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Feminist Agroecology: Perspectives from Female Farmers in Norway

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Abstract

Agroecology is a solution to transform food systems and meet the multifold crises of climate, biodiversity loss, food insecurity and social inequality. These crises impact people differently based on gender, ethnicity, religion, age, and other intersections. Therefore, agroecology should include political and feminist dimensions to address power relations and inequalities in the food system and explore a diversity of perspectives through participatory research when the context requires it. In Norway only 16,7% of registered farmers are female, and there is limited research on gender in Norwegian agriculture. This thesis explores the experiences and perspectives of female farmers in Norway and how their perspectives may contribute to transforming food systems. I conducted semi-structured interviews with nine female farmers and used thematical analysis to identify their perspectives on challenges and opportunities.

Participants experience a pressured economy and high workload combined with limited welfare schemes and low availability of substitute workers as challenging. This affects women differently than men, as women complete most of the reproductive work. The participants also describe leadership, the amount of administrative work and agriculture policies as challenging to manage. Participants identify care as a female value and implement this in their work through sustainable practices for improved animal welfare, regenerative/organic farming, and community involvement. A transdisciplinary, participatory, and action-oriented approach to agroecology, sensitive to power and social relations, can contribute to transforming food systems. Feminist perspectives will contribute to transforming food systems by identifying gendered roles and highlighting the importance of reproductive work and shifting values from efficiency and profit to care for people, animals, and nature.

Sammendrag (in Norwegian)

Agroøkologi presenteres som en løsning for å transformere matsystemer og møte de mange krisene med klima, tap av biologisk mangfold, matusikkerhet og sosial ulikhet. Disse krisene påvirker mennesker ulikt basert på kjønn, etnisitet, religion, alder og andre identitetsfaktorer. Derfor bør agroøkologi inkludere politiske og feministiske dimensjoner for å adressere maktforhold og ulikheter i matsystemet og utforske et mangfold av perspektiver gjennom deltakende forskning når konteksten krever det. I Norge er kun 16,7 % av registrerte bønder kvinner, og det er begrenset forskning på kjønn i norsk landbruk. Denne oppgaven utforsker erfaringene og perspektivene til kvinnelige bønder i Norge og hvordan deres perspektiver kan bidra til å transformere matsystemer. Jeg gjennomførte semistrukturerte intervjuer med ni kvinnelige bønder og brukte tematisk analyse for å identifisere deres perspektiver på utfordringer og muligheter.

Deltakerne opplever presset økonomi og høy arbeidsbelastning kombinert med begrensede velferdsordninger og lav tilgjengelighet av vikarer som utfordrende. Dette påvirker kvinner annerledes enn menn, da kvinnene fullfører det meste av det reproduktive arbeidet i hjemmet. Deltakerne beskriver også lederskap, mengden med administrativt arbeid og landbrukspolitikk som utfordrende. Deltakerne identifiserer omsorg som en kvinnelig verdi og iverksetter dette i sitt arbeid gjennom bærekraftig praksis for forbedret dyrevelferd, regenerativt/økologisk jordbruk og samfunnsengasjement. En tverrfaglig, inkluderende og handlingsorientert tilnærming til agroøkologi, som tar hensyn til makt og sosiale relasjoner, har potensiale til å bidra til å transformere matsystemer. Feministiske perspektiver kan bidra til å transformere matsystemer ved å identifisere kjønnsdelte roller og synliggjøre viktigheten av reproduktivt arbeid og skifte verdier fra effektivitet og profitt til omsorg for mennesker, dyr og natur.

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Feminist Agroecology: Perspectives from Female Farmers in Norway

1.0 Introduction

The global food system is in a state of crisis, hunger has been on the rise during the Covid pandemic, obesity is high and food security is increasingly more unstable with supply countries at war and thus increasing prices for food and agricultural inputs (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP, & WHO, 2021). The global food system is dominated by the industrialisation of agriculture, uneven liberalisation of agricultural trade and corporate concentration (Clapp, 2020; McMichael, 2009). The industrial agricultural model has expanded across the globe, increasing food production significantly, but also causing grave social and ecological impacts (Rockström, Edenhofer, Gaertner, & DeClerck, 2020). The global food system has reduced food to a commodity and pressure is put on farmers, farmworkers, and the ecosystems, to maintain this unsustainable food system (Clapp, 2020; Trevilla Espinal, Soto Pinto, Morales, & Estrada-Lugo, 2021). Agroecology presents an alternative and a pathway to a sustainable and just food system (Bezner Kerr, 2022, p. 139).

Agroecology can shortly be defined as “the ecology of the food system” and draws from social sciences as well as agronomy, ecology and economy (Francis et al., 2003). Agroecology is both a science, a practice, and a social and political movement (or a combination of the three) (Wezel et al., 2009). The scientific discipline started as a study of crop ecology and has evolved to include a systems perspective of the agroecosystem and later the whole food system. In my master thesis, I follow the transdisciplinary, participatory, and action-oriented agroecology approach (Méndez, Bacon, & Cohen, 2016). It has a broader aim to transform the food system and address social and economic dimensions as well as ecological sustainability and include political dimensions.

Agroecology evolved partly, especially among the social and political movements in Latin America, as a resistance to the expansion of the green revolution and the harmful ecological and social effects of industrial agriculture (Gliessman, 2016). In Latin America, the movements have influenced agroecology, while this is less present in the US and Northern Europe, where the focus of agroecology is as a

scientific discipline. This may be part of the reason feminist and political research perspectives in agroecology are emerging in Latin America and are still limited in the US and Northern Europe. The political and social context also differs, with more prominent inequalities that are important to address in Latin America.

“[T]he lack of emphasis on political dimensions [in Agroecology]— and on gender as a critical social relation that (re)produces inequality—risks diluting the movement and reducing agroecology to a set of technocratic practices.” (Zaremba, Elias, Rietveld, & Bergamini, 2021, p. 13)

The political dimensions of agroecology and gender must explicitly be addressed, to maintain the ambition of a systems perspective and a transdisciplinary approach, as Zaremba et. al argue above (2021). Vispo and Romero-Niño (2020) describe examples of agroecology scaling in Spain and Columbia, where women were disempowered and their contribution during the scaling up process was forgotten. Another example is how the Food systems Summit promoted technology and innovation-based solutions rather than seeking structural transformation of food systems that would benefit female, indigenous and small-scale farmers (Clapp, Noyes, & Grant, 2021).

Including feminist perspectives and theories contribute to simultaneously addressing both ecological crises and social inequalities. They bring attention to women and marginalized groups, that all play important, but often invisible roles in the food system (Mestmacher & Braun, 2021; Zaremba et al., 2021). Feminist perspectives will also ask questions from new angles and address power relations and wider injustices in the food system. Therefore, this thesis will draw from theories and literature with feminist perspectives.

1.1 Towards a feminist agroecology

Feminist agroecology literature calls for agroecological research to address gender and other social inequalities in the food system (Zaremba et al., 2021). Female agroecologists in Latin America shout, “No Feminism, no agroecology” and critique agroecology for not being as diverse or dialogical as it is portrayed to be (Morales, 2021). Agroecology literature addresses gender roles, but literature that addresses gender critically and proactively is still limited (Sylvester & Little, 2021).

Feminist agroecology literature builds on theories from ecofeminism, feminist political ecology and feminist economy. These theories have explored the links between women and nature and have created narratives of women as both victims and saviours (Leach, 2016). Ecofeminism argued that women have a closer relationship to nature than men and that this connection is rooted in the shared oppression of women and nature under the capitalistic and patriarchal world order (Mies & Shiva, 1993). Feminist political Ecology (FPE) criticize ecofeminism for essentializing women and not addressing differences among women and the wider structural context (Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, & Wangari, 1996).

In addition to addressing gender, FPE addresses social equity and intersectionality; how people's positions rely on multiple intersections such as ethnicity, culture, skin colour, age, and economic status. Through this lens, drawing from political ecology and feminist theories, FPE shed light on wider complexities and power relations in environmental management (Rocheleau et al., 1996).

Trevilla Espinal et al. introduce a matrix to better understand oppression and power relations in the food system building on the above-mentioned theories (2021). This matrix describes multiple levels of oppression that men and women face, and how economic profit for the few is systematically favoured through multiple interwoven forms of oppression. They identify three interwoven power hierarchies: heteropatriarchy, capitalism, and colonialism (Trevilla Espinal et al., 2021).

Heteropatriarchy is a social system that perpetuates oppressive dualism, such as men-women, masculine-feminine, and developed-underdeveloped (Trevilla Espinal et al., 2021). This is present in food systems with a gendered division of labour where typical women's work, childbearing, housework, cooking, and gardening are considered social reproduction and fall outside of what is considered productive work. Capitalism, the dominant economic system, thrives upon women's unpaid reproductive work, as only activities that generate money are counted. While colonialism upholds western and masculine epistemologies, rejects peasant and indigenous knowledge, and threaten local varieties of crops. In combination, these power hierarchies maintain a food system that prioritises large-scale industrial agriculture and the accumulation of money and power in fewer and fewer hands (Harvey, 2014; Trevilla Espinal et al., 2021).

Women make up 43 % of the agricultural labour force in developing countries and play key roles in securing and cooking food for their families (Quisumbing et al., 2014; Rao, Pradhan, & Roy, 2017). Yet, women have limited access to resources such as land, inputs (i.e., seeds, fertilizers, pesticides), finances and markets, and have low decision-making power on a household, local, national, and global scales compared to men (Njuki et al., 2021; Rao et al., 2017). These constraints make it more challenging for women to farm and to make a decent income from their farm production, which in turn become constraints to feeding themselves and their families or prioritising adaption to climate change.

Sylvester and Little's feminist research in Costa Rica identified factors that support and/or hinder women's participation in agroecology (2021). Key barriers for these women were triple burdens, microaggressions, lack of understanding of indigenous cultures and costs of farming. Triple burden refers to how women typically have the responsibility of reproductive work in the household and for the community, in addition to the productive work they complete (Sylvester & Little, 2021).

Microaggression refers to prejudice and comments the women get (from both men and women) for taking up a "man's place" and not conforming to patriarchal norms in society. Their research identified some factors that could be experienced both as support and as barriers, depending on the women's situations. They included: government support, credit and economic capital, technology, access to land and leadership opportunities. Agroecology organisations and indigenous knowledge were both identified just as supporting factors (Sylvester & Little, 2021). While the socio-cultural and political context is hugely different in Norway it is interesting to compare if Norwegian female farmers have similar experiences to female farmers in Latin America.

Feminist agroecology will strengthen the transdisciplinary ambitions of agroecology. What should be addressed by feminist agroecology will differ in each context.

Therefore, applying a transdisciplinary, participatory, and action-oriented approach, while being sensitive to gender and power relations, will be important.

1.2 Background: Gender in the Norwegian food system

Norway is a country known for scoring high on gender equality and the Human Development Index, but there is still a way to go to reach equality. Only 16,7 % of registered farmers in Norway are female, and there is a wage gap of 40 % (not adjusted for the size of production) between the income of women and men in agriculture (SSB, 2022a). The share of female farmers in Norway is low compared to 28% female farmers in the EU overall and 44,9% in Latvia and Lithuania, but high compared to Malta, Denmark, and Germany, which have under 10% share of female farmers (numbers from 2016) (Eurostat, 2021).

Women always played important roles in the Norwegian food system, but their roles have been changing. They were the farmer's spouse, the milkmaid, and experts at conserving food, now they also take on the role of the main farmer. Norwegian agriculture has over the past 50-70 years become more mechanized and specialized both at the farm and regional level. This has significantly reduced the number of farms, and thereby also reduced the labour resources needed (SSB, 2022a). From large families working together on the farm, the workload was reduced to as low as one person throughout the year.

There was a masculinisation of agriculture, due to men taking over typical women's tasks such as milking, with the use of new machines (Haugen, 2013). However, mechanized agriculture also gives opportunities for women as it makes many tasks physically easier to complete, reducing gender differences here. A more recent innovation is the milking robot that further reduces the heavy physical work and gives more flexibility to dairy farmers. A study suggests this does not support gender equality in the home, as male farmers spend the new flexible hours on farm work, while female farmers tended to spend this on housework/family (Hårstad, 2019).

While mechanization of agriculture has been important, the introduction of electricity, water and mechanization of the household has been even more important for women. Tap water and technology such as washing machines have reduced the burden of household tasks. This was one of the most important demands by women farmer groups in the 1940s and 50s organised by the smallholder's union in Norway (Furuberg, 2013).

Family farming and the tradition of farms being inherited from one generation to the next still stands strong in Norway (Zahl-Thanem, Fuglestad, & Vik, 2018). This is protected through law. “Odelsloven” (1974), is a law that defines the inheritance rights at a farm, where the first-born child has the best claim. It was first in 1974 that women got equal inheritance rights as their brothers. Before 1974, it was the oldest son who had the first claim to inherit the farm. The number of female farmers steadily increased after the change in this law.

The Norwegian food system is shaped both by the market and agricultural policies, and the farmer unions can influence policies through annual negotiations. These negotiation institutions, import taxes, market regulation and agricultural subsidies are all important to meet the political goals of self-sufficiency, food security, habitation in rural areas and healthy ecosystems. Norway has only 3% arable land, therefore it has been important to provide subsidies to support farmers who farm in more difficult conditions and to supplement their income from the market to ensure the different political and societal goals. The wholesale and grocery stores in Norway are managed mainly by three big actors, at the same time, the processing of food is managed by national farmer cooperatives and a few other larger producers. These developments in the food value chains in Norway have separated the farmers from the food, and food has become a commodity bought in a grocery store like any other product.

Income in the agriculture sector is on average lower than, for example, industry workers (SSB, 2022c). It is common to supplement with part-time work or that one in a couple on a farm works outside the farm operation. Farmers are self-employed and have different welfare schemes and arrangements for substitute workers to cover sick leave, parental leave, and holidays (Landbruksdirektoratet). However, these are limited and the bureaucratic demands you must comply with to acquire them can be difficult as the interviewed farmers addressed. When a farmer is on leave, they only get support to hire substitute workers for 7.5 hours per day. This is not enough to cover the workload the farmers usually complete by themselves, especially during harvest and other busy periods. An additional challenge is the low availability of farmworkers to cover for the farmers (Bergslid, 2012). The combination of a poor economy, high workload, limited welfare schemes and low availability of farmworkers to substitute them makes farming difficult to combine with family life. This is

especially difficult for women, with pregnancy and breastfeeding, and research finds this to be one of the greatest challenges for women (Bergslid, 2012; Haugen, 2013).

Female and male farmers in Norway have different challenges and perspectives, however, there is limited research on the perspectives of female farmers in Norway. I want to build on and contribute to this research and feminist agroecology. There is a need to better understand the women's situation and what they see as challenges and opportunities, and my research questions therefore are:

- 1) What challenges do female farmers in Norway meet and what opportunities do they see?
- 2) How can feminist perspectives contribute to creating sustainable and just food systems?

2.0 Methodology

In this thesis research, I take an exploratory approach to learn from the women working in the food system in Norway.

2.1 Data collection

For my data collection, I conducted in-depth interviews and participant observation with nine female farmers in Norway. I chose semi-structured interviews as this would allow for the participants to talk more freely and to go deeper into themes that they found relevant. I prepared an interview guide that I followed during the interviews to help me stick to the boundaries of my thesis topic (Appendix 1). I travelled to the participant's farms to conduct most of the interviews in person. The participants also gave me a tour of their farm where we had informal conversations, and they described more about their work. At one farm I also did participant observation while they had a foster count, or midwife check-up, of the sheep. I interviewed Åse and Sofia together, and the others individually. Two of the interviews were conducted online through Microsoft Teams (with the participants Aina and Irene). The interview with Idil was conducted in English and the others in Norwegian. The interviews were recorded with Diktafon, a recording app developed by the University of Oslo. The app is connected to Nettskjema, enabling safe temporary storage of the audio file.

I interviewed nine female farmers across several regions in Norway. I used purposive sampling to identify the farmers to interview. I used my network of friends, teachers at NMBU and volunteers in Spire¹, and further snowballed through contacts they gave me. My selection criteria were women that own and/or actively participate in the work at the farm. I attempted to get a diversity of farm locations, types of production and age of participants. I have intentionally chosen women that are active for example in farmers' organisations, media, or new initiatives such as market gardening, regenerative agriculture or REKO. For collecting information that could help me answer my research questions I saw it as purposeful to recruit women that would speak openly about their experiences as farmers and their perspectives on the Norwegian food system.

¹ Spire is an environment and development organization where I volunteer alongside my studies, see more info at spireorg.no.

Participant	Age	Region	Type of production	Production size*	Ownership/ Workload
Idil Akdos	35-45	Akershus	Organic vegetables, Beekeeping (CSB)	Small, diverse	Farm manager and beekeeper (supplement with other part-time work)
Katinka Kilian	35-45	Hardanger, Vestland	Organic Vegetables (CSA) and flowers	Small, diverse	Bought farm with a partner. Both part-time
Kathrine Kinn	25-35	Telemark	Dairy, Sheep, Beef	Medium/ Small, diverse	Partner inherited. Both full-time
Aina Eggen	Above 45	Hedmark, North	Dairy	Medium?	Inherited. Full-time. (partner full-time outside**)
Hanne Guåker	Above 45	Hedmark, South	Turkey, Grains	Large/ medium	Inherited. Full-time.
Åse Haugstad	Above 45	Oppland	Dairy processing(ysteri), Dairy farm	Medium, Diverse	Partner inherited. Both full-time. She leads cheese making.
Sofia Maria Bang Elm	25-35	Oppland	Vegetables (market garden), Dairy	Small, diverse	Partner inherited. She independently runs a market garden. (Works part-time at other farm operations in winter).
Irene Dalland	25-35	Vestland	Regenerative Beef and Sheep, meat processing	Small, diverse	Partner inherited. Full-time. (Partner full-time outside**. Her part-time outside this winter).
Nora Sandberg	25-35	Hedmark, South	Dairy, grains	Large	Inherited. Full-time (partner full-time outside**).

Table 1: Overview of the interviewed farmers.

*Production size: Compared to average farm size for their type of production in Norway

**Outside: Here I refer to those being employed/self-employed outside the farm operation.

CSA= community supported Agriculture, CSB= community supported beekeeping

2.2 Data Analysis

I conducted a thematical analysis of the interviews. I found this method useful with my explorative approach, where codes and categories were identified in the dataset, and later organised into themes. This allows for the dataset to talk for itself, without using pre-set themes.

I transcribed the recorded interviews into a Word file, except for the first interview that was conducted in English where I used Otter.ai for part of the transcription. While I transcribed, I marked thematically relevant sentences in the documents and drew mind maps on paper of topics that kept reoccurring. These mind maps gave me initial insight into what themes were relevant for my analysis.

Later I read the transcribed interviews and identified excerpts of text that I summarised and gave a code. I organised the coded excerpts by categories and themes in an excel document. Simultaneously I created a code tree that I kept editing during the analysis process (Fig1). As new codes emerged in later interviews, I revised the code tree and added or merged codes into new themes/categories. The final version of the code tree with themes and categories is attached in Appendix 3.

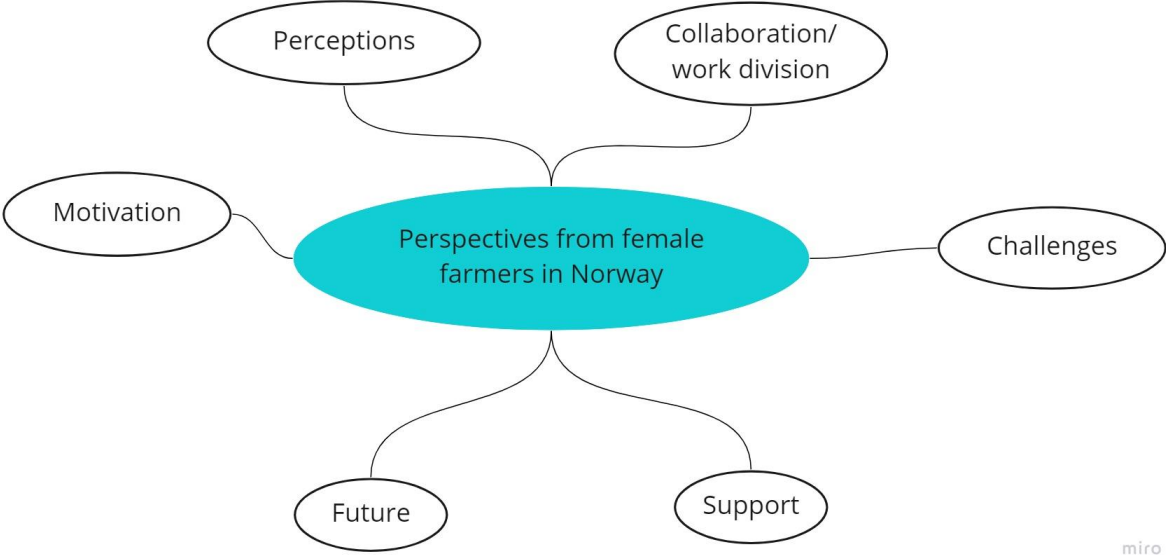


Figure 1 Code tree for thematic analysis with the 6 identified themes. (Developed using Miro)

2.3 Reliability of data

During the planning and throughout my thesis work, I have taken multiple different measures to ensure the reliability and validity of my research. As I have used qualitative methods for data collection and analysis, I consider the trustworthiness of my research based on the four criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Bryman, 2012).

Credibility here means that I must ensure the research findings in my thesis corresponds with reality (Bryman, 2012). I used an interview guide to answer my research questions, but with open-ended questions to allow participants to answer and reflect in their own words. Topics that were repeated in the first interviews, were prompted in later interviews if they did not come up, to confirm the relevance of the topics. Many of the same answers kept reoccurring in the interviews, suggesting that the research achieved theoretical saturation and had a good sample size.

To confirm that the research findings correspond with reality as experienced by my participants I did respondent validation (Bryman, 2012). Direct quotes from interviews, but also excerpts of how their responses were presented and discussed in the thesis were sent out to participants for citation checks over email.

In the initial research design, I planned a workshop where my findings would be presented and discussed in a focus group with other female farmers. This workshop would have been an important space for respondent validation and exploring connections between the different themes/categories.

I applied multiple methods to triangulate and increase credibility by comparing findings from different methods. Most of the interviews were conducted in person at the participants' farms allowing for some participant observation. In the initial research design, the workshop, as well as participant observation, were key to achieving triangulation.

The findings in this thesis are **transferable** within a Norwegian context but have limited transferability in other contexts (Bryman, 2012). My research is representative of female farmers in Norway, as I have diversity in size and type of production, age, and regions. I lack representation from Northern regions and do not cover all types of production, so there might be more specific challenges that female farmers face dependent on their context. However, the key findings about challenges such as

time, economy and how this affects the women (especially with children) in different ways with poor welfare schemes and low substitute worker availability, are transferable to farmers across Norway.

The transferability outside Norway is more difficult to define, as there are greater contextual differences. Even in neighbouring countries agricultural policies and the organisation of food systems differ and must be accounted for. However, there are similarities in challenges that female farmers face across the world, such as triple burdens and microaggressions, but this will impact women differently depending on their context and what support networks they have (Sylvester & Little, 2021). While I in this thesis argue that welfare systems are limited, this is compared to other occupations in Norway, not with farmers in other countries.

Dependability concerns to what degree the study can be replicated and if the findings will be similar. This is difficult in qualitative research because social settings do not freeze, and therefore repeating the study is not likely to produce the same results (Bryman, 2012). I have kept an audit trail throughout the research process, as summarized in the methods section and have attached the interview guide in the appendix. To ensure privacy and data protection the data collected and processed will not be archived after submission of the thesis, see appendix 2 for the consent form. Therefore, I have attempted to give a rich description of both how the research was conducted and how I have drawn conclusions based on the collected data.

Confirmability is achieved in the thesis by being transparent about how my role affects the research and the findings (Bryman, 2012). I have reflected on my role and how it shapes research design, interviews and analysis throughout the research process, this reflexivity is discouraged by some, while I have found it important for my research (Bryman, 2012; Nygaard, 2017).

It was a combination of personal experiences, values and academic background that led me to choose a feminist research perspective within agroecology. I grew up on a dairy farm that has been sold out of the family and have my own reasoning for not becoming a farmer. Alongside my studies, I have been engaged in civil society organisations, where we advocate for just and sustainable food systems and transform unjust economic and political structures in society. I am passionate about these topics, and I am eager to contribute to improving the welfare of farmers and the

sustainability of the food system. While both my bachelor's and master's degree are multi-disciplinary, I took social science courses. Especially the courses in political ecology and gender and development, as well as the action-oriented introductory course to agroecology, have influenced my choice of an explorative approach combined with critical feminist theories.

My positionality influenced my choice of research topic and research design, and therefore it does influence my findings. The practice of reflecting in a journal helps me differentiate between my personal beliefs and what I can discuss in my thesis based on collected data and literature review.

3.0 Results and Discussion

This chapter is structured according to the themes presented in figure 1, where findings from each theme will be presented and then discussed. In the following sections, I will 1) describe the participants' working relations and how the participants collaborate with their partners and employees related to farm work as well as housework. 2) Present the women's perceptions of what it is to be a farmer and what they consider to be strengths among female farmers. 3) Discuss: what motivates the participants; the key challenges they face; important support structures and; their visions and hopes for the future. To conclude this chapter is a summary section where I draw lines between the themes and discuss the key findings and relate them to feminist agroecology literature.

3.1 Collaboration (with a partner)

To run a farm is not a one-person job, and Norway still has mostly family farms. It is therefore interesting to explore how the participants collaborate with their partners, family members and employees. Most farms in Norway today do not have income for more than one person, but usually still rely on their partner, family members or employees to help during busy periods. Some of the participants have managed to build an income for both themselves and their partners full-time on the farm, and/or have some employees. In the following paragraphs, the different working situations and collaboration at their farm will be described.

3.1.1 Division of tasks and responsibilities at the farm

Among the participants some have inherited the farm, others are married/live-in partners with someone that has inherited the farm and one participant has bought a farm together with her partner. As described in table 1, it varies between the participants if they work full-time at the farm or have part-time work outside the farm, and it varies if they have a partner and how involved the participants' partners are.

Idil stands out among my participants as she does not live at the farm she works at and has a non-Norwegian background. We talked both about her experiences as farm manager at a vegetable farm and her experiences running her beekeeping initiative. As a farm manager, she oversees the other farm workers and volunteers, manages day-to-day tasks at the farm, and organises orders from REKO/restaurants and the farm shop. She has great autonomy in how to organise the work but also collaborates closely with the farm owner. In addition, she has her beekeeping initiative, which she now organises as community supported beekeeping (CSB).

Aina and Nora are full-time dairy farmers, while their partners have full-time work outside the farm. Their partners still help during busy seasons and with herding animals and such. For example, Aina gets help from her partner with accounting as he has more experience with this, but she is the one in charge and has all the responsibility from day to day. She describes the work he contributes as bonus work.

«My husband works outside the farm, I am responsible for managing the farm, I usually say what he does is bonus work. He helps occasionally, but he has enough with his work. I am the one managing the farm... even if we are based on family agriculture, I have parents that help and kids that help, but I am the one with the responsibility.» – Aina²

Nora runs a cooperative dairy production together with two neighbours (In Norwegian: Samdrift). They combined their milking quotas and keep the cows together in the same barn at Nora's farm. She is the leader and manages the administrative work but consults and discusses with the other members. She and one

² Original quote: «Gubben har jobb utenom, det er je som står for den daglige drifta, alt han gjør e bonusarbe bruke je å sei. Han hjelpe jo alltid te innimellom, men det er jo ikke, han har jo nok med sin jobb sånn sett. Det er je som driv garden.. sjøl om vi basere oss mye på familielandbruk så er det liksom, je har jo foreldre som trø te, og unger som trø te og. Men det er je som liksom har ansvaret.»

other member share the workload in the barn, working every other week. They have milking robots, but still check on the cows at least three times a day. Since Nora lives on the farm, she also does the night round and checks on the cows before she goes to sleep. They have one employee that helps in the barn with feeding and other tasks. Her partner runs a farm with beef production and works as an entrepreneur with cultivating fields, shovelling snow and such. Nora hires him to cultivate her fields, and they both collaborate and help each other out when needed.

Åse and Sofia are mother and daughter-in-law at a dairy farm North in the original Oppland County. Here the men (their partners) are the main farmers in charge of the dairy production and work together after having recently completed the inheritance process. Åse is the manager of the dairy processing facilities (In Norwegian: ysteri) at the farm and works here full-time. Now that she is full-time on the farm and has no work outside, she also contributes with milking, tasks in the barn, and babysits for the next generation. Sofia wanted to try vegetable production and rented land from her father-in-law to start a market garden. Today her partner owns the farm, and she explains that they collaborate well: «My partner is the main dairy farmer, but we both work at the farm, and we are both accessible to help each other. This works very well, completely different responsibilities and then help each other out. » In addition, the family has invested in and renovated a local shop and turned it into a combined café and local specialities store. They have multiple employees working across their different farm operations. Sofia works part-time at the other operations through winter, and she also generates income in winter from holding presentations about market gardening.

Kathrine and her partner are both full-time at their diversified farm with dairy, sheep, and beef. They collaborate but divide the responsibilities between each other. She is responsible for milking, most administrative tasks, and feeding the animals. While her partner is responsible for building, cultivating fields, machine repairs and some administration. He was the main farmer, and she is now gradually taking on more tasks as she is learning.

Irene runs a regenerative farm with sheep and cows on the west coast. She is the main farmer, while her partner that inherited the farm works full time outside the farm. He works shifts and is away for weeks at a time but works at the farm when he is home. He does most of the cultivating of the fields, at least in the busiest periods with

short weather windows such as during harvest. However, she will be taking on more of these tasks herself when she gets more practice with driving the tractor. They farm after regenerative practices, so a large part of the job is moving cows and sheep around for rotational grazing, and in general, following up on the animal's needs. They process meat on the farm and sell their products through direct sales such as REKO and to local restaurants.

Katinka and her partner bought a farm in Hardanger and runs a market garden. Both have part-time work outside the farm. Katinka has the most experience and knowledge and has been the main farmer/gardener. This is now changing, as she, due to her health, is not able to complete all the heavy physical work. They are in a transition process where her partner will become the main gardener with most hours in the vegetable fields. She still helps with much of the paperwork, gives him training and oversees their test production with flowers.

Hanne is managing a turkey farm alone with one permanent employee, on a farm inherited from her parents. Her employee works full time and is mostly in charge of practical and routine tasks. She hires entrepreneurs to cultivate the fields and prioritises working with animals. Her education in German translation and economy, have both come in handy to manage all the accounting and administrative work that comes with managing the farm.

3.2.2 Decision making

When making decisions the participants often discuss and consult with their partners, also the participants where the partner works full-time outside the farm. They take the daily decisions themselves, but larger decisions about investments, renovation, and such they discuss with their partners. With larger decisions, many also consult extension services or their parents. Here I will give examples from three of the participants.

Katinka has been the main gardener, and as this is now changing, it has been difficult for her to let go and let her partner take charge. They did discuss and took the bigger decisions together. Now during this transition period, they collaborate closely and even take the smaller daily choices together. It is important for her to let him figure out his ways of doing things, and not overrule him.

«It has been difficult because I have had the day-to-day responsibility, I have probably overruled quite a few decisions because I have also had more knowledge. So, I have taken many decisions, it is difficult for me to let that go and look at other possible solutions to things. Now we must take more decisions together, also the day-to-day decisions. » – Katinka³

Kathrine and her partner divide the responsibility between each other. She describes that they trust each other for making decisions for the different areas they oversee, but they still discuss most things together. Kathrine and her partner are generous with each other and incredibly open to each other's ideas. Sometimes they will play the devil's advocate: "Can we really afford it? And what about..." Their economy is limited so it is important to thoroughly think things through. At the same time, they give each other space to explore different options.

Irene describes how she and her partner discuss together and give each other space to share opinions. However, it is more difficult to agree on whether to make investments in new equipment, that he wants, but she thinks they cannot afford.

«... we are particularly good at talking these things through. We don't always agree... but we are both incredibly good at expressing our opinions and then we compromise, sometimes we do it your way and sometimes mine, or find a better solution together. But it is never like 'now I'm doing this and don't give a shit what you think'.»- Irene⁴

3.2.3 Housework

Farming is a lifestyle, and the productive and reproductive work is mixed. Both are important to make the farm production go round. As Kathrine put it: "...in the large picture housework is part of keeping the farm running. It is integrated with everything that we do. And the same with keeping the farmyard looking nice."⁵ The reproductive

³ Original quote: «Det har vært vanskelig, for jeg har hatt det daglige, jeg har nok overstyrt en del avgjørelser, for jeg har også hatt mer kunnskap. Så jeg har tatt mange avgjørelser, vanskelig for meg å gi slipp på det nå og se på andre mulige løsninger på ting. Nå må vi nok ta mye mer avgjørelser i fellesskap også i det daglige.»

⁴ Original quote: «...me er veldig flink til å snakke igjennom disse tingene. Det er ikke alltid vi er enig, men me er veldig flink til å uttrykke meiningene våre begge to og så inngår vi kompromi, av og til gjer vi det på din måte og av og til min, eller finne en bedre løsning ilag. Men det er aldri sånn at no gjer eg detta og drit i ka du meine.»

⁵ Original quote: «... i det store bilde så er husarbeidet en del av det å holde garden i gang da. Det bare er integrert i alt vi gjør. Og samme med å ha et fint tun.»

work of keeping the household running, cooking and childcare often falls on women. The participants reflected on how they complete most of the housework, how they struggle to keep up with it, and about the challenges of living where you work.

The participants describe that it is easy to fall into a traditional pattern where they do more of the housework on the farm. For many of them, it is more convenient as they are more often near the house during the day, and it becomes part of their daily routine. Nora describes it this way: «The housework and such falls on me, as I am here, and he is up at his farm. And at least now that I work less in the barn, I have more time. »⁶ She was on part pregnancy leave when I interviewed her and therefore had less farm work and more time for housework. Nora also describes how they collaborate very well with child logistics such as taking the children to kindergarten.

Two of the younger participants, Kathrine, and Sofia, talked about having ideals for equal distribution of work, which their partners also desires. But with both them and their partners working full-time at the farm, they found that it is more convenient with a gendered division of labour. At least for now while they are developing their productions and have young kids. Kathrine's partner has said he is willing to do more in the house, but then she would have to learn to take on more of his farm work such as mechanics and driving the tractor.

“[friends say] Oh, you live like a housewife. But I do not really feel that myself. Because this is about us having this big dream about this farm. And to make it go around, that is the division of labour we must have now. And [my partner] is happy to be inside more and have more time with [their child], if I want to learn mechanics, or to drive the tractor.”⁷

Irene, the regenerative farmer, reflects on the same, that it has been convenient with a division where her partner with more skills does the cultivating of the fields and she takes care of the kids. For him to take on more housework, they must prioritise her tractor training and they can share the work more equally. However, as both Kathrine and Sofia reflect the most important is that they feel they are all contributing equally

⁶ Original quote: «Husarbeidet og mye sånn havne jo på meg da for jeg er jo her og han er oppå garden sin. Og nå, hvertfall nå som jeg gjør litt mindre i fjøset så har jeg litt mer tid.»

⁷ Original quote: «[venner sier:] Oi, du lever sånn husmorliv. Men jeg føler ikke på det sjøl egentlig. For det her handler om at vi har denne store drømmen om denne garden. Og hvis det skal gå rundt så er det den arbeidsfordelinga vi må ha da. Og [Partneren min] er veldig åpen for at hvis jeg vil lære meg å skru, eller kjøre mer traktor, så er han glad for å være mer inne, og ha mer tid med [Barnet deres].»

to the shared dream of running their farm. Therefore, neither finds their situation unfair, as they feel they are all contributing, only in diverse ways. Still, they express hope for the housework to be more equally distributed in the future.

The gender division is especially clear during parental leave for women. It has been more difficult to collaborate during parental leave for Kathrine. She is mostly inside, and she and her partner do not see and understand each other's struggles in the same way. There is also a higher workload for him as their employee has limited working hours. This has increased the tension between them, but as she says herself, it is only for a brief period.

The participants live on the farm, they live at their workplace. Even inside the house, they may need to store seeds and have their office space or meetings here. The distinction between work life and personal life is very thin and often overlaps. While most participants enjoy this as part of their lifestyle as farmers, it can also be draining on themselves and their relationships. Below, Katinka describes her situation and how this has been challenging for her and her partner.

«It gets a bit intense to always be on top of each other, to be working and then go in for dinner and still discuss the same issues. Sitting in the evening with accounting and this and that and arguing about things. So, we had to set clear boundaries from time to time. That is quite common on family farms.»⁸

3.2 Perceptions

In this section, I introduce some of the women's perceptions of themselves, farmers, gender differences and what they consider female strengths. Perceptions appeared as a theme that many participants reflected upon during our conversations.

The participants describe themselves as farmers and food producers, but many also identify with having important roles as educators and community members in a wider food system. I will elaborate further on this under communication, in the motivation section below, as it is a key factor motivating the participants to be farmers.

⁸ Original quote: "Det blir litt intenst å gå oppå hverandre og skulle jobbe, og inn til middag og fortsatt diskutere de samme problemstillingene. Sitte på kvelden og regnskap og ditten og datten og krangle om ting. Så vi må sette tydelige grenser av og til. Det tror jeg er ganske vanlig i mange sånne familiebruk.»

One of the dairy farmers, Nora, tells me that it is important for her to be visible as a female farmer on social media to show there is a variation of farmers: «There are farmers like me too. It is not only men aged fifty plus, in green farmers' suits driving around in tractors. There is a greater variation. We must dare to show ourselves off.»⁹

Some of the participants hesitate to identify themselves as farmers. One of the reasons is that they do not (yet) drive tractors or fit within the image of a stereotypical farmer. Kathrine and her partner run a diversified farm production in Telemark and have direct sales of sheep and beef. When they advertise their products online on their website, they present themselves as “Bonden og Budeia”. This translates to the farmer and the milkmaid, where she is the milkmaid, as she has worked part-time as a Budeie.¹⁰ This they do for marketing purposes to tell a romantic story of how the food is produced, but also partially because she more easily identifies as a Budeie than a farmer. As she reflects during the interview, she is a farmer equal to her partner, but somehow, saying it aloud is difficult for her.

«... I find it difficult if someone asks who I am. I say I have dairy cows and live on a farm, but to say that I am a farmer, I feel, then I picture a man in a tractor. So, I do not manage to say it, even though I am a farmer just as much as my partner. But no, it is in my head... and it is stupid, for me, who am so conscious about these things, to not just stand with a straight back and say farmer.»¹¹

In today's agriculture, tractors and other machinery are necessary parts of the farm work, but as one of the other dairy farmers, Aina, described, girls may need more support to learn to drive tractors. Aina thinks girls lack confidence, compared to boys, and need more time and support while learning to drive the tractor. She thinks girls, in the end, become good and careful tractor drivers if their parents take the time to teach and encourage them.

⁹ Original quote: «det finns bønder som meg og, det er ikke bare de kara på 50+ i felleskjøpdress som kjører rundt i traktor. Det er litt større variasjon, Må tørre å vise oss litt fram litt sjøl.»- Nora

¹⁰ “Budeie” is a milkmaid, usually female, that traditionally took care of the animals at the mountain farm, milking, and processing dairy products. This is still an active practice on some farms.

¹¹ Original quote: «Jeg synes det er vanskelig, hvis noen spør ja hva er du? Jeg sier jeg har mjølkekyr og bor på gard, men det å si at jeg er bonde, det er så, jeg føler, da ser jeg for meg en mann i traktor. Så jeg klarer liksom ikke å si at jeg er det, selv om jeg synes jo jeg er like mye bonde som Mann. Men, nei det bare er så inni hodet mitt. Og det er så teit, jeg som er så bevisst på sånne ting tenker jeg da. Å bare stå rakrygga og si bonde»

Several of the participants are yet to learn to drive a tractor. For Kathrine and Irene, who both have diversified livestock production, driving tractors is an important goal to become independent and be able to complete more tasks on their own around the farm. This is also important so that they can distribute the workload better, as it allows their partners to do more housework, while Kathrine and Irene take on more tasks outdoors. Some of the other participants have chosen forms of production, such as market gardening, that require less machinery. A type of production they think is more appealing to women partly due to less machinery, as cited in the following section on women's involvement in sustainable practices.

3.2.1 Female strengths

The participants brought light to what they see as strengths in themselves and female farmers in general throughout the interviews. Multiple participants argue there is a strength in being two people on the farm, and that women bring different perspectives and values. The participants reflect that women may be more caring, think long term, take less economic risks and are better at tidying and organising for example.

Kathrine reflects: «In the agriculture that we have today, where one must take large risks and carry them on their shoulders, there is no space for the values we women often represent... which are more on the caring side. »¹² Norwegian farmers are pressured by a poor economy and long working days, as in many areas of the world. To be able to gain a sufficient income, farmers must invest large sums to increase and improve their production. This agriculture has limited space for female values such as care for animals and nature, and it requires taking large economic risks.

It may also be a strength that women are more reluctant to take large economic risks and steadily develop their farm operations. For example, when Åse was planning to start processing dairy products they started small scale in a kitchen within their house, before they decided to invest in more equipment and a new building. This allowed them to build experience, develop recipes and test out the market before

¹² Original quote: «Så det landbruket som er nå, hvor man må ta så mye risiko og bære på sine skuldre, det er ikke helt rom for de verdiene som jeg føler vi damer ofte representerer. Som er mer på omsorg sida.»

making large investments. For example, their test kitchen was small, so when they built the dairy processing facilities, they ensured to keep it spacious.

Idil reflected on how she sees herself as less economically oriented compared to male farmers she knows. She and some other participants reflect on how women think more about the long term than the short-term economic gains. Idil reflects: "...maybe that's another gender difference, that I look out for long-term results and efficiency is not my only perimeter for good work." From a long-term perspective, there may be more room for other values and considerations.

Care

Multiple participants reflected on care being a value that they and other women prioritise. The participants that keep animals all addressed animal welfare in the interview. For example, Kathrine and Sofia talked about keeping cows and calves together in dairy production, and Kathrine also talked about installing more comfortable bedding for the dairy cows.

"Perhaps that we contribute, I do not think that it is completely determined by our gender that women are like this, and men are like that, but many ladies are more caring and easier show care for animals. And maybe since we are women and many of the production animals are female, we have more of that understanding of childbirth, and contractions. Even if I had not given birth, I thought it was more horrible than [my husband]." - Kathrine¹³

Another difference between the genders may be that women prioritise family higher. Both Kathrine and Sofia, that work alongside their partners on the farm, reflect on how they usually are better at prioritising their family and kids.

Sustainable practices

There are more women than men who practice organic farming and especially market gardening, a type of small-scale and diverse vegetable production, is popular among women (Bjørkhaug & Zahl-Thanem, 2017; Milford, Prestvik, & Kårstad, 2021),

¹³ Original quote: "Jeg tror kanskje at vi bidrar med, mener ikke at det er helt detrimental av kjønn vårt liksom at kvinner er sånn og menn er sånn. Men jeg tror nok mange damer har litt mer omsorg, lettere for å vise omsorg for dyr. Og kanskje siden vi sjøl er kvinner og mange av produksjonsdyra er hunkjønn, så har vi litt mer sånn forståelse for fødsel, rier, selv om jeg ikke hadde født så synes jeg det var mye mer grusom enn [min mann].»

Katinka is one of these farmers and she thinks this may be more appealing as "... it requires fewer machines, it demands smaller investments, a large farm area is not needed, it doesn't need to involve heavy lifting...". There is also less responsibility when growing vegetables compared to keeping animals. She thinks it is a good thing that this seems like a practice that may be easier and more appealing to women. Sofia, who also runs a market garden, reflected similarly and finds market gardening to be better suited for creating a workplace she enjoys. Irene practices regenerative farming. She is concerned about animal welfare and supporting the natural systems in nature, to regenerate them rather than break them down.

These reflections show that there is still a way to go, also for the female farmers themselves, to acknowledge and look at themselves and their female colleagues as equal to male farmers. As is described later in the thesis, the participants also meet prejudice by society. There are differences between and within genders when it comes to strengths and weaknesses. Female farmers bring different values and perspectives to farming such as care, a more long-term perspective, and an interest in sustainable practices.

3.3 Motivations

When I asked the respondents what their motivations for being a farmer are, they all described how they enjoy the work. To work with animals, to be outdoors, that the work is practical, and many also enjoy that there is a variation of tasks. They talk about how they feel their work is meaningful and important, and how they are proud to be food producers. They talk about the benefits of being self-employed and being able to adapt the workplace to their needs, interest, and health. Further, the participants find motivation in teaching and communicating, and in implementing sustainable practices.

The participants find motivation in having good, joyful, and varied days at work. They enjoy being able to work outdoors and work with something they are engaged in, with food production, crops, and animals. They enjoy working with living things, seeing calves being born, seeing the crops sprouting in spring and grains swaying in the wind ready for harvest. As farmers no day is alike, they have a wide variation in tasks, and the work differs between the seasons, something the participants

appreciate. While some parts are more tiring or difficult, it seems it is all worth it in the end as they overall have good and joyful days at work.

“All these moments, in the spring when the lambs come, and you see new life growing up. It's just so magical. That is my main motivation. The moments I have with the animals. It is completely indescribable. That is the reason so many farmers today accept that they get so little money.” - Irene¹⁴

3.3.1 Meaningful

To be a farmer and produce food, the participants recognise as a very important job. They find motivation in their work being meaningful. As put by Idil: “So I view my work as important, as essential, and as critical. Because of the time we are in.»

Participants also find motivation in producing food based on the local resources and giving the local community access to locally produced food.

The dairy farmers, Aina and Nora, describe that it is a very fulfilling feeling to see the result of their work, to see they have done something productive and meaningful at the end of the day. They reflect on how this is something that lacks in a typical office job, where you might not achieve anything much in one day. As a farmer, you can see the tank filling up with milk, animals growing up or the fields flowing over with vegetables ready for harvest.

«Then you have done something. When I came back home from my previous job; I sat in the office and drank coffee, you were not exactly saving the world. The way it is right now you are saving the world when you are producing food because there is a shortage of food, so it feels useful to contribute.» – Nora¹⁵

The participants feel the work they do is important; they are producing food for the Norwegian population. Nora was interviewed shortly after the invasion of Ukraine,

¹⁴ Original quote: «Alle disse øyeblikka her, våren når lammene kommer og du bare ser nytt liv vekse opp. Det bare er så magisk. Det er kanskje hovedgrunnen til det som motiverer meg. De øyeblikkene eg har i sammen med dyra. Da er helt ubeskrivelig. Tror og det er grunnen til at det er så mange bønder i dag finner seg i at de får så lite penger, er på grunn av alle disse øyeblikka vi har.»

¹⁵ Original quote: «Da har du gjort no, de hendte jo at du kom att fra jobb ellers, og så ja satt litt på kontoret, drakk kaffe, du redda ikke akkurat verden følte du. Sånn det er akkurat nå så redder du faktisk verden når du sitt og lager mat, for det er jo lite mat, så det føles jo nyttig å være med å bidra.»

which has led to uncertainty around food supply and highlights the importance of food production and self-sufficiency.

Another motivation for both Idil and Åse is to produce food for the local community and to make use of local resources. That was how Åse and a group of women came up with the idea to start up their dairy processing operation. The local dairy run by TINE, the Norwegian dairy cooperative, closed its production. So, a group of women in town worked together to explore alternatives to keep it running and ensure local processing of milk. When their work failed, Åse and her husband slowly started building a dairy processing facility at their farm. In the same way, as Idil describes her motivation in the quote below, they find great motivation in producing food based on local resources for the local community.

“I had this idea to produce food for the people in [Town] and do it in a more motherly, womanly, caring way. Not just be a producer, but like the ambassador of good food, delivering this appreciation of food.” – Idil

3.3.2 Communication

Participants find motivation not only to produce food but also to communicate about food. The distance between farmers and consumers is large, and many consumers lack basic knowledge about where the food comes from and how it is produced. Without knowledge about food production, it is difficult for people to understand why it is important to support local and Norwegian food production, why the food prices are increasing and what food is sustainable to buy. Multiple participants, therefore, find motivation in reconnecting and educating people about food production.

Sometimes Nora finds farming meaningless, as she feels many people do not understand the value of her work. But this motivates her to share from her daily life on Instagram. To show and educate citizens about where food comes from. To show the challenges she faces, but also show the joyful and beautiful moments:

"At the same time, it feels a bit pointless, because many people do not understand the value of the work you do. That is why I do what I do on Instagram, to show the kind of work we do. So, it is motivating to do something to show off what you do, to show that we produce food. I do not

produce 700 tons of milk for myself, it is for Norway's population. So, I think that's fun." – Nora ¹⁶

Idil loves to educate people and happily entertains the customers and volunteers attending the farm. She wants to give them a joyful experience by visiting the farm store and motivating them to learn more about food production and sustainability challenges. She also thinks taking this role is important, because sharing her knowledge and passion for food, might motivate customers to learn more and take action to contribute to a sustainable food system.

"But the most meaningful job I am doing is my contact hours with customers, with the students, with ... non-food actors. Like this, the time that I spend with them teaching, inspiring, training them to have more appreciation of food." – Idil

Katinka describes her farm as a pedagogical space. They invite CSA members to volunteer, learn and get an experience of how the vegetables they order are produced. At the farm, they also invite schools, host courses in vegetable production and have tours for tourists or other interested groups.

3.3.3 Self-employment: creating a workplace

Farmers are mostly self-employed and while a lot of responsibilities and challenges come with that, the participants find motivation in creating and adapting their work to their needs, interests, and health. Farmers are bound to the farm, but they do have flexibility throughout the day, and in how they choose to complete tasks.

"Being a farmer gives you the freedom to manage your working day as it suits you best. You are locked into a production, but you are free to relieve or burden yourself as you wish. I had to justify this to myself when I was going to continue, and it was for my health's sake." - Hanne ¹⁷

¹⁶ Original quote: «Samtidig så føles det litt meningsløst, fordi mange ikke skjønner verdien av den jobben du gjør. Det er derfor jeg gjør som jeg gjør på instagram da, vise fram hva slags jobb vi gjør. Så det er motiverande å gjøra noe for å vise fram det en gjør, vise at vi lage mat. Jeg produsere jo ikke 700 tonn mjølk til meg sjøl, det er jo til norges befolkning. Så det synes jeg er moro.»

¹⁷ Original quote: "Det å være gardbruker gir deg en frihet til å styre arbeidsdagen din sånn som den passer deg best. Du er for så vidt låst i en produksjon, men du kan jo ha litt frihet til å avlaste eller belaste som ønsker deg sjøl og. Jeg måtte begrunne det for meg sjøl når jeg skulle fortsetta og det var for helsa sin del.»

Hanne, the turkey farmer, describes the benefits of being able to adjust her workdays. In comparison to how working at a desk or in a shop standing all day can have a physical impact over time, and you may not have the same opportunity to vary what you do and how. To her, health was the most crucial factor that convinced her to stay on and continue farming. Similarly, multiple other participants address good health as an important motivating factor and the ability to adjust their workday to their health.

Kathrine talks about this opportunity to create a workplace with a variation in tasks. This for her makes her feel like she can use all the varied skills she has from photography and writing to political engagement and working with animals.

"Then I feel I get to use a little more of myself, and a little of what I have with me from before. And at the same time, the fact that [my husband] is generous allows me to get involved, even if we don't make any money from it. I feel I get to use my political commitment, get to use my passion for photography and writing, and spend a lot of time with animals. So that all the negatives are outweighed by that."¹⁸

Other participants also talk about how they find it motivating that they are producing value for themselves; that their income goes into the enterprise that they own and manage by themselves or with family. And that they are shaping their workplace, working with what and how they want.

3.3.4 Sustainable practice

In the interviews, the participants shared enthusiastically about different forms of improved sustainable practices. Some are producing after regenerative or organic practices; some are working to keep up traditional practices (mountain farming) and others are improving animal welfare. For example, Hanne is motivated by achieving high animal welfare and Aina by mountain farming.

Hanne has a motto at her farm: "Happy chicks". The most important thing is that her turkeys are happy and well taken care of and that she is happy and healthy. In the

¹⁸ Original quote: «Så føler jeg får brukt litt mer av hele meg da og litt det jeg har med meg fra før. Og samtidig at [Mannen min] er raus lar meg engasjere meg, sjøl om vi ikke tjener noe penger på det. Føler jeg får brukt, her får jeg brukt det politiske engasjementet, får brukt engasjementet for foto og skiving, og vært mye med dyr. Så at alt det negative veies opp for det.»

past years, she has worked hard with implementing a production with no use of Monensin. Monensin is a parasiticide commonly added to turkey feed to hinder the spreading of parasites. Through this work, she has developed one of the best practices in the world, with high animal welfare, no use of parasiticide and limited use of antibiotics.

In Norway, a common practice is to take the animals to the mountains for the summer, to feed there, while the fields at home are harvested for winter fodder. Aina is one of the farmers in Norway that is keeping up this tradition, and every summer she takes about half of her dairy cows to the mountain farm. It is important and motivating for her to keep up this practice. Kathrine has with her partner renovated their mountain farm and will not only bring the cows back to the mountain but also plans to process some of the milk locally.

3.4 Challenges

Being a farmer comes with many challenges, they are under a lot of pressure to make ends meet financially and for the hours to add up. They discuss how Norwegian farming policy is pushing for further efficiency of production and demands that are challenging to meet while being pressured with economy and time. Being a farmer is a great responsibility and can be compared with leading a company, they have large economic responsibilities, administrative work, employees, and animals to care for. The participants also addressed some challenges they meet as women, such as health and economic risks connected to pregnancy, and the need for (unpaid) help to keep up with childcare and household chores alongside the work at the farm. The emerging categories within the theme of challenges are economy, time, leadership, politics/society, gender-based and physical/environmental.

3.4.1 Economy

This last year it has become evident that farmers' economies are under a lot of pressure. Even the big farms, that have followed every incentive from the politicians to keep expanding and streamlining their productions, are struggling financially. This year is especially difficult due to increased costs for electricity, fuel, fertilizer, and other inputs, this shows how fragile farmers' economies already were before these costs spiked (Budsjettnemda, 2021). The economic insecurity is also mentally

draining for the participants. Farmers are usually self-employed and do not have the same financial security and working rights as an employee, but there are agricultural subsidies and welfare schemes adapted to attempt to meet farmers' needs and support the additional societal values they contribute with.

Here I divide the farmers I have interviewed into two groups. Three of the participants are running medium/large scale conventional farms, while the others are to some extent diversifying and using alternative sales channels.

Conventional productions

The medium/large scale conventional farmers include Hanne (turkey farmer), Nora and Aina (dairy farmers). They have invested in improved buildings and inventory such as milking robots to increase efficiency and/or meet new national requirements. They describe worrying about their economy and keeping up with the debts they have from investing in the farm

Aina is a full-time dairy farmer and feels the toll of the focus on efficiency in Norwegian agriculture policy. She must run faster and faster just to keep up with the costs and efficiency demands. Aina has expanded her production and works to increase the milk yield. However, she is struggling to save up to make new investments on the farm, while keeping up with expenses and debts.

"It is a lot of work, in today's efficiency society, you could tell other occupations when they ask for a raise, that they have to create a new revenue stream.

That is what we hear all the time as farmers, can't you do this and that? ...It is more than enough to keep up with the daily tasks as it is." -Aina¹⁹

In response to her concerns for her economy, she has been advised to start new revenue streams such as on-farm processing or community involvement initiatives. But as she says above, the time is already limited as it is, and this would be exceedingly difficult for her to do. While she is supportive of farmers that are creative and start new initiatives, she argues, that cannot be the only way to make ends meet.

¹⁹ Original quote: «For det er mye jobb, i dagens effektivitetssamfunn da så er det, kan sei det til andre yrker og da når de ønsker lønnsforhøyelse, at du må skaffe det attåtnæring. Det er det jeg føler vi får høre i bondeyrket hele tida, kan du ikke leie ut? kan du ikke tjene penger på det? inn på tunet alt det derre der. Je syns det er mer enn nok å gjør med å få i sammen hverdagen med dyr hit og dit og passe på.»

Diversified productions

Through diversifying and using alternative sales channels, the other farmers are making up their income outside the established actors in the food system. For some of them, these were active choices to increase their income and create workplaces for themselves, or they were motivated by sustainability. It takes creativity to keep up with costs and find new ways to make an income. The participants I interviewed have managed this in diverse ways such as introducing processing facilities for cheese or meat at their farm, diversifying their production and new initiatives such as market gardens and community supported beekeeping.

Alternative food systems in Norway include direct sales through REKO farmers' markets and different forms of community involvement. Idil and Katinka have community supported agriculture/beekeeping initiatives, where members pay a set fee and receive an equal share of the harvest. Sofia has a different system for people to order vegetables and a delivery system for towns further away. For Irene, and the farm Idil works at, REKO and agreements with restaurants are important sales channels. By having agreements with members or restaurants the participants have been able to ensure a secure income.

Åse explains how their farm-based dairy processing, as well as a shop and café for further sale and marketing, has enabled them to expand the milking operation and created multiple new workplaces. It is like a symbiosis with the dairy, milking operation and the café supporting each other and in total making the farm operations more financially secure. They still deliver about half of the milk to the farmers' cooperative TINE, and through membership, they have a guarantee to be able to deliver milk and have financial security.

Creating a workplace and income for two people at the farm is challenging. Kathrine and her partner wanted to create a workplace for them both full-time on the farm. She had experience as a milkmaid and brought milking cows into the already diversified production at the farm. Through this, and their plan to process cheese on their summer farm, they hope to make sufficient income for them both to work full-time on the farm.

3.4.2 Time management

Time management and economy at the farm are intricately connected. On a farm, there are endless tasks that must get done. When the economy is slim, they need to prioritise what is the most important and efficient use of time in terms of an economic viewpoint. All the participants talked about being pressured by time and that they have limited opportunities to take holidays and to enjoy time together as a family. In addition, the farmers must make time for housework and ideally also community engagement.

The work at the farm is seasonal with some periods being more intense than others. Especially for the vegetable producers that have intensive days during summer and almost no work in the wintertime. For Sofia, this was part of the reason she chose to start a market garden, where she can take time off and travel in the winter season or help with other tasks at the farm. The workload can be unpredictable, if all goes as planned things run smoothly, but minor changes in feed, a machine breaking down or weather changes and suddenly the work tasks are endless.

With the endless tasks and responsibilities, the participants say it is difficult to take proper holidays, they may be able to take one day off here or there. They talk about wanting to prioritise time better and make time for days off. However, a benefit of being a farmer and being self-employed is the daily flexibility. To be able to manage the day as they like, to babysit grandkids or take a longer shared lunch break with family.

Kathrine and Sofia talked about the importance of prioritizing family time, taking breaks, and sharing dinner. Kathrine described how it used to be the women's job to bring lunch to the men during harvest season and force them to take a break, this is a tradition she wants to continue. While Sofia has started a new tradition, where they regularly share lunch and dinner with both workers and her parents-in-law. They schedule a time to sit down together as a family and take in the impressions around them, in an otherwise busy time.

The combined pressure on their economy and time means the participants must make strategic choices. Kathrine and her partner try to do as much of the work themselves as possible, for example, her partner is good at mechanics and maintains the tractors himself. The three participants I grouped as conventional farmers all

choose to hire workers to do the fieldwork and harvest in summer. They are fully capable of managing the fields and driving tractors themselves, but their biggest income is their animals, who therefore require their full attention. The most strategic choice financially is for them to prioritise taking good care of their animals, they do not have time to manage both alone.

In addition to the farm work comes housework and time for volunteering in farmers' organisations. This is part of the reproductive work and was addressed in the collaboration section. Many of the participants describe they are reliant on unpaid help, like having grandparents babysitting and friends/neighbours to contribute i.e. during renovation and building projects.

Hanne argues it is important to also find time to volunteer in farmers' organizations and cooperatives and contribute to the community somehow. Multiple of the participants I have interviewed either currently hold or have earlier volunteered in farmers' unions and cooperatives. The farmers' organisations and cooperatives in Norway have a lower representation of women on their boards, and there has been a goal to increase it. As women manage more of the reproductive work in the home in addition to farm work, this might be an obstacle.

3.4.3 Politics/Society

Norway has to a large degree a food system that is controlled by politics. The purpose of this is to secure agriculture production across Norway, also in areas where farming is more challenging, and to secure the social benefits from farming. However, the current policy is not able to meet the goals set by the parliament. Hanne said in her interview that one of the greatest challenges she experiences is the lack of leadership taken by cooperatives, farmers' unions, and politicians.

"I took a break in the winter of 2019... to think about whether I should sell the farm, or whether I should continue. Then a lot of my motivation was gone. Because of the volume-driven agriculture. We had seen the contours of the politics that Sylvi Listhaug (Previous Minister of Agriculture and Food) implemented. It was not a new direction, ... just that she fast-forwarded the

development that we have had over many years. And I found it very unmotivating to be a part of that agriculture." - Hanne²⁰

Market orientation and efficiency are increasingly dominating in agriculture policy (Meld. St. 11 (2016–2017)). This policy encourages expanding production on the farm by increasing quotas for milk production and the number of animals. Meanwhile, 1-2 farmers are quitting every day as they cannot keep up (SSB, 2022b). Hanne addressed that no one takes leadership to change the direction of agriculture in the future, and therefore we have a continuation of current agriculture policies. With a continued industrialized and centralized agriculture, Norway will look quite different than today.

The participants also address that they feel society does not see the values they are creating while producing food. The grocery chains compete to have the lowest prices to please the consumer, completely disconnected from where and how the food was produced. There is a lack of political support in terms of policy, financing and advisory services. And there are a lot of bureaucratic demands increasing the administrative burden on the farmers. Financing is essential for supporting the additional values the farmers create, such as improved animal welfare, regenerative or organic practices and open cultural landscapes. Some of the participants also experience a lack of professional counselling that is suitable for their specific production.

3.4.4 Leadership

Being a farmer is a great responsibility and can in many ways be compared to holding a management position in a company. They have economic responsibility and responsibilities towards the people they hire. This requires a lot of administrative work, with accounting, applications, and management of their employees. This takes a lot of their time and is often something they did not have the skillset for beforehand.

Many of the participants I interviewed have employees, at least for part of the year. Åse describes that it all is different now that they have employees that “have their

²⁰ Original quote: "Je tok meg en tenkepause vinteren 2019 ... for å tenkje ut om je skulle selgja garden, eller om je skulle fortsetta og drive vidare. Da var veldig mye av motivasjonen min borte. På grunn tå den herre volum drifta i landbruket, da hadde vi liksom sett kontura av den politikken som Sylvi Listhaug hadde. Det var egentlig ikke noen ny retning, det var bare at ho satte klampen i bånn for den utviklinga som vi hadde hatt over mange år. Og jeg fant det veldig lite motiverende og vera en del tå det landbruket. Men je landa på at jeg skulle fortsette å drive.»

main income from your production and they rely on you.” For Åse, this is one of the most demanding parts of her job. The participants also describe challenges around when their employees have sick leave and how to manage that.

Recruiting workers in the farm sector prove to be difficult. It requires a wide skillset and often the pay the farmers can provide is low compared to other job opportunities. Sofia has found it easier to hire people for the market gardens, as this form of production has increased in popularity over the past few years. When her employees have less busy days and during the off-season, she recruits them to work in the milking barn, dairy processing, or café, and it becomes a recruitment space for filling other work positions within the farm operations.

3.4.5 Gender-based challenges

The challenges described above can be met by all genders, however, the participants reflected on some challenges specific to their gender. They talked about how it is challenging to combine family life with being a farmer, there are health and economic risks while pregnant and housework and childcare often fall on women. They also reflected upon challenges related to being one of few females in a male-dominated occupation.

Farm work includes a lot of heavy physical work, and some things are therefore more difficult for them as women. The improvement of working conditions and machinery have erased some of these differences, making it easier for women to manage on their own. The heavy physical work and risky work mean that women must be incredibly careful while they go pregnant and might require hiring extra help in this period. Pregnancy also introduces health risks and has for some of the participants I interviewed affected their ability to complete physical work after giving birth.

Participants describe that it is exceedingly difficult to combine family life with being a farmer. Nora talked about friends that are either delaying inheriting their farm or even choosing not to inherit the farm to prioritise having a family. Nora and multiple other female farmers are bravely telling their stories to newspapers about having to go back to work as soon as four days after giving birth because of the limited welfare support (Nationen, 2022).

Having children can also be an economic risk when the economy as a farmer is as fragile as it is. In Norway, there are welfare schemes and financial support for hiring

help at the farm, but this is still limited. The financial support for hired help (Avløsertillegg) only covers 7,5 hours of work per day. And the welfare may be limited with the low income they make and considering they may have children shortly after inheriting/buying the farm.

The tasks that fall outside the 7,5 hours they have hired help, the mother must do herself or rely on unpaid help from family/friends. The participant described often having as much as double the hours in the busiest seasons of the year. And as Nora describes below, it can be quite physically draining at times to keep up with farm work while having a young child. Today they have renovated and installed milking robots, giving her some more flexibility when she checks up on the animals. Nora and her partner had agreed they could not get a second child before the milking robot was installed.

«...when we took over the farm, we milked by hand in a ditch, and I brought my little one that was just a few months old and took breaks to breastfeed him. ...We started milking at 5 am, so had to get him up before that and out into the milking shed. I breastfed him and milked the cows, and breastfed some more, shovelled poop, breastfed again and then fed the animals.»²¹ – Nora

Prejudice

There persists a stereotype of men are responsible for the farm, even if more women are now filling these roles (Haugen, 2013). Many of the women I interviewed have in some way or another met prejudice, been ignored, or judged because of their gender. This could for example be by salesmen, their neighbours, or mechanics. However, the participants did not seem to experience prejudice or other forms of microaggressions as much of a challenge to them.

For example, Nora described going to an agriculture fair to look at equipment for her new barn and being ignored by the salesmen. She chose to buy equipment from salesmen that did talk with her and discussed her options. Multiple participants also experienced people coming to their farm asking where the farmer is or addressing

²¹ Original quote: «...når vi tok over garden, så mjølka vi i mjølkegrav og je hadde med meg han velse på noen måneder og hadde ammepauser i mjølkinga, hadde egen fjøsvogn... det var slitsom. Da starta vi i fjøset før a var fem, så å få opp han før fem, og ut i fjøset og amme og mjølke og amme litt til og skrape møkk, amme litt til og fore.»

their male partner first, even when it concerned matters the female participants are responsible for.

Katinka and Irene described meeting scepticism for trying out new forms of production with market gardening and regenerative farming. Irene thinks she is met with more scepticism than her partner because she is a woman and from out of town. She also expects that her husband would get more recognition for managing both the kids, household, and farm work, and it is assumed that she as a woman should manage all the reproductive work.

“We started talking incredibly early on that we wanted to operate in a different way than others manage farms here. I was met with an insane amount of resistance; they just saw me as a stupid lady with lots of opinions without having any experience in agriculture. I think that a man, that my husband, he will be met with a little wonder, but I was met with more scepticism.” - Irene²²

Kathrine described that there was a “boys club” atmosphere and joking culture among farmers’ groups, this could both be online and in person. Her partner is a member of a cow club where she became the first female in their group. As the jargon is a bit tough, she answers back with the same jargon to become accepted in the group.

“...there is a bit of a harsh tone among [male farmers], at least here locally, there is a joking culture. Luckily, I don’t take myself so seriously and dare to joke back. But if you are a little more like, not the kind of person I am, then maybe it’s nicer to have female groups...”- Kathrine²³

Kathrine also reflects that in the sheep group, where there is a mix of genders, and on the Facebook group for women there is a different tone. In these groups, there is more of a supportive tone and more space to discuss animals and animal care. She said the men also showed interest in these topics, even if they are “less cool” than

²² Original quote: “Me begynte veldig tidlig å snakke om at vi ville drive på ein annsleis måte enn andre driver gard på her. Da ble eg møtt med vanvittig mykje motstand, i form av at eg tror de bare såg på meg som ei dum dame som kom å meinte en masse ting uten å ha noen erfaring fra landbruket. Eg tror at ein mann, at mannen min, han blir nok møtt med litt undring, men eg blir møtt med mer skepsis.”

²³ Original quote: “...det er litt hardtone blant [Mannlige bønder] hvertfall her lokalt, at det er køddekultur. Og jeg har heldigvis masse, er ikke så selvhøytidelig og tørr å kødde tilbake. Men hvis man er litt mer sånn, ikke sånn person som jeg er da. Så er det kanskje deiligere ha et sånt kvinnemiljø...»

arguing who has the biggest and best tractors. It seems both men and women would benefit from gender-mixed groups, to discuss a wider variety of topics with fellow farmers.

3.4.6 Physical

The participants also described physical challenges from nature and wild animals. Katinka has over the past years had difficulties due to seasons that have either been very dry or very wet. These challenges are most likely, as she states, caused by climate change which results in more unpredictable weather. In her area the weather systems seem to lock in, resulting in either floods or droughts dominating large parts of the growing seasons.

Another participant, Irene, has challenges with deer destroying her crops. The area she lives in has large populations of deer, leading to many farmers having large parts of their crops ruined. This leads both to stress, but also huge economic loss, as they must replant large areas every year after the destruction of crops. An option could be fencing, but to build deer-proof fences, would come at too great a cost for her farm.

“We have big problems with deer, this winter there has been so many destroyed meadows and damaged fences because of deer, it has been for years, and the number of deer is only increasing... after we switched to organic, then they only want to visit us, they don't bother going to the neighbour's place where they apply pesticide... For the last two years, we have wondered whether we should bother continuing.” - Irene²⁴

In the interviews, the participants were not prompted to talk about physical or environmental challenges like these, but it is interesting how so few talked about it. Irene almost forgot to mention her challenges with deer, but then stressed that it is one of their greatest challenges at the end of the interview. There was another participant that mentioned deer during the farm tour, but it was not presented in a manner that deer seemed like a big threat to their production. One reason Katinka chose to talk about climate change, may be due to her having a larger local impact of

²⁴ Original quote: «Me har så store problemer med hjort, i vinter så har det vore så masse ødelagt eng og ødelagt gjerdet på grunn av hjorten, og det har det vore i åresvis, og hjortetrykket blir bare større og større... etter me gjekk over til økologisk, så vil den bare gå hos oss, den gidde ikkje gå hos naboen hvor det sprøytes... De siste to årene så har vi lurt på om vi skal gidde å fortsette.»

climate change with locked-in weather patterns, and due to this directly affecting her vegetable yields.

Both participants described climate change and deer as one of the greatest challenges they face in their production. Challenges that are difficult and expensive to adapt to. Fencing to keep the deer out of their fields or a water tank to protect vegetable production during droughts would be too expensive investments for their small-scale productions. Therefore, the participants consider these challenges to be such big threats to their production, that they might lead them to stop farming if it continues or worsens.

3.5 Support systems

Support systems include the people and different institutions that the participants view as important for their work. This includes the people around, family and friends that lend a helping hand and their farmer colleagues that they can discuss with. The participants also talk about the importance of 'female only' networks and having female role models. Lastly, the participants talk about the importance of institutional support both in the form of financial support and extension services.

3.5.1 Family/friends

Norwegian agriculture is largely family farming, and even with industrialization, the family on and off the farm do play a key role for the farm. As the participants describe they are pressured by economy and time, and for many help from family members is essential. To have a supportive and understanding partner and independent kids that learn early to care for themselves as well as help with farm work is also very important. Family, including partners, kids, and parents, help during the busy seasons. The farmers with young kids rely on their parents to help with babysitting. With the long working hours, they rely on someone on standby to help with babysitting.

«Women often become the main caregiver. They need a network around, that's what we've missed a bit, having family in the village or nearby. [only her mother lives in the area]. That is too little to secure yourself against all the time you need babysitting on a farm compared to normal jobs. You simply need babysitting; you really need babysitting. The idyll of carrying your child on your

back and just going out, or kids who activate themselves in the field with earthworms and such. It is for the few."²⁵ - Katinka

Sofia talked about the importance of good collaboration with the in-laws that live and still work at the farm operations. This has been an important support for her and her partner to get help with babysitting, discussing ideas and as a social network. Sofia has taken the initiative to share meals with family and the staff regularly. The meals are social and can help distribute the workload of cooking family meals. As she puts it, life would be much harder without this collaboration:

"What helps a lot is, of course, it's not like that in all things, but it helps in most things, that we live next to each other, and we have such good cooperation. We eat together several times a week. Extremely great relief, when we ate together yesterday... life would have been twice as hard if we hadn't lived together and had such a good time together... great relief and social too." – Sofia²⁶

3.5.2 Colleagues

Fellow farmer colleagues are an important support for the participants. Farming is a lonely occupation, so the participants benefit greatly from having colleagues to discuss with and share their concerns. To see they are not alone in their struggles and that other farmers meet similar challenges. For example, Åse talked about the motivation she gets from study trips and meetings with fellow farmers and food producers, and that it was valuable to get some input from outside the farm.

To have someone that sees them and supports the interest the women take in farming is important. Kathrine describes how a female vet became an important support person for her. The vet would take extra time to explain, show her around and teach her about distinct aspects of animal care.

²⁵ Original quote: «Kvinner er ofte de som blir stående som omsorgspersoner. Trenger nettverk rundt seg, det er det vi har savnet litt, å ha familie i bygda eller i nærheten. [only her mother lives in the area]. Det er litt lite for å sikre seg mot all den tiden en trenger barnepass på en gård i motsetning til vanlige jobber. Man trenger rett og slett barnepass, man trenger virkelig barnepass. Den idyllen med å slenge ungen på ryggen og bare begi seg ut, eller unger som aktiviseres seg sjøl i åkeren med beitemarken og sånn.

²⁶ Original quote: «Det som hjelpe mye er, det er selvfølgelig ikke sånn på all ting, men det hjelper på det meste, at vi bor ved hverandre og vi har så godt samarbeide. Vi spiser sammen, spiser sammen flere ganger i uken. Ekstremt stor avlastning... når vi spiste sammen i går... at livet hadde vært dobbelt så hardt hvis vi ikke hadde bodd sammen og hatt det så godt sammen...det er veldig bra... kjempe avlastning og sosialt.»

"She took me around the sheep barn, it was probably before lambing and we were going to vaccinate I think, and she started talking to me in great detail. And genuinely concerned, she sees what I am interested in, in the business. Is particularly good at explaining and taking time for it. And on the phone too, she understands that I want to be responsible for this and that I don't understand it. So, she has taken the extra time. So, I felt this kind of female solidarity right away. She just dragged by the arm, now you're going to learn." – Kathrine²⁷

Aina expressed that it did not matter much if their colleagues were male or female or had the same type of production, just as long it was farmers they could discuss with. To have a sparring partner they could bounce ideas and concerns off and build a social network. For Nora, both her previous job in extension services and the positions she volunteered for in the local farmers union have been important for building a network of farmers around her.

3.5.3 Female farmer networks

To support female farmers and for them to meet and support each other, female-only farmer networks are beneficial. In meetings with only females present, there may be more room for discussing animal welfare, pregnancy, childcare, and other topics women are concerned with. The participants described a female-only Facebook page, female-only events, and female role models as important support.

Female-only Facebook group

On Facebook, there is a group "Nettverk for kvinnelige bønder" (Network for female farmers). This is a group for female farmers no matter what they farm or the size of their production, or even if you just are interested in farming or have work related to it. Here the participants feel they can share their concerns, ask for help, be motivated, and not feel alone in their struggles. In this Facebook group, there is a helpful, caring, and joyful environment. While in other farmer Facebook groups there are more often people criticizing you, rather than giving helpful reassuring comments.

²⁷ Original quote: "Ho tok meg med rundt i sauefjøsset, det var vel før lamming og vi skulle vaksinere tror jeg, begynte å snakke veldig i detalj for meg. Og veldig opptatt av, ho ser hva jeg er interessert i, i drifta. Er veldig flink på å forklare og bruke god tid på det. Og på telefon også så skjønner hun at jeg vil ha ansvar for dette her og hun kan det ikke. Så hun har tatt seg den ekstra tida. Så da følte jeg på sånn kvinnesolidaritet med en gang da. Ho bare dro meg i armen bortover, no skal du lære."

There are also posts in the Facebook group, where the women ask on behalf of their husbands, as they get more useful and supportive answers there.

"In any case, I think "Nettverk for kvinnelige bønder" is very good on Facebook because there it's very much like, they are good at giving each other advice, it is used a lot like that. Not that, because you feel that if you post something on Facebook in many other groups, you will be scolded. But in that group, it is allowed to write, 'yes, now I'm struggling with a cow that won't give down, or calves with which there's a problem or...' it is a very okay group." – Aina²⁸

Female Role models

Role models have been important for the participants. Here the Facebook page becomes an important platform for female role models. Women that find ways to bring children with them as they work, women that wear full coverage to protect themselves from amniotic fluid during lambing season while they are pregnant. For Kathrine, it was first when she worked as a Budeie (milkmaid) that she dared believe she could become a farmer. In the mountains, it is the women and different types of values that dominate.

"The reason why I even dared to think that I would become a farmer one day was that I started as a Budeie. And up in the mountains, it was women who reigned, then I realised that ladies can. I encountered different values up there than down in the villages. It was more about animals and nature and not so much about tires and diesel." - Kathrine²⁹

The farm manager, Idil, describes how she and other female farmers are significant role models for the next generations. Simply by being visible in the field, in the farm store or on social media the female farmers become role models for new potential farmers.

²⁸ Original quote: «Hvertfall den nettverk for kvinnelige bønder den syns jeg er veldig bra på facebook, for der er det liksom veldig sånn, ja, iforhold til at du slit, er flink til å gi hverandre råd blir mye brukt sånn. Ikke den der, for du føle jo hvis du legg ut noe på facebook i mange andre grupper, så blir du kverka nedått liksom. Men i akkurat den gruppa der føler jeg det er lov til, «ja nå sliter jeg med ei ku som ikke vil gi ned, eller kalver som det er noe problem med eller at...» den er veldig okei gruppe altså.»

²⁹ Original quote: «Grunnen til at jeg i det hele tatt tørte å tenke at jeg skulle bli bonde en gang, var jo at jeg begynte som budeie. Og oppe på fjellet så var det kvinner som regjerte, da skjønnte jeg at damer kan. Det var litt andre verdier jeg møtte der oppe, enn jeg møtte på flatbygdene da. Det var mere egentlig bare dyr og natur og ikke så mye dekk og diesel.»

“A lot of women were on the farm. And it inspired the daughter of [farm owner]. And she told him that she can be a farmer when she grows up, like look at that. It is all girls. So, I can be a farmer too. ... So, it was like a chain reaction. Or it was like a circle. Yes, we triggered something, she triggered something in him. And he came back to us to give this nice feedback. So that gave me a bit of more awareness of my power as a woman and being on a farm.” – Idil

Female-only events

Farmer organisations and extension services host female-only events to cater for and recruit more women into farming. Neither of the participants talked specifically about how they found these events useful. However, two of the participants talked about how these may be useful for other women. To have spaces where they can openly discuss without fear of judgement.

Aina attended a seminar for women in agriculture that was part of an agriculture fair, but it did not suit her. The way she describes the event, it sounds like a positive vibe to motivate and cheer on female farmers. However, she sees this as unnecessary as women are just as capable as men to become farmers.

“When I was at a seminar [for women] during Agroteknikk³⁰, it was too much of a Hallelujah atmosphere for me, I became a little paranoid. “Yes, we can do it, we can do it.” Yes, who cannot do that? I am a bit there. Why shouldn’t we be able to do it? There is nothing to shout Hallulaja about here.” – Aina³¹

What this kind of event lacked is space for discussions among the attendants and more critical insight into the situation of female farmers and girls considering going into agriculture. It is outside the boundaries of this thesis but exploring how female-only events can be useful for women would be an interesting research question for further studies.

3.5.4 Financial support

Farmers have a pressured economy and therefore financial support is crucial. As described earlier through Norwegian farming policies, farmers have multiple different

³⁰ Agroteknikk is a big agricultural sales fair with exhibitions of machinery and technology.

³¹ Original quote: «Når jeg var på en sånn samling på agroteknikk en gang, da blir det for mye sånn Halleluja stemning for meg, får jeg litt noia. Yes, vi klarer det, vi klarer det. Ja, hvem er det som ikke klarer det. Jeg er nok litt der. Hvorfor skulle vi ikke kunne klare det? Det er ikke noe å rope Hallulaja på dette her.»

arrangements for applying for financial support. Participants describe RMP³² as an important arrangement where they get funding for grazing in outer fields, environmental initiatives, and farming in steep or otherwise difficult environments. In addition, agricultural welfare schemes and “kontantsøtte”³³ are important sources of financial support for female farmers that have kids, get sick or have an injury.

“In the first couple of years, I did most of the work myself. ..this was partly due to having our son at home until he was two years old, and I could receive “kontantstøtte”. It enabled me to hire someone last year because I didn’t have to take out so much salary for myself. But then, in return, I had a lot of work to look after my son as well.”³⁴- Sofia

3.5.5 Extensions services

Some of the participants get important support from extension services through the farmers’ cooperatives and “Norsk landbruksrådgivning” (Norwegian extension services). In addition, participants talk about how their accountant and their bank advisor have given important counselling.

The dairy farmers, Nora and Aina use the extension services in TINE (Norwegian dairy cooperative) regularly for making feeding plans and building planning for example. While they have education and years of experience, they are not specialized in all parts of their production, so they find it especially useful to have people they can contact for support. They also encourage other farmers to take greater use of extension services.

However, multiple of the participants address that they lack extension services that are helpful for their type of production. And describe endless rounds of phone calls to different institutions without getting answers to their specific situation.

³² RMP (Regionale Miljøprogram) is regional agricultural subsidies for different environmental practices.

³³ Kontantstøtte is financial support for families with kids between 1-2 years that do not attend kindergarten.

³⁴ Original quote: «I første par år så drev jeg mye stort sett selv. ..det har med at Jeg hadde vår sønn hjemme til han var to år, og kunne få kontantstøtte. Det gjorde at jeg kunne ansette noen i fjor, for jeg trengte ikke selv ta så mye lønn ut. Men så hadde jeg til gjengjeld mye jobb med å passe på han også.»

3.6 Future visions

At the end of the interviews, the participants were asked to describe their visions for their farm five years from now. They all have plans and dreams either for improving their working facilities, improving animal welfare and/or having a more secure economy to get time for family and new projects. The participants also dream of support schemes adapted for their type of production. For the older participants, the future holds uncertainty as to how long they will continue and if they have family that want to inherit and take on the farm work.

Good working facilities are important in such a physically demanding occupation. As described earlier, investment in milking robots has contributed to improved working conditions, compared to hours each morning and evening with milking with hand-held machines. The participants also describe how they want to improve their facilities in the future to make feeding and other tasks easier.

The participants have plans for securing better animal welfare. Some of the participants want to allow for cow and calf to have time together but require sufficient facilities for this. Kathrine talks passionately about installing more comfortable bedding for the milking cows, giving them more comfortable beds to sleep on. She had considered this for a while, but after being pregnant herself, she is making this a demand and plans to install it when they have finished their ongoing building projects.

The investment in improved working facilities may also allow for more flexibility in the working schedule. Sofia, for example, wants to rationalize the farm work and free up more time for other projects at the farm and time for the family. Time to have shared meals, for their partners to contribute more to the housework and time to take holiday. Time to be a more “normal” family as Kathrine described when she was asked about their future:

“Having an employee, a little more. Someone who can do the farm work, maybe one or two evenings a week, and one weekend a month. Hopefully, we can have someone full-time in the future. You should not really feel that way, you will always feel a little different in this profession. But that difference will be smaller then, a little more normal family life. I did not think about it until I had

children, but I feel so bad for these little ones. Extremely bad. That is what we are working towards, that we will have an employee." ³⁵-Kathrine

Time and economy as outlined in the challenges section are key and naturally important to achieving their future visions. The participants wish to be able to keep up with all day-to-day tasks at the farm, as well as work on new projects, and have time for taking holidays. These wishes depend on the economy, to afford to invest in improved facilities, hire more help and reduce workload or get project funding.

“What is lacking then is that you have some money left in the end. That you can afford to refurbish your house a bit and do such things as other people do, to be able to afford to go away for a weekend or take your kids on a holiday. Because the way it is now, there is not much economy and there is not much time for that either, because then you must hire a replacement who can do everything and that it is not so easy.”³⁶- Nora

Today it is difficult for market gardens with diversified vegetable production to get agricultural subsidies. They find themselves somewhere between hobby farming and professional farming. Katinka describes that her dream scenario is to be able to get some financial support. Then they could afford to start new projects and compensate for some of their hours without relying only on the income from vegetable sales. They want to build a farm store to sell produce locally and have space to invite the community and tourists to their farm, but with limited time and economy, they have not been able to start on these projects yet.

3.6.1 Uncertain future

It might not be as soon as five years ahead in time, but some of the older participants want to reduce their working hours or have a different working life. To them, these changes are important for their health, but also to consider what future the farm will have. For example, Hanne is considering changing to a different form of production in

³⁵ Original quote: «Å ha en ansatt, litt mer. Ja noen som kan ta fjøset, kanskje en-to kvelder i uka, og en helg i måneden. Håper jo etter hvert at vi kan ha noen på fulltid. Som man rett og slett ikke skal føle på sånn veldig, man vil jo alltid kjenne seg litt annerledes i det yrke her. Men at den annerledesheten er litt mindre da, litt mer normalt familieliv. Sånn jeg ikke tenkte på før jeg fikk barn, men får så dårlig samvittighet for dissa små. Helt ekstremt. Det er det vi jobber for da, at vi skal ha en ansatt.»

³⁶Original quote: «Det som må på plass da er at man faktisk sitt at med noe penger for det til slutt. At du har råd til å pusse opp litt i huset ditt og sånn andre folk gjør da, ta deg råd til å rese bort ei helg eller ta med unga dine på en ferietur. For sånn det er no, det er ikke noen voldsom økonomi og ikke er det tid til det hell, for da må du ha inn en avløser som kan gjøra alt og det er ikke bare, bare det.»

the future, going into vegetables or a more diversified farm with free-range animals and fruit trees combined. She described how her, and other farms in her region, used to be diversified, and now there are only a few specialized larger farms left in the area.

Åse sees herself working less in the next few years, not fully retiring, but no longer overseeing the dairy processing operation. Thinking about the future she expresses that it is more important to keep the farm than to continue managing the connected farm operations. The farm has been run in the family for generations, and Åse and her partner want the next generation to continue the tradition. She thinks their investment in new farm operations may have been important for making it interesting for their kids to come back home. But it must be up to the next generation to pave the path forward. Similarly, Aina also talks about the future with the next generation, her kids are not yet old enough to decide, but she hopes for one of them to continue farming.

3.6.2 Future of Norwegian food systems

There is a question of uncertainty outside the individual choices at each farm. What will Norwegian agriculture look like in five years? Today the trends are negative with farms closing every day and debts increasing. The participants here describe that time and economy are two of the biggest constraints both for keeping up with day-to-day tasks, but also for being able to implement their future visions. With the food system in Norway being regulated this relies on future agriculture policy, but also the bigger players in the market.

Many of the participants are working small scale with local communities to develop alternative food systems such as CSA's, REKO and other forms of direct sales and community involvement at their farms. However, these are only on a small scale and currently have limited support.

Will future policies give larger financial support for improved animal welfare, will welfare schemes be improved and address the invisible work being completed by women every day? Will mountain farming, CSAs/CSBs, market gardens or other alternative practices be supported through policies or other arrangements? The future holds a lot of uncertainties for both individual farmers and the food systems as a whole.

3.7 Feminist agroecology in Norway

As this thesis and earlier research have found, time and economy are two important challenges for farmers in Norway (Bergslid, 2012). The impact of the workload is different for women as they, in addition to working at the farm, complete most of the housework. This extra burden on women and gender division of labour is more prominent while the women are pregnant and breastfeeding and makes it difficult for women to combine farming with having kids. The participants are reliant on (unpaid) support from their parents or others to help with babysitting and farmwork. This correlates with findings from interviews completed in Møre and Romsdal county in Norway (Bergslid, 2012). And also, with research in Costa Rica, where the triple burden was one of the greatest obstacles for women to be able to participate in agroecology (Sylvester & Little, 2021).

Some of the female farmers struggle with identifying as farmers and multiple participants describe experiencing forms of prejudice due to their gender. So, while Norway is at the forefront of gender equality, heteropatriarchy dominates in the Norwegian food system. Which is also seen in policies and welfare schemes that are not adapted for women's needs. When women step into the role of main farmers and still do a large share of the reproductive work, this challenges a heteropatriarchy of male farmers that relied on invisible contributions by women within the household. Stereotypes and welfare schemes has improved since research in the 1990s, but gender equality within the household is still limited (Haugen, 2013; Hårstad, 2019).

The participants' description of challenges with demands for increased efficiency and profit in an already tight schedule, illustrates that also capitalism dominates the food system in Norway. The reproductive work is not valued within the economy and as cited by a participant previously; there is limited space for female values such as care in industrial and market-oriented agriculture. A care economy as presented by feminist economics is an alternative to a capitalistic economy, that is centred around values of care for each other and nature (Bruil et al., 2020). In agriculture, this includes reducing the workload and improving working conditions for farmers and farm workers, improving animal welfare, and reducing negative environmental impact for example.

The Norwegian food system seems to be dominated by heteropatriarchy and capitalism, where the goal is for farms to be bigger and more efficient. As one of the interviewed women argues, there is a lack of leadership to lead agriculture forward in a clear direction. Female perspectives and values can contribute to envisioning a just and sustainable food system. The interviewed female farmers are all passionate about producing food and have plans and dreams to develop their production. The participants describe different sustainable practices they want to implement such as improved animal welfare, improved working conditions and more community involvement at their farm. However, their dreams are difficult to implement in a food system that values profit maximation and efficiency.

In these shifting times, the world needs new values and new leadership (Bruil et al., 2020), and it is here women and other voices that are silenced by the dominant actors in the food system should take on leadership and develop new shared values for the food system. As Haugen addresses in her article, female farmers are not bound to traditions and stereotypes in the way male farmers are, women are more adaptive and form their roles as farmers in new ways (2013). Here agroecology has exciting potential but must be aware of norms and power relations that may make these important voices silent.

3.8 Limitations and further research

The limitations of this thesis includes my limited skills as a researcher and my research questions being quite broad. I had limited experience with interviews and have never completed research independently before. If I were to redo my research, I would have asked more follow-up questions during interviews to dive deeper into relevant topics. I would also do a more extensive literature review and contact more relevant actors that work closely with female farmers and/or gender equality early in the research process. While I wanted to focus on the female farmers' perspectives, contacting relevant stakeholders would increase the credibility and transferability of my research, and help me form more precise research questions. As reflected under the section on reliability I have let my positionality somewhat affect the research, and discussing with relevant stakeholders might also have helped reduce this influence.

The explorative approach and the open problem statement I choose gave me a wide dataset covering multiple important topics. A more specific research question would

uncover more in-depth knowledge into one or multiple of the topics. However, this thesis is a good overview of relevant topics that further research can dive deeper into.

I had to cancel the workshop from my initial research design due to limited time. This would have better contributed to research question 2 (the question has been adapted so I could answer it based on collected data.) A workshop was also important to build on the participatory and action-oriented approaches in agroecology and explore how these could be beneficial to transform the food system and improve working conditions for female farmers.

Further research should be conducted to better understand gender and power relations in Norwegian food systems. This thesis only scratches the surface of women's experiences in farming in Norway and further research could dive deeper into specific themes covered in this thesis such as the triple burden, welfare schemes, power relations, norms and stereotypes and female values. Another interesting topic would be to explore how female farmers, farmer unions, extension services and others work with gender equality. My initial research plan for this thesis included a participatory and action-oriented workshop where women would create a shared vision for a just and sustainable food system. I would recommend research included and testing out the use of such a workshop to further explore female farmers' perspectives.

4.0 Conclusion

In this thesis, I have identified challenges female farmers in Norway meet and what they see as opportunities and discussed how feminist perspectives can contribute to transforming food systems. I have interviewed female farmers in Norway about their experiences, motivations, challenges, and what they see as opportunities. With an explorative approach and a thematic analysis, multiple themes and categories that are important to the participants were identified and summarised in Figure 2.

The female farmers identify pressured economy and high workload as key challenges. In addition, some of the participants experience challenges with managing their farm operation and their employees, and with physical/environmental impacts destroying their crops. More specific to their gender, the female participants

have a bigger share of the reproductive workload. With limited welfare schemes and arrangements for substitute farm workers, it is therefore difficult for the women to take time off and combine farming with family life. The participants also address heavy physical work and prejudices in society as challenging for them as female farmers.

By applying a feminist lens and exploring women's perspectives, this thesis has identified gender equalities and power relations in the Norwegian food system. From these findings, we learn that for a just and sustainable food system, reproductive work must be valued as part of the workload and distributed better. The participants express care as a female value, but there is limited space for this value within the current dominant food system and the logic of the economy. Learning from these women's experiences we can develop alternative ways of structuring the food system that value care for animals, nature, and people, rather than profit maximation.

This thesis contributes to the limited literature of feminist agroecology, where a gender perspective is explicit and where it critically examines power and gender relations in food systems. This research is important to address that for research to be participatory, it must be sensitive to power relations and ensure the inclusion of female, indigenous and other groups that may be excluded. The inclusion of a diverse group in action-oriented research with aims to transform food systems will be enriched with different sets of values, knowledge, experience, and skills. Feminist theories contribute to transdisciplinary agroecology with a clear political dimension that will ensure agroecology is not reduced to a set of technocratic practices. Feminist agroecology will not only contribute to reducing gender equalities but also has the potential to transform food systems and shift power relations.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide (In Norwegian)

Prosjekt: Masteroppgave om kvinner i landbruket i Norge

Student: Mari Jensen Aas, masterstudent agroøkologi, NMBU

Deltakere: Kvinnelige bønder som enten har hovedansvar, eller en stor del av ansvaret for drifta på gården sin.

Tidsbruk: 30-45 min

Lokasjon: På gården til de som blir intervjuet, eventuelt digitalt.

Objektiv: Intervjue kvinnelige bønder om deres rolle i gårdsdrifta og det videre matsystemet, og snakke om hva som motiverer dem og hvilke utfordringer de møter.

Nøkkelord: kjønnsforskjeller, arbeidsfordeling, makt, avgjørelser, lønn, økonomi, kunnskap, ferdigheter

Intervjuguide

Intervju nr:

Sted:

Navn:

Aldersgruppe:

Kan du fortelle litt om deg selv, med de ordene du selv vil beskrive deg med?

Drifta

Kan du fortelle om produksjonen og hvilke aktiviteter dere har på gården?

Hvordan startet du/dere opp? (kjøpt, odel, med partner)

- Hvis odel selv, hvorfor endte valget på hans gård?

Hva var din bakgrunn? Hvilke ferdigheter og hva slags kunnskap hadde du?

- Hva har du måttet tilegne deg? Er det lett å få tilgang til opplæring/kunnskap?

Arbeidet på gården og i samfunnet

Jobber du/dere fulltid på gården? – Hvor mye jobber du/har du jobbet utenom?

Kan du beskrive hvilke roller og oppgaver du har i drifta?// Hvordan ser en typisk arbeidsdag ut for deg?

Hvordan er arbeidsfordelinga og relasjonen mellom deg, andre ansatte og familien (og evt. andre som er innom)?

- Hvordan er det å kombinere med jobb utenfor for deg/partner?
- Hva med det «usynlige» eller «ubetalte» arbeidet med hjem, barn, familie, produksjon som ikke er for salg?

Hvilke(t) roller/ansvar har du i det videre matsystemet, i lokalsamfunnet og i landbruksnæringa?

Hvordan/hvem tar større og mindre beslutninger om gården?

Motivasjon/utfordringer/støtte/muligheter

Hva motiverer deg til å jobbe med jordbruk/mat?

- Hvorfor startet du opp og hva motiverer deg til å holde på?
- Hva er det du liker aller mest med å være bonde?

Hvilke utfordringer har du møtt på?

- Er det noen oppgaver som er mer krevende/mindre interessante for deg?
- Har du opplevd noe ubehagelig eller møtt motstand?
- Noe du ser på som negative sider ved å stå i dette yrket?
- Er det noe du er bekymret for/ser som begrensende?

Hva er viktig støtte for deg for å kunne drive? (velferdsordninger, økonomisk støtte, rådgivning nettverk etc.)?

- Kan du gi et eksempel på når du opplevde at du fikk god støtte? Evt. når du følte at du ikke fikk den støtten du trengte?

Hvordan ønsker du at drifta og din arbeidshverdag skal se ut om 5-10 år?

- Har dere noen konkrete planer eller drømmer?
- Hva er dine ønsker for norsk landbruk/matsystem/lokalsamfunnet?

Husk informasjonsskriv!

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet

Feministisk Agroøkologi: Perspektiver fra Kvinnelige Bønder i Norge

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å løfte fram erfaringer og perspektiver fra kvinnelige bønder i Norge. I dette skrivet gir vi deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål

Dette prosjektet er en masteroppgave som gjennomføres våren 2022. I oppgaven skal jeg utforske hvilke erfaringer og perspektiver kvinnelige bønder i Norge sitter på. Gjennom intervjuer vil jeg spørre om arbeidshverdagen, hva som motiverer og hvilke utfordringer deltakerne møter. Videre ønsker jeg i felleskap med deltakerne å skape en visjon for hvordan et framtidig bærekraftig og rettferdig matsystem kan se ut.

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

Norges Miljø og Biovitenskaplige Universitet er ansvarlig for prosjektet.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?

For å finne aktuelle deltakere har jeg brukt mitt nettverk blant annet i organisasjonen Spire og ansatte og studenter på agroøkologi programmet på Ås. Jeg har også vært i kontakt med bondelaget og bonde- og småbrukarlaget for innspill til oppgaven og til informanter jeg kan kontakte. Ut fra disse har jeg valgt å kontakte kvinner som har hovedansvar eller en aktiv rolle i gårdsdrifta i samarbeid med partner (og eller næring tilknyttet drifta slik som ysteri eller andelshage). Jeg etterstreber å få et spenn i alder og produksjonsformer for å få ulike perspektiver.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Hvis du velger å delta i prosjektet, innebærer det et personlig intervju som tar 30-60 minutter. Intervjuet inneholder spørsmål om dine roller i gårdsdrifta, hva som motiverer deg, hvilke utfordringer du møter og hvilke muligheter du ser i framtida. Det vil bli tatt lydopptak av møtet i tillegg til at jeg tar notater. Jeg vil gjerne komme og gjennomføre intervjuet hjemme på gården din/deres, og at jeg også kan være med på arbeidsoppgaver og gjøre deltakende observasjon for å få mer inntrykk av din arbeidshverdag.

Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykket tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle dine personopplysninger vil da bli slettet. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger

Vi vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene vi har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Vi behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket. Det er kun studenten og veileder som vil ha tilgang til dine opplysninger. Navnet og

kontaktopplysningene dine vil jeg erstatte med en kode som lagres på en egen navneliste adskilt fra øvrige data. Datamaterialet vil trygt oppbevares på NMBU sine servere.

I den publiserte masteroppgaven så vil deltakere som samtykker til det omtales med fullt navn. Kombinasjonen av informasjon om deltakerne slik som alder, kommune/region, produksjonsform vil kunne gjøre de gjenkjennbare i oppgaven, også hvis fullt navn ikke brukes. Studenten vil i etterkant av intervju gi deltakere mulighet til å lese over det som omhandler dem i oppgaven, og gi de mulighet til å omformulere seg eller trekke deler av intervjuet.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?

Opplysningene anonymiseres når prosjektet avsluttes/oppgaven er godkjent, noe som etter planen er i Juni 2022. Personopplysninger og opptak vil slettes ved prosjektslutt.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?

Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra Norges Miljø og Biovitenskaplige Universitet har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Dine rettigheter

Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:

- innsyn i hvilke opplysninger vi behandler om deg, og å få utlevert en kopi av opplysningene
- å få rettet opplysninger om deg som er feil eller misvisende
- å få slettet personopplysninger om deg
- å sende klage til Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger

Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å vite mer om eller benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med:

- Norges Miljø og Biovitenskaplige Universitet
 - ved Mari Jensen Aas, masterstudent.
Epost: Mari.jensen.aas@nmbu.no
Mobil: +47 97641517
 - eller Anna Marie Nicolaysen, veileder.
Epost: anna.marie.nicolaysen@nmbu.no ,
Telefon; +47 67232787
 - Vårt personvernombud: Hanne Pernille Gulbrandsen,
Mobil: 402 81 558,
E-post: personvernombud@nmbu.no

Hvis du har spørsmål knyttet til NSD sin vurdering av prosjektet, kan du ta kontakt med:

- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS på epost (personverntjenester@nsd.no) eller på telefon: 53 21 15 00.

Med vennlig hilsen

Anna Marie Nicolaysen
Prosjektansvarlig
veileder

Mari Jensen Aas
Masterstudent

Samtykkeerklæring

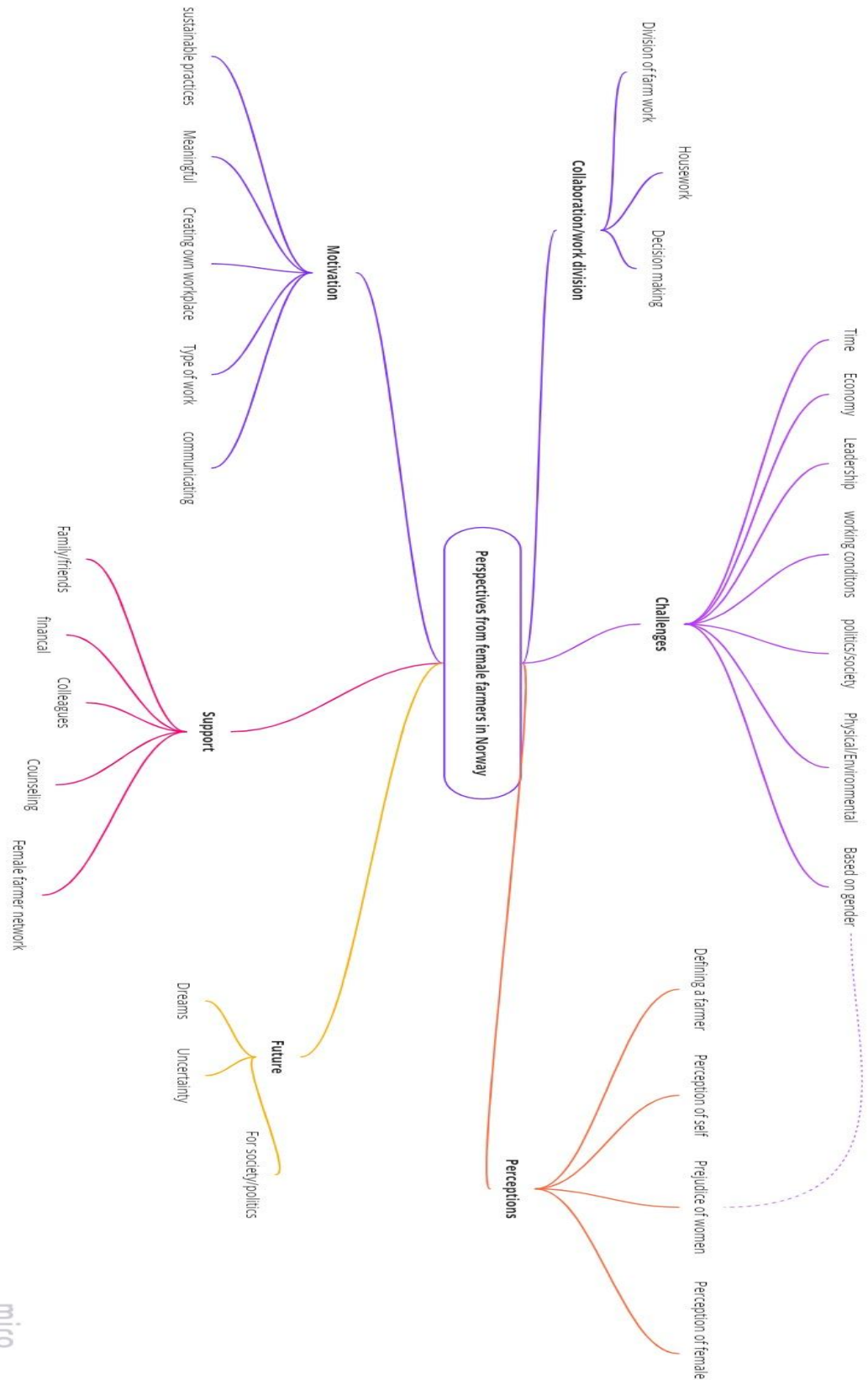
Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet *Feministisk Agroøkologi: Perspektiver Fra Norske Kvinnelige Bønder*, og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- å delta i intervju
- at studenten kan gjennomføre deltakende observasjon på gården
- at opplysninger om meg publiseres slik at jeg kan gjenkjennes

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Appendix 3: Full Code Tree





Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet
Noregs miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet
Norwegian University of Life Sciences

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