cultural and social level so that newcomers can sustain a satisfying life situation and expectations of gender equality for both girls and boys in future agricultural practice.

Our research presents clear evidence of a delay in the development of equality in status between men and women in Norwegian agriculture, in particular at the farm household level. How potential newcomers interpret signals regarding which farmers are wanted in the future is of crucial importance for their choices of entering farming or not.

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