FARM WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES:
AN UPDATED LITERATURE REVIEW AND ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Susan Bentley and Carolyn Sachs

Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology
Center for Rural Women
Agricultural Experiment Station
The Pennsylvania State University
University Park, Pennsylvania 16802
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Women's involvement in agricultural production has been unrecognized and undervalued. Recent interest in women's work and status has resulted in increased documentation of women's participation and experiences in agriculture both historically and at the present time. The present paper provides a review of literature on women in agriculture in the U.S. beginning with an historical review focusing on women's changing role in agricultural production in the transition from agrarianism to an urban industrial economy in New England, in the movement West, and in the South. The situation of contemporary women in agriculture is then explored through descriptions of the sexual division of labor on farms, women's access to land, off-farm employment, farm workers, racial distinctions, the changing role of farm women, and women in professional agricultural occupations.

Historical Review

Women have been extensively involved in agricultural production throughout U.S. history. Women's work in agriculture has varied by region, type of agriculture, race, class, ethnicity and changing industrial conditions. The transition from an agrarian economy to an urban industrial economy has altered the socioeconomic structure of agriculture including the sexual division of labor. In addition, women have continuously been responsible for domestic activities.

Women in the North

Subsistence agriculture was the predominant means of livelihood for the majority of the population in the Northern American colonies throughout the eighteenth century. Families were the primary units of production and within families labor was divided by sex. Women's
economic role was essential to the family farm. Women were responsible for garden crops, small livestock and domestic production while men were usually responsible for field crops, large livestock and clearing land. However, the sexual division of labor was seldom rigid due to frequent periods of labor shortage. Women often worked in the fields during periods of labor shortage (Smuts, 1971; Stewart, 1961; Schob, 1975). Although women performed tasks that were considered the male's responsibility, tasks that were women's responsibility, such as domestic work, were seldom performed by men.

The extent of male domination on subsistence farms in colonial New England is the subject of some disagreement. Bloch (1978) points to the advantageous position of American women compared to their European counterparts. On the other hand, Folbre (1980) emphasizes the patriarchal character of subsistence farms with the father's exercising control over their wives and children. Women on farms in colonial New England were subject to male authority, but often to a lesser extent than women remaining in Europe.

The shift from subsistence to commercial production in the early nineteenth century North resulted in a shift in the economic contributions of men and women on farms. With greater emphasis on market-oriented production, men's work in the fields assumed greater importance (Ankarloo, 1979). Women continued to produce goods for subsistence, while men produced primarily for the market. The growing importance of market production led to an undervaluing of women's subsistence production. Cash crops were usually considered to belong to the men even though women also worked in the fields. Some products, such
as eggs, butter and cheese, were produced and sold by women, but generally men prevailed in market activity (Sachs, 1983).

The increasing commercial orientation of farms was connected to increasing industrialization and urbanization. Women on farms were initially the providers of labor in textile production. With the industrialization of cloth production, women followed their work to the factories. Young women frequently left their family farms for periods of time to work in the developing industries. In this manner, women contributed cash to the farm household. Upon marriage, women frequently returned to rural areas and performed the traditional work of women on farms including dairying, gardening, food preparation, washing, laundering, cleaning, and many more tasks (Cott, 1977). Accounts of women's employment in factories in the early nineteenth century are useful in understanding the changing lives and options for farm women (Cott, 1977; Dublin, 1975).

With the development of commercial agriculture, farm women had limited access to economic power on the farm. Women on farms continued to work primarily in domestic and subsistence activities which were not easily exchangeable on the market. Farms were increasingly defined in terms of the man's cash crops (Sachs, 1983). On subsistence farms, women generally lacked access to control over land while on commercial farms, women lacked control over both land and cash.

Women on the Frontier

The history of land settlement in the West has frequently presented a picture of white men conquering nature and the Indians. Recently various authors have documented women's experience in the movement West and in the settling of the frontier. The movement West was frequently
initiated by men (Schlissel, 1978) but not all women were reluctant emigrants (Jeffrey, 1979). The struggle for survival on the journey required strength and hard work on the part of both men and women. On the trail, the traditional sexual division of labor was often disrupted (Faragher and Stansell, 1975). Women performed men's work as well as their traditional domestic tasks. Compared to the increasingly restrictive existence for women in the East, the West offered the opportunity for the development of strength and independence in women (Gray, 1976). Although as Faragher and Stansell (1975) point out, the opportunity to move out of the domestic sphere was not always viewed favorably by women, women continued to perform domestic work with little assistance from men, but were also required to work with the men. In the male realm, women often were draftees rather than partners.

On the frontier, women worked with their husbands until the homestead was established. Various accounts suggest that compared with men, women were overburdened with vast amounts of work (Sprague, 1972). As on the journey West, women assisted men in planting, harvesting and building the homestead, but women's domestic work load was seldom reduced regardless of their participation in fieldwork. As Jeffrey (1979) notes, women on the frontier frequently attempted to reestablish themselves in the domestic realm that characterized their lives in the East. The sexual division of labor was reestablished on the frontier due to both continuance of male dominance and women's resistance to an excessive work load.

Women in the West had greater opportunities than Eastern women to own land and become farmers or ranchers. At the end of the nineteenth century, approximately one-quarter million women operated farms of their
own (Smuts, 1971). Gray (1976) describes the lives of women cattle ranchers. Based on her experience as a wheat farmer in the Canadian West, Binnie-Clark (1979), gives advice to other women concerning the problems and opportunities for women in agriculture in the West.

In addition to women married to farmers and women farming on their own, a number of women worked as hired laborers in agriculture in the West. The continual labor shortage in the Midwest often required hiring large numbers of both men and women. Often these hired workers, especially in the wheat harvest, were newly arrived immigrants. Although fieldwork was generally considered men's work, it was quite common for women to be hired during the frequent periods of labor shortage. Specific crops and commodities were also considered appropriate for women. Women were hired as dairy maids and as pickers in hops, grape and berry production (Holmes, 1912). In sum, despite the conception that fieldwork has traditionally been men's work, women have frequently performed fieldwork during periods of labor shortage and in specific crops. Also, black women, immigrant women, and poor women regularly worked in agricultural activities. As women discovered in the movement West and on the frontier, the performance of male tasks did not necessarily insure the elevation of women's position in society.

Women in the South

Women's relationship to agriculture was markedly different in the South due to the prevalence of plantation agriculture. The plantation economy depended on the labor of black women and men in the production of agricultural products for the market, primarily in cotton. Both women and men participated in fieldwork. Girls entered the fields with their parents at young ages and were involved in plowing, planting, hoeing,
harvesting. Approximately 80 percent of slave women worked in the fields, while the remainder worked as house servants (Fogel and Engerman, 1974). Women worked longer days than the male slaves, since women were also responsible for domestic tasks and care of their families.

Slave women were valued both for their productive and reproductive activities. Slave owners were concerned with the ability of women to breed other slaves (Brown, 1976). Childbearing capacity was often the measure of a woman slave's value. The requirements of fieldwork for a woman were lightened for only a short period of time before and after childbirth.

With the legal end of slavery and the institution of the sharecropping system in the South, black women continued to labor in the fields. However, sharecropping resulted in the formation of nuclear households in which each woman provided for the domestic needs of her family rather than sharing responsibilities with other women. Thus, as Jensen (1981) notes, the end of slavery resulted in an increased similarity between black women's and white women's work on farms.

Compared to their Northern counterparts, women in the South were more likely to be involved in fieldwork partially due to the labor-intensive requirements of crops such as cotton and tobacco. Two superb studies on women's work in cotton (Allen, 1931) and tobacco (Hagood, 1977) describe the interplay between women's productive and reproductive activities. Both authors point to the importance of women's role as reproducers of the labor force. In addition, in-depth discussions of the type of activities performed by women in the fields point out the heavy work load of women.
Under the plantation system, black women worked in the fields, while white women performed the duty of plantation mistresses. The image of the southern lady is pervasive in the history of Southern society. As Clinton (1982) astutely notes, the symbolic emphasis on the southern lady has overshadowed her economic contributions to the maintenance of the plantation system. On the plantations, white women managed the domestic labor force for the planter's house and the entire plantation. Women were responsible for supervising the production, purchase and distribution of food for the planter's family and for the slaves.

Domestic ideology that emphasized women's sphere as separate took different forms in the North and South. The split between men's and women's spheres was spurred by the growth of the market economy in the North. In the South, the emphasis on women's sphere as separate was integral to the continuance of the plantation system which granted white males authority over blacks and white women (Jeffrey, 1979). As Clinton states, "the plantation mistress found herself trapped within a system over which she had no control, one from which she had no means of escape. Cotton was king, white men ruled, and both white women and slaves served the same master" (1982:35).

Contemporary Women in Agriculture

Sexual Division of Labor

A primary focus of research concerning women currently in agriculture is the sexual division of labor on the farm. From the 1950's to the early 1970's various studies addressed the division of labor and decision making on farms. Two approaches emerged, one focusing solely on the farm, while the other compared urban and rural families. The first
approach coincided with the Agricultural Extension Service's emphasis on programs known as "farm and home development" or the "farm and home unit approach" (Wilkening, 1958). These programs were based on the premise that both women and men contributed to the well-being of the family farm. Research was conducted to determine how family decision processes operated and how labor was divided by sex (Sawer, 1973; Straus, 1958, 1960; Wilkening, 1958; Wilkening and Bharadwaj, 1967, 1968; Wilkening and Morrison, 1963). Other studies were simultaneously conducted which compared the sexual division of labor and decision making between farm and nonfarm families (Blood, 1958; Burchinal and Bauder, 1965).

In the late 1970's and early 1980's, renewed interest in women in agriculture occurred. Rather than a primary concern with the family, research in this period focused specifically on women's contribution in agriculture. The switch of focus from family to women coincided with feminist analyses which pointed to the economic and political subordination of women. Research efforts emerged to document women's economic contributions in many realms. The majority of studies of women's participation in agriculture documented the extent of women's work, but failed to discuss their subordinate position.

The first national survey of farm women was conducted by USDA and NORC in 1980 (Jones and Rosenfeld, 1981). The study of 2,059 farm women reports the extent of women's work, participation in decision making, and interactions with the USDA. Women are extensively involved in tasks on the farm including activities which are traditionally men's responsibility. On the average, women participated at least occasionally in 52 percent of farm tasks performed on their operation. Of the farm tasks, women were most likely to be involved in bookkeeping, running farm
errands, and taking care of animals. Over 50 percent of the women were also involved in harvesting. At least one-third of the women plowed, disked, or planted; performed fieldwork; purchased supplies; marketed produce; and supervised hired and family labor. In addition to their work in farm activities, 99 percent of women were responsible for the performance of household tasks. More than 85 percent of the women also took care of children and produced subsistence goods for the family. In sum, the national study reveals women contribute a substantial amount of work to the farm operation.

Structural and demographic factors contribute to women's participation in tasks on the farm (Flora, 1981; Jones and Rosenfeld, 1981; Ross, 1983). Structural factors including the size of farm, economic viability of farm enterprise, commodities produced, and region of the country impact on women's work on the farm. Jones and Rosenfeld (1981) have found that the total farm value, percent of sales from crops, and region of the country explain variation in women's participation in farm tasks. Using a number of measures of farm structure including land ownership, labor, size of operation and commodity class, Ross (1983) explains variations in women's farm labor. Women are more likely to be involved on smaller operations, livestock farms, and farms outside of the South.

Demographic factors such as marital status, age, number of children under six, percent of life on the farm, and education have also been shown to account for variation in women's farm labor. Single women are more likely to do farm tasks as are women who are younger, have fewer children under six, have lived a greater portion of their lives on farms, and have higher education (Jones and Rosenfeld, 1981).
Women's participation in decision making was examined in the national study. Performance of tasks and decision making do not necessarily go hand in hand, for women on farms (Boulding, 1980).

Although women rarely made farm management decisions alone, they were substantially involved in joint decisions with their husbands. Women shared in decisions on land sale and purchase on 58 percent of farms. Approximately half of the women participated in decisions regarding land rental and purchasing of major farm equipment. Production decisions were made predominantly by the men, however, over a third of the women did participate with their husbands in production decisions.

A major question for feminist researchers is whether the sexual division of labor is the cause or the reflection of women's subordination (Kelly, 1981). This question is rarely directly addressed in the studies of the division of labor on farms. The relationship between the sexual division of labor and decision making indirectly measures the linkage between the division of labor and subordination if decision making is used as an indicator of the extent of subordination. Jones and Rosenfeld (1981) found a strong, positive correlation between women's involvement in farm tasks and participation in decision making. Women are more likely to share in decision making if they perform farm tasks but they are not necessarily involved in decision making because they perform farm tasks.

Women's subordination on the family farm is difficult to measure since economic measures such as income cannot be used. Rather, women's subordination or lack of power has been measured similarly to power in the family. Since the household mode of production predominates on farms, measures typically used to determine the extent of women's
economic subordination are inappropriate. Income and wage differentials are not feasible as measures of economic status for members of farm families. Women on farms are often unpaid family labor. Men are considered farmers rather than unpaid family labor, but since they are self-employed, even they are usually not paid wages or a salary.

Power differentials between men and women on family farms has been studied according to the methodology of family power studies. The extent of male authority in the family has generally been measured in terms of decision making. However, these studies rarely explore the roots or forms of patriarchal authority in the family.

Access to Land/Land Ownership

Control of land is a major problem for women. Ownership of land or the ability to rent land is essential for agricultural production. Women are less likely than men to own or rent land. Ownership of agricultural land occurs through purchase or inheritance. Men owned approximately 83 percent of farmland in the U.S. in 1978 as compared to 89 percent in 1946 (Waters and Geisler, 1982). Women's ownership of farmland has increased, but inequities for women continue. The value of female-owned land relative to male's land has declined between 1946 and 1978. Thus, Waters and Geisler (1982) conclude that despite a modest gain in the amount of of farmland owned, women's economic position in terms of land ownership has declined. The method of land acquisition differs between the sexes, although purchase of farmland is the primary method of acquisition for both women and men. Women were less likely to acquire land through purchase (57 percent) compared to men (79 percent). Women were more likely than men to obtain their land through inheritance or gifts. As Waters and Geisler (1982) note, women are more likely to become owners at
an older age than men due to their acquisition of land through inheritance. Women are most likely to inherit land upon the deaths of their husbands. Prior to 1981, the tax inheritance law discriminated against farm widows such that they were often unable to retain the farm after their husband's death. The Federal Law was reformed following intense lobbying activity by farm women such that the survivor is no longer required to pay Federal Estate Tax upon the death of the spouse. However, in some states, the surviving spouse is required to pay estate tax. Due to changes in Federal Laws, widows are financially more capable of maintaining the farm.

Ownership of land does not necessarily imply control of the farm operation for women. As Salomon and Keim (1979) note, women farm owners often turn control of the farm operation over to men, thereby undermining women's source of power. In addition, women often only nominally own land which is controlled by family corporations, their spouses, or lending institutions (Waters and Geisler, 1982). Women farm operators are more likely to own their land than men operators. Kalbacher (1982) reports that in 1978, 79 percent of women sole operators owned all of their land compared to 58 percent of men. Women tend to have less acreage than men operators. The average size of farms operated by women is 285 acres compared to 423 acres for men.

One option which women are pursuing is joining together to purchase land. In different regions of the country, women have established land trusts and cooperatives through the pooling of resources (Average, 1980). Much of the land which women have purchased cooperatively is marginal and, therefore, difficult to farm profitably. Furthermore, women often lack additional capital to invest in farm equipment. Hence,
although these women have made sincere efforts to establish agricultural activities, their attempts have been thwarted due to lack of access to good land and the financial resources to develop successful enterprises.

**Off-Farm Employment**

Members of farm households are increasingly seeking off-farm employment with the need for additional income on farms. In the past, off-farm employment was frequently pursued by new entrants into farming, but currently off-farm employment become a way of life for farm families (Heffernan, 1981). Only through dependence on nonfarm sources of income are many families able to retain their farms.

The adoption of an off-farm work pattern frequently changes the sexual division of labor on the farm. In 1978, 38 percent of farm males worked off the farm and 43 percent of farm females were in the labor force. Employment of either/or both the woman and man has differential impacts on the farm operation (Coughenour and Swanson, 1983). When men are employed off the farm, women frequently assume responsibility for a major portion of the farm operation (Lyson, 1979). Women often quit low-paying jobs to farm full-time when their husbands assume full-time off-farm employment (Gladwin, 1982).

Farm households with limited farm income frequently rely on the employment of women. Until recently, studies on part-time farming have focused primarily on male employment and have overlooked the impact on the farm operation when the woman enters the nonfarm labor force. Nationally, in 1980, 36 percent of farm women were employed off the farm (Jones and Rosenfeld, 1981). Studies in individual states found that 58 percent of women in Florida worked off the farm (Gladwin, 1982) compared to 38 percent in Kentucky (Bokemeier, Sachs, and Keith, 1984). Gladwin
(1982) found that women are most likely to work full-time off the farm if they have high education, high earnings potential, and a babysitter for their children. According to Bokemeier, Sachs, and Keith (1984), education, age, family income, and farm sales explain farm women's labor force participation. In an earlier study, Sweet (1972) found that farm women residing in metropolitan areas and women in the South had higher rates of labor force participation.

Gladwin (1982) notes that the off-farm employment of women affects the farming capability of males. Men whose wives work off the farm have access to additional cash income for the family and/or farm. Thus, due to the employment of women, men may be able to remain full-time on the farm. On the other hand, women employed off the farm have less time to contribute to farm labor. More farm families are in a situation where both the woman and the man must work off the farm. Boulding (1980) refers to the above situation as the triple squeeze for women. They must fill in for their husbands, perform their own tasks on the farm, and work off the farm.

Increased flexibility in the sexual division of labor may be the result of increasing poverty or periods of transition. From both an historical and comparative perspective, women have often performed traditionally male tasks during periods of economic hardship or transition. In an intriguing argument, Cernea (1980) suggests that throughout the world women are replacing men as agriculturalists. The feminization of agriculture is a result of males leaving agriculture in search of more lucrative employment in other sectors of the economy. Thus, rather than women gaining increased status through more
participation in agriculture, they become marginalized as does agriculture.

The increased employment of farm women is due both to farm households increased reliance on nonfarm income and the increase of women's labor force participation in general. The increase in female labor force participation is associated with major demographic, social, and economic changes including shifts in family structure, increased education, increased economic need, and employment opportunities. Brown and O'Leary (1979) note that women accounted for 89 percent of the employment growth in rural communities between 1960 and 1970. Both structural and individualistic explanations have been used to explain women's increased labor force participation (Bokemeier, Sachs, and Keith, 1984). Structural explanations suggest that changes in the labor market have resulted in increased employment of women. Theories of labor market segmentation and dual economy suggest that the labor market is not homogeneous but composed of primary and secondary markets with women concentrated in the secondary labor market. Employed women are concentrated in industries and occupations which are characterized by low wages, low productivity, minimum job security, limited job mobility and lack of unionization (Beck et al., 1978; Bibb and Form, 1977; Morrissey, 1982).

Women in rural areas are in a disadvantageous position in terms of employment due to both their sex and place of residence. Employment opportunities in rural areas are often in peripheral or secondary industries. Rural industrialization efforts, particularly in the South, have relied on rural women as a supply of cheap labor (Summers and Lang, 1976). Thus, rural women may be employed, but their economic situation
may not be substantially improved if they are hired at low wages from a large pool of rural women (Summers et al., 1976).

Flora and Johnson (1978) discuss the issue of power between the sexes in rural households. Farm women who work either on the farm or in paid employment are likely to have more power in the family than women who work solely in the home. Women earning income have access to financial resources which tend to increase their power. Flora and Johnson (1978) predict that as more women enter the labor force, the distribution of power within the family will change to the advantage of women. But, they point out that rural women will tend to regard employment as an economic necessity for the family rather than a means to their own independence or power.

**Farm Workers**

Recent research on women in agriculture has focused on women on family farms rather than women in wage employment in agriculture. Barton's (1978) study of women farm workers in California is the major exception. According to Galarza (1977), there has been an increase in the proportion of women hired as agricultural workers. Several studies of migrant workers in general describe the situation of women farm workers (Friedland and Nelkin, 1971; Dunbar and Kravitz, 1976). Women in migrant families have the responsibility for providing care and food for family members under adverse conditions. In addition, the women work in the fields. Problems facing migrant workers such as inadequate housing, health care, and sanitation often are a burden to women since they are responsible for maintaining the household.

Farm worker organizations which strive to improve the living conditions for farm workers are male dominated. Women farm workers
report sexual inequity in these organizations and barriers which limit their participation (Emery, 1979; Flores, 1979).

Racial Differences in Women’s Work in U.S. Agriculture

The labor of black, Chicano and Asian women in agriculture in the U.S. is markedly different from the labor of white women. The view that agricultural production is men’s work is undermined when the work of black, Chicano, and Asian women is considered. Since slavery, black women in this country have always worked in the fields. With the legal end of slavery and the introduction of the sharecropping system in the South, black women’s work was altered. Women continued to labor in the fields but they spent more time occupied in household chores and childrearing duties (Jensen, 1981).

The intersection of class, race, and sex has contributed to a lack of information on much of women’s work in agriculture. Studies of farm women in the U.S. frequently do not include the work of blacks and Chicanos because they are less likely than white women to work on farms which their families own or rent. From the outset of the U.S. agricultural system, women and men of African, Asian, or Latin American origin have provided much of the hand labor on farms. At the present time, a substantial proportion of farm workers are either black or of Spanish origin.

Changing Roles of Farm Women

Similar to other women in the U.S., women’s lives on farms are changing. The contradiction between women’s involvement in reproductive and productive spheres remains a problem for the vast majority of women. Flora and Johnson (1978) discuss the changing roles of rural and farm
women in terms of sexuality, reproduction, socialization, and production. The changes in women's work in production both on and off the farm have been discussed in previous sections. In addition to their work in agricultural production and in the labor force, farm women continue to be responsible for domestic and subsistence activities including bearing and rearing children; purchasing, preserving, and preparing food; cleaning, washing; and raising the family food supply. As in urban areas, fertility has declined for farm women. Traditionally, children were of important economical value as workers on farms. With the move toward capital-intensive agriculture and large families has declined. Rural women continue to have more children than urban women, although rural women have decreased their fertility to a greater extent than urban women (Flora and Johnson, 1978). Compared with previous times, farm women have smaller families and spend fewer years of their lives bearing children and caring for infants.

Women on farms consider their roles of mother and wife extremely important. The family farm remains one of the few enterprises in the U.S. in which labor is organized through the household. A strong interdependency exists between women and men on farms. The interdependency does not necessarily translate into equality. As Hartmann (1976) points out, the division of labor between the sexes is hierarchical both in the home and in the workplace. The assignment of domestic tasks to women weakens the position of females, both in the labor market and on the farm. Women are increasingly performing male tasks, but they remain responsible for domestic activities. The rigidity of the sexual division of labor is breaking down, but women continue to have sole responsibility for tasks which are traditionally female. Flora
and Johnson (1978) expect to see a continuation of the family orientation for farm women with some changes. With increasing access to education, employment, and birth control, farm women are likely to expand their options.

Women in Professional Agricultural Occupations

Historically, few women have been employed in professional agricultural jobs. The USDA originally hired women as clerks and librarians; only gradually have a few women advanced to higher positions. The percentage of women in the USDA remains small (Baker, 1976). With the changes in the structure of agriculture, many jobs in agriculture are removed from the farm. Job segregation by sex is prevalent in government agricultural institutions such as the USDA and Agricultural Experiment Stations. Women are concentrated in home economics and nutrition, while men hold the overwhelming majority of positions in agriculture (Sachs, 1983). Agricultural scientists in the state Agricultural Experiment Stations are predominately male. Of the 1,431 scientists surveyed in agricultural experiment stations by Busch and Lacy (1983) only 4 percent were female. Women scientists are in home economics, nutrition and textiles and are almost totally excluded in fields such as agronomy and animal science (Sachs, 1983).

A dramatic increase in the number of women in agricultural colleges has occurred in recent years. Women entering male-dominated fields often face discrimination especially as they advance in their disciplines. According to Thompson (1981), undergraduates did not perceive sexism in the agricultural colleges, although they found fewer and less lucrative positions on the job market. However, others have suggested that women students are discriminated against in fields such as agricultural
engineering, agricultural education and agricultural economics (Templeton, 1978; Taigarides, 1970). Women in male-dominated fields are often encouraged to enter the less prestigious specialties. Thus, as Thompson (1981) discovered, women graduates have substantially lower salaries than their male peers. With the increase of women in colleges of agriculture, the incidence of women in professional agricultural positions is likely to increase in the coming years.

**Directions for Future Research**

The expansion of research on farm women in recent years has provided a substantial information base on the daily lives of women on farms in the past and at the present. Future research on farm women should move towards resolving theoretical, methodological and practical issues. In addition, gaps in the knowledge base concerning women's relationship to agriculture must be filled.

Much of the literature on women in agriculture is descriptive, often lacking a well-developed theoretical analysis. Hill (1981) points to the possibilities for creative interdisciplinary work on farm women given the lack of established orthodoxies or discipline-bound inertia. Of particular importance according to Hill (1981) is the kinship nexus in which farm women work and live. Farm women cannot adequately be studied through individualized models appropriate for urban women. As Hill emphasizes, participation in work does not free farm women from the immediate constraints of kinship. The issue of the intersection between farm and family is central in examining the position of women on farms. Feminist analyses of the intersection between women's productive and domestic activities in advanced capitalist urban societies and in the
Third World must be reworked to understand the situation of women on farms pursuing household commodity production.

Women's situations on farms must also be analyzed within the larger context of the changing structure of agriculture (Flora, 1981; Elbert, 1981). Flora (1981) points to the need for studying farm women according to the commodities produced and the class position of their household. Women's contribution and relation to land, labor, capital and management on the farm need to be examined.

The continual emphasis on women in farm families has obscured the situation of many women involved in agricultural production not working on farms owned by their families. As a result, farm workers and tenant women have been overlooked in studies of women in agriculture. The interweaving of race and class in American society has resulted in a paucity of information on black women and women of Third World origin.

As Hill (1981) emphasizes, scholars interested in farm women must consider the practical implications for their work. Rather than pursuing research activities geared to answer academically defined questions, Hill urges that farm women be considered active participants in defining the direction of research activities. Rather than simply objects of study, farm women must be viewed as partners and beneficiaries of our research efforts.
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Based on a thorough study of the work of white, black, and Mexican women in the Texas Cotton fields in the 1920's. Her discussion of white women's work is insightful, although her interpretation of the black women's situation is racist. The subordinate position of women in agriculture is examined through an analysis of women's hired labor, family farm labor, and household labor. The contribution of all family members to the farm enterprise must be recognized.

Allen, Ruth
1931

Based on a study of 294 Mexican Women, the author describes the inordinate amount of work performed by women in the fields and in the home.

Amodeo, Luiza B., Rosalyn Edelson, and Jeanette Martin
1982

Rural Chicanas' goals and expectations are restricted to traditionally accepted female pursuits; the growing proportion in the labor force occupy low skill-pay-status jobs. To raise expectations, Chicanas must be able to obtain an education and skills to achieve equality.

Ankarloo, Bengt
1979

Compares the roles of women in Sweden and the United States in agriculture as commercial farming replaced subsistence agriculture. Women's labor was usually confined to the family. Based mainly on statistics on the American Midwest.
Atkins, Annette
1981  "Women on the Farming Frontier. The View from Fiction."
Examines six novels that break away from the stereotypical picture of frontier women as homesick and reluctant pionneers: A Lantern in Her Hand (1928) and Spring Came On Forever (1935) by Bess Streeter Aldrich, Oh Pioneers! (1913) and My Antonia (1918) by Willa Cather, and Old Jules (1935) and Slogum House (1937) by Mari Sandoz.

Baker, Elizabeth Faulkner
A section in Chapter 4 (Women at Work Away from the Factories) gives statistics on women farm laborers and farmers. Chapter 8 also has a section on "Women on the Farm" which discusses the transformation of woman's work on the farm since the early 1900's.

Baker, Gladys L.
1976  "Women in the United States Department of Agriculture."
Agricultural History 50(1):190-201
In its first decades the US Department of Agriculture hired only a few women, mainly as clerks, librarians, and assistant microscopists. Gradually in the early 20th century a few women made their mark as scientists and in the Office of Home Economics. Since then several women have advanced to higher positions, although their percentage in the Department workforce remains small.

Barkley, Wanda Louise
In the current crises of drought and poor prices that Georgia farmers face today, the role of women in providing income through off-farm jobs is widely acknowledged. Because of severe financial losses over the past six years, the income provided by off-farm employment may determine whether the farm continues to operate. The contributions of both husbands and wives have been studied in one Georgia county, using a combination of statistical and qualitative interview techniques. Patterns of off-farm employment by age, point in the life cycle, and farm type are presented, and the human costs and benefits of this change in traditional women's roles discussed.

A descriptive study of demographic characteristics, employment situations, and supportive service needs of women farmworkers in the California labor force was conducted in 1977-1978. Data were collected in interviews with both employers and 400 women and 200 men engaged in farmwork in Fresno and Imperial Counties. Fifteen tables present responses made by employers on questions concerning such areas as farm size and type, years in farming, and attitudes toward various aspects of employment of women workers.

Reports a survey of teachers, supervisors, and teacher educators from 240 schools and colleges in Pennsylvania to determine attitudes toward women as agriculture teachers. Findings reveal positive attitudes and it is concluded that women should be encouraged to enter the field.
Beers, Howard W.  

Based on a study of farm families in Central New York. The family farm is reported to be less patriarchal as the division of labor has become more specialized. Especially on large, commercialized farms, men have increased control of farm operations while women are responsible for decisions in the home.

Berkowitz, Alan David  

Berkowitz, Alan D. and Dalva E. Hedlund  

Case studies of 20 New York farm families over a 10-year period provide data illustrating the relationship between role congruence and psychological stress regarding the wife's role. In 5 of the 20 families, lack of role congruence is related to psychological stress. A case study analysis of two families with and without stress and incongruence illustrates stress development over time with increasing incongruence in the wife's role. This indicates the need to view the farm family as a psychological system, not merely a technical and economic one.

Bescher-Donnelly, L. and L. W. Smith  

Explores the increasing role diversity of rural women and focuses on their role behavior, functions, and responsibilities with respect to four major societal institutions: the family, the economy, the educational system, and the political structure. In the past few decades, there have been remarkable changes in the roles and responsibilities of rural women. Social policies designed to improve the social and economic conditions of rural women should be directed toward changing both the structural conditions and traditional sex-role ideology that restrict both males and females in their life situations.
Binnie-Clark, Georgina
1979  Wheat and Woman. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Originally published in 1914, the author describes her experiences of wheat farming in Canada and attempts to convince women that they can achieve independence through farming on the Canadian Prairie. Includes an account of problems experienced by women farmers.

Blood, Robert O., Jr.

Compares the work of urban and farm women and concludes that farm women work much harder than urban women. Farm women work in agricultural production, consumer goods production, and household tasks. Despite their economic contribution, farm wives have no more power in decision making than do urban wives.

Bokemeier, Janet L. and Milton C. Coughenour

Four types of farm family-work role systems are identified. Based on data from a statewide survey of Kentucky adults (N=11,015 males and females of which 1,941 are in farming), a comparative analysis of profiles of personal, family, economic and farm characteristics found few differences. Hobby and part-time farmers, although they have lower farm sales than full and dual occupation farmers, reported on the average higher family income than full-time farmers. Differences were found in the occupational and industrial structure of farm males and females.

Bokemeier, Janet, Carolyn Sachs, and Verna Keith

Compares labor force participation of farm, rural non-farm, and urban women using data from Kentucky. Specifically focuses on differences between rural women residing on and off farms. Rural women often are employed in low wage industries and occupations.
While the government has attempted to recruit more young men into farming by extending farm loans, and providing price supports, etc., these recruitment efforts have been directed solely toward men, without regard to women as potential agricultural producers. Through various mechanisms women have been discouraged from entering the agricultural sector and have been accepted only into the lower-paying, seasonably unstable farm laborer category. There is a need to reconceptualize the woman farmer with regard to her potential as an independent farmer or farm manager. Given that over one-third of the students majoring in agriculture at land-grant colleges in 1979 were women, it is appropriate that special attention be given to an examination of the choice process through which female agricultural students arrive at a decision to pursue production agriculture and the factors and conditions which affect that decision.


Exploratory study of women's activities on farms indicates substantial involvement in farm tasks. There is not a clear relationship between performance of farm work and decision-making. Concludes that current farm policy will drive women off farms.


Description of black women's work as sharecroppers in the South in the early 1900s.
Between 1960 and 1970 economic opportunity and progress for women in American non-metropolitan areas was mixed. Although non-metropolitan women were not forced into traditional rural pursuits, they were more likely to hold low-wage clerical, operative, and service jobs. These lower status jobs accounted for most of the employment gains for non-metropolitan women in the 1970's. The decentralization of employment to non-metropolitan areas has created jobs for both black and white women where few existed before, yet the lower status of most non-metropolitan jobs implies lesser social, economic, and personal rewards for non-metropolitan women workers.

"All aspects of Western feminine life, which include a great deal about the Western male, are covered in this lively, entertaining, and factual account of the women who challenged the frontiers and built a world out of a wilderness."

Black women have had agricultural roles similar to black men with the additional responsibilities of raising children and running a household. The plantation system and the difficulty blacks have had in obtaining land after freedom have made it hard for them to become independent farmers.

Chapter "Women on Farms" is a collection of readings which provide examples of farm women living and working in a variety of situations (slave, plantation owner, NY farm wife, prairie farm wife, Wisconsin farm girl, and educated farm girl).
Bryant, Keith L., Jr.  
1980  

In the past historians have given little attention to middle-class white women in the antebellum South. Using literary sources, the author finds that these women occupied significant positions in the antebellum South. For example, they worked, made money for the family, fed the children, established the moral tone in the home, and became important in religious institutions. Their early role in southern history should not be underestimated.

Burchinal, Lee G., and Ward W. Bauder  
1965  

Compares decision-making in families at different points along the rural-urban continuum. Former patriarchal norms have given way to relatively egalitarian norms regardless of place of residence.

Capener, Harold, and Alan Berkowitz  
1976  

Data from a nine-year longitudinal study of twenty farm families are used to describe an array of distinguishing characteristics in farm family structure and function. The role of farm wives and their contributions to the farm is described.

Chandler, Irving  
1918  
"Farm Women and Food." Forecast 16(1):30-35.

Notes concern of Department of Agriculture with farm women. Farm life must be made more attractive to farm women if farmers are to remain on farms. Farm women are overworked and the Department of Agriculture must strive to make farm women more content with farm life. Prior to this time the Department has concentrated on making the farmer a prosperous man rather than focusing on the farm woman.
Clarenbach, Kathryn F.

This report of the Council includes: (1) Highlights and Recommendations; (2) Rural Women in Profile; (3) The Needs Defined: A Report of the Consultations; (4) Review of National Programs; (5) Annotated Bibliography; and (6) Appendices.

Cleaveland, Agnes M.
1977  No Life for a Lady. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

As a young girl, Agnes Morley came to a New Mexico cattle range with her family. From her experiences of growing up on a cattle ranch run by her mother, she wrote this classic of the West which is recognized as one of the few authentic accounts of early cow culture.

Clinton, Catherine

A detailed description of the life of the plantation mistress. Extensive use of letters, diaries and memoirs to describe their daily lives and concerns, as well as their role in the antebellum South.

Cochrane, Hortence

The 1976 Rural New York Conference focused on unresolved social problems in rural America, with particular attention to needs of rural women in New York. Proceedings include commentaries on migrants and education, rural planning, human services planning, and illiteracy. There are also summaries of workshops, and an issues section on state and federal policies.
Colman, Gould P.

Response to Hill (1981) suggesting the need for agreement on a method of analysis to provide guidance for data collection on farm women. The method suggested is to study farm and family as separate systems which are integrated in a variety of ways.

Cott, Nancy F.

Cott uses a sample of 100 women's diaries, memoirs, and letters, as well as other material, to examine the social conditions of women in New England between 1780 and 1835. Particularly useful analysis of the impact of the market economy on farm women's lives.

Coughenour, C. Milton and Louis Swanson

Uses data from a Kentucky survey to analyze the relationship between the type of farm family and the size and sales of farm operations. Emphasizes the importance of focusing on the work status of farm women as well as men. The effects of off-farm employment on the farm business differ for men and women due to differences in their involvement in the farm labor process and inputs into the farm.

Deere, Carmen Diana

Argues that the sexual division of labor in rural agricultural markets contributes to the low value placed on labor during capital accumulation. Analyzes rural women's contribution to capital accumulation in the capitalist periphery. Rural women's work in subsistence production allows male workers to be paid lower wages, since women provide for the needs of their families. Compares peasant households with domestic units in advanced capitalist societies.
Degler, Carl W.

Chapter on "Women at Work: Unions, Farms, and Professions" describes women who worked and lived on farms during the late 1800s through early 1900s. Includes references to diaries and journals of farm women.

Downie, Masuma, and Christina H. Gladwin
1981 "Florida Farm Wives: They Help the Family Farm Survive." Food and Resource Economics Department, Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences, Gainsville, Florida: University of Florida.

Presents a series of propositions concerning women's contributions to the farm, involvement in decision-making, housework and childcare, and off-farm work. Each proposition is supported by previous literature as well as a study of Florida farm women.

Dunbar, Tony, and Linda Kravitz

This book is about migrant farm workers in the U.S. Although not specifically about women migrant workers, it is a very descriptive and analytical work on the conditions of migrant farm workers and their children. Index, good sources and many quotes of migrant workers.

Dunne, Faith

Describes the problems facing many rural women, and possible programs which could address their needs, especially educational services and employment opportunities.

Dunne, Faith

Delineates some major issues influencing the status attainment process of young rural women in comparison with that of young men, focusing on occupational sex-stereotyping, using data from a survey in 1977-1978.
React to Hill's article on research on farm women. Suggests that women's productive and reproductive activities cannot be neatly separated. An understanding of how the integration of the family and farm system effects women is essential.

FWEP studied sexual inequity among farmworkers, staff, and board members of eight farmworker organizations. It found that inequities and limited opportunities did exist and a major impediment was women's lack of perception of the present inequities facing them.

Discusses the breakdown of the sexual division of labor as families moved west on the Overland Trail. Women performed men's work, but seldom as partners. Women did not necessarily benefit through the breakdown of their own sphere.

Fassinger, Polly A., and Harry K. Schwarzweller

"This study compares variabilities in the work patterns of women on hobby, small, and larger farms. Within each of these qualitatively distinct settings, three major kinds of work activities are considered: housework, farm work, and off-farm employment. Also considered are the relevance of situational circumstances such as stage in family life cycle, presence of farm workers other than husband and wife, nature of farming enterprise, and seasonal work demands." The study found that typically wives were involved in paperwork and organizational activities of the farms, and in tending the family garden. Women on larger farms were more likely to be actively engaged in the farming enterprise. Thirty-nine percent of the farm women also held off-farm jobs.

Fisher, Susanne Graham
1980 The Relationship Between the Roles of Farm Wives and Patterns of Educational Participation. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota.

Fite, Gilbert C.

Presents an overview of the pioneer farmer. The emphasis on increased capitalization on frontier farms meant hard work and drudgery for farm women.

Flora, Cornelia Butler

Suggests a research agenda for farm women which includes an analysis of the structure of agriculture and the farming systems approach which links farm level behavior with the larger political economic context. The household rather than the individual is the appropriate unit of analysis. Further research should explore differences in households by commodity.
Flora, Cornelia, and Sue Johnson

Discusses the changing roles for rural women in the spheres of sexuality, reproduction, socialization of children, and production. Farm women's work, both unpaid family labor on the farm and for wages off the farm, is described. The authors suggest that in the future there will be a subtle shift in women's status and power.

Flores, Oralia T.

Women farmworkers and staff members of farmworker organizations revealed barriers (e.g. lack of education, training, transportation, family responsibility, spouse's cooperation) that limit women's participation in all levels of farmworker organizational structure.

Folbre, Nancy

Explores the patriarchal relations in family production in eighteenth century Massachusetts. The importance of patriarchal control of sons and women is described in the context of the division of labor and control over resources. Women played a major role in production but were not assured any power in the household. The interconnections between patriarchal control over women and over children have important implications for understanding conflict in patriarchal families.

Friedland, William H., and Dorothy Nelkin

This book is a first-hand collection of the lives of East Coast migrant workers. It explores the lives of both men and women workers, as well as their children's. Anecdotal.
Gasson, Ruth  
1981  
This study of English farm women distinguishes between three types of women on farms: the farm housewife, the working farmwife, and the woman farmer. Reasons for women's differential participation on the farm are discussed. Future trends suggest that women will become more involved in farming activities.

Gilles, Jere Lee  
1982  
In many cases, men and women have the same extension program needs, but the unique experiences of women in agriculture may mean women are interested in different types of extension programs than men.

Gladwin, Christina H.  
1982  
Based on a study of Florida farm women, Gladwin investigates factors impacting on women's decisions to work on or off the farm. Farm women need education and job training since they often combine off-farm work with farming. As more men work off the farm, more farm women will substitute as the full-time farmer.

Glosser, Ruth  
1979  
"Women Times Three--Women Working, Raising Children, Growing Older," a project of the Saint Francis College Social Work Program, is described. The project's purpose was to provide a low-key forum wherein women and men of Appalachia could discuss sensitive issues raised by their changing status and life styles and the impact of public policies. The goal was achieved through the use of scholars in humanistic disciplines as moderators to facilitate discussion and clarify debate.
Gray, Dorothy K.

Short histories of several women of the West — descriptive and analytical. Good bibliography of letters, journals, and articles of and on these women.

Hacker, Sally

Changes in women's lives with the transition from agriculture to agribusiness are emphasized in this article. It describes the increased subordination of women as a result of agribusiness policy. The author uses information obtained from her participation in vocational courses entitled "Agribusiness Orientation." The unequal job opportunities and wages available to women are discussed with a section on migrant workers.

Hagler, D. Harland

Historians have depicted the typical southern woman as a lady, while the contemporary southern agricultural press more often espoused the farmwoman ideal. The values and conduct of the southern lady were ridiculed and derided if they conflicted with the more earthy, utilitarian values and conduct of the farmwoman. Based on a review of numerous southern agricultural magazines and journals.

Hagood, Margaret Jarman

Insightful study of white tenant farm women in the South in the 1930s. Based on interviews with women primarily on tobacco farms in North Carolina and the Deep South. She found that the overwhelming majority of women preferred field work to house work.

Hagood, Margaret Jarman

This is a sociological description of farm families and their participation in the farm way of life. A section on the "Duties and Role of the Farm Wife and Mother" contrasts the work of women on the farm with that of urban women.

"Together with emerging anthropological and historical literature, sociological studies challenge previous interpretations of rural women's insignificance in the life of rural families and communities. This research undermines the assumed supremacy of traditional values in guiding rural women's behavior. Past shortcomings notwithstanding, new approaches and renewed commitments to the study of rural women are needed. To generate data relevant to public decision-making and policy formulation, research on rural women in the 1980s should systematically look at women as workers and as economically active family members and give attention to the involvement of rural women in politics, community service, and national policy."


Compares the earnings and relative socioeconomic status of married women with rural backgrounds and urban women on the basis of a series of studies and interviews conducted in Pennsylvania from 1947 to 1971; examines the generally higher financial and social standing of urban women; discusses the variables, including education, responsible for this.


Hargreaves reviews three publications: Nothing to Make a Shadow (1971) by Faye Cashatt Lewis; Alberta Homestead: Chronicle of a Pioneer Family (1971) by Sarah Ellen Roberts; and Frontier Women: The Life of a Woman Homesteader in the Dakota Frontier, Retold from the Original Notes and Letters of Grace Fairchild (1972) by Walker D. Wyman. In addition, there are comments on this type of research and literature and suggestions for future work.
Hargreaves, Mary W.M.

The few women on the plains in the early days enjoyed a relatively high status. Their hardships included loneliness, fear, illness, and rude surroundings. Modern conveniences came later to the plains than elsewhere, but women who did not mind hardship could adapt to western life.

Heaton, Christine Rugaard

Hill, Frances

A discussion on the varied roles of farm women, including their roles in: the family, farm work, farm management, off-farm work, divorce and widowhood, and farm organizations. Problems of past research on farm women are included as well as suggestions for future study.

Howell, F.M.

Explores the process by which young rural women translate adolescent aspirations for their own adult achievements and those of hypothetical "future" husbands into attainment patterns early in the life course. Among women who marry early in adulthood, access to higher education does more to determine husband's occupational status than any other single factor considered. The process of status attainment in marriage is found to be different for rural black and white women.

Huffman, Wallace E.

Focuses on assessing the value of time spent by U.S. farm wives at farm work. The data on wives' farm work were derived from the 1964 Census of Agriculture. Farm work by farm wives contributes significantly to farm output and that the marginal product of their time at farm work compares favorably with their nonfarm wage.
Janiewski, Dolores

Study of women on tobacco farms in the Piedmont region of North Carolina from 1880-1930. Documents the impact of class, race, and sex in women's subordination. As the tobacco economy changed, women increasingly left farms to work in the industrial centers in the Piedmont.

Jeffrey, Julie Roy

An historical account of the migration of white American women and their families to the western frontier is given. The nineteenth century marked a time period of new social roles and norms for women, which affected their experiences in coping with the frontier wilderness. Historical evidence was gathered from women's journals, reminiscences, and collections of letters.

Jensen, Joan M.

Discusses work performed in the New England households in the nineteenth century which went beyond the production of goods and services for household use. Women earned cash for their families through selling cloth and butter and taking in boarders. A dual economy existed on many farms with the women and children providing for living expenses while the men handled the field operation and farm expenses.

Jensen, Joan M.

A collection of journal entries, letters, autobiographies, and poems which reveal an historical view of the lives and contributions of farm women in the United States. Chapters are organized by themes to provide insight into native American women, frontier women, Southern women, etc.
Johnson, Nan E., C. Shannon Stokes, and Rex H. Warland 1978  

Data from the 1970 National Fertility Study were used to test the following hypotheses: farm women are more traditional in sex-role ideology than nonfarm women; the higher the sex-role traditionalism, the higher the actual fertility; the higher farm than nonfarm fertility will be sustained after age at first marriage, education, marital instability, labor force participation, religion, race, and duration of marriage have been controlled; the farm-nonfarm differential will disappear after these same variables and sex role ideology have been controlled. Results indicated support for the first two hypotheses and lack of support for hypotheses III and IV.

Jones, Calvin and Rachel A. Rosenfeld. 1981  

Results of a nationwide survey, focusing on farm women are summarized. One of the main objectives of the study was to assess farm women's usage of USDA programs. Several dimensions of farm women's involvement are also analyzed, including: participation in work and decision-making aspects of the enterprise, membership in agricultural organizations and personal attitudes and beliefs about the role of farm women.

Jones, Jacqueline 1982  

Examines the sexual division of labor under slavery in the rural South between 1830 and 1860. Slave women's work exemplified the extreme form of the dual nature of women's work under patriarchy and capitalism.

Jung, Karen Salberg 1980  

A description of the life of women in rural America, during the years following the Civil War. Excerpts from popular newspapers, magazines, and books of that time period provide the records for the way the majority of Americans lived at that time.


Basic statistics on women farmers from the 1978 Census of Agriculture, the first census to publish data on sex of farm operators. Although male operators have historically dominated farming, females in growing numbers contribute substantially to agricultural production. Approximately five percent of the total number of farms are operated by women, and the majority of female farmers are full owners of their land. The greatest concentration of female farmers is found in the South. Includes tables.


This is a history of the "Ladies" Department" feature of the Ohio Cultivator, which during the 1840's and 1850's served not only as a women's information column, but also as a forum for grass-roots feminist thinking in the Midwest.

Keim, Ann Mackey 1976  The Farm Woman: Lifelong Involvement with the Family Farm. Master's Thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
"Career Education for Farm Wives." Agricultural Education. 46:(October):8.

The "Farmer's Wife Seminar in Machinery Operation" in Atkinson, Illinois, is described. It was a new program in adult education acknowledging women's desire to learn about farm machinery for several reasons: (1) the farm wife is "good and reliable" help; (2) she owns half the machinery; (3) she often wants to help on the farm; and (4) for safety considerations.


A successful marketing approach for fresh produce is described. In an effort to meet consumer demand for "U-pick" produce, an "Apple Map" was drawn to direct area consumers to nearby apple orchards.


Presents the results of a 10-year study, conducted on a sample of farm families, living on the northern Great Plains. A variety of farm family households was represented, ranging from families with the farm enterprise as a major focus to families desiring to abandon agriculture. Women's roles are also covered in a wide span; the majority of farm women in the sample were found to be active contributors to the family farm enterprise.


Since rural society experiences social changes more gradually than urban society, the actual stresses are different in nature. Two areas of conflict are identification of sex-role function and the nature of the interaction with the extended kinship network."
"Women in the Rural Areas." Political Social Science Annual. 375(January):115-123.

Lamier, A.R.
1968

Discusses rural women's concern with the world's urgent efforts to control population growth, feed the world's people, and improve the health of the next generation. Further describes the contributions that women can make economically, by their agricultural labor, co-operative efforts in production, by production in home industries, and by trade. As steps are taken to enable rural women to move into the world stream, they are clearly showing their competence and the range of their potential contribution.

"Dolls, Vassals and Drudges--Pioneer Women in the West."
Western Historical Quarterly 3(January):5-16.

Larson, T.A.
1972

A detailed description of the suffrage movement in the West when the territorial legislatures of Wyoming and Utah gave women the vote.

"Radical Reconstruction and the Property Rights of Southern Women."

Lebsock, Suzanne D.
1977

A detailed history of women's property rights in the South, and an analysis of the process by which women got these rights, placed in the context of the struggle for women's rights.

"A Farm Wife Stands Up for Women's Lib."

Leimbach, Patricia
1971

An Ohio farm woman describes her work on the family farm and her opinions on human liberation from sex defined farm and household tasks.

Lerner, Gerda
1972


The use of many primary documents in this book create an extensive history of black women in the United States. There are many bibliographic notes.
Lewis, Martha Wells  

Although the situation is changing, rural America has been the scene of declining opportunity for 50 years. For the many rural females left behind in communities depleted by outmigration, there are limited opportunities and few role models besides that of wife, mother, and farm woman. Work transition strategies for rural youth should involve the recognition and the respect of the work that women do, and the realization that being a farm wife is a probable vocation for many rural girls. The most sensible strategies involve current practices such as the 4-H Club and Green Thumb, which provide creative school-to-work transitions for both boys and girls.

Linn, Gary  

Implications of role sharing for marital satisfaction are explored among 181 Wisconsin farm couples. Considerable evidence is found supporting the proposition that joint spousal involvement in agricultural decisions is related to greater husband-wife conjugal well-being. However, the analysis yields relatively little information in support of the hypothesis that joint agricultural task performance is positively related to spousal happiness. Other findings indicate that women's involvement in farm work roles differentially influences husbands' and wives' satisfactions.

Lilly, Leslie  

Discusses the low wages and dead-end jobs most Appalachian women workers face and explores nontraditional employment options which offer higher wages, benefits, security, and a chance for truly meeting a family's needs.
Linsink, Judy Nolte, Christine M. Kirkham, and Karen Pauba Witzke
Contains excerpts from the diary (1858-88) of Iowa farm wife Emily Hawley Gillespie along with a narrative summary of her life. Based on the 10-volume Emily Gillespie diary deposited at the Iowa State Historical Department.

Litoff, Judy B. and Hall Litoff
"This preliminary investigation of the many sources on working women in Maine shows that women have played a significant and diverse role in the Maine economy."

Lodwick, Dora and Polly Fassinger
Results of an investigation to identify the diversity of farm women's labor involvement. In addition, six tasks are listed, which are performed by the majority of farm women in the sample.

Maret, Elizabeth and Lillian Chenoweth
This article reports an explanatory study of patterns of labor force participation for two samples of mature rural women. Using data from the National Longitudinal Surveys of Work Experience, the authors investigate determinants of participation for rural women who live within the boundaries of SMSAs (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas) and for rural women whose residence is outside an SMSA. The findings indicate substantial differences in supply and demand factors related to labor market activity between the two samples of rural women.
Martelet, Penny  
1980  

The Woman's Land Army helped broaden the role of U.S. women in the work force during World War I. It was organized by private women's organizations because of the manpower shortages in agricultural areas during the war. Attesting to women's deep patriotic spirit and dynamic organizational ability, the Land Army also signaled the growing desire of many women for new avenues of employment. Their adaptability to farm work demonstrated their capacity for hard physical labor. The clothing, living arrangements, and nature of the work were considered inappropriate to standards of feminine behavior. The Land Army proved to be a small part of a larger movement that would involve millions of women during World War II.

McBane, Margo and Mary Winegarden  
1979  

The California Women Farmworkers Project is producing a radio program and multimedia slide and tape show relating the contributions of women to California farm labor. More than 70 interviews have been conducted under various oral history projects. The project investigates a topic neglected by historians and public officials. Women comprise more than 40% of the agricultural labor force, yet their efforts remain largely unknown. The project focuses on the work of women in fields and packing sheds.

McDonald, Julie  
1980  

Biography of Ruth Buxton Sayre, an Iowa farm wife who became the president of the International Associated Country Women of the World. This book describes many women's farm and agricultural organizations from the 1920's through the 1950's.

Mills, Gary B.  
1976  

A documented legend, focusing on the life of a black woman in Louisiana. A former slave, she was given freedom and a tract of land, which she maintained with her children.
Moore, Keith and Eugene A. Wilkening

Based on a survey of 179 Wisconsin farm husbands and wives, an attempt is made to explain how structural characteristics of farm and family combine to determine the allocation of labor time of husband, wife, and children both on and off the farm. The analysis suggests that various indicators of size of operation are positively associated with the amount of labor provided by different family members on the farm and negatively associated with off-farm work. On the other hand, high levels of net worth are associated with a reduced amount of labor time contributed by family members both on and off the farm.

Morkeberg, Henrik

An analysis of reasons that a growing number of women married to self-employed farmers in Denmark have been attracted to the labor market, and of the consequences of this development with regard to work performance at the home and on the farm. From a national survey carried out in 1975 with a random sample of 320 women, it was found that better and more varied employment openings in rural districts as well as structural changes within agriculture have led to an increased demand for jobs. It is mostly women from small farms and younger women with vocational training who have started to work. These women have approximately the same burden of work at home as do others, whereas changes in women's job situations do not seem to have had any noticeable consequences for the traditional pattern of sex roles in the farm family.

Murray, Eloise M.

Important issues to consider when conducting research on farm women are discussed. These include the broad areas of: family, labor/work, economics, politics, education, and technology.
Myres, Sandra L.

Mainly a book on the frontier experiences of many women during that time, it deals briefly with frontier women and farming in Chapter 9. It also outlines the codes of various territories and Western states pertaining to homestead and land rights for women. Extensive notes and sources.

Nelton, Sharon

Describes an educational program at Valenica Community College, called Women in Citrus, which teaches women to assume the responsibilities of citrus grove ownership and management and to participate more fully in organizations of citrus growers.

Pearson, Jessica
1979  "Note on Female Farmers." Rural Sociology 44(1):189-200.

Descriptions are given of the types of roles females assume in farming operations, as well as women's impressions of these roles. Data for the exploratory study were obtained from participant observations and in-depth interviews. Suggestions are provided for future research.

Pearson, Jessica

"Nearly 500,000 women are engaged in farm work. Although the majority are unpaid family workers, in recent years greater proportions are in salaried and managerial positions. In-depth interviews with farming women in Baca County, Colorado, however, suggest that wage classification has negligible predictive value in explaining a woman's attitude toward farm work. Satisfaction with doing 'men's work' depends on early socialization experiences and the degree to which a woman adopts the traditional female value system. The relevance of a masculinity-feminity dimension to distinguish women with career versus homemaking proclivities is discussed."
Phifer, Louisa Jane  

A description of day-to-day life on a female headed family during the Civil War. Recollections are given from letters, written to her husband in the Union army.

Purnell, Idella  

In 1918, the author was a 17 year old member of the Woman's Land Army, mobilized to help save the crops in the fields left by men who had enlisted in the war effort; to serve their country, these women endured hard work, to which they were not accustomed.

Racine, Philip N.  
1980  "Emily Lyles Harris: A Piedmont Farmer During the Civil War." South Atlantic Quarterly 79(4)386-397.

This is the journal of a woman during the Civil War; through her entries we catch a glimpse of what it was like during the Civil War to be the wife of a farmer and a soldier.

Rosen, Anita L.  
1981  "Wife Abuse in Rural Areas: Some Social, Legal, Medical and Service Delivery Issues." Paper presented at the National Institute on Social Work in Rural Areas, Beaufort County, South Carolina, July.

The study examines the issue of wife abuse in a rural area, assesses major service interventions suggested by the literature, and evaluates their practicality in rural areas. The area used for the study was characterized by high unemployment and low per capita income. A questionnaire was administered via one-on-one interviews of 14 women (new residents of the only women's shelter in the area who identified themselves as abused and in need of help). Additionally, personal interviews were conducted with 21 service providers who might work with abused wives not served by the shelter. Results indicated that the abused women surveyed were similar to those in urban studies, except that rural wives were older and more rural husbands were in a higher tax bracket and had more education. Service providers surveyed indicated: more federal rural health clinic physicians than family physicians attempted referral; law officers and judges were lacking in knowledge concerning domestic violence; and few women openly sought help.

In rural America 34 million culturally and economically diverse women share the common problem of unfair treatment based on sex. Although in recent years women have begun to question the social attitudes limiting their aspirations, a formidable gap exists between their expectations and the archaic legal, social, and economic policies that continue to discriminate against women. These problems are compounded when placed in a rural setting. Many of these problems are identified, and suggestions for policies are made.

Sachs, Carolyn E.

Describes women's participation in agriculture throughout the history of the U.S. through in-depth interviews and historical research. Women's participation is described within the context of the changing structure of agriculture and women's domestic work. Compares women's participation in U.S. agriculture to women's work in agriculture in developing countries.

Salant, Pricilla

Over fifty percent of the farm women in the Sand Clay Hills area of Mississippi and Tennessee were employed outside their homes in 1980, either on-, off-, or both on- and off-farm. The most common off-farm occupations included nursing, teaching, secretarial, and production work. Farm women made significant contributions to household income in 1980; those who reported off-farm income averaged over $7,500 in earnings. Farm women between the ages of 35 and 54 tended to work outside the home more frequently than either younger or older women, and were most likely to join the labor force after their children had begun school.
Salomon, Sonya and Ann Mackey Keim  

Control of land was found to be the source of women's power in a farm family community. Men, however, controlled the actual farming operation and distribution of products. Women appear to make a trade-off of lower status and less power for male management of the farming operation, allowing them more security in widowhood.

Saloutos, Theodore  

Immigrants and their children were a positive force in the growth and development of our agricultural nation. A variety of ethnic groups are traced back to their arrival in the rural U.S. Prime areas of settlement are listed for each ethnic group, as well as the types of labor or crops each provided.

Sawer, Barbara J.  

Explores decision-making patterns on family farms focusing on the farm woman's role. Data were provided by 67 married couples in British Columbia. Women's participation in farm decisions is positively related with their performance of farm tasks and information seeking activity. Family size, income, and farm size are likely to restrict or encourage women's participation in decision-making activity.
Schlissel, Lillian  

Describes the westering experience of American women, by telling the stories of flesh-and-blood women on the Overland Trail. Although pioneering is often seen as a masculine activity, the overland journey was a family matter. Women were essential to the success of the enterprise as they later were to the settlement of the areas to which they travelled for women not only performed their womanly tasks on the trail, but also took over men's work when necessity arose. However, even though women were often drawn into performing tasks far removed from their usual domestic duties, they clung possessively to their traditional roles. For men, the adventure of the overland journey came at an opportune time in a young man's search for success, but for women, the experience often came at an inconvenient time in her life cycle.

Schob, David E.  

During the years 1815-1860, land in the midwest changed from frontier to large scale farmlands. With increasing agricultural development, hired hands provided additional labor to maintain larger farms, especially during peak seasons of planting and harvesting. Of particular interest is the chapter focusing on the role of the female hired laborers.

Selitzer, Ralph  

A review of the growth of the dairy industry in the United States. Women played a primary role in the early dairy business by making the butter and the cheeses for family consumption.

Shane, Ronald Lance  
Smith, Joyce L. and Quentin A.L. Jenkins  

The objectives of this study are to determine the personal, family, and community interactions of women on small farms, to determine how women on small farms are affected by social and cultural change, and to determine the influence of significant and generalized others on the behavior of women on small farms. Subjects are 54 Louisiana families, including 111 females, who are participating in a Small Farmer's Project, cultivate at least 4 acres, and report less than $5,000 income from the farm enterprise. The families are studied for 9 months through participant observation. Findings indicate that the small farm families are still traditionally oriented; most females are from relatively poor small farm backgrounds; and though most women consider their husbands and fathers as directors of the farming operation, they are not usually dominated by the men and have considerable control of financial affairs and decision making.

Smuts, Robert W.  

An historical perspective is given on women and the American labor force. Chapters focus on types of work engaged in by women, characteristics of working women, demands and rewards of entering the world of work, values, and attitudes. The 1971 edition's introduction includes a review of the changing role of women, since the late 1950's.

Snyder, Beverly S.  

A description of women in agricultural colleges and agricultural careers.
Southworth, Lois E. and Gary W. Peterson

This is a comparative study of 176 low-income Tennessee mothers and 174 middle-class mothers from Washington, D.C. It was found that low-income Appalachian mothers had a greater orientation toward obedience and conformity to the expectations of others. The central implication of this study is that the conformity and obedience orientations are adaptive within the setting of the Appalachian mothers.

Sprague, William Forrest

This book portrays the hardships and accomplishments of the female pioneers in the trans-Alleghany region, and the economic and social aspects of western life which assisted women in their struggle for greater legal and political rights.

Spruill, Julia Cherry

A study of the life and status of women, living in the English colonies in the South. The main focus is on everyday life. Chapters also cover women's occupations, social life, and education.

Staudt, Kathleen

This publication reviews the literature on women's participation in elite and mass politics and emphasizes rural women's organizational participation. It also analyzes constraints on the organizational participation of women, and suggests policy implications in the areas of organizational strategies, employment strategies, and data collection. Good bibliography.
Stewart, Elinore Pruitt

Letters describe the life and work of a woman homesteader and hired worker. Vividly portrays the contradictory feelings of both women and men toward women's work in the fields.

Straus, Murray A.

Based on a study of 210 families in an agricultural settlement project in the Columbia Basin. Women's economic contribution to the farm operation does not contribute to the success of the farm operation. Successful farms are those in which the wife plays a supportive and complementary role to her husband.

Straus, Murray A.

Examines differences between wives of high and low technologically competent farm operators on 903 Wisconsin farms. Constructed a "wife role supportiveness index" to determine if wife's support is helpful in understanding the technological adoption behavior of men on farms. Although no causal relation was demonstrated, the wife role factor does seem important in understanding farm operator behavior.

Swann, Lee Ann C.

Prior to 1755, few women owned land in the colony of Georgia. However, when the British took over the government of the colony, the number of women landholders increased dramatically. With the ownership of town lots and eventually farm acreage, the ability to purchase land was an indication of successful women.
Sweet, James A.

Based on 1960 Census data, the study concludes that rural farm women are employed in increasing proportions. Variation in employment rates among farm women is similar to variation among urban women. Suggests a number of areas of needed research.

Taigarides, E. Paul

Many high school females show high aptitude for a vocation in a technical field, yet few have the chance to pursue their interests. A series of myths commonly held about engineers is presented, as well as prospects given for women interested in engineering careers.

Taylor, Norma

A large percentage of Canada's gross national product is derived from farming and related industry. Economic necessity makes farm women an inexpensive contributor of farm labor, as well as an important part of the farming operation. However, many changes need to be made to meet growing concerns for child care, off-farm employment, farm economics, and isolation.

Templeton, Mary E.

Describes the results of a survey of women graduates (1970-1976) in agricultural economics, agricultural education, and agricultural engineering. Reasons for entering the field and employment problems were discussed. Many respondents indicated that discrimination still existed, especially in agricultural engineering.
Terry, Geraldine B. and J.L. Charlton

This study describes the ways in which the working women in rural low-income areas of the South differ from working women in the nation. The women in the South worked more frequently than rural women in general, although less frequently than women in US society in general. In addition, it was found that they earned less money, had less formal education, were slightly older, and a higher percentage were married. The female labor force in the study areas differed from other rural female labor force patterns in the unusually large percentage of women working in non-farm employment.

Tetrault, Jeanne and Sherilyn Thomas

A step-by-step guide to aid women to begin and maintain their own homestead-style farm. Information is offered on many subjects including choosing and buying land, carpentry, and raising plants and animals.

Thomas, Sherry

A collection of true stories about rural women. Taken from interviews with women across the United States.

Thompson, Maxine M.

A career as a horticulturist is not stereotypically a "female" occupation. However, as this article points out, many women have become successful at this vocation.
Thompson, Orville E., Juanita B. Wood, David H. Dupre, Kathleen A. L'Eduse, and Allison Henderson

A study examining the educational and labor market experiences of female graduates of agricultural programs. It was found that while the females perceived little sexism in the educational setting, the situation changed upon their entry or attempted entry into the labor force.

Timper, Priscilla Jean Tomich
1981 The Relationship Between the Adoption of Modern Farm Practices and the Participation of Farm Women in Farm Tasks. Ph.D. dissertation, Utah State University.

Tyler, Pamela

Compares attitudes expressed in the popular magazine, Progressive Farmer and Southern Ruralist, concerning white women of the middle class married to farm owners in the 1930s with the attitudes toward such women during 1820-60. In important ways there is little difference between the two periods. The woman was expected to have piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity. Changes included additions rather than deletions of qualities; in 1930 greater involvement in community affairs was expected. The woman was now expected to be both farm wife and lady.

Underhill, Lonnie E. and Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr.

A description of women's vigorous role in the settling of the new territory Oklahoma. Historically, treatments of the openings of a territory have tended to make them affairs of men; this article describes a few of many women who braved the dangers and hardships of the openings and successfully established their claims to homesteads.
Vail, David
1980

Investigates decision-making on small-scale organic farms; examines the sexual division of labor and decision-making.

Vanek, Joan
1980

Daily activity schedules, known as time budgets, provide information on activities and relationships within households and shed light on the dynamics of family change. Such activity schedules are used to examine family roles in farm households in the U.S. during the period 1920-1955. Comparisons of the schedules of farmers and farm homemakers reveal sharp differences in the content of work and, though to a lesser degree, in leisure, but equal amounts of time spent working, at leisure, and away from the farm. The symmetry in time indicates a deeper symmetry or balance of roles, since on the farm husbands and wives produced a substantial share of the goods of daily subsistence and had closely intermingled social worlds.

Vanlandingham, C.L. and W.E. Hardy, Jr.
1975
"The Rural Alabama Female Head and Her Household." Highlights of Agricultural Research 22(3):10.

This is a description of the household characteristics of a sample of 420 households. The study concludes that the female heads of households are in many respects disadvantaged, but to a large extent, this was highly correlated with being aged.

Waters, William F. and Charles C. Geisler
1982

Examines changes in farm ownership patterns of women between 1946 and 1978. Land ownership patterns are different for men and women; for women, ownership and control of land are not necessarily identical.
Wilkening, Eugene A. 

Concludes that joint decision-making in farm families is most prevalent on medium income farms. Women are less likely to participate in farm decisions on low income farms.

Wilkening, Eugene A. 

Compares changes in the division of labor on farms and decision-making between 1962 and 1979, based on studies of Wisconsin farm women at two points in time.

Wilkening, Eugene A., and Nancy Ahrens 
1979 "Involvement of Wives in Farm Tasks as Related to Characteristics of the Farm, the Family, and Work Off the Farm." Paper presented at Rural Sociological Society Annual Meeting, Burlington, Vermont, August.

In an attempt to determine the basis of the farm wife's involvement in farm tasks, hypotheses regarding farm size and type, family cycle and wife's age, off-farm work of husband or wife, and family educational levels were tested in a 1978 random questionnaire of 532 Wisconsin farm families.

Wilkening, Eugene A., and Lakshmi K. Bharadwaj 

Dimensions of aspirations, work roles, and decision-making are delineated for 500 Wisconsin farm families (husband and wife). Results indicate that there is a specialization in decision-making as well as in the performance of instrumental tasks with joint involvement in certain areas.

This study of 500 farm families in Wisconsin reveals that involvement in decision-making is associated with participation in tasks by husbands and wives. Women who work in the fields, do milking and barn chores, and keep records are in a position to influence decisions on the farm.

Wilkening, Eugene A., and Denton E. Morrison 1963

Discusses limitations of questionnaire technique in reporting influence in decision-making. Decision-making is shared by husband and wife on many issues. Husbands tend to make decisions relating to the farm enterprise, while wives decide on issues in the home. There is a difference between husband and wife responses to questions regarding who decides about particular matters.

Wiser, Vivian, Ed. 1976

A compilation of papers, written for the Symposium on Two Centuries of American Agriculture, 1775-1975. Of particular interest are the four chapters focusing on women: "Countrywomen in Old England," "Women in the Agricultural Settlement of the Northern Plains," "Women in the USDA," and "Black Women in American Agriculture."

Wold, Francis M. 1981

Country life on a small North Dakota farm from a woman's perspective. Based on the letters of Effie Kimbrell Hanson to Ethel Buck Johnson between December 1917 and April 1923.
Wyman, Walker D.

An overview of life as a homesteader in South Dakota during the early 1900's. This is a true story, written from the records, pictures, and recollections of a frontier woman.

Zimmerman, Barbara B., and Vernon Carstensen, Eds.

A woman's recollections of her life on the western frontier during the 1870's.
Agricultural Education

Family Economics Review

Compiled to give readers information on current research in household production, this issue focuses on the family as a provider of goods and services. There are five feature articles, a summary of a survey of American farm women, and a brief analysis of sources of time-use data for estimating the value of household production. Covered in the first article is the household and farm task participation of women.

"How Farm Families Make Decisions"

A series of case studies from a longitudinal study of family farms in New York State.

Michigan State Horticultural Society Annual Report

Three women describe their activities in the "Women for the Survival of Agriculture" movement.

Rosenfeld, Stuart (ed.)

Five papers deal with special problems of vocational education for women and girls in rural and nonmetropolitan school districts. The third paper, "Farmwomen and Vocational Education," by Frances Hill, describes the different roles that farmwomen play in farming operations. Present employment of rural women who have left the farm is also considered. The 103 interviews in this study provide good descriptions of farmwomen's work and attitudes.
Southern Exposure

Special edition which contains a collection of articles, short stories, and poetry focusing on history, folklore, and achievements, as well as life in general for women in the South.
Bibliographies

Fowler, Becky
Morgantown, West Virginia: West Virginia University.

Aimed at a broad audience, the annotated bibliography provides general information regarding rural women in the US from 1976 to 1979. It contains citations for 113 articles, books, bibliographies, papers, and monographs. It is organized in seven categories: agriculture; Appalachia and the South; education; health and mental health; industry and the labor force; music, literature and the arts; and national perspectives and policies regarding rural women.

Joyce, Lynda M., and Samuel M. Leadley
University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Bulletin 127.

Review of the research on rural women in the United States from 1900 to 1977. Includes annotated bibliography, bibliography of women in rural areas worldwide, and a list of periodicals concerning women in rural America.

Moser, Culotte and Deborah Johnson

An annotated bibliography, focusing on farm and nonfarm issues related to rural women.

Wheat, Valerie and Judi Conrad

This bibliography on rural women includes both literature and organizational citations, from 1939 to 1977, with the majority of the literature being published in the 1970's.
Women in Agriculture: A Select Bibliography

1977  Beltsville, Maryland: Economic Research Service and the Agricultural Library, USDA.

This briefly annotated listing cites about 170 books, articles, and government documents from the early 20th century to 1977 dealing with women in farming and agricultural industries.