



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Research Commons

<http://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/>

Research Commons at the University of Waikato

Copyright Statement:

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

The thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of the thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from the thesis.

**THE WORK OF
FARMING WOMEN**

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the Degree

of

Master of Arts in Politics

at the

University of Waikato

by

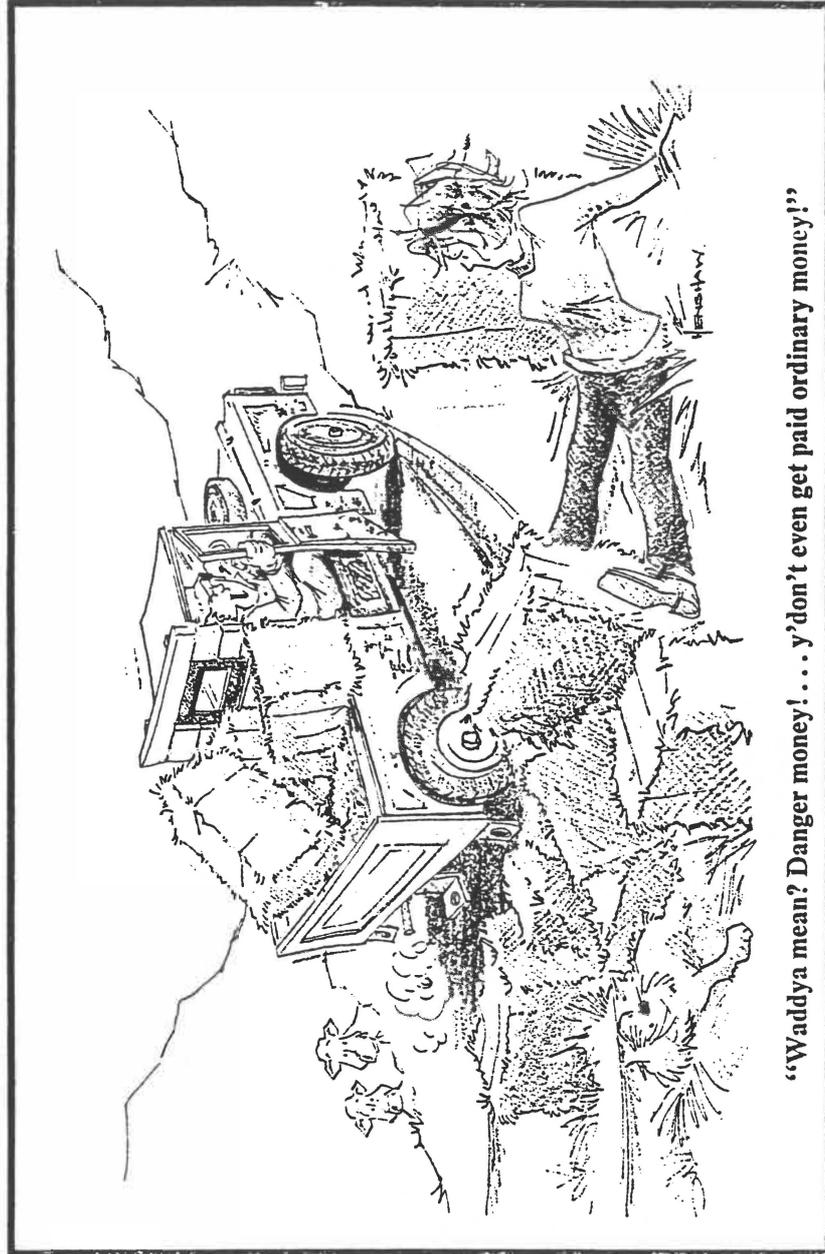
DEIRDRE CATHRYN SHAW

"Whatever women do they must do twice as well as men to be thought half as good. Luckily, this is not difficult."

Attributed to Charlotte Whitton, former mayor of Ottawa, Canada.



"Blue skies, fresh air, farming's not just a job — It's a way of life isn't it Edna."



“Waddya mean? Danger money! . . . y’don’t even get paid ordinary money!”

ABSTRACT

This research on the work of farming women presents an accurate picture of what these women do on and off the farm, in the house, and in the community. It presents the opinions of farming women, of themselves, and of how others - the rural community, the rural service industry (RSI), and society views them in their farming role. By comparing and contrasting the women's views and those of the RSI and society, comment is made on the implications of policy which develops from inaccurate stereotypes and outdated perceptions.

Here is where my research reaches further than much research that has been undertaken on the role of farming women. Sociological and economics research does not focus on the power plays which help to contradict the role the women see for themselves. It does not investigate the implications of policy upon farming women. My research looks at political power play and discusses why change in policies must be effected.

To present a true picture of farming women, and how attitudes and policy may affect their power status, I used three methodologies. All participants completed a questionnaire which asked them about their household, their farm, work experience, finances, services and amenities, awareness of farm involvement, and background information. They completed two 48 hour time use diaries, as developed by the FAO Asia-Pacific Office. This gave an accurate picture of how the women spent their time, what farm, house, and community work they undertook, where the work was performed, who with and for.

These two methodologies provided invaluable information on time use - both seasonal and yearly. Information from the questionnaire, and from the personal interviews, held with 30% of the sample, provides commentary on how the women see their role in farming, and how they feel different sectors of society view their contribution to farming.

Interviews were also held with members of the RSI. Their perceptions of the roles of women in farming are presented and compared with the women's feelings of the RSI's views.

The majority of women viewed themselves as farmers, or in a farming occupation if they were non-owners. They saw their contribution in many ways - physical, financial, administrative, managerial, supportive and organisational. Approximately two thirds of the women felt that they were accepted in that role, but comments from all women made it clear that while society accepts men in farming without question, women have had to prove themselves to be as knowledgeable and skilled as their male counterparts. Women are still faced with rural service

people who are rude, insult their intelligence, or just ignore them in farm dealings and discussions.

Information gained from the RSI interviews would suggest that the majority have outdated perceptions of the roles of farming women.

Because of the gap between the images of farming women held by society, and the reality of the work of farming women, there are serious policy implications. If their work is unpaid and invisible then they are invisible as beneficiaries of policy - be it private or public, social or economic.

People's attitudes and perceptions of farming women must change, and they must recognise these women's contribution and differing roles. Changes in policy must be effected. Women must be viewed, not as helpers, but as knowledgeable and skilled farmers, in their own right.

PREFACE

How would you feel if you thought that many people, or society in general, considered that what you did everyday was worth very little, and took your work for granted, and if this attitude was reflected in institutional policy?

If you were a woman involved in farming, this might be an everyday experience. As a young woman I have had the opportunity to see the vast gulf between attitude and reality.

My thesis has been an extension of this knowledge, and of the need to change the still prevalent attitude that "farmers' wives" still bake scones and answer the phone, but don't really do any work, as farmers employ others to do the real farm work.

This opinion is still prevalent amongst some people in urban centres, who presume that farming is a total male domain; and when they come into contact with farming women they hold this outdated image that then creates a bias in their dealings with these women.

Amongst the rural service industry and farming communities, outdated attitudes like these can still exist.

By presenting an up to date and accurate picture of the role and work of women in farming; and by discussing some of the attitudes, good and bad, that they have encountered, I hope to contribute to the ongoing changes in society to move away from inaccurate stereotypes, and to view people for what they are and do, not for what you may think they should be. Economically and politically this is very important. Not only can inaccurate marketing result in losses in productivity; stereotypes deny people power.

INTRODUCTION

Over 49,000 women (1) are actively involved in farming in New Zealand - as farm workers, farm managers, sharefarmers, and as farmers.(2) Officially, this number has grown over the last 20 years at least.(see Appendix 1) There has always been a great number of women in farming, but they, themselves, and society, have not always seen them in that role.

Recent changes in government policies with regard to farming, have meant great upheavals in agriculture and horticulture. These policies have wrought great changes in women's roles in farming in the last 15-20 years, but little research has been undertaken to ascertain what this role is, and whether it has been changing in step with the rest of society.

Sociological and economic research on women in farming in the last 20-30 years has presented mixed views as to their role - very few considering the woman as 'farmer', instead as 'farm wife' with men assuming major roles in decision making and physical work.

Research undertaken by Murray Rabel and Anton Meister (3) for the Department of Agricultural Economics and Business at Massey University in 1991 is an example of this. Their study on the impact of rural servicing on farmers, makes the presumption that farmers are male. Any reference actually made to gender, was male. A quote taken from the discussion paper states:

"Farmers as businessmen know the value of money [my emphasis]"(4)

A male American social scientist writes in 1990, that there are few women in New Zealand who describe themselves as farmers -using 1976 Census data (5). The notes from the 1976 Census state that a person working for less than 20hrs/week, either for financial reward or as unpaid labour in a family business, should tick the box applicable to the activity done during the balance of the week. Hours spent on unpaid household duties should be excluded.(6) A lot of activities done in the home are for the farm, but may also have been viewed by women as for the family. Christine Delphy and Diane Leonard in their book Familiar Exploitation state:

"There is no difference of the work relationship between 'housework' and all the other work they do..."

the tasks of 'housework' and 'occupational work'
...overlap" (7)

Therefore a woman may not have seen herself as doing farmwork for more than 20hrs/week. This would have severely biased census data with regard to farming women.

Another piece of New Zealand research on farming clearly shows the assumption that farming is a male dominated field. Evan Willis in his 1975 thesis (8) writes of problems with his methodology:

"It is difficult to get at the farmer's opinions by the use of a postal questionnaire. The division of labour upon farms in the sample appeared such that the wife handles all the correspondence, and thus in a large number of cases it was obvious that she had filled in the questionnaire, despite specific instructions "to the farmer". As such, asking the farmer a question such as "How important do you rate the contribution of your wife?" in many cases becomes questionable."(9)

Dr Ann Pomeroy, in her paper, **The Politics Of Inequality: Farming Women** (10) makes a point about the assumption made by many sociologists that men only are farmers. She comments upon a Rural Social Studies Network directory:

"This carried on its cover an image of a male orientated society based on a (male) farmer. The caption read:
The man that carries the others -finding the food -finding the raw material for factories and creating work for all" [her emphasis] (11)

Pomeroy goes on to list many examples of this alienation of women from farming, such as, the questioning of the right of farm women to be labelled 'farmer', unless living on their own;

the assumption that she is a farmer's wife, "unless she can point to hours of work in the paddock on a daily basis."**(12)**. Pomeroy quotes Peter Hook writing in the New Zealand Journal of Agriculture in 1976:

"This is a family farm, and Colin's wife, Beverley, has played her part in **his** winning the award. Like most farmers' wives, Beverley has cooked for workers, acted as farm secretary and assisted on the farm when required, in addition to running a house and bringing up a young family. It is this type of partnership that makes the New Zealand family farm so successful." (my emphasis)**(13)**

These attitudes present to society an inaccurate picture of the role of farming women. Yet there has been some (mostly international) research undertaken on farming women, in which this alienation is recognised and an attempt made to present an accurate picture.

Researchers such as Sachs **(14)** describe women as 'invisible farmers' - whose involvement is limited by the patriarchal nature of farming. Sachs says:

"...women have participated in agricultural production throughout...history...As a consequence of a powerful sexual division of labor [sic], however, women have often been restricted to domestic work and so their participation has been consistently overlooked and undervalued. There is still a strong tendency to see men as farmers and women as farmer's wives" **(15)**

Shelagh Cox and Bev James in **Public and Private Worlds****(16)** question this separation of public and private:

"Men's and women's lives,...are separated. It is widely accepted that men belong primarily to the public and women to the private sphere"(17)

This theory is apparent in farming. Traditionally men have been the public figures of farming, and when one investigates the upper echelons of the farming industry, few women are to be found.(18) Parts of society know little about farming and so even this public activity can be bordering on private, as farming takes place at the 'home' - as the worker does not travel, as such, to work.

Because of this, the crossover of women in the industry from the private to the public work of 'farming', is not easily recognised if just a cursory glance is taken.

Unfortunately there is still this tendency to see farming as a male domain - the woman being seen as the 'farmer's wife', 'the helper', always there to give a hand when needed. This perception is not held by all, but it still does exist, as do misconceptions about farming on the whole.

This research presents the actual work of New Zealand farming women - on and off the farm, in the house and the community. It also discusses the views of the rural service industry (RSI) with regard to the role of women in farming; and how these women think other people in society view their work.

By reflecting what farming women do - the multiplicity of their activities; the frequency and duration of them; where, who with, and for whom these activities are performed, I hope to establish an accurate picture of their work, thereby increasing understanding of women's roles in farming, and to eliminate sex-role stereotyping, or notions of what women should do, as opposed to what they really do.

Power issues will be discussed - how the women see themselves, how they think others see them, and finally how others see and describe these farming women. Questions will be asked and discussed - what are the power advantages in describing farming women in particular ways, and what are the policy implications of doing so. These are important political issues affecting farming women.

Sociological and economics research, whether presenting a true image, is not focussed on power interplays and does not investigate the political implications of this information. My

research not only presents the role of women in farming, but discusses how the levels of recognition that farming women receive, in different sectors of society, affects their power status and their influence in policy making- be that influence in private industry, on producer boards, or at local or central government level.

CHAPTER ONE: SAMPLE

For the purpose of this research a sample of farming women from all stages of ownership, or farming occupations, and from, as many as possible, types of farming was desired. The final sample number of 85 while small covered the large fields of ownership and farmtype.

The sample may be divided into two - volunteers and women randomly selected. The random selection was made after the majority of the volunteer sample had been established. The random sample was undertaken so as to eliminate any personal reasons the volunteer women may have had for participating in the research. As can be seen in the graphs on the following pages, the volunteer and random samples have maintained an evenness in farmtype, ownership, age, education and marital status.

VOLUNTEER SAMPLE

The volunteer sample was established initially through the media, and word of mouth in farming circles. Media coverage of my research began in February with an article in the **Dairy Exporter**(19) (see Appendix 2). This attracted volunteers from dairy farms mostly around the greater Waikato, and from some WDFC clubs who encouraged their younger members to participate.

To gain volunteers from other geographical areas and farmtypes, I sent letters to the editors of several rural newspapers, some of whom - the New Zealand Farmer, Countrywide, and Straight Furrow published my letter or an article. (see Appendix 2).

This had an excellent response, and to extend my volunteer sample from the traditional sheep, beef and dairy, I wrote similar letters to those Federated Farmers Affiliate Organisations which had publications for their members.

These methods of establishing a volunteer sample all gave good response and created the flow-on effects of knowledge of and interest in my research being spread about farming organisations and their members. This enabled interested women to contact me.

I also contacted some women myself. Women already participating, farmers I personally knew, and editors of farming newspapers and magazines, told me of women who may have been interested in participating; and so I made contact with these women - some declined, some

accepted. A few of these women, especially those recommended by the media, were women farming on their own - but the random sample has yielded just as many of these women.

Later in the year I was approached by a number of media people for interviews - the Dominion, 2ZA Palmerston North, WAGMag, Te Awamutu Courier, and the Waikato Times. These I believe gave my research well needed publicity in farming communities, and helped to increase participation.

My final strategy in establishing my volunteer sample was, in May, to approach several farming related companies or institutions who were having tents at the 1992 National Agricultural Fieldays in June; and ask them to allow me to have a display about my research at their tent (**see Appendix 2**). Two accepted- Elders Pastoral Ltd and Lincoln University.

The displays outlined the aims and objectives of the research. They detailed who may be involved and what the research would involve - a questionnaire and two time use diaries. It also asked women to participate, and leave their name and address, so I could contact them. This unfortunately, while the most costly, turned out to be the least successful method for establishing my volunteer sample. Perhaps this may have been because of the throng of people at the Fieldays which meant women could not see the display (**20**); or because the extent of what was required from the participants meant many of the women who did agree found they simply did not have the time to complete the time-use diaries and questionnaire once they had received them.

RANDOM SAMPLE

A random sample was established in May, and not only boosted the total sample, but provided participants who were not selected with any prior knowledge of their farming involvement, apart from that they stated a farming occupation on their electoral enrolment. Unlike on census forms, women are more likely to say 'farmer' on electoral rolls. This is probably because the electoral enrolment form just asks for occupation - it does not qualify this by hours worked - paid or unpaid, as do census forms.

One hundred women were selected from 20 North Island electorates, from south of Auckland to north of Wellington. These electorates were largely rural and excluded large cities such as Hamilton, Gisborne, New Plymouth. The names were taken from the 1990 General electoral rolls and were not taken from the North Island Maori electorates.

These women were sent a letter outlining the research and inviting them to participate. A final positive response of 24% was gained. Earlier in the research it was hoped that this would be

around 40%, but eventually more women, both in the random and volunteer samples, withdrew. The main reasons for this was the amount of dedication and time that was involved in completing the questionnaire and time use dairies. Of course over a period of five months, circumstances changed - either within their family or on the farming scene itself, which affected the time they could devote to the research. Below is a table of reasons why women randomly selected did not participate.

TABLE 1: REASON FOR NON PARTICIPATION OF RANDOM SAMPLE

Reason not participate	Number
No farm work	9
No longer farming	4
Unknown at address	17
Too busy	14
Not interested	5
Lifestyle Farmer	1
Off season	1
Incapacitated/accident	4
Sold farm/retired	4
Changing farm operation	1
No reason given	11
Young family	1
Fulltime off farm job	1
Overseas	1
Response lost in mail	2

THE NEED FOR BOTH VOLUNTEER AND RANDOM SAMPLES

A completely random sample would statistically be ideal; but in the case of my research on farming women, it was necessary to have a volunteer sample for two reasons. The first is that farming is of a transient nature, especially in the farm worker or small holding categories, with workers- and owners also, who all move on to new farming communities. So it was necessary to have volunteers to ensure that sharemilkers/farmers, contract workers, farm managers, and workers were included in the sample.

The volunteer sample was also necessary as the amount of time and energy needed to complete the questionnaire and time use dairies simply caused many women approached for the random sample, to refuse, saying they were too busy. Many also were no longer involved in farming as such.

LIMITATIONS OF THE SAMPLE

The major limitation of my sample is the size compared to the geographical spread, as can be seen in the following map. While the geographical spread over the North Island was necessary to cover different farm types, a larger sample would have been ideal. The coverage of farm types compares well with Department of Statistics figures. (see Table 2) The dairy farming sample is higher than the national figures, as is my sheep and beef figure. This may be accounted for by the Department of Statistics beef figure including some sheep - which I just entered as sheep and beef. My deer and goat sample may also be included in beef and sheep. In general the sample compares well with the Department of Statistics figures.

The other major limitation in my sample is that my random sample was taken from the General roll, and not from the Maori roll as well. Consequently the ethnicity of the sample does not

include Maori. This is qualified by a question about ethnicity in the questionnaire.

TABLE 2: FARMTYPE COMPARISON BETWEEN RESEARCH SAMPLE AND DEPARTMENT OF STATISTICS (DOS)

Farmtype	Research Sample	DOS
Dairy/+other	37.60%	21.00%
Sheep	1.20%	16.00%
Beef	2.40%	9.70%
Sheep+beef	29.40%	9.90%
Sheep+cropping	7.00%	2.70%
Sheep+other	9.40%	2.50%
Beef+other	2.40%	1.80%

Pig	none	0.80%
Deer	2.40%	2.70%
Goat	in other types	0.70%
Mixed	2.40%	4.00%
Kiwifruit	5.90%	3.00%

SOURCE: "Land Use and Numbers of Stock by Farmtype" in Agricultural Statistics 1990, DOS, Wellington, 1991.

SAMPLE STATISTICS

The following graphs (1-5) show a breakdown of the volunteer and random samples, according to age, marital status, education, stage of ownership and farm type.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

The objectives of this research are to reflect what farming women actually do by establishing an accurate picture of their activities. An insight will be gained into decision making, access to information, and the attitudes of the RSI to farming women's work.

The methodologies used to achieve these objectives have been a mix of qualitative and quantitative research methods. The approach taken to the women participants has always been qualitative, in that I have tried to maintain a personal nature to the research. This was seen as imperative considering what was required of the women - all methodologies asked for responses about their personal relationships and behaviour, as well as comments about others' behaviour.

To fully understand the lives of these women, to understand their subjective experiences as women and as people, I allowed the women to speak for themselves- in sections of the questionnaire and most especially in interviews. This qualitative approach "amplif[ies] and ... give[s] substance and meaning to statistical descriptions" **(21)**

The three methodologies I chose to use were a time-use diary, a postal questionnaire and personal interviews. In the following chapter these methodologies will be explained and discussed as to their use in achieving the stated objectives.

QUESTIONNAIRE

A questionnaire was sent to participants with the first time-use diary in July. A postal questionnaire was chosen as it provided access to a widely dispersed sample and was relatively low cost. A further advantage was that it provided the women with unpressured time to complete the requirements, which were quite involved.

One disadvantage was the possibility of inaccurate mailing addresses, especially with the randomly selected sample, as most of the addresses were Rural Delivery numbers which are not shown on the electoral rolls. The main disadvantage seen with postal questionnaires, that they are ineffective in enlisting co-operation **(22)**, was partially overridden in that the majority of the women had agreed to participation.

It was proposed that the questionnaire would supplement the information from the diaries, and would cover yearly time use, family decision making, access to information from the RSI, and attitudes of the RSI. It would also provide a profile of the sample: marital status, socio-economic status, ethnicity, age, household size, education, farming history(sic), occupation, livestock and/or acreage, and land ownership.

All these were obtained from the questionnaire as well as other questions, some of which were gleaned from **A National Survey of Rural Women (23)** and a Master's thesis, **Rural Women: A Study Of Some Dairy Farm Women in Piako County**, by M. Begg (24). These included questions on travel times to rural services, and some about household and family.

The questionnaire was piloted in May by farming women in the Waipa area, and subsequent changes were made to the design and wording to enable better flow and understanding and to eliminate any question repetition. The result was 111 questions and the final questionnaire sections of: Household and Family, Farm, Work Experience, Finances, Services and Amenities, Awareness of Farm Involvement, and Background Information. (see **Appendix 3**)

Once sample numbers had been tentatively established 140 questionnaires along with the accompanying time-use diary, Instruction Manual and letter were sent. (see **Appendix 4**) This tentative number included random sample women of whose participation I was unsure; and along with women who for one reason or another had to discontinue participation, 85 questionnaires were completed and returned. (25)

On return the questionnaires were coded (see **Appendix 3**) and run through a statistics computer programme, SPSS, and basic frequencies, percentages and cross tabulations were gained. (see **Appendix 3**) The master coding was designed by myself, and the actual coding of the questionnaire was done by a woman farmer, known to me; and so a knowledgeable consistency in coding was maintained.

TIME-USE DIARY

The time-use methodology which I used was established by the FAO Regional Asian and Pacific Office (26) through pilot studies in Thailand, Pakistan, Malaysia and India. This was the first official study anywhere to establish simultaneous activities (27), and so this methodology was seen as being perfect in researching the multiplicity of farming women's work.

Time-use diaries are simple in their design and concept in that principal and any other simultaneous activities are recorded, as well as where the activity is done, with whom and for whom. These are recorded against a time of day and the duration of the activity is also recorded. **(see Appendix 4 for design).**

The information that may be gained from these diaries is far from simple. It provides an accurate picture of how these women spend their time, it tells of their involvement and responsibilities on the farm, in the house and family, and in the community. This information is very important in ascertaining how public policy, and private industry policy, may affect these women. It tells us ways of empowering women, and gives them recognition for their hidden and unpaid work.

M. Acharya writes about time-use data and the formation of policy in her article for The World Bank, **Time Use Data and the Living Measurement Study (28)**:

"From a policy point of view, the importance of deriving realistic employment data cannot be over-emphasised. Incorrect perceptions usually result in incorrect policies" **(29)**

The ideal situation for the recording of this information is to have participant observation - someone else observing and recording the individual's work. This turned out to be truly an ideal for this research. Few women had someone who could spend two days recording their activities, and the research budget could not afford to pay people to do so. It was also felt that the level of literacy, education and understanding of this research methodology would mean the women would be better able to fill in the diaries themselves, than women taking part in FAO pilot studies in developing countries.

The time-use diaries were sent out at first with the questionnaire and were accompanied by an Instruction Manual **(see Appendix 4)** which outlined what was required and explained any points which were considered might cause some difficulty. The first diary was to be completed in late-July to early August, when a lot of farms are reasonably busy. A second time-use diary was sent out in October, so as to provide seasonal differences within different farming types. Two diaries were kept for 48 hours each by each participant. The only major difficulty encountered, which perhaps attributed to the drop in the overall sample number, was the dedication and time that was involved in filling in these diaries.

Once returned the data was entered onto a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. The data was mostly entered as written in the time-use diary. Farmwork, being the main focus, was entered as specific tasks eg. milking, dagging, fencing, stock maintenance, feeding calves. Housework, apart from preparing and serving meals was entered as housework. Other activities were entered usually as recorded.

Average times spent on particular tasks, who for etc. were achieved by running the Excel programme. This information is extremely important and the results of this will be discussed in later chapters.

INTERVIEWS

Personal interviews were used to supplement information from the questionnaires and time-use diaries. This qualitative methodology was adopted as it offered further opportunity to supplement the data already accumulated. Interviews were conducted with approximately 30% of the women participants, and also with a limited number of RSI members.

-RSI Interviews

Interviews with members of the RSI were undertaken on an informal and local basis, covering the Waikato area. It was decided to have informal interviews with some RSI companies, and letters were sent, requesting short interviews with two employees, ideally one female and one male, with at least three years experience in the RSI. The interviews were not taped. The questions asked about their involvement in the RSI, their dealings with farmers with regard to gender, and of their attitudes towards and opinions about farming women. **(see Appendix 5)**

The purpose of these interviews was to be able to relate what the women participants said about the RSI, and how they thought the RSI saw their role in farming, with what the RSI themselves thought of women's role in farming.

-Participant Interviews

As stated previously personal interviews were carried out with approximately 30% of the women participants. The interviews provided the opportunity to probe deeply the attitudes, reasons and feelings of the women.

Nearly all of the women approached for a personal interview agreed to one, and interviews were held with women from most areas of the North Island, and from most types of farms, and levels of ownership. (see graphs 6+7). The cost of the travelling for the personal interviews was far outweighed by the knowledge I gained - not only from the interview questions, but from actually meeting these women, answering their questions, discussing farming with them, and in some cases, looking around their farms.

Most interviews began with a cup of tea and a small discussion about where I had been previously, and this helped to create a relaxed, informal atmosphere. This was important because I knew that they had told me about their personal views in the questionnaire, and that I was about to ask them more questions to which I wanted indepth answers.

For a large number of the interviews my mother, Lynne Shaw, was present as she accompanied me on one long journey, and as a farmer, she helped create an atmosphere that let them feel they could talk about the farm, and we would be able to discuss farming topics.

The 'formal' part of the interview started with an explanation of what the research was about and how it was progressing, with the women asking me questions.

The interview was taped (confidentiality agreed), and consisted of a series of general questions about their farming experience, and policy issues; and then specific questions were asked according to their situation on the farm, ie. family farm, widowed, divorced, running farm by self, or farm manager/worker. **(see Appendix 6)**

Throughout, and after the interview, questions were asked and answered by all parties, with general discussions about how other women farmers felt about particular issues; and what results I had had about certain topics in the questionnaire.

This discussion, and the hospitality offered and accepted, ranging from a cup of tea to overnight accommodation, helped create a relationship with the interviewees that let them feel they could ask questions about why I was interested in this issue, and because I told them, they felt they could tell me their personal feelings about their role in farming.

This defiance of 'the textbook way to interviewing' is discussed by Ann Oakley in her article "**Interviewing Women**". She says:

"...the goal of finding out about people through interviewing is best achieved when the relationship of interviewer and interviewee is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship." (30)

This relationship based on give and take gave me more information than if I had taken the traditional interviewer stance of seeing the interviewee as merely data, and by remaining impersonal. This atmosphere was hopefully created throughout the whole research with interviews and letters to participants.

DIFFICULTIES

The major problem I had with my methodologies was the amount of time that it involved for the participant. This led to a number of women not completing the questionnaire and time-use diaries, especially as the diaries were ideally to be kept at a reasonably busy time of most farming calendars.

The time-use diaries were a necessary part of the research and the information to be gained from use of this methodology is invaluable. My decision to send a postal questionnaire, regardless of its length was the best in the situation. Phone interviews using questions from the questionnaire were not considered as this would have been more costly and more time consuming, and the chances of contacting farmers by phone is difficult if you do not already know their schedule. The questionnaire was the best choice as it gave the women time to consider their answers and their role in farming.

My methodologies, while mostly quantitative, have given me information that can be subjective, and are personal enough to create a true picture of these women's role in farming.

CHAPTER THREE: 'I AM A FARMER'

'I am a farmer' - this was the resounding message sent out by the large majority of women who participated in my research. In this chapter I will discuss how these women view themselves, and how they and others view their contribution to the farm. Power issues created by supposed and actual images will be analysed. Statistical information will be used, but the majority of the discussion will come from the women themselves - what they wrote in the questionnaire and what they said in the interviews. They will tell of how they see themselves, and how they think others see them.

HOW FARMING WOMEN VIEW THEMSELVES

In the questionnaire, and for those who participated in the interviews, there was ample opportunity for the women to state how they saw themselves in a farming role, and to comment on why they saw themselves in this way.

All but 12.5% (11) of the women stated a farming profession. Four of these women called themselves a farmer's wife, and one had a Bachelor of Agricultural Science. These women generally had little physical input into the farm, whether by their own choice or not; and were usually in the older age bracket. They saw their role as supportive and organisational - providing comfortable living standards, and, in most cases, discussion, as well as often being involved in a lot of administrative work. Some did appear to do a reasonable amount of physical work, but saw themselves as helpers rather than farmers.

Rosenfeld, an American writing on farming women, says that these attitudes are traditional views of farm women's roles. She claims that "younger and more highly educated women tend to be less traditional with respect to sex roles. One thinks of the young as more open to new ideas and less set in traditional ways." (31)

Of those who did see themselves as farmers, or in a farming occupation, their roles differed in physical, financial, administrative, decision making, and supportive input and control -

showing recognition by the women themselves, of the varied skills and knowledge that are needed to run a farm as a family business.

Of the women interviewed, 80%(68) said they were farmers - a further 6.6%(5) stating a non-farm related occupation. The reasons why these women saw themselves in this way are listed in the table below:

TABLE 3: REASON VIEW SELF AS FARMER

Own the farm	23.0%
Work on the farm	83.0%
Have an interest in the farm	30.0%
Involved in decision making	26.6%

* Some women specified more than one reason

One dairy farmer in the Waikato, when asked if she considered herself a farmer, voiced a much expressed opinion:

"Yes, I play a part in the running of the property and without that contribution the farm would not succeed."**(32)**

This confidence is reflected in answers received from women interviewed, when asked if they felt, if not already running the farm fully themselves, if they could cope by themselves if they were widowed, became divorced, or for some reason started out on their own.

Seventy-three% said, when interviewed, they could cope financially, with only 3.3% saying no. Similarly 70% said they would be able to make necessary decisions - 6.6% saying no, and another 6.6% saying their child would most likely take over the farm, in consideration of their own age.

In contrast to these management roles, only 30% of the women said they would be able to cope physically, although 43% said they would continue farming, but would need assistance due to the farm being a two person

operation, and/or the need to have someone to do the heavier work. None said they would not be able to cope at all physically.

Of the women interviewed 6.6% were then widowed. or divorced, and did run the farm; and another 6.6% were running the farm totally.

WHAT IS THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE FARM?

The contributions of farming women to the farm are many and varied. In the questionnaire the women explained their many roles and areas of contribution. These roles - physical, decision making, administrative, family support and economic, will be discussed in general and then analysed by age group, farmtype and education levels.

In this discussion on women's contribution to the farm, it is necessary to understand that there is more to running a farm than physical work. The farm is the home - these two overlap and become one. Farming is a 24hour a day, seven day a week operation, and seldom is the whole family not involved in the farm in some way.

The following graph (graph 8) shows the occurrence of certain farming activities performed by the women. The figure of 98.8%(84) of the women doing stock or horticultural work shows the contribution of these women to the day to day running of the farm; while 78.8% of the women doing the finances shows management control as well.

Physical Contribution

The overall impression gained was that the physical contribution to the farm is constant, as shown in the graph above, but often, when in a partnership, less than that of the male. The reason for this becomes apparent in the interviews with women who run their own farms by themselves.

These women often said they employed contractors for jobs such as shearing and crutching, fencing and water reticulation. Male farmers often employ people to do these jobs themselves, but mostly the women said they would not have the strength or skills to do this. These women farming by themselves, often overcame physical obstacles by approaching the task from another angle - often "using cunning instead of brute force"(33)

The physical contribution of the women is still there, and this is shown in the table below of what equipment the women can and do use, as asked in the questionnaire.

TABLE 4: EQUIPMENT USED BY WOMEN

Tractor	82.4%
Bikes	67.1%
Milking/shearing plant	48.2%
Fencing units	47.1%
Farm maintenance units	64.7%
Harvesting equipment	44.7%
Chainsaw	11.8%
Truck/heavy vehicle	32.9%

This contribution is very important, as these women often provide a free labour unit, where one is required, but cannot be afforded. This situation is highlighted by the fact that 42.4% of the women stated that due to recent economic situations they have not been able to employ staff, while 36.5% of the women are unable to work fulltime or part-time off the farm due to farm work responsibilities. One Taranaki dairy farmer when asked how she contributed to the farm said:

"[By] doing 40% of the farm work and the financial matters... Over the years we've developed a partnership that suited us and our abilities. I feel I contribute to the successful operation of our farm - physically and with administration."**(34)**

A major constraint on women's physical contribution to the farm is children. 89.4% of the women had one or more children. Young children are a major constraint, with 54.1% of the women never having used childcare, and 21.2% using family members or neighbours for short periods. Of the women interviewed, 50% said that they had found young children a constraint, meaning they did less physical farm work.

As children get older they are often taken out on the farm - in a backpack, on the tractor or in a specially built playpen/house at the cowshed or woolshed. When some women have the opportunity, usually allowed by an healthy financial situation, a farm worker is employed, as many women do not like to take the younger children out on the farm, or with infants they are too busy at home to be out on the farm to the same extent as previously. A Waipa dairy farmer feels that because of this she does not have an equal farm partnership "as there are things that [she] can't do and won't do with the children".(35)

Administrative Contribution

The administrative contribution of women to the farm is high, perhaps due to their, at times, lesser physical contribution, and family and home commitments which often keep them inside. As seen in the previous graph, women have a high involvement in financial and communication activities, 78.8% and 55.3%, respectively. Their dealings, as recorded in the questionnaire, with professional services - lawyers, accountants, bank managers is slightly less at 41.2%

These figures are based on information given by the women. They were not asked specifically if they held these responsibilities, therefore these figures may be, and quite possibly are, higher. Research shows that women traditionally under-report their activities. This is highlighted by 83.5% of the women saying, when specifically asked in the questionnaire, that they are responsible for keeping farm records and organising finances.

This compares quite reasonably with the response when asked in the questionnaire who controls the day to day farm spending - 38.8% said themselves, 21.2% with their partners jointly, and 30.6% said their partners on their own; although the number of partners on their own is still high in comparison.

Financial and administrative work is very important - whether keeping herd and breeding records, paying accounts and wages, working out GST and tax returns, or writing and answering letters and handling phone calls and queries. This importance is recognised by many farming women, and a Te Akau sheep and beef farmer believes that although she does less physical work, because of home commitments, she more than makes up for this through her financial and administrative contribution.

"[I contribute] equally with my husband, through support for him, by taking the financial matters under control and doing the farm books which leaves my husband to concentrate on matters concerning the day to day running of the farm."**(36)**

Contribution To Decision Making

Farming women's contribution in the decision making on the farm has increased and become more apparent over the years. When asked to compare their own situation with that of themselves or other women in previous decades, many women said that the decision making role of women had increased, and they felt that this change was in step with changes in society in general. This has not only come about because men are listening to women to a greater extent, but that as women become more physically involved on the farm, and more confident and assertive in their position, men are acknowledging the women's knowledge and ability to make sound decisions.

The figures below show the breakdown of decision making on the sample farms.

TABLE 5: DECISION MAKING ON FARMS

Day to day decisions -self	16.5%
-partner	44.7%
-joint	30.6%
-other	8.3%
Seasonal decisions -self	14.1%
-partner	22.4%
-joint	50.6%
-other	12.9%
Financial decisions -self	18.8%
-partner	11.8%
-joint	63.5%
-other	5.9%

These figures present a picture of the women having less day to day control of the farm because of housework, children and other commitments. Often the women are on family farms (33.2% of farms owned by the women), which have followed the male line, and their knowledge of the farm is less than that of their partner.

Joint decision making is dramatically increased for seasonal and financial decisions, which shows a larger amount of contribution by the women to long term planning, and reflects their better overall knowledge of the financial position of the farm. The graph following shows the topics discussed with partners (if applicable). These topics are all very important to long term planning for management of the farm.

Many women feel strongly about their contribution to the decision making. Although many of them do less physical work on the farm, they feel they have as much knowledge as their partners and other men about farming. They feel that they are there to present a different point of view, are there to have discussions with, so as to consider all solutions and angles to a problem or decision. A Te Puke sharemilker says:

"...we have always made joint decisions and I know as much about farming as [my husband]" (37)

Another sharemilker, from Rotorua, writes:

"[I contribute to the farm] with a different viewpoint [from my husband]. I don't always accept things like he does, I question and have to know why and how is the cost worth it." (38)

Economic Contribution

Farming women contribute economically to farms in two ways - firstly by working for and on the farm, which goes largely (77.6%) unpaid, apart from farm drawings or profits. The

other way in which women contribute to the economy of the farm is by working off the farm - either fulltime or part-time.

Eighty percent of these farming women have been at some time during their farming partnership employed off the farm. Currently almost 40% are working off the farm. Their reasons for this are listed following:

TABLE 6: REASONS FOR WORKING OFF-FARM

Personal interest	34.1%
Personal income	31.8%
Supplement farm income	21.2%

The need for personal income and money to supplement the farm income shows the pressure of recent economic policy which has severely affected farming. These women have often had to work fulltime or part-time off the farm to earn much needed money for the family's personal expenses, which would usually come from the farm income.

These women, especially those with part-time work off farm still keep up their contribution to the farm in other areas, so therefore their workload increases. This is shown by a comparison between those who work off the farm and the average hours of farm work they do each week. Of these women 30% still work up to 20 hours a week on the farm; 33% work 21-40hours a week on farm; and 37% work 41-51 or more hours a week. **(39)**

Household Organisation And Support

The smooth running of the household, and support offered to a partner is often overlooked in women's contribution to the running of the farm, as is usual for women's main hidden and unpaid work -housework.

Over 90% of the women are responsible for the running of the household. The importance of this responsibility in the running of the farm was expressed by many women. 70% of those interviewed felt work done in the house, whether done by themselves or others, contributed to the farm's operation - 17% saying it helped to keep stress levels down all round if the housework was done.

Some women downplay their role on the farm, simply because they are not involved in physical and decision making work on the farm. A station cook, whose husband is the station manager, writes of her contribution to the farm:

"I see my role as fairly minor. I lend a hand when needed and feed anybody that needs feeding. I deliver my children and the other station children to the school bus each morning and collect them in the afternoon. I listen to all problems: children's, husband's, staff's and wives'. My main attribute is availability!!" (40)

She works 20-40 hours a week depending on the time of the year, as well as running the household, she is cook, driver, counsellor and mediator, yet she plays down her role in the running of the farm, simply because she does not get paid to work, nor does she own the farm, in partnership with her husband.

In another situation are women who work fulltime off the farm. They see their contribution of running the house and being supportive as very important for the farm. One woman, an Artificial Breeding Examiner from Levin writes:

"I spend as much time on the farm as is possible and my contribution is being a sounding board and a mate to my husband. We spend a lot of leisure time wandering around the farm with our dogs just talking about our respective jobs."(41)

A sharemilker from Otorohanga, who also works fulltime as a veterinary receptionist, explains why she feels she still has an equal farm partnership, although she now does less physical work:

"I would like to think I give what moral support to my husband that I can. I still enjoy keeping up the

farm records (97% accuracy on our herd sheets bears witness to this). I give physical help where possible - I help make the mating decisions. I provide my husband with a comfortable and reasonable happy environment for him to come home to after milking. Although I don't give him much physical support I think that perhaps moral support in our situation is more important. I also provide a happy home for the children and staff."(42)

As well as providing these services she brings home every piece of up to date information and advice from the vet clinic.

As the women get older, often their physical work decreases and so too can their decision making role, as farm managers, sharemilkers, or children start to manage the farm. This is commented upon by Rosenfeld in her work.

"A farm wife in the development of family and farm cycles may find her place taken by her son (sic), first in terms of productive labour and then in terms of managerial and ownership power. She has a genuine stake in this intergenerational transfer and often has worked hard and 'managed' to this end, but the cost of her success is her own displacement." (43)

In a marriage partnership it is more likely for the husband to stay more involved with the farm. These women therefore view their support role with more value.

A sheep and beef farmer from Taumarunui writes:

"I may not do the same physical jobs, but I know that my efforts are appreciated, in particular my role in

keeping the house running smoothly. We have our different role, but they are complementary, therefore it is a successful partnership." (44)

A Te Awamutu woman writes of her changing role:

"My role has changed over the years as our sheep numbers have dropped. I now see my role as mainly supportive and organisational. I try to make my husband's life as smoothly run as possible and to be a good companion and an interesting friend to him." (45)

This need for support and companionship is very important in farming. One woman farming by herself in Masterton explains the difficulties she sometimes has with regard to the role many women play in the house and support wise:

"You are still supposed to have the house and garden immaculate ... I get up one hour earlier to be able to take morning tea out for the shearers." (46)

and

"You sometimes wonder yourself how long you can keep it up. There is a lack of emotional support and, of course, extra pressures as a solo parent." (47)

Of course this role is not always wanted by farming women - many seeing housework as a constraint. I received a lot of comments similar to- 'My husband just gets up from the breakfast table, puts his gumboots on and walks out the door and I can't go with him'. 37% of the women interviewed said they felt housework was a major constraint on their role, with 47% saying children were also a constraint.

A Rotorua sharemilker said:

"I can't just go out and work on the farm. I have the kids and the housework to consider. While I'm milking I think about what I'm going to have for tea, and then rush home to cook tea." (48)

In most cases there may have been a little reluctance to this supposed role -83.5% of the women saying in the questionnaire that the sharing of the housework was not equal.

The importance of housework and support to a partner is high in a family business. Life and farm become inextricable and it is necessary to be able, to a certain extent, to leave the stresses of farming behind you. Some women see their role as providing this stress-free environment and support for their husband. Other women feel that they need support as well, but are mostly left to provide it for their partner - coping with farmwork, housework, and childcare.

Contribution By Age, Farmtype, And Education

Statistical information gained from the questionnaire shows little definite contrast between age groups, farmtypes or levels of education. These three factors were compared with types of work done, decision making, discussion, equality in farm partnership, and off farm employment, during marriage (if relevant) and current employment.

The only contrasts that could be made were when the data was analysed according to age. Joint seasonal decisions for the farm dropped by 20-30% in the 51-60 and 61+ year age groups, indicating a generational change in attitudes towards women's decision making capabilities.

As previously discussed, young children are often a constraint on a woman's physical contribution to the farm. This is reflected in a drop in the percentage of women in the 31-40 year age group who feel they had an equal farm work partnership. At 21-30 years this is 50%, then this drops to 26.1%. and once again increases to 47.6% in the 41-50 year age group.

The other area where changes from age group to age group was noticed was in employment off the farm. Many women stated that they had been employed off the farm, if married, during the marriage. Up until the 51-60 age group this number of women having worked off the farm is in the low eighties -but drops to 50% in the women from older generations. There could be two reasons for this - the change in society in general towards women working outside

the home; or it may reflect the need for the younger generations to work off the farm to provide extra income during the recent farming recession.

Statistics for women employed off the farm currently, show a 15-20% jump in the 41-50 year age group. A lot of women in this group commented that as children grew older this allowed them to work on the farm more, as well as have off farm employment. (49)

This analysis shows that farmtype and education have little to do with the contribution of farming women. Age is the main factor, reflecting generational changes in society, and the reproductive life cycle of women.

Constraints On Women's Role In Farming

The role that these women would wish to play is sometimes restricted by certain factors. Women interviewed were asked if they felt there were constraints placed upon their role in farming. These replies are listed below:

TABLE 7: CONSTRAINTS ON ROLE IN FARMING

Children	47%
Housework	37%
Physical	37%
Attitudes	33%
Economic	13%
Recognition	10%
None	13%

Some of the examples given, by the women interviewed, as physical constraints mainly encompassed strength limitations - but most of the women said that if they had to do it, they could find a different way to do a job. Other women said that men placed physical constraints on them - one woman saying that she was not allowed to do heavy lifting, or anything on the tractor, and neither was she allowed to spray weeds as this could make **her** infertile, even though the men didn't wear any protective gear. (50) These women were also asked about how the amount of farm work they did had changed over the years - indicating a work/life cycle. These are listed in the table following.

TABLE 8: FACTORS AFFECTING WORK/LIFE CYCLE

The main factors here related to the female reproductive cycle: young children - less work, and when the children go to school - more work. These factors can often be frustrating for the women, who feel that they can lose touch with the every day running of the farm.

Overall Contribution

The graph overleaf shows how the women view their contribution to the farm. Note that the figure 37.6% for 'milker' includes every woman in the sample who is involved with dairy farming. The supportive and organisational role is a very important contribution by the large majority of these women, with stock maintenance and discussion following closely behind. Stock maintenance includes tasks such as drafting, shearing, milking, rearing, feeding out, and animal health.

The contribution of women to the running of a farm is integral. Every single woman participating in this research contributes to the running of a business (**51**), be it solely on their own, in an equal physical partnership with a husband/ partner, or in a supportive/ organisational role - each is important to the farm's success.

FARMING BACKGROUNDS

The farming backgrounds of these women are varied - some were brought up on farms, some in the city who married farmers, or though city born and bred wanted a farming career in their own right. (see Table 9)

TABLE 9: PLACE RAISED

Isolated rural	5.90%
Rural	45.90%
Small town	24.70%
Large town	2.40%
City	21.20%

Approximately 12% of the women farm on their own - as farmers, managers or farm workers. Within this group there are women who started out on their own, those who are widowed, divorced or separated and have continued farming, and those who, though in a relationship, are the sole farmer.

The remaining 88% are in partnerships, usually with a husband/ partner, or, in a few cases, in a business-only partnership. Within this group are women whose partnership with a husband is incidental to their desire of a farming career.

The following table shows the breakdown of ownership of the sample farms:

TABLE 10: OWNERSHIP OF FARMS BY FARMTYPE

Farmtype	Ptnr +self	Self	Employer	Parents +other	Family	Ptnr	Ptnr
Dairy/+other	46.9	3.1	40.7	3.1	0	3.1	3.1
Sheep+beef	65.4	15.4	3.8	7.7	7.7	0	0
Sheep+crops	33.3	33.3	0	0	33.3	0	0
Sheep,beef +other	55.6	22.2	0	0	22.2	0	0
Orchard/ +other	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deer/+other	60.0	0	0	20.0	0	20.0	0
Beef/+other	33.3	33.3	0	0	0	33.3	0
Mixed	50.0	0	0	0	0	50.0	0

All farms have a high percentage of joint ownership between the woman and her partner. Dairy farming has the broadest range of farmtypes - employer ownership being due to sharefarming positions which are not typical in other farming types. Farms with sheep are the only ones that are owned by the family in trust. (52) Beef and mixed farming both have a high percentage of partner only ownership.

Reasons For Farming

96.5% of the women were in employment before marriage (if relevant) and of this number, 11.8% were in a farming occupation. These women had chosen farming as their career. In an interview with a Rotorua sharefarmer, she said:

"People think I'm only involved with farming because I'm married to a farmer - when actually I decided on a farming career at 17." **(53)**

Of the women interviewed 40% first started farming before marriage, or later in life as their own definite decision. 56% said that while they are dedicated farmers they are only farmers because they married farmers.

Other reasons mentioned in the interviews for being farmers were: the lifestyle, security, the outdoors, animals, self-sufficiency, a dislike of town, better environment for children, and the ability to be your own boss.

Learning About Farming

For a lot of the women interviewed, and probably in the whole sample, farming was not something for which they were trained from a young age. **(54)** 23% learnt about farming from their life on a farm, of that number 17% saying they learnt specifically from a parent, but 60% learnt by being thrown in at the deep end - learning as they went. A third of the women said they learnt from their husbands, 27% from reading, and 13% from farming courses.

A sheep and beef farmer from Gisborne, says she learnt, once married, by

"trial and error, by following along and being pesky enough to ask why and how. This was supplemented by reading and a semi-rural background." **(55)**

A Manawatu farmer, who, before her husband died, was only involved in the horticultural side of the farm, suddenly found herself dealing with wool buyers and stock agents. She, too, learnt by

"trial and error, by asking people who knew what they were talking about, by using my initiative, and by observation." (56)

In the following sections the implications of these women's backgrounds will be discussed. Why they are involved in farming, and the way they learnt about farming can differ dramatically from how others imagine them to be. These women have 'gone farming' for different reasons, each an individual decision, but they all contribute to their farms, and are farming women.

HOW FARMING WOMEN THINK OTHERS SEE THEM

The second part of this chapter will look at how the women think other people view them, and their satisfaction with these opinions. These views will be discussed within the following categories - partner (if relevant), family -nuclear and extended, the rural community, the rural service industry, the media, and society in general. Once again statistics will be analysed to find out if there are any differences between age groups, farmtypes, and education levels. Any differences between the experiences of women farming on their own, and women farming in a partnership will also be discussed.

The general statistical impression gained from the questionnaire is that, of the women surveyed, a little over half feel they are accepted by those people with whom they come in to contact. They have all, of course, dealt with people who hold a stereotypic view of the 'farmer's wife'. While these women are generally satisfied with their public image, some further delving in to comments in the questionnaires and in the interviews, finds anomalies in this picture. Most of these women have had to tell people that they are farmers, have had to prove that they know what they are talking about.

This imperfect situation is highlighted in a recent MAF report on **The Contribution of Women to the Rural Economy** (57) by consultant Mary-Jane Rivers. She concluded that there were still attitudinal barriers which meant rural women were discriminated against in the community. Even when women are managing farm accounts they are often treated in an off hand manner by farm consultants, bankers, insurance agents, and tradespeople, all who preferred to talk to their husbands. (58)

While 68.2% of the women taking part in the research felt they were viewed as an equal partner by the rural community, and 67.1% believed the RSI saw them as an equal partner (if relevant), there are still a large number of dissatisfied women in farming, and those that are now satisfied still at times need to remind others of what they do. In the following pages a examination of how farming women feel they are viewed will be made.

Partner's Viewpoint

When asked if they thought their partner considered them to have an equal farm partnership, 70% of the women who responded (84% response) said yes. From the questionnaire there appeared to be a number of different reasons why partners accepted the womens' contribution as equal. There are partners who accept that the women are restricted in their actual physical contribution to farm work by housework and childcare responsibilities.

A Rotorua share farmer, with young children, writes of her husband:

"He realises that I am restricted in the amount of outside work I can do, but certainly accepts me as an equal, knowing its a temporary restriction" (59)

While childcare is seen here as a temporary restriction, other partners realise that housework can be a fulltime job in itself and many realise that, as a Taranaki dairy farmer points out -

Our farm does not run without the house as the house is not run without the farm, as we work as one." (60)

Of all the women in partnership with a husband/partner, only one had an equal relationship on the farm, in the house, and with childcare, but they do employ a casual housekeeper.

This Te Puke sharemilker writes:

"[My husband] and I get on really well working together. He is also very good with the children and cooking, so for us it is quite easy to do both jobs, and not employing labour fulltime has meant a saving in money when times were tough. As our children are both healthy it has been quite easy to combine farm and family." **(61)**

Of the 30% of women who thought that their husband felt they did not have an equal farm partnership, some felt that this was true as they did not contribute as much to the farm as their partner. Others had different comments to make.

A Northland beef farmer, who along with a male relative, just recently started farming. Both are still learning about farming, with the woman being the only one fulltime on the farm. She writes of her partner's attitudes:

"He acknowledges that I work hard, but I do not think he realises how much time I spend on farm duties. He does not always respect decisions I have made while he is away from the farm... I have no regrets about going into partnership with him, but it is far from plain sailing. His attitude towards women is that they are lesser beings, but whenever any pressure mounts up, such as calving, or a sick animal, he will physically remove himself from the farm and leave me to deal with the problem." **(62)**

As in the rest of society where women's unpaid work is hidden and often taken for granted, so too does this happen in farming. A Bay Of Islands kiwifruit grower writes of her husband's attitudes to her contribution to the farm:

"I do not think he even thinks about it. On second thoughts he does think about it, especially if dinner is not ready when required; and he has never acknowledged the work I have done and do."**(63)**

This attitude is exemplified by a short, yet telling, comment from an Otorohanga sharemilker, who, also, works fulltime off the farm:

"He is always complaining that I don't do enough. He always say I will go with what I came with - Nothing!" **(64)**

Often partners will not give women a chance at an equal partnership. A Te Awamutu woman with a Bachelor of Agricultural Science and an Agcarm Industry diploma writes of her husband's attitudes:

"He is a firm believer [that] women should look after children and house, except at calving time, or when he needs a helping hand. Plus he is very set in his ways and not very open to different ideas/methods of doing things." **(65)**

All of these women, of varying ages and farmtypes, have encountered an age old attitude - that women are expected to do the housework and look after the children, and while expected to

help on the farm either fulltime or as required, their decision making contribution is not valued, nor are their other contributions.

The majority of the women think their husbands/ partners see them as equal partners, and while there have been some strong comments against this, most partners seem to accept that the home is an integral part of the farm, although obviously the majority (83.5%) of women would prefer if their partners would share the housework more equally, so they could spend more time on the farm.

Family Viewpoint

In both the questionnaire and the interview the women were asked to comment on how their families viewed their contribution to farming. 83.5% said that family members had commented in some way on their involvement in farming. These comments all extend from the families' expectations of the women's role in farming, and in life.

49.4% of the women said that family members commented that they worked too hard. These comments have mostly stemmed from concern about physical work and multiple responsibilities on the farm and in the house; but even this concern seems to be strengthened by older family members considering farming to be 'men's work'. The following quotes from a Te Awamutu dairy farmer and a Rotorua sharemilker illustrate this:

"My parents support me but don't like to see me working long hours and then having to carry on in the home. My mother in law is very supportive as she helped on the farm herself (with very little credit I might add). My father in law finds it very difficult to accept my responsibility, eg. especially in animal health matters. [He] also does not like to see me doing 'traditionally male oriented duties' eg he will drive the tractor down to the paddock, but once there will swap places so that I drive and he feeds out, even if it is only three bales! My husband also does not like to be seen driving while I feed out if it is public view! No worries if its DARK!" [her emphasis] (66)

and

"My mother thinks I work too hard. [My husband's] father thinks I don't know what's happening - men's work." **(67)**

This generational attitude that farming is men's work is reflected in questionnaire statistics that 31.8% of the women had received comments that what they were doing was men's work. 40% of the women who were either widowed, divorced or separated, had been expected to give up farming - move to town, when their husbands died or left. A Rotorua deer farmer writes of her father's reaction:

"When my husband first left, my father said 'you'll have to give it away - you can't manage'. There's nothing like a comment like that to make you prove otherwise!! The farm was always my thing anyway."
(68)

Almost 10% of the women said that family members had put down their efforts, and had belittled their contribution to the farm. Fortunately these negative comments were few, but there is still a need for concern as these comments often came from the younger generations. A sheep and cropping farmer from South Canterbury writes:

"[Mostly I receive] positive comment. But from [my] sons - usually a put down approach where I wouldn't know or couldn't know the answer or reason. They have slowly learnt she does, but find it hard to recognise openly on day to day basis. (Of course its different when a position of need or assistance arises, then yes, gladly [they] have me along, but it doesn't get mentioned again!" **(69)**

Not just knowledge, but actual contribution is played down as well, as one sheep and beef farmer from Masterton writes:

"...my son thinks there's not as much to bookwork as I make out! He also hates it though so is not likely to do it - he'll find a wife to do it for him!!"

(70)

The one remaining comment comes from a sharemilker, who now works fulltime off the farm - her whole family thinks she should not be working in town, even her husband, whom, she writes, does not even appreciate her contribution to the farm, even when she was working fulltime in the farm.

"My family -parents and in laws, aren't in favour of my off farm work - their generation was led to believe that a woman's place was beside her husband and they offer very little interest or support. My close friends thought it was the best thing I ever did - leaving the farm for outside work. The younger generation seem to accept work outside the farm to be normal. My husband is against my working off the farm - he thinks that one can get enough mental stimulation on the farm. My children don't really like me working - it is a thief of family time. I think there is room for both as long as a balance is achievable."

(71)

Negative family comments though appear to be few - most stemming from reluctance to accept changes, and , at times, a genuine concern of the work involved. Most family members support these women, and acknowledge the great effort they put in to the farm.

The Rural Community

The recognition given to farming women by partners and family is continued in the wider rural community with 68% of the women saying they are seen as equal partners. Often these answers are qualified by statements that it has taken a certain number of years to make the community realise that they are farmers. In the table below are listed reasons from the women on why they are viewed in a particular way -as a equal partner or not.

TABLE 11: REASONS FOR VIEWS OF RURAL COMMUNITY

Always involved	60.0%
Community sees work done by women	69.4%
Responsible for farm	35.3%
Women seen as helpers	52.9%
Have to be assertive	54.1%
Up to women to change opinions	21.2%

One of the most prevalent reasons for this acceptance of farming women by the rural community stems from the fact that most of the 'rural community' are in the same position, with most husbands and wives working in a partnership. A Rotorua sharemilker expands on this:

"Most women are partners in their farm and share the debt and the responsibilities, so you accept that other women are too and the men accept that other women are as interested, knowledgeable as their own wife."

(72)

This view is not always prevalent in some more isolated areas, or where women are new to the area, or farming on their own, and often they feel they must constantly prove themselves; that their farming skills are constantly on display and being judged.

A Te Awamutu sharemilker, who has recently moved to a new community, writes on her acceptance as an equal partner:

"With some who know me and what I am capable of and what I do, yes [I am accepted], but in the wider circle I feel I have to prove myself - which gets up my nose."(73)

This constant appraisal is often hard to tolerate. A sheep and beef farmer who farms on her own writes that although she is now accepted in farming circles, she is on constant appraisal.

"Most of the farmers that know me always look over the fence to see what my stock looks like and often comment at the sale. I have three road frontages so it is a bit like being in a gold fish bowl." (74)

But it has not always been like this. She also writes:

"I get quite a few snide remarks. One man... said to me that what I needed 'was a man in my life' - great help to my confidence!!" (75)

Women farming on their own are often viewed with skepticism about their ability as farmers until they have proved themselves. A Rotorua deer farmer writes of her experiences:

"Its taken me four and a half years here in Rotorua, thirteen years deer farming for me to be accepted. I have really earned that respect by hard work... in the early years I bought deer off the helicopters, either nursed injured deers, reared fawns, domesticated deer and established my right as a deer farmer. [I]

physically and professionally had to prove my ability - but once I do that I am accepted totally -all out. The old saying is true tho[ugh] 'A woman has to do the job twice as good as a man to be considered half as good, fortunately this isn't difficult.'" (76)

And from a Ruapehu sheep and beef farmer:

"Now, yes [I'm accepted]. When new to an area you are observed critically until you prove you know what you're doing. People judge your stock by the road and look for improvements. Agents comment to neighbours etc. I think I am quite accepted in this district now (Even get asked my opinion by local farm managers)." (77)

Women who move to new areas, and are in a partnership, can often have acceptance problems, especially when their role is new to the community. This is commented upon by a Manawatu sharemilker, who farms in a predominantly sheep and beef area.

"We are one of four couples of sharemilkers in an otherwise predominantly sheep and beef and farm owner operated area. In many instances, especially where small children are involved, the wives tend not to have the input into the farm. Even our farm owner has had to learn to include me in conversations and decision making. ...it is quite new to him to have to include a woman. We are their first sharemilkers - prior to us they had workers, where the wife (if there was one) remained uninvolved in the farm." (78)

In comparison to this 'district' attitude there are districts where women are often involved, and because local people know of their involvement, they are accepted. A Hauraki Plains dairy farmer writes:

"Yes [I'm accepted], basically because I have always been involved in the farm. The community see me out there on the farm working when they drive past, ie my husband can rely on me to look after the place while he is contracting. Therefore in my neighbours' (male) eye they accept me as an equal partner and they can discuss farming queries with me." (79)

Just being involved in the farm is sometimes not enough, as is exemplified by 54.1% of the women saying they had to be assertive about their position. A Te Akau sheep and beef farmer writes of her involvement and her need to assert herself to be seen in the community as an equal farming partner.

"...I have always taken part in farming activities in the local area such as farm discussion groups and have been assertive about being accepted as an equal in this aspect. Some men have taken it for granted that [my husband] has always made the decisions and they asked him when they wanted to know something, but I soon changed their minds for them. But you have to be quite assertive and up front." (80)

For those women who still felt that they were not accepted as an equal partner, this stems from them being seen as helpers and not farmers - other people bypassing the women when they wanted something to do with the farm. A Nelson sheep and beef farmer writes of how outsiders define her farming role for her:

"I think people recognise my right to be an equal financial partner, but not very many recognise the fact that I am an equal working partner. This is apparent in the way people who ring to borrow something to do with farming still mostly ask for [my husband] without bothering to mention to me what it is they want. Of course as [my husband] has nothing to do with the day to day running of the place he has to ask either me or [my son] if what they want is being used or is available." (81)

Of the women interviewed, 60% said that they feel that they were accepted in their chosen role by the rural community - 20% said that this was because they were seen working out on the farm, 10% because it was a close community and people knew the situation. 10% of the women said they were seen as helpers, and this attitude is highlighted by comments made to a Te Kuiti sheep and beef farmer. When she and her husband first moved to the district almost two years ago, the males in the community used to say to her- 'our wives have always helped out too, when they've had to.'. This had since developed to a comparison with a woman who successfully runs her farm on her own - 'She [the other woman] works her farm like you do'. (82)

Another attitude to arise in both the interviews and the questionnaire is how important appearance can be in the determination, by others, of the role of women in farming. One woman interviewed said people in the community knew she was a farmer from the way she dressed. At the other end of this scale is this comment from an Ashburton sheep and beef farmer:

"One thing I find hard is if a guy goes to get the groceries at our local store... in his farm overalls and gumboots it is acceptable - but it is not acceptable for me, so I have to come in and change, then change back when I get home 15 minutes later." (83)

There is a feeling presented here that the general public, even within rural communities, do not accept that women are farmers, and dress accordingly.

Acceptance among other women in the rural community is another matter. One theme that came through strongly was that working farming women often are looked down upon by 'farmers' wives' who do not work on the farm; and that women who work fulltime off the farm are looked down upon by farming women. This is exemplified by two women - each one considering herself to be a farming woman.

A King Country drystock farmer writes:

"In some ways I think the people who accept what I do the least are 'farmers' wives'. Farming sector men generally come to respect a woman that gets stuck in and works on the farm (sometimes almost to a point a sympathy), women who work on the land relate well to each other, non-farming (town) women admire you, but there are still a lot of farmers' wives who never go out and get dirty on the farm and they are the ones that consider you a bit strange - a downtrodden worker type person." **(84)**

And from an Otorohanga sharemilker, working fulltime off the farm:

"I think that because I live in a rural community where the majority of the wives work on the land I was accepted as an equal partner while I was working at home, but once I got an outside job I was frowned upon - the wives of the district considered that I should have been working beside my husband and many have stopped speaking and coming around anymore. I find this quite hard to cope with at times." **(85)**

This shows the power of stereotype images - how these women are classified by what others think they are.

In summary, farming women feel they are generally accepted as equal partners by the rural community, but they first have to prove themselves. This is summed up by a solo dairy farmer from Hokitika:

"I am enjoying positive comments after having had to prove myself in a 'man's world', but the critics are there waiting for something to go wrong. I honestly think we have to do things better than the average bloke!!, but will never be accepted by some." (86)

The Rural Service Industry

How farming women are viewed by the RSI is very important, especially if their opinions are different from how the women see themselves. In this section how the women think the RSI sees farming women will be presented; later a comparison of the two opinions will be made. Any differences are very important, as the RSI plays a great part in allowing women equal status - the RSI can control finances, loans, prices, advice, acceptance, and access to information, the best stock and the best networks.

67.1% of the women said that generally they felt accepted as an equal partner, or accepted as a farmer, by the RSI. But once again the comments made by the women make it clear that this acceptance has not always existed, nor does it always apply across the board. (87)

The women claim to not be accepted as easily as their partners, 64.7% saying that they must be assertive in claiming their right to be included as a knowledgeable partner in discussions and activities. 41.2% of the women said in the questionnaire that they make themselves be treated as equal by making it clear that the particular companies will lose their business if they do not. This reality of being made to accept women as farmers is reflected in a comment made by a Waipa dairy farmer:

"There is a lot of resentment from women farmers. They [the RSI] pay lip service - they say that they

accept them, but don't really; -'we'll humour the little woman' - that patronising attitude is still there." (88)

The statistics from the questionnaire support the fact that women have to make themselves involved. These statistics are listed below.

TABLE 12: RSI ACCEPTANCE OF FARMING WOMEN

RSI involve women in discussions	-yes	65.9%
	-no	12.9%
	-only some	21.2%
Woman has to involve self		75.3%
Knows woman controls finances		28.2%
Local RSI are good		64.7%
Put up with woman to achieve sale		42.4%
Local RSI know woman's involvement		67.1%

These figures show that mostly when the person knows the woman's involvement on the farm they are more likely to accept the woman and discuss matters with her. However, this position of knowledge has to be established, and often people will just assume that the male, whether there is one or not, is responsible for the farm, and is the person to whom they should talk. Obviously a number of these women feel lip service is being paid to them - with almost half saying they are included, as the agents know they will lose business otherwise; and, once again, the same number of women being tolerated to achieve a sale.

Comments made by the women about their acceptance and past experiences, and their feelings about this will be discussed next.

In most cases, once the position of the woman on the farm is known, the RSI will involve the women in discussions about the farm. This is reflected in a comment made by a King Country sheep and beef farmer:

"I think I am accepted because they know I am actively involved - they see me working on the farm and buying and selling stock at the sale. If an agent

rings up to talk about stock and I answer the phone he talks to me..." (89)

This acceptance is often slow to arrive and many women often find this frustrating and at times insulting. It is apparent that members of the RSI consider farmers to be male for the most part, and therefore when presented with a woman wanting to take, or actually taking part in the proceedings it takes a while for this to register, and therefore acceptance is only given once the RSI know that the women are involved. This is backed up by the number of women who say they are confronted with 'where's the boss?' -meaning the man -the farmer. This is probably quite infuriating, especially to women who are running their farms without men, or have male workers, but are still in charge of the farm.

A Te Awamutu sharemilker writes of her reaction:

"...others come to the door or ring on the phone and ask for 'The Boss' and I can get quite stroppy. My best defence is to ask them what they want. Some don't like it but I feel that I am on my own ground and don't like to be insulted, and if they stopped to think they might think we are in a working partnership." (90)

Another sharemilker writes:

"Some service industries treat me as an equal but 80% don't. It really gets up my nose when sales reps, insurance agents etc call in or ring up and ask to speak to 'the boss' - I find I'm quite turned off and rude to people who do this. I also get cross when reps come and sit at our table and speak to my husband and choose to totally ignore my presence." (91)

A young farmer from Matamata, with a Trade Certificate in Farm Management is often ignored by stock agents and farm equipment salespeople.

"They don't involve me in discussions which I think is because they don't think I venture outside the kitchen or housegrounds...I'm just the farmer's wife, I'm not a farmer." (92)

This attitude is also commented upon by a beef and deer farmer from Southern Hawkes Bay:

"Often the person calling would only speak to a man. However, most people now realise that I am able to read and write and equally able to pass on messages or make some decisions if necessary." (93)

The attitude that many of these RSI people have is that the man is the farmer, and this means farming women must be assertive in making their position clear. This can be disheartening to many women, who in past generations have not been encouraged to be assertive. A Franklin dairy farmer writes of her change of attitude and her solution to companies who do not accept her as an equal partner with her husband.

"Now I have the attitude that if they want our business they treat me like an equal partner, or I go elsewhere. I have more confidence now than I did 20 years ago... I have never appreciated being told to discuss the matter with my husband and ring back tomorrow." (93)

And from a Rotorua sharemilker:

"They have to [accept me] or we won't deal with them/ their firm anymore. More and more agents are becoming aware of this and are very aware of not asking to speak to the 'boss' - I am the boss, is the answer." (95)

Another complaint that farming women have to make about the RSI is when letters come addressed to the male only. A sheep and dairy bull farmer from Pahiatua writes:

"I really get irritated when all the letters from the Regional Council come addressed to [my husband] only. I pay half the rates!" (96)

A Masterton farmer comments that stock agents 'look peeved' when she wants mail addressed to both parties instead of her husband. (97) One woman, also from Masterton, when interviewed, related an experience she had had when first moving to the Masterton district. She and her husband had chosen an accountant on a friend's advice. After a while she decided she wanted to change, but her husband at that stage did not. This woman did all the farm accounts and when there was problem over a fee that was wrongly charged, she complained about the fee - talking to the accountant on the phone. The accountant in reply to the complaint wrote a letter addressed to Mr.'X', not even to Mr. and Mrs.'X'. She says:

"There is a lot of competition out there. If they want to keep their clients, they have to keep up with the times. We got a new accountant." (98)

For women farming on their own they are usually accepted as farmers once they prove themselves, especially as there is no one else for the person to talk to. But these women can still have trouble, as a farmer from Masterton writes:

"The agents can sometimes be very helpful on a one-to-one basis, but often seem to have more difficulty when other men come near... They have accepted me as there is no one else for them to do business with. But if I have a man helping me they often talk to them about the weight or the price and then ask me."**(99)**

Some women, while feeling accepted in general, had complaints to make about their treatment by specific types of rural service companies. A Morrinsville dairy farmer gives an example of thoughtlessness:

"A grade free certificate for the year arrived from the Dairy Company with only my husband's name on. I was not very pleased. After explaining how I felt and why (namely equal partner), we received a new certificate."**(100)**

This example is highlighted by an article in a farming newspaper which shows the opinion of at least two New Zealand Dairy Group employees. The article about milk quality reads:

" 'I wonder if the women on these farms realise how much money is being lost', says NZDG milk quality officer... 'I'm willing to bet if their husband[s] showed them the line on the company printout where it says how much has been lost in penalties there would be hell to pay. I bet the wives could think of a few things that the money could have gone on'... NZDG field rep... 'I'd say a lot of wives don't even get to look at the report. If they knew they'd be ordering a cleanup.'"**(101)**

A Te Awamutu sheep and beef farmer writes of her experiences with a farm consultant:

"The farm consultant we had completely dismissed me as a tea maker or skivvy. I feel I never want him in the house again." **(102)**

And from a Northland farmer:

"I believe the farm advisor is not interested due to gender. ...certainly he is quite polite, but in no way encouraging." **(103)**

This attitude from men who were once, or still are, farmers themselves, reflects major implications for women in obtaining advice and increasing knowledge and skills.

Women must constantly prove their farming ability to be considered as farmers, knowledgeable in their chosen field. This is illustrated by a Te Kuiti farmer:

"Those I have had much contact with have learned to accept this fact but most initially think of the male as the 'boss'. But often [there are] incidents such as proving to a tractor mechanic that you know exactly what part is required, for where, by demanding a manual and showing him, and in fact even showing him how to modify a part - are required to convince some people. It helps that more stock agents, MAF advisors, retailers etc are female." [her emphasis] **(104)**

All of the quotes above, and the statistics, show that farming women are not accepted at first glance, as, so it appears, are males. While **eventually** accepted, this hesitation in accepting women as farmers can insult and offend many women who **are** farmers and expect to be involved in discussions and decisions. It would seem easier for RSI agents to first approach women on farms as if they did have knowledge, and work from there, as often their stereotyped views can lose them business.

The Media And Society

The presentation of images of farming women by the media, to society, is extremely influential. The media reflection of the role of farming women plays an important part in the way society views these women. By the images they present, the media can affect public policy. If the opinions of farming women are not publicised, people in decision making positions can develop policies which are not beneficial to farming women.

Unfortunately the media often only reports what is presented to it; and this is one of the major reasons why farming women have little, if any, media voice. Women are drastically under represented on producer boards and national farming bodies. **(105)** Major industry decisions are usually commented upon by Federated Farmers or the particular industry board, and as women are under represented on these boards, the image of the knowledgeable farmer is male.

A Hamilton dairy farmer writes about media inclusion of women's opinions:

"No, not really [included] probably because Federated Farmers spokesmen or industry spokesmen tend to make comment and women's opinions are not generally sought." **(106)**

When asked to comment on whether they thought the media and society included women when they talked of farmers and farming there were many varied answers. Statistically, the media appeared to be doing well, but the general public not as well.

TABLE 13: INCLUSION OF WOMEN IN FARMING BY MEDIA AND SOCIETY

Media good inclusion	54.1%
Media bad presentation	12.9%
Women partially included	82.4%
No acknowledgement by society	50.6%

The majority of the comments made about the media, that were in some way negative, were about the image presented to society. Many women felt that they were shown in a support role only -farming newspapers being better at showing the true partnership, but for the most part a woman's contribution shown, or opinion sought, only if the woman was in an unusual situation, eg. farming by herself.

This image is conveyed to society, and many women commented that people are often surprised at their actual participation in farm work. A Nelson sheep and beef farmer writes of her opinion of media inclusion of women and how people react to her work.

"I think the media pay lip service to women's contribution, but still think of women as solely a support service: for example, doing cooking for workers. How often do you see in farming magazines articles about couples in farming where they start out referring to both partners but wind up talking about 'he' does this or 'he' decided that. People who know me and know my situation are still surprised if I happen to mention some particular job on the farm. Their reaction is often one of surprise that I could do such work on my own..." (107)

A good example of this lip service to women in farming is given in a recent Waikato Times article (108) in which the husband of the one of the women participating in this research gives comment. This couple own two dairy farms - one of which the woman manages herself, the other run by a farm manager, and the husband working as a farm consultant. The article states: "Mr..., who has two farms and milks 240 cows..." (109)

This male oriented presentation of farming by a greater part of the media, does not give the correct situation, and some women believe this leads the general public to think that farmers

are men only. Below are the feelings of two women - one a dairy farmer, and the other a farm worker - about media inclusion of farming women.

"I do believe most people still believe that farmers are 'men'. Most articles on farming always discuss the men's ability and usually the woman gets mentioned in the last paragraph. Very pleased to read the articles about the young sharemilker and farmer competitions written recently. They are mentioning the joint partnerships of husband and wife. Women now are not ashamed to claim being a farmer [,but] women are still not given the recognition they deserve though." **(110)**

and

"My personal opinion is that the media are just coming out of the stone ages. Farming magazines are male oriented, with just one page for women - that is mainly cooking. In general, the public tend to think of women as the 'little women', who at a pinch may help to feed the calves, but only when the 'man' is too busy." [her emphasis] **(111)**

Some women do, however, feel that farming magazines and newspapers are better than the general media. This is probably because they have more actual contact with farmers on a regular basis than other media who have only a small percentage of their whole operation devoted to farming. One women writes that although farming publications are improving, this improvement is only apparent in particular types of farming.

"They [the media] hardly acknowledge us at all. Farming magazines are much better, although sharemilker families are more frequently recognised in direct farm involvement than in sheep/ beef/ grain farming. My sister in law is partner in an apple

orchard and her involvement would be 50/50, but I don't get that impression from the media regarding orchardists." **(112)**

As mentioned before, often farming women are in the media because they make an unusual story. A Pahiatua sheep and dairy bull farmer, who also lectures at Massey University, comments on this:

"In general when they talk [of a] farmer they mean a man. Women often get written about if they are farming because they are so unusual it makes a good story. They don't realise that a lot of women are doing [this] with partners every day and not making a song and dance about it. The term 'farmer's wife' has not been replaced with 'farmer' yet." **(113)**

And from a Southern Hawkes Bay beef and deer farmer:

"Usually women aren't included unless they are specialists in their field. [It] often requires something quite outstanding by a particular woman for the media to pick up on it. However, in stress times women usually appear as support." **(114)**

These opinions are exemplified by comments from two women who farm on their own and have newspaper articles written about their farming operation. A Rotorua deer farmer writes:

"I know the newspaper articles are because I am a woman doing what I do. I mean there's no doubt about it..." **(115)**

And from a Manawatu drystock and cropping farmer:

"In general, I think women are still 'in the kitchen'... Media find me 'interesting' - eg article in the Straight Furrow -listed under 'home and leisure'." **(116)**

Many women felt that while the media is improving in their presentation of farming women there is still a long way to go, as society still views farmers as men. A Northland sheep and beef farmer writes:

"I think that the general public think of farmers as male, but the media is becoming more conditioned to the husband and wife teams, and this has probably taken place since the matrimonial laws of some 20 years ago. The NZ Farmer and TV farm programmes invariably include the woman, in partnership with the husband, or as a farmer in her own right where this is appropriate" **(117)**

And from a Te Awamutu dairy farmer:

"The general public looks sideways at a woman in overalls doing a man's job on the farm. It is changing slowly, thanks to the Dairy Exporter and other farming magazines, but there is still a long way to go." **(118)**

This comment that society takes a questioning view of women who are visibly farming is exemplified by a comment made to me by a farmer who helped to pilot the questionnaire. A relative of her's who is a teacher at a Waikato rural school was commenting about how annoying it was that these 'farmer's wives' turned up to pick up their children from school, still dressed in mucky clothes and gumboots. The teacher felt that this was unnecessary, and as the farmer commented, probably didn't realise that the women were actually going to be milking as soon as they got home, had been working previously, and that to get changed just to pick the children up from school would mean 15-20 minutes wasted when there was work to be done.

While the media fare reasonably well in their presentation of women, the general public's conception of farming women is abysmal. The majority of women feel that if the general public knows anything about farming, it is that they think farmers are men. Three farming women write of their experiences and opinions of the general public with regard to farming:

"I think they are aware of women's involvement in the decision making (financial and ideas), but do not realise the physical involvement of rural women. Because we are 'at home' they think we don't work - just look after children, husbands and housework."
(119)

"Women are considered to be there on the land to keep the farmer fed and clothed. When a contractor called in to see if we needed bulldozing done by him and I told him my husband was working down the farm, he told me I was a liar as he had just seen the farm truck pull up to the back of the homestead. I repeated [my husband] was not here and I had returned from blackberry spraying in the truck. He sneered that I was playing at being a 'real little land girl'. Needless to say he got no more work on our land." **(120)**

"I personally don't think women are included much at all - unless its negative. An example - last week a local school girl phoned wanting answers to some

questions on farmers and farming etc... when my husband wasn't available (she asked for him) I offered to help. Her reaction 'Oh, I don't know whether you can!' I answered the questions much to her surprise, and she even rephrased some of them!" (121)

These examples show the misconceived stereotype many people hold of farming women, and how little their work and contribution to farming is valued. Of women interviewed, 97%, when asked if they thought society valued their work on the farm and in the house, said no. Below is a table of their reasons for why they believe this is so.

TABLE 14: WHY SOCIETY UNDERVALUES FARMING WOMEN'S WORK

Not working in town	23%
Farmwork doesn't count	26%
Housework has low value	23%
Seen as a male domain	10%
Asked to community work as seen as not being busy	6.6%
Don't realise commitment	20%
Taken for granted	13%

One woman interviewed, a Waikato dairy farmer, said "Women's role on the farm is not given as much recognition as it should be".(122) She then related an incident that occurred recently. Her son attends a school on the edge of the city, and so the school is attended mostly by city children. The school had a calf club day and the city children were coming out to the farm to prepare calves. She comments on the reaction of one parent who came to collect his child:

"One dad just about fell over backwards when he saw me in my cowshed gear... he went home and said

'Wow, how she works!!' - his wife said to me [He] thought women on the farm didn't work!' He had this whole misconception of what I thought townies thought about farmers - he had every single one."
(123)

Society's (mis)conceptions of farming, and especially farming women, can have serious implications on these women and their influence on policy decisions. If the stereotypic images of farming women are maintained this will continue to bias people's dealings with these women - affecting both the success of the individual RSI companies in their marketing and sales, and the knowledge and skills of farming women, thus affecting the whole farming sector.

Age, Farmtype And Education Analysis

How the women perceived others as seeing them was analysed according to age, farmtype and education. For the most part there appeared to be little difference in perception between education levels and farmtypes; however, once again, there were differences between age groups, showing generational differences, and reflections of women's reproductive cycles.

In the years when women are likely to be involved with children and their activities, and when they are more likely to work off the farm (31-40 and 41-50 years), the partner's perception of an equal farm partnership drops from 75% to 30.4% and 23.8%, respectively, then rises to 62.5% and 66.7% in the following age groups. This is also reflected in the partner's perception of equal performance of farm work. In the 21-30 years age group only 12.5% of the partners do more work. In the 31-40 and 41.50 age groups this rises to 34.8% and 31.0%, and then drops to 25% in the next age group.

As women got older they felt it was less up to them to make sure women were included in the media and society's images of farming. This attitude was reasonably strong at the 21-30 and 31-40 years age group - 62.5% and 65.2%, respectively. This started to fall, going down to 47.6% and 37.5% for the 41-50 and 51-60 years age groups.

As mentioned previously, 54.1% of the women felt they needed to be assertive to make the rural community accept them as a knowledgeable farmer. However, this feeling is stronger among younger women than amongst the older generations. This is shown in the table overleaf.

TABLE 15: NEED TO BE ASSERTIVE BY AGE GROUP

Age	
21-30	62.5%
31-40	65.2%
41-50	52.4%
51-60	25.0%
61+	33.3%

This trend reflects the changing attitudes of society - encouraging women to be more assertive and confident in their values and needs; and the latest wave of the women's movement.

The following table shows the involvement, by the RSI, of women in discussions. Note the low percentage in the 'yes' response for the 21-30 years age group, and the dramatic increase in the next age level.

TABLE 16: INVOLVEMENT BY RSI IN DISCUSSIONS

AGE	YES	NO	ONLY SOME
21-30	37.5%	25.0%	37.5%
31-40	73.9%	17.4%	8.7%
41-50	71.4%	7.1%	21.4%
51-60	62.5%	12.5%	25.0%
61+	0.0%	33.3%	66.7%

The lower acceptance in the 21-30 years age group could be attributed to the fact that many of these women are just starting out in farming - many are in farm worker positions or are managers or sharemilkers, and as often they do not own the farm they are not viewed in a decision making capacity. This could relate to the relatively high percentage of 21-30 year olds feeling they need to be assertive.

Once again, these differences according to age, relate to changes in society's expectations and acceptance of women's actions; and reflect the stages in a woman's reproductive cycle, and how this affects work patterns.

COMPARISON OF IMAGES OF FARMING WOMEN

Interviews were undertaken with people in the rural service industry, and they were asked about their perception of women's role in farming, and their dealings with farming women. Firms in the greater Waikato area were approached - dealing with financing, real estate, insurance, farm advisory, veterinary services, stock and station agencies and the media.

It is interesting to note that while the gender ratio of the people interviewed was 50:50, the number of 'professionals' to support staff for males was 77:22, and for women 11:88. The men also had more years of experience in the RSI. When asked what image first sprang to mind when thinking of a farmer, the results were extremely interesting. Of the men, 88% thought of a male, while 77% of the women did so as well. This assumption of the farmer as male, while clinging to the typical stereotype, should not be apparent among people who are dealing with farmers; that is, not if they consider that women can be farmers.

87.5% of the farming women surveyed stated a farming profession - indicating a mix of physical, financial and decision making contributions to the farm operation. Yet of the RSI interviewed few recognised this multi functional role for women in farming. Their perceived roles of farming women is shown in the table below. Note that some people mentioned more than one perception. The table is divided into men in the RSI and women in the RSI.

TABLE 17: RSI - WOMEN'S ROLE ON FARMS

ROLE	MEN	WOMEN
Partnership	55%	11%
Less physical	33%	33%
Financial	11%	44%
Administration	11%	0%
Farmer's wife/support	33%	33%
Restricted by children	22%	0%
Worker/not decision maker	11%	11%

Farmers	0%	11%
No perception	11%	0%

A number of people interviewed said that the farm was a partnership between husband and wife - the woman taking on an administrative role - less physical. But some had no idea of the changing role of women on farms - or at least that women are starting to receive recognition for their work, and that women are knowledgeable and skilled enough to run a farm by themselves. Below are comments from two people in the RSI. The first is from a male stock and station agency manager with over 40 years in the business.

"Their role is looking after the household, kids, taking messages and the odd phone calls. Really an office **girl**. Is a good cook, good manager, uses her initiative and makes do..." [my emphasis] **(124)**

A woman, a secretary, with the same firm, with 30 years experience in the RSI says:

"She is the wife of the farmer... I don't see a farm being run by a woman." **(125)**

Others show more enlightened perceptions. A Morrinsville accountant says:

"They are involved 100% in the running and operating the farm - in partnership. They don't do as much physical work like milking..." **(126)**

And from the editor of a major farming publication:

"They are partners - worked out between the individuals. I accept it as it is." (127)

This acceptance of women as part of a farming partnership may be so, but often they are not seen as farmers. The following question in the interview asked the RSI people if they thought of women farmers as women farming on their own or in a partnership with men. While 55% of men had previously said the role of women in farming was as part of a partnership, 55% said they thought of women farmers as farming on their own. The majority of these men did not consider women in a farming partnership to be a farmer! - one man involved with financing saying that not 1% of women farm on their own. (128) The women RSI members fared better, 66% considering women who farmed in partnership to be farmers.

The table below shows the occurrence of RSI dealings with males and females exclusively, and with both together. ie, when they deal solely with a man, or a woman, or when a male and female partner are present together. Also shown is the ownership status of the women with whom the RSI deal with solely, ie, the woman by herself, without a man present.

TABLE 18: RSI DEALINGS WITH FARMERS BY GENDER

%	MEN	BOTH	WOMEN
0-20%	33%	39%	88%
21-40%	5%	17%	11%
41-60%	17%	5%	0%
61-80%	22%	5%	0%
81-100%	22%	33%	0%

FEMALE DEALINGS

Farming on own	33%
In partnership	55%
Both	5%
No Response	5%

It is not very often that the RSI deal exclusively with women, and this would seem to back up claims made by farming women that they need to be assertive in their dealings with the RSI. It also reflects comments made about the RSI asking 'where's the boss' and disregarding the woman's input into the running of the farm.

Asked if they had seen any changes in the role of women in farming, all of the women and 88% of the men said yes. The main reasons for this appear to be that as farming incomes decreased, the work of farming women increased as they filled gaps left by employees who could no longer be afforded; and that changes in society had seen increased recognition of women's work, universally. This compares well with a lot of what farming women have said themselves.

The table overleaf shows the RSI's conceptions of differences between farmtypes. These comments were limited to the traditional dairying, and sheep and beef.

TABLE 19: RSI CONCEPTIONS OF DIFFERENCES IN FARMTYPES

Sheep farmers conservative	28%
Sheep women - support role	22%
Sheep women more involved	17%
Dairying - more partnership	28%
Dairying - women more knowledge	5%
Dairying - women in town more often	5%

The majority of the comments lead to images of sheep farmers being traditional with the woman in a support role only; while dairying has a better image of being a partnership. One stock and station agent says he sees dairy farmers' wives in town just about every day. This is a popular misconception about farming women and the graphs below show how often farming women do go into town and for what purpose.

The above graphs show that farming women most often go to a rural service town once a week, followed by twice a week and three times a week. Purchasing of farm necessities is the major reason that the women go to town, followed closely by buying groceries. Obviously assumptions that farming women are often in town is a misconception - their main reason for these trips being to buy farm necessities.

Members of the RSI were asked if they thought women farmers were as knowledgeable as their male counterparts. 44% of the men said yes, 22% saying sometimes; of the women, 77% thought women farmers were as knowledgeable, 23% saying sometimes. Specifically mentioned were the areas of finance and the handling of young stock. In comparison 62.5% of the women farmers considered themselves as knowledgeable as men.

Of the media people interviewed 50% worked for provincial newspapers and the other 50% for farming publications. In contrast to what a number of farming women said, all the journalists thought that there was no bias for or against farming women - one woman saying, though, that television was patronising towards farming women. **(129)**

A farming editor of a provincial newspaper said that the media is very conscious of not picking up a woman farmer story simply because she is a woman - the story lies in the interest, regardless of gender. **(130)** This is in contrast to women who commented that articles were written about them because they were women.

An editor of a farming publication says that there is always a traditional feeling of the man running the farm; and because of this the general media often report about the male and make no reference to the woman. This he says comes from the daily media taking a far more abbreviated view. **(131)**

The editor of another major farming publication admitted, when actually looking at his paper, that most, if not just about all, of the photos were of men. He says that most of the 'bigwigs' are men, and it is their comment that is sought, and therefore women are cut off. **(132)**

A photo count of this particular paper in January revealed that there were 50 men photographed, and only nine women. Not all of these photos were accompanied by stories. Advertising is a major means of both accessing the farming market, and of presenting to society an image of farmers.

In a perusal of a farming household's monthly reading of farming and community newspapers, the following advertisements were noted:

- an advertisement for a milking plant showing photos of four farmers and their comments about the plant - all men;

- another advertisement for a milking plant. A man represented the staff and all comments in the ad started with He...;
- an advertisement for a Suzuki farm quad- 'the new **King**';
- another advertisement in a community newspaper- 'Attention **Mr** Farmer';
- and a seed company advertisement - 'Read what these farmers say...' The farmers? - all men.

The only advertisement involving a woman specifically, showed her drenching a cow.

Regardless of whether they are the media, presenting images of farmers, or RSI agents, dealing with farmers every day, the overall feeling gained from the interviews was that the RSI are out of touch with what is happening on farms. Whether set in their ways, with outdated attitudes, or without enough knowledge to make a clear perception, the RSI needs to approach women on farms, as farmers, first and foremost.

CONCLUSION

The women who participated in this research are farmers, and they deserve to be. Too often the work of women is hidden and undervalued. It is not given the recognition that it deserves. Farming needs people with lots of different skills and ideas to be a viable enterprise.

I will conclude this chapter with quotes from two farmers - both dairy farmers, one from the Bay of Plenty and the other from Franklin. They write:

"Things have changed. There was once a time when I first moved onto the farm that the wife was seen and not heard. Now women have a voice and decisions are made on an equal footing. Women get farming qualifications and so are more educated. The media, general public, and especially men have had to change their attitudes towards women in farming..."
 [her emphasis] (133)

and

"If I had to complete this questionnaire 10 or 20 years ago, the answers would have been quite different. Sometimes when overtired and finances not good, or the children needed extra attention etc, I felt like a slave not an equal partner.

I believe confidence gained in myself helped overcome my insecurity of selfworth. **I am proud to be called a farmer and think I have earned the title." (133)**

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF TIME-USE

What do farming women do all day? Just how much time do they actually spend doing 'farm work'? -not just physical work, but the even more behind-the-scenes tasks. How often are they combining childcare with their other responsibilities? What work are they doing to maintain viable communities? This chapter on time use examines and discusses each woman's 48 hours in two different seasons, as well as yearly time use and access to services and amenities.

The data from the time use diaries was entered onto a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. Farmwork was kept specific - administrative work, financial work, dealings with RSI, milking, shearing, docking, stock maintenance -all other farmwork such as fencing, farm maintenance, pest eradication, and weed spraying being grouped together. For the 'other activities' categories, farmwork was recorded generally.

All housework was recorded as that - apart from dishes and preparing and serving meals. Meals and dishes were recorded separately as they were seen to be activities that were, and had to be, performed every day. as such they are constraining in terms of timetable, and other activities must be fitted around these. Personal activities include such things as toilet, bathing, dressing, waking up, and going to bed.

Time Use Diaries One and Two are recorded in Tables 20-25. They show the percentage of time spent on each activity over a 48hour period. The second figure shows an 'active percentage' - this excludes sleeping time to better demonstrate the time spent on activities, or for whom the activity was performed during the active period of the day.

Unfortunately, due to the limitations of the available computer package, analyses of time-use by age and farmtype were not possible. Analysis by farmtype would especially have been desirable, particularly for specific activities such as milking, shearing and docking.

(Tables on following pages)

Main Activity

The breakdown of the main activities from each diary can be seen in Graphs 13 and 14. Divisions between farmwork, housework and community activities have remained fairly stable from diary to diary. Farmwork in Time Use Diary Two (TUD2) has increased slightly, as has personal activity, with the others dropping. This increase in farmwork may be attributed to the seasonal changes on farms. Many farms with livestock, in August, are coping with calving, lambing etc., and most focus is on this; while some horticulture units are harvesting and packing. Basically the weather disallows all but essential work. Later in November, dairy farms have rearing, peak milking, harvesting, mating, and associated records with which to cope; deer farms have fawning and velveting; sheep and beef farms - shearing, drafting, docking, drenching, and mating to handle. Change in the weather means that fertilizer is applied and harvesting done around November. (see **Work Cycles in Appendix 7**)

Simultaneous Activities

Simultaneous activities were recorded to show the multiplicity of women's work. Robin Morgan in the Editorial of **Ms.** says:

"For most women, time is experienced as an utterly different reality than from most men... A female life flows in overlapping activities... Such a person has a very different concept of time from the businessman..." (135)

Graphs 15-18 show the activities that are being performed in addition to the main activity. On average, between the two diaries, 40% of the time one other activity is being performed; and 14% of the time at least two additional activities are being done.

As shown in Tables 21 and 22, the time where no extra activities are performed is reduced when sleeping time is excluded from the equation. In the Other Activity One category, no activity reduces from 50.4% to 24.4% in Time Use Diary One (TUD1); and from 69.97% to

54.91% in TUD2. In Other Activity Two, no activity changes from 93.15% to 89.2% in TUD1, and in TUD2 from 92.06 to 86.63%.

Where, Who With, Who For

The majority of the women's time is spent in the home. This relates to the fact that 17.5% of their time (average between TUD1+2) is spent on housework, 30% on sleeping, and 19% on personal activities. Also associated with this is that 78.8% of the women are responsible for the finances, 55.3% for communications, and 43.5% for employees' maintenance. (see Graph 8); and the majority of this work is done in the house. When sleeping hours are subtracted, only 57% of 'active' time is spent at home. (see Table 23)

Once again the majority of time is spent with the family (49.5%) and for the women, by herself (46%). From TUD1 to TUD2 the amount of time spent alone increases from 35% to 41.8%, but in contrast the amount of time spent doing activities for the self decreases from 51% to 41% - the extra time being spent on the farm (4.75%) and the family (5.45); but obviously these tasks are being performed by the woman on her own.

Comparison With Department Of Statistics Time Use Results

In 1990, the Department of Statistics (DOS) undertook a pilot time use study. Their results are published in **Testing Time (136)**. Their sample covered people aged 12 years and over in New Zealand. There is a breakdown by gender, but figures are unavailable for rural and urban comparison.

Comparison of their figures and those of this research, shows that farming women spend 3% more of their day active. Farming women do more domestic work than the average New Zealander, but DOS figures include men, who do considerably less housework and childcare than women.

Farming women spend 11.9% more of their time (almost three hours a day) on labour force activities than the average New Zealander, even though this farmwork is mostly unpaid. These women also spend 0.5% more time on community activities than those sampled in the DOS survey. The one remaining outstanding comparison is that farming women watch 4.3% less television than the average New Zealander.

The following tables show selected comparisons between farming women and the DOS sample. Note the farming women figures are an average between TUD1 and TUD2.

TABLE 26: WHEREABOUTS OF SAMPLE

	DOS	Farming Women
Home	72%	70.20%
Work/Farm	14%	18.30%
Travel	4%	5.43%

TABLE 27: WHO WITH COMPARISON

	DOS	Farming Women
Alone	19%	38.40%
Family	58%	49.50%
Business Related	1%	3.77%

These comparisons show the different lifestyle of farming women from the average New Zealander. The farming woman spends less time in the home (yet does more domestic duties and sleeps less) and more time at work on the farm. She also spends more time travelling- denoting long distances to services and amenities.

The farming woman spends more time alone and less time with the family- showing the often solitary nature of farm life. They also spend more time with people in business - showing the important relationship between farming and the RSI.

Farmwork, Housework, Community Work

Graphs 25-30 show the breakdown of activities within the farmwork, housework and community work categories.

In both TUD1 and TUD2, in the farmwork breakdown, stock maintenance is the main component. In TUD2, though, other farmwork increases markedly from 8.13% to 30.45% - this includes such jobs as fencing, spraying, fertilizer application and harvesting. Other changes between the two diaries are an increase in farm discussion in the latter, and a slight decrease in financial work. While women are largely responsible for financial and administrative work it can

be seen though that the majority of their farmwork is stockwork and other outside activities on the farm.

Within the household duties breakdown, things remain fairly steady, the only major changes being in meal preparation and childcare. In TUD2, meal preparation decreases, most likely due to a change in diet because of warmer weather. The climate change is also a likely reason for a decrease in childcare from TUD1 (15.92%) to TUD2 (9.07). As the weather becomes milder, children needing constant supervision may go out on the farm with the woman or the partner - thus childcare becomes of a secondary nature. General housework is usually fitted around other activities, so it can be seen that the majority of their time is spent on preparing and serving meals, followed by childcare/supervision. The responsibility and strict timetable of these tasks can be very restrictive of women's time.

In the community activities graph, church activities, and community and club work decrease from TUD1 to TUD2, this is probably due to increased farm commitments as the season progresses. There is a major increase in school activities - 11.76% to 41.94%, most probably due to a change in seasonal activities such as sport and agricultural show days.

The information contained in these graphs and tables is very important. From the picture that is presented we can ascertain just exactly what and how women contribute to a farming operation, and rural service companies can better target women's and their own needs. Public policy makers may comprehend restrictions that are placed upon farming women, and how policies may affect them differently from others in the rural communities, and from urban societies.

Questions about time use were also included in the questionnaire. The women were asked how many hours they spent on work for the farm in an average week, showing seasonal variations, ie. very busy and busy. The results are shown in the graphs below.

In the very busy period, the majority of women are working 30 hours or more a week, as well as household and childcare responsibilities. Similarly, most women are working 20 hours or more, in the busy time, as well as other responsibilities.

An analysis by farmtype and age was done with regard to these questions. The outstanding farmtype figures were of dairy farmers and orchardists. 53.6% of the dairy farmers worked 51+ hours a week in the very busy period; and 60.7% working over 30 hours a week in the busy period. Of the orchardists, 66.7% were working 51+ hours a week in the busiest period.

In the age group analysis the number of hours worked per week, in the very busy period showed a slight increase with age. In the 51+ hours category the results were:

TABLE 28: 51+ HRS/WEEK, BY AGE

Age	
21-30	37.5%
31-40	39.1%
41-50	40.5%
51-60	50.0%

Just under 30% of the women had someone working for them fulltime - a farm cadet, worker or family member. While 84.7% of the farm businesses employed someone, 78.5% employed on a contract or seasonal basis, eg. shearers, contractors, seasonal workers or family members. Of the women on farms employing people, 61% cooked and did laundry for the employee.

Dairy farmers were the only farmtype to employ family; and farms running sheep, and orchards, were the most likely to employ seasonal labour.

As the women got older more labour was employed, up until the 51-60 age group. In the 21-30 year age group, 37.5% of farms had no employees, 31-40 years -17.4%, 41-50 years - 9.5% and 51-60 years -25%. This change in the older age group is probably because unpaid family members are able to do more work as they grow older, and by this age also, women have less childcare and family commitments.

Another trend apparent in the age analysis, is the employing of family members. This jumps to 19% in the 41-50 years age group -presumably when children are in their mid to late teens, and doing farmwork for extra cash, or as fulltime employment.

In the questionnaire the women were also asked about their involvement in unpaid community work, organisation membership, and commitments to children's interests.

55.3% of the women undertook unpaid community work. Their involvement is shown in the table below.

TABLE 29: INVOLVEMENT IN UNPAID COMMUNITY WORK

Local community	42.4%
Local school	18.8% *
Counselling	2.4%
Playcentre/childcare	8.2%
WDFE/NCW/CWI	20.0%
Church	21.2%
Sport coaching	1.2%

* 57.6% of women has children living at home, so effectively this is 47%.

TABLE 30: HOURS/WEEK OF COMMUNITY WORK

Hours	
0-1	63.5%
1-2	9.4%
2-4	11.8%
4-6	7.1%
6-10	2.4%
10-15	3.5%
15+	2.4%

The women's membership of clubs and organisations is listed below. The women are less likely to be involved in sporting and cultural groups, but instead join community organisations, such as breeder societies, farm discussion groups, and school groups.

TABLE 31: MEMBERSHIP OF CLUBS/ORGANISATIONS

Sport	38.8%
Cultural	35.3%
Community	64.7%

The reasons for this membership were: social -65.9%; time from farm -25.9%; exercise/interest - 69.4%; and to help others - 38.8%.

Of the 57.6% of women who have children living at home, 77.5% were involved in their children's sporting or cultural interests - be it driving them to activities, or in a coaching or leadership capacity. Their hours of involvement per week are listed below.

TABLE 32: HOURS/WEEK INVOLVEMENT IN CHILDREN'S ACTIVITIES

Hours	
0-1	34.6%
1-2	10.2%
2-5	34.6%
5-10	12.2%
10+	8.4%

Services And Amenities

Distances to and the time taken in travelling to services and amenities can affect farming women's time use. As part of the questionnaire the women were asked to complete a table on travel times and distances to different services and amenities. The results are listed in the tables overleaf.

TABLE 33: DISTANCES (KMS) TO SERVICES AND AMENITIES

kms	0-35	35-65	65-95	95+	NR
Doctor	51.8	23.5	8.3	10.6	5.9
Hospital	14.2	29.4	45.9	25.9	14.1
Maternity Hosp.	18.8	41.2	10.6	14.2	34.1*
Vet	53.0	21.2	7.1	17.7	8.2
Service station	67.0	16.5	2.4	8.3	8.2
Farm hardware	51.7	21.2	8.3	11.8	7.1
Farm equipment	37.7	24.7	10.6	22.4	15.3
Pre-school	36.4	7.1	0	1.2	55.3*
Primary school	64.7	1.2	0	0	34.1*
Secondary school	42.4	12.9	8.3	10.6	25.9*

Library	36.5	18.8	7.1	8.2	29.4
----------------	------	------	-----	-----	------

TABLE 34: TRAVEL TIME TO SERVICES AND AMENITIES

mins	0-30	30-60	60-120	120+	NR
Doctor	51.8	28.2	11.7	5.9	2.4
Hospital	16.5	19.5	28.2	14.1	11.8
Maternity Hosp.	21.2	27.1	10.6	8.2	32.9*
Vet	52.9	24.7	8.3	7.1	7.1
Service station	44.7	27.7	5.9	3.5	5.9
Farm hardware	49.4	30.6	9.4	5.9	4.7
Farm equipment	38.9	29.4	10.6	7.1	14.1
Pre-school	35.3	10.5	1.2	1.2	51.8*
Primary school	62.4	6.0	0	1.2	30.6*
Secondary school	41.2	17.7	11.8	5.9	23.5*
Library	37.6	23.5	9.4	2.4	27.1

Note: NR = No Response

The majority of women live within 35-65km of the amenities, although almost half of the women live 65-95km away from an hospital. Farm services are undoubtedly better catered for than education and health - as the figures for the vet, service station, farm hardware and farm equipment show.

Most of the women are within half an hours travel to most places - the exception being travelling to a general hospital (1-2hrs) and a maternity hospital (30-60mins).

The following tables show actual figures for distance and travelling times for maternity hospitals, pre-schools, and primary and secondary schools. The non-response rates for these categories are high, as the women did not complete them if their children were no longer involved in that stage of education, or they had stopped having children.

TABLE 35: ACTUAL PERCENTAGES FOR DISTANCES

kms	0-35	35-65	65-95	95+
Maternity Hosp.	28.5	33.9	16.0	21.4
Pre-school	81.6	15.8	0	2.6
Primary school	98.2	1.8	0	0
Secondary school	57.0	17.5	11.2	14.3

TABLE 36: ACTUAL PERCENTAGES FOR TRAVELLING TIME

mins	0-30	30-60	60-120	120+
Maternity Hosp.	31.6	36.8	15.8	12.3
Pre-school	73.0	21.9	2.4	2.4
Primary school	89.8	8.5	0	1.7
Secondary school	53.8	23.0	15.3	7.7

The tables show about a third of women are 65+kms and over an hour away from a maternity hospital. Pre-schools and primary schools remain fairly close, with secondary schools beginning to be further away with 23% being an hour or more away.

These service and amenity figures show how far farming women must travel for childcare, community, family and farm commitments and responsibilities. This type of information may be extremely useful for private companies and government departments who are considering rationalisation of services - by having the potential to show possible effects on farming women and their communities.

Conclusion

At the end of the interviews that were undertaken with the farming women, they were asked if participating in the research had made them or their family think differently about their role on the farm - 60% said yes. By completing the time use diaries, many women (30%) said that it gave them an awareness of their work, while a further 13% said it made them consider the value of their work. One woman interviewed said it made her think about the ways others would think about how she spent her time. **(137)** A Masterton sheep and beef farmer realised "I do put a lot into what I do but perhaps I don't get recognised for it like my husband does. It made me wake up and realise..."

(138).

These comments from the women express perfectly the uses of time use diaries. Not only does this type of research empower and make farming women aware of their work, it also provides detailed information that can be used by policy makers - at local, regional and national levels. It enables focussing on agricultural research, labour information, better knowledge of the needs and requirements of women with regard to training and education. It also provides a clearer picture of decision making on farm, and an understanding of social structures, as well as the constraints placed upon women's roles on farms.

CHAPTER FIVE: POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Throughout this thesis, the work and opinions of farming women have been presented. How they view themselves, and how they think others see them in their role on the farm, has been shown. What remains is to discuss how these women may have been affected by policy made by people who have not properly considered their role in the farming community; and to discuss how this research and the images of farming women that it presents, may be of future use in determining policy - be it within private industry, producer boards, or at local, regional or national levels.

Discussions will be made about the advantages and disadvantages, to different groups, of seeing farming women as farmers' wives, or as farmers, farm managers, or farm workers. The discussions will cover social issues such as education, health, community work and childcare. Economic issues will look at ACC, superannuation, the value of unpaid work, and the Matrimonial Property Act. The other area of discussion is of local and private industry policies - such as farm servicing businesses and their staff, Producer boards, and local and regional government.

Unpaid Work

While farming women's work remains unpaid and hidden from wider society, then their status in having an impact on policy remains little. A lot of women's farmwork is done in the home - finances, administration, communications, discussions and planning, and this is reflected in that 57% of the women's time, apart from sleeping, was spent in the home. 70% of the women interviewed said that the housework contributed to the running of the farm. Their work is not visible to outsiders, and as such much of these women's unpaid work in the market economy

remains invisible to society. By making their work visible and known there is some hope for a positive effect on policy making. In December 1989, Margaret Shields, then Minister of Women's Affairs, wrote in **WAGMag** about women and unpaid work.

"The issues associated with valuing unpaid work are similar for urban and rural women, although costs are much higher for rural women. Involvement in voluntary work in rural areas requires greater travel time over longer distances with little or no public transport available. It frequently involves toll calls and rural women participating in this work invariably bear the costs themselves. The lack of services in rural areas imposes further costs for women and there is far greater pressure to perform unpaid work to fill the gaps with respect to services. We recognise, that rural women have additional tasks to perform that most urban women do not, such as supervising children's schooling by correspondence. The extent to which women's as farmers remains unpaid work rather than part of the so-called formal economy has important implications for any policy initiatives taking unpaid work into account... We need more accurate information for a reliable input into policy making."
(139)

For farming women to be truly considered in policies, information must first be gained on their work, and recognition must be given to the contribution to the economy that this unpaid production has made. Current gathering of information for input into policy making does not recognise that contribution.

In her article, "**The Invisible Woman**" (140), Marilyn Waring writes of how important it is to have women's unpaid work recognised in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of a country.

"For individual countries the uses of national accounts and the supporting statistics can be summarised...

[as]

- a) serving as a framework for the integration of economic statistics generally;
- b) analyses of current and past developments in the national economy;
- c) quantification of the national economy in order to determine policies related to resource allocation;
- d) short- and medium-term forecasting of future trends;
- e) the building of models of the economy in order to analyse and project the possible effects of policy and other changes of economic significance;
- f) international comparison of a nation's economic performance.

...The GDP is used... to set priorities in policy making, to measure the success of policies and to measure economic welfare. Activities that lie outside the production boundary,... the vast bulk of labour... performed by unpaid women, are left out of the GDP." (141)

From national accounts companies project their markets, they plan investments and their personnel. (142) The importance of these national accounts is recognised by the United Nations, yet they do not recognise the importance of the unpaid work of women which is not included in these accounts.

In a **System of National Accounts and Supporting Tables**, UNSNA reports:

"While national accounting information is useful in all fields of economic decision making because of the **factual** background which it provides, its outstanding use has been in connection with **public policy**." (143)
(my emphasis)

The national accounting system does not recognise the unpaid work of women as a productive force in the economy. This blatant refusal to acknowledge this work has, and will continue to have, serious repercussions for women and public policy.

Claims have been made and are still being made that the value of the unpaid work of women is too hard to calculate - and obviously methods used are not 'factual' enough. But governments are willing to rely on the unpaid work of women as a productive unit and their work in the community to help in economic restructuring.

National economic policies in New Zealand such as the removal of subsidies in the mid-80's has been a major influence on the work of farming women. Farming was the first focus of the 1984 economic policies and came at a time when interest rates, exchange rates and prices were bad so the impact was heavily felt. Women are now more involved on the farm because of these economic policies, but because of the withdrawal of social services their community involvement has increased as well.

Since 1984, the Government has encouraged the community to provide some of the necessary social services, as part of their policies to make individuals more financially self-sufficient. This withdrawal of services in many areas such as education, health, and welfare, has meant that many farming women have had to step into community related positions where they may have, previously, had no experience; and along with economic restructuring during that same period, which had major effects on farming -meaning women often had to pick up the slack when employees could no longer be afforded; meant that farming women's workloads increased dramatically.

By recording farming women's contribution to community work, by seeing how it fits into their day, and by noting the reasons why this work is done, as can be seen in Tables 29 and 30 and in Graphs 29 and 30, - then policy makers can see where services are lacking, can comment on the effects of the withdrawal of government services, and better pinpoint where extra or necessary funding or other help is required. This information may also provide a picture of how farming women and communities are coping with having to provide these services.

The effects of having to undertake extra unpaid work for the community can be very tiring when women must often fit the work into their already busy days. Many women interviewed in this research commented that they were often asked to assist with church and school activities on the presumption that they had nothing else to do all day. A kiwifruit grower from the Bay of Islands comments:

"People ask me to do things because 'I don't work' -I find I need to balance this need to help with running a business." (144)

This is the perfect example of how farming women are given lower status in society because their work is unpaid. Their work is not valued, as farming is still seen by a large majority of people as a man's job; and so women are called upon and expected to fill the gap. A writer in **Panui**, (145) a Ministry of Women's Affairs publication, comments on this:

"The cycle of dependency on the unpaid work of women must be broken, if women are to look forward to improved social and economic status... the trend towards community care should not be predicated on the assumption that women will be prepared to take on additional responsibilities at considerable personal cost."

(146)

Non-recognition of women's role in farming and their time-use related to this role can lead to serious problems in policy making. Often where the government has withdrawn, or plans to withdraw, services to farming communities, women have been expected to fill the gap - be it as school bus drivers, providing care for the elderly, as correspondence/home teachers. Without considering these women's other commitments, policy makers have expected women to become community care givers and administrators.

Health

One of the major areas where recent policies have had a great impact on farming women is health. Restructuring of the health system has not always taken into account the needs of these women. The 1992 report on the **Status of New Zealand Women** (147) comments on this.

"Access to health care is more difficult for rural women, especially with [the] centralisation of hospital and other services. Family planning and health specialist or counselling services are not available locally, and rural women must travel to the

nearest city or large town for this aspect of health care." (148)

This lack of services may disadvantage farming women who must travel long distances for their own health treatment or their children's. Access to services such as counselling, refuge, rape crisis, and anger management is especially important for farming women who are often in isolated situations, in that often violence cannot be seen or heard. It can also have an effect on the farming operation if an extraordinary amount of time must be spent travelling to centralised services, or if the family must travel to visit other members who are in hospital - for example if the woman is in hospital, then the partner must take time to visit as well as coping with extra farming and household duties and, if necessary, children. (Distances and travelling times can be seen in Tables 33 and 34)

Lack of community services such as meals on wheels and home support is also a concern to farming women, who must in some way provide these services on an unpaid basis. Several women in this research were caring for elderly relatives, either at home or elsewhere, by doing housework and cooking meals for them. Jocelyn Fish, at a seminar for rural women commented upon this.

"The present fashion of returning the ill, the mentally ill, and the handicapped 'to the community' is a euphemism for women's care. It is 'health care on the cheap'." (149)

Women need to be consulted before decisions are made that are affecting their lives. Women are, and are expected to be, the carers in communities yet there is a definite lack of consultation and an unawareness of their time use.

43% of the women interviewed said they were affected by the withdrawal of health services in their area. Below are some of their comments about issues of concern to them with regard for themselves, their families and their communities.

"We're isolated and have a bad service - if I had small kids now it would be very bad." (150)

"We don't have the health nurse visit at the school anymore - no one told me, this is really detrimental to the kids." (151)

"I live near a small town and the only woman doctor's list is closed." (152)

"Now that we have to pay more for health we only go for emergencies." (153)

"I have to look after my mother more now in the rest home. The quality of service is bad and its getting worse." (154)

These comments all bring up health issues that are of concern to farming women - long distances and high costs for just going to a health professional, less services for more money, fundamental services not being provided in rural areas. Rivers and Webber in their report **Public Policy and Rural Communities** (155) comment on rural people's use of health services.

"The data which shows the rate and degree of use of medical facilities and other health services to be lower in rural areas has been interpreted as reflecting a higher health status. In fact other research has also shown that people tend to use health services less, the further they are away from them." (156)

Long distances, cost and loss of services are the major concerns mentioned by the women in this research. Cost especially is a concern as many farming families do not qualify for a community services card, as farm income, not drawings is taken into account. This is one reason why rural women's groups are fighting to get farming women on the pay-roll, as their wages and not total farm income may be taken into account for user pays services.

The costing of support services is all part of efficiency, and home services are judged by the number of cases per kilometre, not on need within the community. Hospitals provide services such as the free napkin service but the farther into the country you are, the less likely the

application of these services. Support services which farming women rely on, such as District nurses are good, but others such as the Plunket service have been curtailed, leaving women discharged early from hospital, which is the growing trend, faced with long trips to town for an emergency, whether real or imagined.

By having access to information which details the concern of farming women about health services, and information that shows why farming women do and do not use certain services, and by showing what effects restructuring has had on these women, then policy can be better designed. This links in with unpaid community work where women are providing health services that were once provided by the government. Time use data may show how this has affected farming women, and for future policy changes may show the decision makers just how much farming women can cope with the extra work. This extra work can also have derogatory effects on women's health in the form of stress and fatigue. Stress is a very important factor, as in farming you cannot leave it behind you when you go 'home', as such farming women face a great amount of stress related health problems.

Health Boards are now run by accountants and business people which means there is less input by women. The old hospital boards were the first elective positions to have women sitting on them, to have women as chairpersons, for reasons other than their tokenism. Now members of health boards are appointed not elected, and the women appointed are professional women, not women with community backgrounds. Women in the community no longer have the same input into decision making. This is detrimental to women in rural areas who experience life and its problems in an entirely different way from business people in urban centres.

Education

Education policies affect women profoundly - not only are they the major care givers to children and as such responsible for their education, they also make the majority of mature students returning to education. As such their time use and expectations of them as parents and students are inextricably linked.

-Board of trustees

Under education policy changes in the late 1980's, which saw the introduction of Tomorrow's Schools, parents have been expected to contribute more time and money into their

child's education. This has been reflected in Boards of Trustees for schools, and increasing parent help within the classroom and in school transport.

Women are under represented on Boards Of Trustees (BOT). 31% for boys' schools, 49% for girls' schools and 42% for primary schools **(157)**, yet they are often working behind the scenes even more than men.

Of the women interviewed in this research 66% had children in the education system. From those women came the following concerns about Tomorrow's Schools:

TABLE 37: CONCERNS WITH EDUCATION POLICIES

More time	60%
More money	50%
BOT involvement	35%
Cuts into farmwork	35%
Extra parent help	10%

The women often commented on the unpaid nature of the work they were expected to do, without the recognition held by those doing the work previously. They talk of how this extra work cuts into their farmwork, or that of their partner, therefore increasing workloads that are often very heavy. It is interesting to note that in TUD2 the increase in farmwork, as shown in Graphs 13 and 14, correlates to an increase in school activities, as shown in Graphs 29 and 30. This can only add to the stress and fatigue of these women when facing more unpaid work. They talked of the stresses within families and communities caused by the responsibilities of something for which they were never trained. One woman talks of how the education system is failing them just because of where they live. Some of these comments are below.

"Off loading work onto unpaid people... and it breaks into my farmwork, I have to plan my day to coincide my trips to school with [other mothers]." **(158)**

"...it will cost us lots of money -\$2000 a term, to give our son special teaching, to either employ a teacher

aide, who will help other non-paying kids, or to send him to boarding school. The education system is not working and its costing us a lot of money." (159)

"Yes [I have spent more time], and it will change even more. The pressure will increase. Parent help is needed - I've done it myself. Voluntary help will get it through." (160)

"I've been on the Board of Trustees, and I feel the government wants parents to run schools more efficiently but for less money. The school has a smaller budget and the wage is pitiful. It can cut into farmwork." (161)

"I would spend half a day a week as secretary for the BOT, and 1 day a week as mother help. It annoys me that I'm not paid [for BOT], especially as before the people were paid. I had to learn clerical skills, other people find it a hassle. Up here people are farmers, they don't have any other interests. Their main contact is with farmers, not bureaucrats." (162)

"My husband is the BOT chair - he has to make big decisions and lots of time is involved... the time spent affects his farming and I have to compensate, and be very understanding of the stress." (163)

Farming women are doing their utmost to make their schools viable, even if they don't have the time. Some rural areas are faced with closure of small schools- and this would result in the children being sent to boarding school, travelling long distances by school bus or car, or being taught at home by correspondence. Farming families may not be able to afford the first alternative or want to send a primary school age child away from home, and the other two options mean farming women would have to spend more time involved in either taking the children to school or supervising lessons regardless of time commitments and desire to do so.

Farming women are disadvantaged by the education system in many ways. At secondary school they are not often encouraged to take subjects that may be useful to them if they take up a farming career, and those that do often face harassment by other male members of the class. This is reflected in the following figures:

TABLE 38: PARTICIPATION IN TECHNOLOGICAL SUBJECTS (163)

Agri/Horticulture	30%
Technical Drawing	13%
Woodwork	2%
Workshop Technology	4%
Engineering	2%

These subjects provide people with some of the necessary skills for farming. Schools should be encouraging female students to take these traditionally male subjects, and should provide an atmosphere in the classroom which is not discouraging to females.

-On job training

For school leavers the farm cadet system is available for farming training, however "there is a tendency to favour male cadets, especially on sheep, beef and crop farms." **(165)** This disadvantages women in farming and means that they will not have the same skills and knowledge as their male counterparts. It also allows them less opportunity to get a farming job and gain potential experience. One woman in this research when interviewed said that when she went through the farm cadet system she knew of farmers who employed two female cadets so they could take turn about with working on the farm and doing the housekeeping and minding the children.**(166)** Organisers should make it very clear to employers that this is not the purpose of the scheme and provide a course of action to be taken against farmers like this.

At tertiary level women are more likely to be mature students. Recent Study Right changes to funding of tertiary institutions and students has meant that mature woman are discriminated against because of their age. This denies farming women the chance to gain useful and necessary skills. Previously, Continuing Education and extra-mural courses at universities have enabled women who cannot reach tertiary institutions, either due to isolation or domestic responsibilities to study, but tuition fees have made these courses more expensive. **(167)** This can affect women's prospects of gaining knowledge and skills such as financial management, scientific

knowledge and aspects of farm management, which they may have never had the opportunity to study or learn. Women from non-farming backgrounds should have access to, and be encouraged to do, training courses in farming and associated fields. Almost 50% of the women surveyed were raised in an urban situation, and 60% of the women learnt about farming by being literally 'thrown in the deep end'.

Women within farming are also disadvantaged by their access to scholarships within the farming industry.

"Public recognition and support for women involved in farming and rural communities is small. Farming awards are now generally given to both husband and wife, but the male partner receives the higher public profile. The two most lucrative and prestigious rural scholarships available in New Zealand are restricted to those under 40 years, a barrier for women who may have family responsibilities until this age." (168)

The Nuffield farming scholarship has had no women recipients in its 50 year history. The preferred age for applicants is 30-mid 40's and this usually coincides with child and family responsibilities. This lack of recognition of women's abilities to take up a scholarship is archaic, as are the age restrictions which severely limit women's involvement.

The denial of education for farming women to gain skills and knowledge denies them their right to be who they want. Policies must be designed to encourage women to participate in non-traditional education.

Matrimonial Property Act

The Matrimonial Property Act of 1976 and the Income Amendment Act of 1983 formalised the unpaid work of women in marriage. They are major pieces of legislation recognising farming women's contribution. There have been reported cases though that when large amounts of land are concerned this has been contested in court. The Status of New Zealand Women (169) reports that:

"...where significant property is involved, the woman's right to half the farm is frequently contested by law." (170)

In 1989 the Ministry of Women's Affairs called for submissions for changes in the Matrimonial Property Act, but unfortunately revision of the Act has not taken place. Main concerns were that the Act should be extended to de facto relationships, and that it should not just include a woman's right to an equal share of property in the case of a divorce, but that if a woman's husband dies then the woman has a right to half the property left, regardless of the deceased's will. More women are going to court under the Family Protection Act to contest wills that have not recognised their life contribution. Daughters' of farmers are also contesting inheritances left in family trusts which often leave them with less money than their brothers. (171)

These attitudes of non-recognition are changing but slowly. Accountants and lawyers must be more open to representing the interests of both members of the partnership, and encourage women to question finances and wills. Women, too, must be made aware that they must be more assertive in their rights. Incidents of this nature are decreasing but are still apparent as the quote below from the 1992 **Status of New Zealand Women** (172) reports:

"There can be difficulties in achieving a fair division of matrimonial property where the parties have shares in a private family company. The spouse who wishes to retain these shares may be able to conceal the benefits and value of that ownership so that the other spouse does not receive a fair value for those particular assets. Also there is no adequate provision in the Act to bring back into the matrimonial pool property which has been diverted unfairly into family trusts to the detriment of one spouse. (173)

Time use information presenting the realities of unpaid work of women may be extremely useful in seeing the revision of the Matrimonial Property Act through, and the work of women recognised.

Superannuation

Recent proposals, in superannuation policy, by the Government, will mean that private superannuation will be replacing a system that meant women received an income level regardless of their unpaid work status.

"Superannuation is a woman's issue. When the farm is being set up and finances arranged, women should be aware of the need for superannuation. Statistically, [women] are likely to be alone in [their] old age... Don't be put off with assurances that others know what is best for you. It is you who will be old and cold and poor and lonely if you make the wrong decisions." (174)

Private superannuation is not kind to women, and within farming, those women who are not owners - farm workers and managers are of special concern. Often these women work in jobs where they share a joint income with a partner, and while they may do their share of the work, they may not have control over the money.

A superannuation spokesperson for Farmers' Mutual Group, said that more farming people were aware that they must provide their own superannuation. He says he has noticed in the last three years, more women who are equal working and/or financial partners in farm ownership, taking out equal superannuation to that of their partners. Farmers' Mutual has a policy of recommending this, as the sale proceeds from the farm are not enough on which to retire, and this can be topped up by superannuation savings. He says more non-owners are taking out superannuation; perhaps in the realisation that in the occurrence of the other partner's death, there will be money to depend on, as ACC is no longer a guarantee.

Women must be made aware that statistically they will live longer than their partner and therefore should have more superannuation put aside than men. The way insurance actuary tables are designed women get less than men, unless otherwise specifically entered onto the policy, as women live longer. Women must be made aware of this when the superannuation policy is changed, and Insurance companies must direct their staff to make women aware of this situation.

Unfortunately insurance companies cannot ensure that a male partner who owns the farm solely saves any superannuation for his wife. 30% of partners do not recognise the woman as an equal partner. The need for women in farming to have money of their own is reflected in 31.8% of women having worked off the farm for personal income. These situations must be recognised and policy considerations made for these cases where women's unpaid work goes unrecognised and unvalued.

Accident Compensation

Under recent changes to ACC regulations women are big losers. Health activist Sandra Coney comments:

"The issue highlights the fact women don't have a strong lobby group for their interests. Things are seen from a male view." **(175)**

The unpaid work of women is given extremely low status in comparison to paid work. This is reflected in policy regarding the Widow/er's Benefit which has recently been revised and altered. The benefit is now only receivable for five years or until the youngest child reaches 18 years, or 21 years if studying. The payout is based on 60% of 80% of the average gross weekly income of \$500; and any surviving child may receive 20% of the 80%; but these in total must not be over 80% of the deceased's actual income. The family must be dependent upon the spouse that died, so if the remaining spouse is working fulltime, then ACC does not pay the benefit. What this means in effect is that women's unpaid work is unvalued- there will be no payments if there is no taxable income.

One woman interviewed **(176)**, who has run her farm since her partner died, has recently lost her Widow's Benefit. This money has previously gone to pay the wages of an employee who covers the extra work with which she can not physically cope. Without this money the farm will not be viable and will run at a loss, as she won't be able to afford to employ the extra worker. Her unpaid work in the home was under-valued and so when the farm enterprise had to be run and worked by one person, it was not viable. By cutting the Widow's benefit, ACC does not recognise the important unpaid contribution of women to farming.

The new regulations challenge social attitudes to human worth - they reflect non-recognition of women's unpaid work. Because farming women are seen as unpaid the implications are bad- a distinction has been made between paid workers and non-earners regardless of whether they are working or not.

If a person is performing unpaid work in a family business/farm and becomes incapacitated through an accident, then to receive compensation, s/he must show a loss of earnings. Women who work on farms, but who are not employed, nor are owners of farms, are not recognised as workers - their work is unvalued.

In the case of a husband and wife team, where they are in a 50/50 partnership, both self employed and paying equal ACC levies, if one of them becomes incapacitated then they must provide proof of loss of earnings by showing their income for the last four weeks and the last 52 weeks. Meanwhile there are no payments for the first four weeks. This can place undue strain on a partner as work on a farm must continue. Time use data can help to show how much of the woman's time is devoted to work for the farm and relate this to earnings.

These policies reflect an urban attitude of a weekly salary or wage, and not an unpredictable income and workload -especially that of a woman caring for children, as well as working in the home and on the farm.

Articles in the **New Zealand Farmer (177)** and the **Straight Furrow (178)**, outline other alterations in ACC policy which may affect farming women who employ casual workers. Women who farm on their own are more likely to employ casual and seasonal workers for more physical jobs about the farm.

The new Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Act contains possible problems for all farmers. The problem arises if an employee has an accident, and "if there is no evidence that the employee is going to terminate his [or her] employment within the first week of injury." (179) If there is no evidence of this the employer is liable to pay the first week of compensation.

Another change, that of the ACC levy coming from the employee's pay, means that the employer must fill in a form whenever a new person is employed, and when that person leaves. Once again this has major impacts on women in farming - women farming on their own are more likely to employ casual labour; and this will mean more financial and administrative work, which is very often performed by women (79% of women surveyed).

These policy changes affect women farmers immensely - it means more work and added stress to an already busy timetable.

Local Government

Local government determines where a lot of money in the community will be spent - sport and recreation, roading, rates, environmental issues, community halls and libraries, and social issues. (see Tables 31-34) Time use data and other information from this research would be invaluable in determining the needs of farming women - how often they use the roads and for what purposes?; why they participate in certain activities and why not?; what are the needs of rural community groups in the area?; how is their access to facilities hindered by roading, children, and opening hours?; what actions would they have taken on pest and weed control and pesticide use?

An example of this in the Waipa District Council. They are about to compile a report on strategies for the development of land and facilities that will apply for the next 15-20 years. A comprehensive study needs to be undertaken to ascertain supply and demand. **(180)** Not only would time use data on farming women and information on why they do or do not play sport or use recreation facilities be useful, but so too would the equal participation of women on the council, and community boards that will make the decisions.

"Farming women are 'woefully under-represented' on rural decision making bodies such as community boards and district councils.". **(181)** Women make up only 21% of district councils, and there has been no increase in recent years. **(182)** There are fundamental obstacles in the way of women being elected to local government, such as -

- lack of recognition of women's skills and experience
- pressures of combining family responsibilities and a political career
- underestimation of women's abilities by women themselves.

But there are also more practical matters hindering women's involvement in local government, such as, childcare, times and places of meetings, support from partners when less farm work is performed by the women. These first two are areas which local governments, themselves, must consider and provide for, if they wish to provide their communities with a more equitable council.

Women have different values and can offer a more community oriented approach to policy making. They think more about the consequences for women and children who use the facilities - they consider their needs. Women's priorities aren't often the same as men's - as Jocelyn Fish, ex county councillor says "its people against bricks and mortar" (183)

RSI and Staff

The numbers of women in farming has increased, and they are becoming more and more involved and self aware of their roles in decision making, financial decisions and physical farm work. As their own recognition increases so too must the recognition of these women from the rural service industry - from private companies, government departments, co-operatives, producer groups and farming interest groups.

These companies and groups must consider the appropriateness of their staff and members and their attitudes and behaviour. There must be a change in the RSI with regard to recruitment and training. These servicing people must have the ability to relate to their existing and potential client base if they wish to be efficient in the marketplace and equitable to all farmers.

Women have often expressed their concern at being ignored, if not totally, then until they have proven themselves, and at being treated as if they have no farming knowledge and skills. They have also commented that rudeness and insults from RSI staff will mean a company will lose clients.

In farming newspapers we are presented with the images of these servicing bodies - advertisements. Some, such as the Rural Bank have good advertisements showing both male and female working together on the farm, others are not. An article in the **New Zealand Farmer** in January 1992 about Southland dairying by an Agribusiness manager for a bank was accompanied by a photo of all the bank's Agribusiness managers- seven of them - all male. (184) A two page advertisement for a major freezing works company pictured all their stockbuyers - seventy and all men. There must be changes in advertising to attract and not alienate women farmers. Table 4 shows the equipment used by the women, yet there is very little marketing of these products to women.

Research has been undertaken which shows that women farmers have been refused bank loans, while men with identical proposals were granted the loans. (185)

These companies must have staff training to encourage their staff to recognise and perceive women as farmers and as potential clients - they face loss of productivity if women feel insulted and ignored.

While 98.8% of the farming women were involved in horticultural or stock work little is done to encourage women to attend discussion groups, field days and farm visits, so that these women may extend their knowledge and skills.

A recent survey of dairy farming women undertaken in the South Island showed the following reasons for limited involvement in Discussion groups.

TABLE 39: LIMITED INVOLVEMENT IN DISCUSSION GROUPS

Lack of time due to childcare	29%
Partner not supportive	9%
Lack of technical knowledge	16%
Attitudes of others in the group	10%
Lack of time due to other commitments	33%

(186)

There are two visible reasons for lack of involvement - other commitments and other's attitudes. The solution to this first problem would be, through time use analysis, to hold discussion groups at times and places so that women can easily attend, and to provide childcare - provide access to a creche. One woman interviewed from Taumarunui said that she didn't go to discussion groups, not because of the other farmers' attitudes, but because if both her and her husband went then when she got home she would have to rush about and get dinner organised etc., and really it wasn't worth the hassle.**(187)**

Some women find the attitudes of others (men) to be off putting to their involvement. A solution to this, and one that has already been done, is to have discussion groups or farm visits for women only, where they can feel confident to ask questions without the fear of ridicule or negative attitudes. Farm visits are an especially good way to involve women, if only the women close to the farm, as they are more likely to be involved in discussions about their own farm, about which they are confident.

A recent rural women's seminar was held in Hamilton by Livestock Improvement Corporation - a branch of the Dairy Board, and the women attending were specifically asked not to bring their (male) partners along. Women afterwards said that it was great - if the men had been there they would have done all the talking. **(188)**

It is to the advantage of the industry and companies to involve women in discussions and seminars, even to the point of providing 'expensive childcare'. Women's roles in decision making, especially financially and seasonally, is increasing. These women have an influence in the decision - whether to buy a particular good or service, or whether they change their operation so as to produce more or better quality, and therefore advance the industry. Women have done a lot of changing in the past 20 years, and are open to change and new ideas.

Farming women's input into the decision making bodies which determine the direction of primary production and the representation of rural voices to the government and to New Zealand society as a whole is small in comparison to their role on the farm. Mary-Jane Rivers in her report **The Contribution of Women to the Rural Economy** (189) writes:

"Federated Farmers is perceived as the main national organisation which represents the views of farmers within New Zealand." **(190)**

But the increased role of women in farming - physically, financially, and managerially is not reflected in decision making bodies such as Federated Farmers, or in Producer Boards and co-operatives supposedly representing the interests of New Zealand farming.

In December of 1991, of the 29 statutory boards and committees dealing with rural and primary production issues, women were represented on 8 of these. **(191)** The Dairy Board has no women of 13 members; there are no women on the Wool Board, the Meat Board, the Apple and Pear Marketing Board, the Kiwifruit Board.

In the dairying industry the involvement of women, especially in sharemilking partnerships, is strong, yet their involvement, as sharemilkers, in the dairy companies is nil - they have no say. There is only one vote per ownership entity -partners must agree on for whom to vote. The representation of women is further disadvantaged by the old name still used for supplier representatives - committee men.

Margaret Millard, a rural leader, comments on the loss of productivity that faces the Meat industry due to lack of representation from women.

"The meat industry should be consumer driven all the way. I don't see it happening at the moment. Women are the purchasers and consumers yet they are not represented."

(192)

A recent review of the Meat and Wool Boards in 1992 was held to reassess representation and election methods. The committee of seven consisted of men. Advertisements were placed in provincial papers to invite submissions, and letters were sent to industry organisations - none of these were women's groups. The subsequent Review claimed that submissions came from women's interest groups -only one came from Wdff, the others being from individual women. The review comments:

"Several submissions requested that special provision should be made for the specific inclusion, as of right, of women, both on the Electoral Committee and on each Board. These views were balanced by other submissions, from women themselves, to the effect that such was neither necessary, or indeed, desirable and that there was nothing to stop women being elected to these bodies. This latter group argued that the most important criterion was ability, irrespective of gender." **(193)**

The election criterion is established by a list of eligible farmers which is based on the Census of Agriculture conducted by Department of Statistics. A recommendation was made that "voting [be] restricted to 1 vote per stock owning entity,... regardless of the form of ownership".**(194)** This effectively cuts out a woman in a partnership from having her own vote.

Of the 121 submissions 8 were from women. All the **men** had **farmer** beside their name. The women, where only initials were used had Mrs. in brackets, and all the **women** were described as **farming partners**, not farmers. This is the sort of attitude which keeps women from representative positions, along with childcare and family responsibilities, which most men are not willing to take over so that women can be away from the home and farm to attend meetings and give farming women a representative voice.

Federated Farmers and Producer Boards assume the role as spokespeople for all farming and rural people, regardless of their true representation.

The RSI must make changes to their policies regarding recognition and treatment of farming women. They may be losing productivity and a sizeable share of the market by refusing to acknowledge women's role in farming.

Conclusion

The work of farming women is integral to the running of a major industry in New Zealand's economy. To refuse to acknowledge this work and contribution, in economic and social public policy, and in private industry policy, is to denigrate these women's status in society.

By not recognising the part they play in farming, and the actual time spent and activities done, farming women are disadvantaged. Not only is public policy designed and implemented without total knowledge of the impacts that will be made on these women's status and power in society; so too do the policies of private industry, in refusing to recognise these women's farming roles, present an image to society of a male farmer and of a 'farmer's wife'.

Researcher Margaret Begg writes in her Masters thesis, **Rural Women: A Study of some Dairy Women in Piako County**,(195) writes:

"... the part the women play... in the partnership [is] undervalued and often ignored, especially by off-farm people. Government and farm organisations must recognise that farm women as much as the traditional

'male farmer' play an essential part in contributing to the economy of New Zealand." (196)

To change attitudes and to increase recognition of the work of farming women, policy changes all round are needed. The government can not force and make all policy changes- what is mostly needed is an image change. This is vital and achievable through the media and advertising; and to achieve this, in turn, farming organisations and the rural service industry must recognise farming women's role. For farming women's work to remain invisible is to exclude them from policies. Marilyn Waring in her article "**The Invisible Woman**" (197) writes:

"And wherever they are, when women are invisible as producers, they will be invisible as needy beneficiaries in the policies of governments that redistribute the wealth produced." (198)

For the players in a major industry to not recognise the role of women in farming is to 'cut off one's nose just to spite one's face'! If companies, industry boards and public policy makers refuse to acknowledge the contribution of farming women as producers and consumers, to the market economy, then they refuse to acknowledge a major contributor.

Through time use data and the other information gained in this research, a true and accurate picture of the contribution of women to farming may be established. This picture then enables complete understanding of the forces of productivity and profitability. It can be seen where investment, growth and technological change is needed to gain more production and profit. To understand this is to complete understanding of the industry.

Public and private policy can only better the economy and the lot of farming women, by truly considering the accurate picture of the work of farming women.

When we understand the position of women on farms then we can understand the economic forces operating upon the agricultural structure AND we can understand the position of women in society.

CONCLUSION

The recognition of the contribution of women to farming is constantly increasing and this is good. However, this research shows that change is still needed, and that there is a way to go yet.

Women are beginning to give themselves full recognition of their work on farms as farmers, farm managers and as farm workers. They know how much they contribute to, and how much an integral part they are of, the farm operation. This is illustrated by a succinct comment from a Waikato dairy farmer:

"...all the couples who we know who have bought farms would never have got there if they hadn't worked together, which they have." (199)

70% of the participants in this survey are in a farming partnership.(200) The majority of these women see themselves as equal in their partnership, but they also feel that other people do not. Different types of work are valued in different ways; and often because the male is seen out on

the farm doing physical work, their contribution is valued more highly. 69.4% of the participants stated that they were viewed in a farm role because they were seen out on the farm working. Christine Delphy and Diane Leonard, in their book **Familiar Exploitation** (201) comment upon this:

What adult men do is always seen as more important work. It therefore carries more prestige and rewards..." (202)

Yet, the farm related work that women do is just as important to the running of the farm - financial work, administrative record keeping, decision making; as too, is housework, which tries to make a stress-free environment for the farming family who 'work at home'.

Amongst others, particularly the rural community, this contribution is beginning to be recognised. Yet among the rural service industry, farm interest groups, the media, and government, the role of farming women is far from fully recognised.

For this work to continue unvalued has serious repercussions on issues such as Matrimonial Property, ACC, and Superannuation. If this work, which is such an integral part of the farm's success, (contribution can be seen in Graphs 13, 14, 31 and 32), remains unrecognised then farming women will be disadvantaged in receiving property under the Matrimonial Property Act, and in receiving ACC payments and fair Superannuation. To counter this, women's unpaid work on the farm (77.6%) and in the house, must be recognised by partners and families, and by policy makers.

To illustrate this concern about the rural community I quote an excerpt from a speech given by Jocelyn Fish, a 'retired' farmer, at a Rural Women's seminar in April, 1992. She comments on the steps towards recognition that farming women have made:

"I am sure that you as farmers and feminists in that classic sense will agree with me that women in farming have come a long way over the last twenty or so years... and I am filled with admiration for the competence and sheer hard work that your generation is so ably contributing to [farming]. When I was a young woman in a rural area, a lot of the women then did [farm] but they had very little input into the farm

decision making and in spite of the nominal tax-motivated partnerships and companies, the primary function of farm wives was to produce children, food, clothing, and garden, more food, 100s of bottles of fruit and a lot of knitting, and to run the PTA- but not the School Committee- and the Cubs and the Tennis Club. Your lives and values today are, I gather, quite differently balanced, thank goodness. But there is still a long way to go, even in your small corners of the world. Young farming women are still asked 'where's the boss' by awfully jokey travelling salesmen; at gatherings of young farming couples I believe it is still common for the woman, who actually keeps the farm records, to be conversationally passed over in all those how's your production conversations..." (203)

This quote summarises the concerns expressed by many farming women participating in this research. These women are farmers, managers, and workers on farms. Few described themselves in a non-farming occupation.(12.5%) They all see themselves as an integral part of the running of the farm, and view their contribution as invaluable (100% doing farmwork) - be that physically, financially, administratively, managerial or supportive. These women all contribute a mix of these factors, if not all, to the farm.

This contribution and the ability to have the necessary skills to do stockwork and animal health care, farm maintenance, keep and understand accounts, maintain mating records and stock pedigrees, provide meals to workers, talk and discuss problems with accountants, lawyers, vets etc., to be a sounding board and provide alternative ideas, and above all, to be totally responsible for the house (90%) and children, is amazing; and yet, it is undervalued, largely unpaid and expected; and what niggles these women the most is that while they are doing these myriads of tasks, they are excluded in conversations; excluded from attending discussion groups, field days and meetings where they may be able to participate, share and expand their knowledge and skills; to express their opinions; because of the sheer enormity of their work and the constrictions of tasks such as providing meals and childcare that must be done at certain times or all the time.

It is because of these restrictions placed upon their time, by supposed roles and divisions of labour that women are not often seen as 'real' farmers. If they do, most of the women say it has been through perseverance on their own part, or another woman's, to gain acceptance, recognition.

Whether this misconception comes from ignorance, media presentation, or just plain traditional views and a stubbornness to face change - change must happen.

These changes must occur if farming women are to acquire equal status in farming and in society. People must be made aware of the work and varying contributions women make to farming. Change of perceptions must come from all sectors whose policy affects farming women. From the media who seeks opinions on the effects of policy from Federated Farmers and industry boards and major companies which are dominated by men, and therefore exclude the opinions of farming women; to smaller rural service industries whose staff, marketing and advertising policies are male oriented; to government policy makers who make decisions based upon information which largely excludes the opinions and contributions of women, and does not recognise the unpaid work of farming women on the farm, in the house, and in the community.

People in rural communities must learn to accept the differing roles of women - be their contribution physical, organisational, supportive, or by providing extra income by working off the farm. The support of families and communities is invaluable to these women. Their work must be valued, and they must be supported in their multi- responsible role - on and off the farm, in the house, with childcare, and in the community. This work may unfortunately continue to go unpaid, but it must not continue to be under-valued.

The RSI companies must look at their operations - their staff, marketing, advertising and customer relations. 41.2% of the women said that if they felt insulted or ignored by the RSI in business dealings and discussions, then they would cease all business with that company.

Companies must consider how much less productive their enterprise is because of poor customer relations with women. It would be better to take a chance in 'wasting time' talking to the women, if she didn't know anything about the topic or product, as it would be infinitely more economical to approach the woman on the presumption that she is knowledgeable. Even if the particular topic or product is not the woman's responsibility, by including her in any discussions, she will become more knowledgeable of the product. As women are more and more involved in financial decisions (63.5% joint decision), then it is advisable to include the woman in all discussions as she may be the deciding factor on where the money is spent.

It is to the advantage of industry boards and major companies to include women in their decision making. Farming women are **producers** and **consumers** (as with RSI dealings), and as such their opinion must be sought in relation to marketing and when public comments are made.

Their involvement on these decision making bodies and also in fieldays and discussion groups must be encouraged - through provision of childcare and better planning of meetings. A lot of farming women's work is fitted around planning meals, and for dairy farmers, milking; and usually they are the main child carers; so therefore their time is very restricted, and meetings and fieldays must be at convenient times and distances.

It is hard for women to rise through the ranks of producer boards and the major interest groups, as often this coincides with having and raising young families and thus does not allow women to become fully involved.

The media also plays a vital part in reflecting farming women's role to society and people in decision making positions. If that view is distorted this may have dire consequences on farming women's status in society. Of the women interviewed 97% felt that society, in general, for various reasons, did not value their work.

The media will often follow a story if a woman is farming on her own and is doing something remarkable, but many women farming in partnerships feel they are represented as being in a support role. The ordinary farmer who is asked for an opinion or comment is invariably a man, and so society is presented with a few outstanding women farmers, but also with an image of the majority of everyday farmers as male - which is, of course, untrue.

In public policy the needs of farming women must be recognised and met, from education opportunities to gain relevant skills and knowledge, fairness in ACC, superannuation, and matrimonial property laws, to provision of adequate health services, and the avenues to voice opinions which are different to men's views.

Therefore it is easy to see that society- whether the RSI, decision makers, government, and the general public, view women in farming as being in a support role, a helper, whose work is of a secondary nature. Christine Delphy and Diane Leonard comment on this in **Familiar Exploitation** (204):

"It is taken as unproblematic that men's lives dictate women's, that men's jobs are more important than women's..." (205)

If farming women's work remains private and unpaid, instead of public, like men's, then women will continue to be ignored, insulted, and not consulted or considered.

While farming women's work remains unpaid and hidden then women are excluded from public policy. The two major means of collecting data on the work and contribution of people to the economy do not fully recognise the unpaid work of women; yet both are extremely important in the formation of policy. The National Accounts (GDP), and the Census are major means of deciding where money should be spent and whom the beneficiaries of policy should be. The role of GDP in public policy is extremely influential. As stated in Chapter Five, GDP provides economic statistics from which to analyse and determine development needs and programmes, to project future trends to determine the effects of policies and development. Thus it is easy to see that if farming women's work on the farm, in the house, and in the community is unpaid and therefore excluded from national accounts, then the needs of women for development, services and amenities will go ignored. Women will continue to be invisible in aspects of public policy.

In the 1976 Census people were encouraged to complete their forms on the premise that the Census is essential for the purpose of the-

"planning of new community services, eg. schools, hospitals, drainage schemes and shopping centres, to best serve community needs... [and] developing and reviewing public economic and social policy."

(206)

If the information collected in a Census is incomplete or the designers refuse to acknowledge the unpaid and voluntary nature of a lot of women's work, if women's circumstances and needs are not revealed through analysis, then how can the provision of community services be accurate and designed to meet the needs of those who are the major care-givers and unpaid community workers, the major everyday consumers of services, such as schools, hospitals and shopping centres?

Policies of the past have drastically affected farming women because their unpaid work has not been recognised. The Department of Statistics has limited information on the unpaid work of farming women, due to the style of Census questions, and therefore knowledge is limited of the contribution these women make to the community and to the national economy.

Their other avenue of information is also severely limited, at this stage, in knowledge of women in farming. Their time use study undertaken in 1990, was only a pilot of the methodology. The information published does not break the sample down into urban and rural. As shown in Chapter Four, there are differences between the average New Zealander's (urban majority) time use and that of a farming woman's.

Time use data and other information from this research can be invaluable to policy - not just of government, but of private industry also. From this information a picture of the changing lifestyle and work of farming women may be gained. Why farming women undertake certain activities and why they do not, can be ascertained.

From the time use data alone, we can see how they spend their day, and how this day is ordered. At a glimpse we can see that these women spend 26.9% of their day doing farmwork, 17.5% on housework, 2.57% on community work, and 19.98% sleeping, which then puts the previous figures higher when considered in 'active' terms.

We can see that 24.6% of their time is spent on tasks for the farm, 23.8% for the family, and 2.39% of their time for the community. We can see that while farming women are largely responsible for finances, administration and day to day purchasing, the majority of their farmwork is stockwork and other outside activities on the farm.

Apart from the time spent on general housework, which is often fitted around other activities, we can see that the majority of that time- and large periods of it, are spent on the preparation and serving of meals, and this is followed by childcare and supervision. That this is apparent is very valuable, as these are the main restrictive factors constraining farming women from participating in field days, discussion groups. and producer boards.

The information gathered in this research is extremely invaluable. As family farms are the rule in farming sectors of Western societies (207), then this information and the time use data is extremely relevant to this sector.

People should be accepted for what they are, not what others may think someone of their gender should be. Attitudes of who is a farmer and who is not must change. Only change can make change happen. Farming women have become more assertive and confident in their professional farming role, and it is time for the attitudes of the rural service industry, the media, government, and of society to change.

Farmers, farm managers, farm workers -

they are not men, they are people.

APPENDIX ONE

TABLE 40 : FARMING OCCUPATIONS BY GENDER

	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	
Farmer						
Male		58829	57204	59175	60552	*
Female		6456	9957	13680	24171	*
Joint			78981			
Farm Manager						
Male		5798	5425	3648	4494	*
Female		70	179	129	375	*
Joint			4689			
Farm Worker						
Male		39058	35765	39267	38655	*

Female	10628	11711	15825	20313	*
Joint		44070			

Information from Department of Statistics Census Figures 1971-1991. Unfortunately at time of going to print 1991 figures by gender were unavailable. The trend over the last 20 years has seen a dramatic official increase in farming women. The 1990 Census figures show that the numbers in farming decreased due to economic policies and a major recession in farming, but the number of women has increased while the number of men has decreased.

APPENDIX TWO

Dairy Exporter Article

Letter to Media

The Editor

Dear Sir/Ms,

I am writing regarding some research I am doing to complete my Master of Arts in Politics, at Waikato University. My thesis research is on the work of New Zealand rural women, and the attitudes of the rural service industry to this work.

I would like to be able to use your newspaper as an avenue for making rural women aware of my work, to enable them to contact myself, if they wish to take part in the research.

The research would involve surveying rural women from all over New Zealand, from all levels and types of farming, for example, dairying, sheep, beef, horticulture, cropping, deer, goats, pigs, and orchards; and women who are owners, sharemilkers, or farm workers. Basically I am interested in women from all walks of farming life.

I am particularly interested in women who are farming alone; women who are widowed or whose husband is incapacitated or working off the farm, and the woman is running the farm alone; and women who are farm workers/ wives.

The research will involve the keeping of a time-use diary - two 48hour periods, at different seasonal times of the year. Where possible it is hoped that the diary will actually be administered by another woman observer - either a daughter above 14 yrs old, a sister/in law, mother/in law, or a friend who is able to observe activities for the 48 hour period. This methodology was established by the FAO Regional Asia and Pacific offices.

It is my observation and experience that a lot of the work of many New Zealand rural women goes unheeded, or does not get proper recognition, not so much in rural communities, but in the rural service industry and in urban areas. What I hope to achieve is recognition of this work, and to identify any particular aspects of New Zealand rural women.

I would be extremely appreciative if you would be able to format this information into an article for your publication, or as a letter to the Editor in a revised format. I can be contacted at the above address or by phoning _____ if you require more information or wish to discuss anything.

Letter to Fieldays Site Holders

Dear Sir/Ms,

I am writing to ask if I would be able to have a small display in your Fieldays tent. I am a graduate student at Waikato University, and am researching the work of New Zealand farming women for my thesis. This research is being funded by the Rural Affairs Unit of MAF.

I understand that one of the themes for the Fieldays this year will be the role of women in agriculture, and thought that it might be an ideal situation to promote awareness of my research among rural women, and allow them to contact me if they wish to participate.

The display would be small, would explain the aims, objectives and methodology of the research, have some photos, and would also include a box and paper for women, who wish to participate, to leave their name, address, and phone number.

One of the objectives is that I hope to have a sample that covers the broad spectrum and diversity of farming. At the moment my sample does not include many women from your industry, and I would hope that by a small display in your tent I would be able to remedy that situation.

I would be very appreciative if you would consider my request, as it would be of great assistance to my research. I will contact your company in a fortnight if I have not heard further from you.

APPENDIX THREE

APPENDIX FOUR

APPENDIX FIVE

Letter to Rural Service Industry

The Manager

Dear Sir/Ms,

I am writing regarding some research I am doing for my Master of Arts thesis at Waikato University. My research is on the work of farming women, and this includes looking at how the rural service industry views the role of women in farming.

I would like to be able to interview a couple of your staff (including yourself if wanted) who are constantly dealing with farmers; preferably a woman and a man. I am not overly concerned about age, but would prefer them to have at least three to four years experience in the rural service industry.

The questions would be about how they see women's role in farming, their dealings with farmers, and any differences or changes they have seen within farming or different types of farming.

Basically the questions will be general with a few specific to your industry. All information will remain confidential and anonymous.

The information will be very useful in determining the role of women in farming and this is essential in planning policy, both by government and by private businesses, so as to meet client needs. MAF Policy has recognised the potential of this research through funding; and so I hope that you will agree to the interviews.

I will ring within the next fortnight to arrange times of mutual convenience. If this is not acceptable please reply to the above address or phone me at _____ I would be extremely grateful if you and your staff would participate in my research.

APPENDIX SIX

APPENDIX SEVEN

Farm Work Cycles

1. Dairy

july-august

calving
rearing

september-october

rearing
mating

november

mating
peak milking

breakfeeding
feeding out
stock work
milking
fertilizer application

herd testing
peak milking
weed spraying

silage
herd testing
weed spraying

december-january

haymaking
milking
herdtesting

february-march

milking
herdtesting
maintenance
spraying
undersowing

april-may

milking
herdtesting
drying off cows
feeding out
stock work
spraying
culling
maintenance

undersowing

june

maintenance
stock work
breakfeeding
feeding out

2. Deer

october

sort hinds

october-november

velveting

november-december

velveting
fawning

december-january

selling stags
velveting
tagging
selling stags

january-march

haymaking
weaning
mating

march-may

mating
TB testing

may-june

hunting season
prepare hinds to sell
fencing

july-september

TB testing
feeding out

3.Orchard and Nursery

june, july+ august

pruning
taking cuttings
picking+packing
maintenance

september-october

spraying
tree training
potting
sales+deliveries

bookwork

november-january

thinning
training
potting
spraying
sales+deliveries

february-may

harvesting
potting
sales+deliveries

4. Kiwifruit

may-june

pruning
weeding
shelterbelt work
tying

july-august

weeding
pruning
mulching
tying

september-october

check vines
weeding
mowing
bud counts
spraying
tying

november-december

mowing
tipping
budding
male pruning
thinning

january-february

summer pruning
thinning
mowing
spraying
stubbing

march-april

thinning
pruning tangles
maintenance
marketing

april-may

picking
packing
maintenance

5. Mixed Livestock

july-september

lambing
crutching
feeding out
calf rearing
planting
harvesting
mating
calving

october-december

haymaking
calving
shearing
feeding out
weaning
calf rearing
planting
harvesting
plant sale

january-march

rams out
harvesting
planting
crutching
mating

april-june

calving
shearing

feeding out
calf rearing
harvesting
planting

6. Beef

july-august

calving
feeding out
breakfeeding
weed control
rearing

september-october

calving
feeding out
breakfeeding
weed control
calf rearing/fostering

november

calving
weed control
silage
stockwork
mating

december-january

haymaking
mating
stockwork
culling+selling

february-march

weed control
haymaking
stockwork
topdressing

april-may

weed control
calving
feeding out
undersowing
stockwork

june

calving
feeding out

7. Sheep and Beef

january-february

drenching
shearing lambs
haymaking
dipping
cattlework
selling
maintenance

march-april

crutching
rams out
shearing
drenching
selling
drafting
tupping
topdressing

may-june

breakfeeding
maintenance
selling
drenching
drafting

july

crutching
shearing lambs
selling
vaccinating
breakfeeding

august-september

lambing
docking
calving
selling
calf rearing

october-november

shearing
weaning
drafting lambs
drenching
buying
mating
fertilizer

december

weaning
drenching
selling

haymaking
shearing
crutching
culling

8. Cropping (usually combined with sheep, beef or deer)

july-august

harvesting
ploughing

september-october

ploughing
planting

november

planting

december-february

harvesting
spraying
pest control

march-april

harvesting
ploughing
planting

may-july

grading
machinery maintenance
harvesting
farm maintenance

9. Horticulture

january

clean greenhouses
replanting prep
spraying
watering
fertilizer

february-march

planting
picking
spraying
watering
fertilizer

april-may

pruning
picking
spraying
watering
fertilizer

june-july

picking
spraying
watering
fertilizer

august

picking
planting
spraying
watering
fertilizer

september

picking
planting
pruning
spraying
watering
fertilizer

october

picking
pruning
cultivating
spraying
watering
fertilizer

november

picking
planting
spraying
watering
fertilizer

december

planting
spraying
watering
fertilizer

10. Goats

january-february

fencing
drenching
shearing
harvesting
feet
tupping
weaning

march-april

feeding out
drafting
drenching
tupping
fencing

may-june

drenching
drafting
feet
fencing
feeding out

july

shearing
feet
kidding
fencing
feeding out

august-september

feet
kidding
fencing
feeding out
fencing

october-november

drafting
drenching
feet
weaning

december

weaning
fencing
drenching
drafting

FOOTNOTES

1. Figures obtained from Department Of Statistics, **Agricultural Statistics 1991**, Department Of Statistics, Wellington, 1992.
2. Ibid.

3. Rabel,M. and Meister,A., **The Impact on Farmers of Changes in Rural Servicing Infrastructure, Natural Resource Economics No 16**, Massey University, Palmerston North, 1991.
4. Ibid. p106.
5. Lyson,T., "A Note on the Increase of Female Farmers in the US and NZ", in **The Australia and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, Vol 26, No 1**, ANZJS, 1990, p60.
6. From notes accompanying 1976 Census questionnaire- photocopy provided by Department Of Statistics.
7. Delphy,C. and Leonard,D., **Familiar Exploitation, A New Analysis of Marriage in Contemporary Western Societies**, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1992, p202.
8. Willis,E., "A Study of the Contribution of Family Labour on Dairy Farms in South Taranaki, New Zealand", a research paper submitted for BA(Hons) in Geography, Department of Geography, Victoria University, Wellington, 1975.
9. Ibid. p42.
10. Pomeroy,A., **The Politics Of Inequality: Farming Women**, Office of Minister of Agriculture and Rural Affairs, New South Wales, 1988.
11. Ibid. p3.
12. Ibid. Pomeroy,A., p3.
13. Ibid. cited p4.
14. Sachs,C., **The Invisible Farmers, Women and Agricultural Production**, Rowman and Allanheld, New Jersey, 1983.
15. Ibid. pxi.
16. Cox,S., **Public and Private Worlds - Women in Contemporary New Zealand**, Allen and Unwin, Wellington, 1987.
17. Ibid. p1.

18. There are two women on the nine member Pork Industry Board, and one woman on the six member Apple and Pear Marketing Board (secured by MAF). There are **no** women on the Dairy, Meat, Wool, Kiwifruit or Game Industry Boards. None on the Horticultural Export Authority, the Noxious Plants Council, the Animal Health Board, or the Veterinary Services Board. There are only eight women among over 200 directors of New Zealand's co-operative dairy companies. There have only been four women on the national council of Federated Farmers in the past 10 years, out of 40 members elected every year. Source: Collins, S., "**Boards remain male domain**" in **New Zealand Herald, October 7, 1992, p9**, Wilson and Horton, Auckland, 1992.
19. Dunn,H.(Editor), **The Dairy Exporter, February 1992**, New Zealand Dairy Exporter Ltd, Wellington, 1992, pp70-71.
20. This has implications for the RSI - are they reaching farming women?
21. Sachs,C., **The Invisible Farmers, Women and Agricultural Production**, Rowman and Allanheld, New Jersey, 1983, p77.
22. Fowler,F., **Survey Research Methods, Applied Social Research Methods Series, Vol 1**, Sage Publications, London, 1988, p71.
23. Gill, Koopman-Boyden, Arnold, Willmott and WDFP, **A National Survey of Rural Women**, University of Canterbury, Christchurch 1976.
24. Begg,M., **Rural Women : A Study of Some Dairy Farm Women in Piako County**, Thesis for M.Soc.Sc (Geography), University of Waikato, 1988, also published in Studies in Rural Change No 15, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 1988.
25. At least two questionnaires and time use diaries are known to have been completed and lost in the mail.
26. FAO, **Regional Expert Consultation on Database for Women in Agriculture 6-10 August 1990**, FAO, Thailand, 1990.
27. Ibid.
28. Acharya,M., **Time Use Data and the Living Standards Measurement Study, LSMS Working Paper No 18**, The World Bank, Washington DC, 1982.
29. Ibid. p13.
30. Roberts,H., **Doing Feminist Research**, Routledge, London, 1988, p41.
31. Rosenfeld,R., **Farm Women, Work, Farm and Family in the United States, Institute for Research in Social Science Monograph Series**, University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1985.

32. V8
33. V33
34. V42
35. V23
36. V48
37. V11
38. V68
39. Figures obtained from crosstabulating questions 42 and 26a from the questionnaire.
40. V89
41. R2
42. V52
43. Rosenfeld,R., **Farm Women, Work, Farm and Family in the United States, Institute for Research in Social Science Monograph Series**, University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1985, p31.
44. R53
45. V14
46. V24
47. V24
48. V68
49. This opinion is confirmed by a survey of dairy farming women undertaken in the South Island, which concludes that as children become less of a commitment the women look away from the family for self fulfillment. p35.
50. R9
51. 100% yes response to question 24 of the questionnaire.
52. A trust is where a person has property which s/he holds or is bound to exercise for or on behalf of others. In the case of farms, this is usually a family trust and guarantees generational ownership of the property.

53. R18

54. This is confirmed by a survey of dairying women undertaken in the South Island, which states that women face traditional attitudes combined with limited experience and knowledge disadvantages. p37.

55. R25

56. V27

57. Rivers,M., **The Contribution of Women to the Rural Economy, Stage One: Scoping Report, MAF Technical Paper 92/4**, MAF Policy, Wellington, June 1992.

58. Rivers,M., **The Contribution of Women to the Rural Economy, Stage One: Scoping Report, MAF Technical Paper 92/4**, MAF Policy, Wellington, June 1992.

59. R18

60. R4

61. V11

62. V54

63. V44

64. V52

65. V63

66. V62

67. V68

68. V85

69. V12

70. R29

71. V52

72. V68

73. V23

74. V24

75. V24

76. V85

77. V33

78. V75

79. R6

80. V48

81. V21

82. V2

83. V41

84. V3

85. V52

86. V87

87. 5.9% of the sample did not respond.

88. Comment from Waipa dairy farmer participant in piloting of questionnaire.

89. V3

90. V23

91. V52

92. R9

93. V73

94. R4

95. V68

96. V35

97. R32

98. R13

99. V24

100. V10

101. McCullough, J. (Editor), **Rural News, 20.4.92**, Rural News Ltd, Auckland, 1992.

102. V17

103. V54

104. V2

105. Of the seven members of the Executive of Federated Farmers there have never been any women. There is one woman on the National Council at present, plus a Wdff delegate. In a phone conversation, a member of the Federated Farmers staff said that it was fair to say that 5-10 years ago there wasn't any women in the ranks.

106. V8

107. V21

108. **Waikato Times**, Independent Newspapers Ltd, Hamilton, 1992.

109. Ibid. 31.10.92.

110. R4

111. R3

112. R29

113. V35

114. V73

115. V85

116. V27

117. V54

118. V5

119. V87

120. V59

121. V75
122. V8
123. V8
124. Comment from male stock and station agency manager on 23.9.92.
125. Comment from female stock and station agency secretary on 23.9.92.
126. Comment from male accountant on 25.9.92.
127. Comment from male editor on 22.9.92.
128. Comment from male bank officer on 22.9.92.
129. Comment from female editor on 24.9.92.
130. Comment from male farming editor on 23.9.92.
131. Comment from male editor on 22.9.92.
132. Comment from male editor on 21.9.92.
133. R33
134. R4
135. Morgan,R.(Editor), **Ms. Vol 3, No 4, Jan/Feb 1993**, Lang Communications Inc, New York, 1993, p1.
136. Department Of Statistics, **Testing Time**, Department Of Statistics, Wellington, 1991.
137. R18
138. R13
139. Mackay,L.(Editor), **WAGMag, No 34, Dec 1989**, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1989.
140. Waring,M., "The Invisible Woman" in Cox,S., **Public and Private Worlds, Women in Contemporary New Zealand**, Allen and Unwin, Wellington, 1987.
141. Ibid. p132.
142. FAO, **Regional Expert Consultation on Database for Women in Agriculture 6-10 August 1990**, FAO, Thailand, 1990, p27.

143. Ibid. cited p28.
144. V44
145. Ministry of Women's Affairs, **Panui, No 20, June 1991**, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1991.
146. Ibid. p5.
147. CEDAW, **Status of New Zealand Women 1992**, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1992.
148. Ibid. p59.
149. Fish,J., "Feminists as well as Farmers: Jocelyn Fish" in Dunn,H. (Editor), **Dairy Exporter, Vol 67, No 10, April 1992**, NZ Dairy Exporter Ltd, Wellington, 1992, p27.
150. V29
151. R6
152. V13
153. R3
154. V24
155. Rivers,M. and Webber,D., **Public Policy and Rural Communities**, no publication details, May 1991.
156. Ibid. p42.
157. Op.Cit. CEDAW, p22.
158. R25
159. V11
160. V11
161. V52
162. V89
163. V8
164. Op.Cit. CEDAW, p30.

165. Ibid. p60.
166. R9
167. Continuing Education course fees at Waikato University rose by 25% in 1992, due to Study Right.
168. Op.Cit. CEDAW, p60.
169. Ibid.
170. Ibid. p61.
171. From interview with Jocelyn Fish on 27.1.93.
172. Op.Cit. CEDAW.
173. Ibid. p67.
174. Op.Cit. Fish, p25.
175. Wane,J., "**Mean-Spirited Makeover**" in Lynch,J. (Editor), **New Zealand Women's Weekly, July 13, 1992**, NZ Magazines Ltd, Auckland, 1992, p32.
176. V27
177. Stringleman,H.(Editor), **New Zealand Farmer, 13.5.92**, NZ Rural Press Ltd, Auckland, 1992.
178. Orman,T. (Editor), **Straight Furrow, 7.10.92**, The Point Blank Press Co Ltd, Wellington, 1992.
179. Ibid.
180. Johnston,G. (Editor), **Te Awamutu Courier, 26.1.93**, Couriers (NZ) Ltd, Te Awamutu, 1993.
181. Op.Cit. Fish, p25.
182. Op.Cit. CEDAW, p22.
183. From interview with Jocelyn Fish on 27.1.93.
184. Stringleman,H.(Editor), **New Zealand Farmer, 29.1.92**, NZ Rural Press Ltd, Auckland, 1992.
185. Op.Cit. Fish, p25.

186. Abercrombie,H. + Fitzgerald,R., "Survey of Women's Involvement in Dairy Farming", unpublished, Lincoln University, p34.
187. R53
188. From interview with Jocelyn Fish on 27.1.93.
189. Op.Cit. Rivers.
190. Ibid. p35.
191. Op.Cit. CEDAW, p59.
192. Op.Cit. Rivers, cited p38.
193. New Zealand Meat Producers Board and New Zealand Wool Board Electoral and Accountability Review Report, NZ Meat and Wool Boards, August 1992, p7.
194. Ibid. p19.
195. Op.Cit. Begg.
196. Ibid. p142.
197. Op.Cit. Waring.
198. Ibid. p142.
199. V26
200. Family farms are the rule in farming sectors of western societies, and worldwide 80% of women work in agriculture. Cited Delphy,C. and Leonard,D., Familiar Exploitation, A New Analysis of Marriage in Contemporary Western Societies, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1992, p196.
201. Delphy,C. and Leonard,D., Familiar Exploitation, A New Analysis of Marriage in Contemporary Western Societies, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1992.
202. Ibid. p200.
203. From speech given by Jocelyn Fish at Rural Women's Seminar, run by Livestock Improvement Corporation, in April 1992.
204. Op.Cit. Delphy and Leonard.
205. Ibid. p221.
206. From photocopy of 1976 Census form provided by Department of Statistics.

207. Op.Cit. Delphy and Leonard, 196.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abercrombie,H. + Fitzgerald,R., "Survey of Women's Involvement in Dairy Farming", unpublished, Lincoln University.
- Acharya,M., **Time Use Data and the Living Standards Measurement Study, LSMS Working Paper No 18**, The World Bank, Washington DC, 1982.
- As,D., "Time and Use of Time" in **OECD Social Indicator Development Programme, Special Studies, Nos 5,6,7,8**, OECD, Paris, 1982.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics, **Measuring Unpaid Household Work: Issues and Experimental Estimates**, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, 1990.
- Becker,G., "A Theory of the Allocation of Time" in Carter,C. (Editor), **The Economic Journal Vol 75**, MacMillan (Journals) Ltd, New York, 1965.
- Beechy,V., "Women and Production, A Critical Analysis" in Kuhn,A. and Wolpe,A., **Feminism and Materialism and Modes of Production**, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1978.
- Begg,M., **Rural Women : A Study of Some Dairy Farm Women in Piako County**, Thesis for M.Soc.Sc (Geography), University of Waikato, 1988, also published in Studies in Rural Change No 15, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 1988.
- Bell,C. and Adair,V., **Women and Change, A Study of New Zealand Women**, National Council of Women, Wellington, 1985.
- Bittman,M., **Juggling Time, How Australian Families Use Time**, Office of the Status of Women, Australia, 1991.
- Bland,M.(Editor), **Dairyman**, NZ Rural Press Ltd, Auckland, 1992.
- Boston,J. and Dalziel,P.(Editors), **The Decent Society**, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992.
- Briar,C., Munford,R. and Nash,M. (Editors), **Superwoman Where Are You? Social Policy and Women's Experience**, The Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1992.

- Bunkle,P. and Hughes,H., **Women in New Zealand Society**, Allen and Unwin, Wellington, 1980.
- Buttel,F. and Gillespie,G., "The Sexual Division of Farm Household Labour" in Christenson,J.(Editor), **Rural Sociology, Vol 49, No2, Summer 1984**, Rural Sociological Society, Kentucky, 1984.
- CEDAW, **Status of New Zealand Women 1992**, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1992.
- Cox,S., **Public and Private Worlds - Women in Contemporary New Zealand**, Allen and Unwin, Wellington, 1987.
- Delphy,C. and Leonard,D., **Familiar Exploitation, A New Analysis of Marriage in Contemporary Western Societies**, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1992.
- Dempsey,K., "Economic Inequality between Men and Women in an Australian Rural Community", in **The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, Vol 23, No 3, ANZJS, 1987**.
- Department Of Statistics, **Agricultural Statistics 1991**, Department Of Statistics, Wellington, 1992.
- Department Of Statistics, **1986 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Rural Population Statistics Series A, Report 3**, Department Of Statistics, Wellington, 1988.
- Department Of Statistics, **New Zealand Official 1992 Yearbook (95th Ed)**, Department Of Statistics, Wellington, 1992.
- Department Of Statistics, **New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1976, Vol 4, Labour Force**, Department Of Statistics, Wellington, 1976.
- Department Of Statistics, **New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1981, Vol 4, Labour Force**, Department Of Statistics, Wellington, 1986.
- Department Of Statistics, **New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1986, Labour Force, Part 1**, Department Of Statistics, Wellington, 1986.
- Department Of Statistics, **Options for the Valuation of Unpaid Work in New Zealand 1991**, Department Of Statistics, Wellington, 1991.
- Department Of Statistics, **Testing Time**, Department Of Statistics, Wellington, 1991.
- Dex,S., **The Sexual Division of Work: Conceptual Revolutions in the Social Sciences**, Wheatsheaf, Brighton, 1985.
- Dunn,H.(Editor), **The Dairy Exporter**, New Zealand Dairy Exporter Ltd, Wellington, 1992.
- Evans,M., **Edna Vol 2**, Marlborough House Ltd, Auckland, no publication date.

- FAO, Collecting Data from Akha Women in Northern Thailand, Analysing Methodologies, no publishing details.
- FAO, Regional Expert Consultation on Database for Women in Agriculture 6-10 August 1990, FAO, Thailand, 1990.
- FAO, Towards A Comprehensive Time Use Study, FAO, no publishing details.
- FAO, Use of Different Research Tools in Time Use Survey: A Study of Farm Women in Haryana (India) 1990-91, unpublished work.
- FAO, Uses of Time Use Data, FAO, no publishing details.
- Fish,J., "Feminists as well as Farmers: Jocelyn Fish" in Dunn,H. (Editor), Dairy Exporter, Vol 67, No 10, April 1992, NZ Dairy Exporter Ltd, Wellington, 1992.
- Fowler,F., Survey Research Methods, Applied Social Research Methods Series, Vol 1, Sage Publications, London, 1988.
- French,M., The War Against Women, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1992.
- Gill, Koopman-Boyden, Arnold, Willmott and WDFP, A National Survey of Rural Women, University of Canterbury, Christchurch 1976.
- Henshaw,D., Jock, Hodder + Stoughton, Auckland, 1976.
- Huffman,W., "The Value of Productive Time of Farm Wives: Iowa, North Carolina, and Oklahoma", in Tomek,W. (Editor), American Journal of Agricultural Economics, Vol 58, No 5, 1976, American Agricultural Economics Association, Massachusetts, 1976.
- Ironmonger,D.(Editor), Households Work, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1989.
- Jagger and Struhl, Feminist Frameworks: Alternative Theoretical Accounts of the Relations between Women and Men, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1978.
- James,B., "Feminism: Making the Private World Public" in Shirley,I., Development Tracks: The Theory and Practice of Community, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1982.
- Jensen,J., With These Hands: Women Working on the Land, Feminist Press, New York, 1981.
- Johnston,G. (Editor), Te Awamutu Courier, Couriers (NZ) Ltd, Te Awamutu, 1993.
- Kalton,G., Introduction to Survey Sampling, Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, No 07-035, Sage Publications, Los Angeles, 1983.
- Keating,N. and Munro,B., "Farm Women/Farm Work" in Katz,P. (Editor), Sex Roles, Vol 19, No 3/4, Plenum Press, New York, 1988.

- Kish,L. (Editor), **Sampling Methods for Agricultural Surveys**, FAO, Rome, 1989.
- Koopman-Boyden,P. (Editor), **Families in New Zealand Society**, Methuen Publications (NZ) Ltd, Wellington, 1978.
- Latta,R., "Victorian Attitudes on Wife;s Role in Farming" in Rennie,N. (Editor), **NZ Farmer, Vol 104, No 11, 1983**, NZ Newspapers Ltd, Auckland, 1983.
- Lyson,T., "A Note on the Increase of Female Farmers in the US and NZ", in **The Australia and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, Vol 26, No 1**, ANZJS, 1990.
- McCullough,J. (Editor), **Rural News**, Rural News Ltd, Auckland, 1992.
- Mackay,L.(Editor), **WAGMag, No 34, Dec 1989**, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1989.
- Masud,J., **Database on Women in Agriculture: Pilot Study on Testing of Instrument in Malaysia**, FAO, Malaysia, 1991.
- Millman,M. and Kanter,R. (Editors), **Another Voice, Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science**, Anchor Books, New York, 1975.
- Ministry of Women's Affairs, "Juggling Time" in **Ministry of Women's Affairs' Newsletter June 1991**, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1991.
- Ministry of Women's Affairs, **Panui, No 20, June 1991**, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1991.
- Morgan,R.(Editor), **Ms. Vol 3, No 4, Jan/Feb 1993**, Lang Communications Inc, New York, 1993.
- Morkeberg,H., "Working Conditions of Women Married to Self-Employed Farmers" in Muller,P.(Editor), **Sociologia Ruralis, Vol 18, Nos 2-3, 1978**, Assen, Netherlands, 1978.
- New Zealand Herald**, Wilson and Horton Ltd, Auckland, 1992.
- New Zealand Meat Producers Board and New Zealand Wool Board Electoral and Accountability Review Report**, NZ Meat and Wool Boards, August 1992.
- Orman,T. (Editor), **Straight Furrow**, The Point Blank Press Co Ltd, Wellington, 1992.
- Overholt,C., Anderson,M. et al (Editors), **Gender Roles in Development Projects, A Case Book**, Kumarian Press, Connecticut, 1985.
- Paine,M., **Use of Galileo Methodology For Extension Evaluation, MAF Policy Technical Paper 92/2**, MAF Technology, Tauranga, April 1992.
- Paterson,J., "The Gentle Touch" in Rennie,N. (Editor), **NZ Farmer, Vol 104, No 10**, NZ Newspapers Ltd, Auckland, 1983.

- Pearson,J., "Note on Female Farmers" in Coop,J. (Editor), **Rural Sociology, Vol 44, No 1, Spring 1979**, Rural Sociological Society, Tennessee, 1979.
- Pearson,J., "Women Who Farm: A Preliminary Portrait" in Katz,P.(Editor), **Sex Roles, A Journal Of Research, Vol 6, No 4**, Plenum Press, New York, 1980.
- Pomeroy,A., **The Politics Of Inequality: Farming Women**, Office of Minister of Agriculture and Rural Affairs, New South Wales, 1988.
- Rabel,M. and Meister,A., **The Impact on Farmers of Changes in Rural Servicing Infrastructure, Natural Resource Economics No 16**, Massey University, Palmerston North, 1991.
- Reimer,B., "Women as Farm Labour" in Falk,W. (Editor), **Rural Sociology, Vol 51, No 2, Summer 1986**, Rural Sociological Society, Montana, 1986.
- Rivers,M., **The Contribution of Women to the Rural Economy, Stage One: Scoping Report, MAF Technical Paper 92/4**, MAF Policy, Wellington, June 1992.
- Rivers,M. and Webber,D., **Public Policy and Rural Communities**, no publication details, May 1991.
- Roberts,H., **Doing Feminist Research**, Routledge, London, 1988.
- Rosenfeld,R., **Farm Women, Work, Farm and Family in the United States, Institute for Research in Social Science Monograph Series**, University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1985.
- Sachs,C., **The Invisible Farmers, Women and Agricultural Production**, Rowman and Allanheld, New Jersey, 1983.
- Sawer,B., "Predictors of the Farm Wife's Involvement in General Management and Adoption Decisions" in Bealer,R. (Editor), **Rural Sociology, Vol 38, No 4, Winter 73**, Rural Sociological Society, Pennsylvania, 1973.
- Shirkat Gah Team, **FAO Pilot Project on Time Use Surveys Case Study - Pakistan**, FAO, Bangkok, 1991.
- Sparrow,M. and Young,B. (Editors), **Problems and Prospects for Women on Farms, Studies in Rural Change, No 9**, University of Canterbury, Canterbury, 1983.
- Staudt,K., "Class and Sex in the Politics of Women Farmers", in Harvard,W. (Editor), **The Journal of Politics, Vol 41, No 2, May 1979**, Southern Political Science Association, Florida, 1979.
- Stephens,A., **Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation, Bangkok**, FAO RAPA Publication, Bangkok, 1988.

- Stringleman,H.(Editor), **New Zealand Farmer**, NZ Rural Press Ltd, Auckland, 1992.
- Thomas,F.(Editor), **Dairying Today**, Farmhouse Publications, Auckland, 1992.
- Waikato Times**, Independent Newspapers Ltd, Hamilton, 1992.
- Wane,J., "Mean-Spirited Makeover" in Lynch,J. (Editor), **New Zealand Women's Weekly, July 13, 1992**, NZ Magazines Ltd, Auckland, 1992.
- Waring,M., **Counting For Nothing**, Allen and Unwin Port Nicholson Press, Wellington, 1988.
- Waring,M., "The Invisible Woman" in Cox,S., **Public and Private Worlds, Women in Contemporary New Zealand**, Allen and Unwin, Wellington, 1987.
- Wassenaar,D. and Oestrich,H., **How to Conduct a Survey**, Lansford Publishing Company, California, 1977.
- Whatmore,S., **Farming Women, Gender, Work and Family Enterprise**, Macmillan Academic and Professional Ltd, London, 1991.
- Wilkinson,E. and Bharadway,L., "Aspirations and Task Involvement as Related to Decision Making Among Farm Husbands and Wives" in Warner,W. (Editor), **Rural Sociology, Vol 33, No 1**, Rural Sociological Society, Wisconsin, 1968.
- Willis,E., "A Study of the Contribution of Family Labour on Dairy Farms in South Taranaki, New Zealand", a research paper submitted for BA(Hons) in Geography, Department of Geography, Victoria University, Wellington, 1975.
- Wilson,B. "Rural Forum: Tragedy- Then She Beat Farming Challenge" in Rennie,N.(Editor), **NZ Farmer, Vol 103, No 3**, NZ Newspapers Ltd, Auckland, 1982.
- Wilson,J., "Public Work and Social Participation: The Case of Farm Women" in McCall,G. (Editor), **The Sociological Quarterly, Vol 31, No 1, Spring 1990**, Jai Press Inc, Connecticut, 1990.
- Wright,G., "Women in Agriculture" in Broad,H.(Editor), **Straight Furrow, Vol 41, No 23, 1981**, Federated Farmers, Wellington, 1981.