WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS IN AGRICULTURE: MAKING AN IMPACT IN THE MARGINS

Gina Grandy is Dean and Professor (Strategy & Leadership) for the Hill and Levene Schools of Business at the University of Regina, Saskatchewan. She is the lead for Women Entrepreneurship Knowledge Hub (WEKH) in Saskatchewan.

Christie Newton is a graduate student in the MSc (Organizational Studies) with the Levene Graduate School of Business, University of Regina. Her research interests span several areas. She has published work in health psychology and is currently researching how thinking styles influence religious beliefs and political behaviour.

Amber Fletcher is Associate Professor of Sociology & Social Studies at the University of Regina, Saskatchewan. Her research examines the gender dimensions of policy and environmental change in agriculture. Her book, *Women in Agriculture Worldwide* (with Dr. Wendee Kubik), was published in 2016.

INTRODUCTION

Rural entrepreneurship engages with place and space (Korsgaard et al. 2015). Certainly not all activity in agriculture in Canada is centred in the rural context, however, there is no denying that much of the primary production in agriculture does happen rurally, outside of urban centres. The contributions of women entrepreneurs in agriculture span a diverse range of industries. Many of these women operate rurally as farm operators. Despite increasing interest in women in agriculture, agri-food, and related industries – as evidenced by a number of provincial and national conferences devoted to women in agriculture and agri-food, and growing numbers of women graduating with agriculture degrees – the representation of women entrepreneurs in these industries remains low across the country. For example, only 30% of farm operators nationally are women (Statistics Canada, 2017a).

> "There is a notable gap in the literature pertaining to women, agriculture and entrepreneurship."

There is a notable gap in the literature pertaining to women, ag, and entrepreneurship. Studies exist on women entrepreneurs generally, and on women in ag (e.g., farm women, farm operators); however, very little research connects these three topics. Most of the existing literature does not refer to farm operators as entrepreneurs and this, in part, may explain the lack of studies formally connecting the topics. We review the literature on women entrepreneurs in agriculture to offer a comprehensive starting point for an agenda to advance both the research and practice of women's agriculture entrepreneurship. Our focus is upon women entrepreneurs in agriculture but given the scarcity of research on this specifically, we also consider women in agriculture more broadly. Our scope is national, however, as researchers located in Saskatchewan, we insert provincial considerations from Saskatchewan as examples throughout. This seems particularly appropriate given Saskatchewan's noteworthy agriculture and food exports, which in 2018 totalled more than $13 billion or 20% of Canada's total agri-food exports (Ministry of Agriculture 2019). Agriculture and agri-food industries represent approximately 10% of Saskatchewan's gross domestic product (Statistics Canada 2019a).

The agriculture and agri-food industry broadly construed – including primary production, processing, value-add activities,

agricultural financing, corporate agriculture (e.g., inputs, production, marketing, export), advocacy, and other activities – will be collectively described in this article as "ag."

DEFINING AG ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Broadly speaking, an entrepreneur is understood to be an individual who "innovates by recognizing opportunities, makes moderately risky decisions that lead into actions requiring the efficient use of resources and contributing an added value" (Filion 2011 41). Typically, entrepreneurial activity is measured by business ownership, but a broader interpretation would also include self-employment (Cukier and Chavoushi 2020). In Canada, women-owned businesses account for approximately 16% of all small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) and approximately 38% of self-employed Canadians (Industry Canada 2015, Statistics Canada 2019b).

Fitz-Koch et al. (2018) characterize ag entrepreneurship as including

- The generation of new opportunities or expansion of existing business into new ventures;
- Diversification activities, whether on- or off-farm; and
- Businesses or income-generating initiatives conducted in addition to "traditional" agricultural production; that is, pluriactivity.

Ag businesses in Canada remain driven by individuals and families, with sole proprietorships comprising more than half of all ag businesses (51.7%), followed by partnerships (22.9%), family corporations (22.5%), and non-family corporations (2.7%) (Statistics Canada 2017b). In this article ag entrepreneurs are understood to be those who develop an ag-related business venture, whether it be primary production, small business, home-based business, value-add activity, processing activity, online-based business, or product-based business. This definition includes farm operators.

UNDERREPRESENTATION AND INVISIBLE WORK

> "Women are underrepresented across agriculture industries broadly. Women represent only 25% of ag managers and 29% of business owners in Canada."

Women are underrepresented across agriculture industries broadly. Women represent only 25% of ag managers and 29% of business owners in Canada (Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council 2015). Of 65 national and provincial ag associations, only 12% have a woman as their Board Chair or President, 12% have a woman in the "second-in-command" role of Vice-President or Vice-Chair, and 28% have at least one woman on their Board's executive committees (Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council 2015). A 2015 Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council (CAHRC) report indicated that in 2014, women accounted for 25% (or less) of managers in all sectors of ag except horticulture, at 38% (Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council 2015, Statistics Canada 2013). Only 33% of ag service contractors, farm supervisors, and specialized livestock workers are women. Increasing workplace diversity in ag is essential to productivity and retention (Wechsler 2015). Existing statistics also show a significant gender wage gap in ag employment. For example, although women represent nearly half of agrologists in Saskatchewan (48%), women agrologists working full-time earned nearly $20,000 less, per year, than their full-time men counterparts (Saskatchewan Institute of Agrologists 2019).

Indigenous people are underrepresented in ag, largely due to the negative legacy of colonial policies such as the Permit and Pass systems (Tang 2003). In the 2016 Census of Agriculture, only 3% of Aboriginal* led firms were ag businesses. According to the 2011 National Housing Survey, 2% of the ag population identified as Aboriginal. Of these, a majority (58%) were general farm workers or harvesting labourers, while 38% were managers in ag or horticulture. By 2016, 2.7% of the ag population identified as Aboriginal and 1.9% of ag-operators were Aboriginal, which reflects a 53.7% increase from 1996 (Gauthier and White 2019). Aboriginal women constitute only 0.19% of all ag managers and 0.014% of ag representatives, consultants, and specialists in Canada (Statistics Canada 2018a). They comprise 0.02% of supervisors in food and beverage processing. Statistics do suggest, however, that Aboriginal women are slightly better represented amongst Aboriginal farm operators compared to their non-Indigenous counterparts. Women account for 33.3% of Métis and 36.8% of First Nations farm operators, but in the general population, women comprise approximately 30% of farm operators (Gauthier and White 2019).

Some data suggests that Indigenous peoples' representation in ag sectors is growing. Many Indigenous communities and First Nations have developed thriving ag initiatives, such as the Muskoday Organic Growers Cooperative in Saskatchewan. Recent initiatives, such as Women Entrepreneurs of Saskatchewan's (WESK) Matchstick program in

* The term Aboriginal is used here as it is the term used by Statistics Canada.

Saskatchewan, offer support for Indigenous women entrepreneurs in all sectors (Women Entrepreneurs of Saskatchewan 2018).

According to Statistics Canada, in 2018, 99% of businesses in ag were small businesses (Statistics Canada 2019c). Across the country, women-owned SMEs have experienced faster growth than both men-owned enterprises and enterprises owned equally by men and women (Grekou et al. 2018). In the ag sector, however, equally owned businesses grew faster than women-owned enterprises (Grekou et al. 2018). Considering the strong history of family farming in Canada and the fact that many farms are run as spousal partnerships or family corporations, a rise in equally owned farm businesses can still serve as an important indicator of women's formal ownership and involvement as ag entrepreneurs. Indeed, while nearly 92% of Canadian farms operated as sole proprietorships in 1971, by 2016 that number had dropped to 52% in favour of more partnerships and family corporations (Statistics Canada 2017c). Nonetheless, it should still be noted that, as of 2016, the majority of farm partnerships did not have a written agreement (17% without, compared to 5% with a written agreement) (Statistics Canada 2017c). Thus, many women ag entrepreneurs are likely overlooked in accounting for women ag entrepreneurs across the country.

> "Women struggle to be recognized as farmers because the discourse of the traditional family farm positions them as primarily responsible for unpaid work, such as domestic and caregiving work or other undervalued tasks."

Women contribute to the ag sector in various ways; however, most existing research focuses on on-farm work. Women contribute to the overall well-being of the family farm through a variety of tasks, including management and operation of the farm, off-farm employment, and domestic and caregiving work (Archuleta and Russell 2009, Danes and Rettig 1993, Fletcher and Knutilla 2016). Despite women's many and diverse contributions, academic studies show that gendered divisions of labour remain strong in industrialized ag settings (Alston et al. 2018, Fletcher and Knutilla 2016, Keller 2014). Women struggle to be recognized as farmers because the discourse of the traditional family farm positions them as primarily responsible for unpaid work, such as domestic and caregiving work (Folbre 2001) or other undervalued tasks. On the farm, they are often viewed as helpers or supports (Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council 2015, Gibson et al. 1993).

In most male-dominated industries, the perpetuation of stereotypes remains a barrier to women's advancement. Previous research has demonstrated how stereotypical ideas about masculinity and femininity reinforce gender roles in ag. For example, in industrialized societies, the notion of a "farmer" connotes masculinity, while the traditional notion of the "farm wife" has made women's farm activities less visible (Annes and Wright 2016, Carter and Lopez 2019). These notions may hinder women from either becoming farmers or being recognized as such. Stereotypes portray women as "incomplete farmers" who lack certain physical, psychological, or social attributes vital for farming (Saugeres 2002).

WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS IN AG PRIMARY PRODUCTION

The proportion of women farm operators in Canada has increased over the past 20 years. Prior to 1991, only one farm operator could be identified on the Census of Agriculture. Due to the common identification of men as the primary farmers, women's contributions to family farming were uncounted and invisible. In 1991, Statistics Canada first allowed reporting of multiple farm operators on the census, which increased the official recognition of many farm women (Roppel et al. 2006). In 1996, women in Canada accounted for 25% of farm operators, and this proportion has only increased to approximately 30% as of 2016 (Statistics Canada 2018b).

> "The contributions of women often become overshadowed by the image of the independent male farm owner who is responsible for making decisions related to the farm."

The data from the 2011 Census of Agriculture reported that women farm operators were more likely to work part-time on the farm than male operators (Statistics Canada 2012). About 60% of women farm operators, compared to 40% male operators, reported working less than 30 hours per week on the farm. However, the contributions of women often become overshadowed by the image of the independent male farm owner who is responsible for making decisions related to the farm (Contzen and Forney 2016). Further, many tasks performed by women, such as cooking meals for hired workers, moving machinery, or driving for parts, are not necessarily recognized or counted as farm work.

> "Many contemporary farmers diversify income streams and mitigate financial risk through off-farm work."

Data from Statistics Canada 2011 National Household Survey shows that there is a strong division of on-farm labour, with men performing 75% of production and

operations and women representing 82% of business, finance, and administrative workers (Statistics Canada 2013). This division of labour and framing of women's on-farm work perpetuates the invisibility of women farmers by promoting the idea that certain on-farm jobs are less essential than others.

Many contemporary farmers diversify income streams and mitigate financial risk through off-farm work (Shumsky and Nelson 2018). In 2016, 44.4% of all operators and 58.7% of young women farm operators (under 40 years of age) reported working off-farm. Young farm operators who seek off-farm work tend to be employed in management occupations (22%), business, finance, and administration occupations (21%), education, law, and social community government services occupations (13%), and health occupations (13%). Off-farm income is often used to supplement farm and household finances (Barthez 1982, Contzen 2008); however, off-farm employment may also provide a source of fulfilment for women (Fletcher 2017), particularly considering the ongoing lack of recognition for their on-farm work. Since more off-farm opportunities exist in urban areas, an increasing number of young farm operators are moving away from rural areas and seeking education more than in previous years (Shumsky and Nelson 2018).

WOMEN IN AGRI-FOOD

Agri-food, which includes agriculture, fisheries aquaculture, and food and beverage processing, contributes 2.9% to Canada's GDP and 12% of exports (Statistics Canada n.d.). The industry has major challenges in remaining competitive on the global market, including labour shortages and continued market pressures to innovate and seize value-added opportunities (Industry Canada 2018a). Canada has relied on foreign workers to offset the labour shortage. To help meet market demands and diversify the workforce, the Economic Strategy Table – Agri-Foods recommended that Canada increase the proportion of women managers in the food processing industry to 50% by 2025 (Industry Canada 2018a). In 2017, women accounted for only 36% of managers in food processing (Industry Canada 2018b).

WOMEN AND AG INNOVATION

> "In Saskatchewan, for example, the changing landscape of ag has brought new opportunities for women entrepreneurs. Value-added activities, specialty agriculture, organic, and alternative marketing arrangements offer innovative alternatives. Agritourism is also expanding."

In Saskatchewan, for example, the changing landscape of ag has brought new opportunities for women entrepreneurs. Value-added activities, specialty agriculture, organic, and alternative marketing arrangements offer innovative alternatives. Agritourism is also expanding. Value-added activities differentiate the raw product or commodity by capturing or creating novel value, which increases economic or social value of the product. Recent government investments have sought to increase value-added activity in Saskatchewan from its total revenue of $3.5 billion in 2012 (Pon 2020). Specialty agriculture activities in Saskatchewan include differentiated, "niche" commodities, like wild rice or spices, which are produced for smaller sub-markets (Hamlin et al. 2015). Value-added, specialty agriculture, and alternative marketing arrangements – like direct-to-consumer (e.g., farmgate sales; farmers' markets) or community-supported agriculture (CSA) – may offer access to new markets, reduced competition, and reduced exposure to market fluctuations (Hamlin et al. 2015). Organic ag also provides market incentives for producers who adhere to specific guidelines about environmental practices and animal welfare (Standards Council of Canada 2018).

Producers are drawn to these activities for a variety of reasons. While market factors are important, studies have shown that personal values – whether environmental, social, or political – are major motivations for producers who go organic or market locally (Beingessner and Fletcher 2019, Stephenson et al. 2017). Although further research is needed on the gender dimensions of such activities, previous studies suggest that organic or "niche" ag activities may prove particularly appealing to women (Ball 2014). Women's participation in CSA may be informed by an ethic of care (Jarosz 2011). Women may also be drawn to organics through a concern for the environment and health (Hall and Mogyorody 2007, Rissing 2013). Considering the barriers to conventional ag, especially for women, the smaller scale or less capital-intensive nature of some alternative activities may offer exciting windows of opportunity for women ag entrepreneurs.

Women ag entrepreneurs are also expanding into agritourism. Agritourism helps inform the non-farming public of farm issues, which may help to make connections between these two populations (Wright and Annes 2016) and reshape societal expectations of farmers and farming (Annes and Wright 2016). Women farmers with higher education or previous career experiences are innovative, tend to diversify farm operations, and branch out into farm tourism (Annes and Wright 2016).

BARRIERS FOR WOMEN AG ENTREPRENEURS

While some observers have argued that women's underrepresentation in the ag sector is due to lack of interest or

different priorities (Hursh 2017), such explanations disregard the structural barriers women experience in a male-dominated industry.

A 2018 report by Women Entrepreneurs of Saskatchewan identified several barriers that women in Canada face when pursuing entrepreneurship (Women Entrepreneurs of Saskatchewan 2018). These barriers include access to financing, networking challenges, lack of business training and mentors, and maintaining work-life balance. In a 2015 Canadian Agricultural Human Resource Council (CAHRC) survey of 532 men and women in agribusiness, 95% of women reported having experienced or witnessed all of the following barriers (in order of prevalence): facing double standards; pursuing off-farm income to help support the family; being denied the opportunity to advance; managing the traditional tasks of child-rearing and performing farm tasks viewed as "support" work; few women role models at senior levels; remoteness of location; access to training; breaking into the "old boys club"; stereotypes about capability from co-workers/senior management; lack of mentoring opportunities; and lack of confidence to pursue more senior roles (Canadian Agricultural Human Resource Council 2015). In addition, a study conducted by the Agriculture and Food Council in 2016, which intended to increase economic outcomes for women in ag in Alberta, identified finance (e.g., access to capital) as the number one barrier to women ag entrepreneurs (Agriculture and Food Council 2016).

Women, however, have found ways to facilitate their entry into ag, such as borrowing farmland to reduce some financial risk (Shumsky and Nelson 2018). In 2016, Canadian women primary operators reported renting or leasing, on average, 233 acres more land than males. Borrowed land accounted for 71% of women operators' total land on average. Not many farms are solely owned by women (Canadian Agricultural Human Resource Council 2015). Furthermore, women-owned farms tend to be below average in size and have above-average turnover rates in ownership. Based on the 2016 Canadian Census, 80% of farms with women operators had two or more operators: independent women operators only account for 20% of women operators, whereas that proportion was 50% for independent male operators (Statistics Canada 2018b). As farms grow larger and require more capital, it may be even more difficult for women to become primary operators in the future.

Women entrepreneurs in general are more likely than men entrepreneurs to rely on internal funding such as savings or loans from family and friends instead of external funding (e.g., loans from banks) (Industry Canada 2015). Internal sources of capital may not be as large as external sources; therefore, women entrepreneurs may not have sufficient capital to develop new products or grow their businesses to the same extent as men (Women Entrepreneurs of Saskatchewan 2018). Additionally, women-owned businesses tend to receive less venture capital and experience higher rejection rates for financing than their male competitors (Industry Canada 2015). This disparity in access to capital may, to some extent, dictate the career opportunities for women ag entrepreneurs: women ag entrepreneurs may be more likely to operate in lower value-added fields that demand less capital funding (Women Entrepreneurs of Saskatchewan 2018).

> "Underrepresentation of women entrepreneurs in agriculture, agri-food, and related industries is a missed opportunity. Women provide new insights and innovative practices that increase economic and social value for farms, agri-food industries, and society in general."

THE WAY FORWARD

Women entrepreneurs contributed approximately $148 billion to the Canadian economy in 2011-13 and, narrowing the gender gap, could add $150 billion by 2026 (Devillard and Vogel 2017). Underrepresentation of women entrepreneurs in agriculture, agri-food, and related industries is a missed opportunity. Women provide new insights and innovative practices that increase economic and social value for farms, agri-food industries, and society in general (Annes and Wright 2016).

In this article we have only scratched the surface in understanding women ag entrepreneurship in our country and how women sit at the margins. In outlining a way forward, we propose several questions that can guide research, policy and practice to advance women ag entrepreneurship in Canada.

- In conceptualizing women ag entrepreneurship as rural entrepreneurship, does this constrain or enable the advancement of women ag entrepreneurship research and practice?
- Do women farm operators see themselves as entrepreneurs?
- What role do men play in supporting and advancing women ag entrepreneurship?
- How do intersectional inequalities affect women ag entrepreneurs?
- What are the gender dimensions of organic and "niche" ag activities, which appear to be particularly appealing to women?
- How are entrepreneurial support organizations responding to the needs of women ag entrepreneurs?

- What systemwide changes need to happen for women ag entrepreneurs to have an equal voice in how ag, in both rural and urban contexts, is shaped and developed in our country for the future?

We need to better understand the challenges and opportunities that face women ag entrepreneurs in Canada. In doing so, we need to account for intersectionality, as well as provincial and industry differences, so that the path forward is one where women ag entrepreneurs no longer exist at the margins. There are significant social and economic positive gains to be made from such an agenda.

REFERENCES

Agriculture and Food Council. 2016. "Success for Women in Agri-Food: Needs Assessment Report." June 10, 2016. www.agfoodcouncil.com/s4wag.

Alston, Margaret, Josephine Clarke, and Kerri Whittenbury. 2018. "Contemporary Feminist Analysis of Australian Farm Women in the Context of Climate Changes." *Social Sciences*, 7, No. 2:16. https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci7020016.

Annes, Alexis, and Wynne Wright. 2016. "Value-Added Agriculture: a Context for the Empowerment of French Women Farmers?" *Review of Agricultural, Food and Environmental Studies*, 97, No. 3:185 – 201. https://doi.org/10.1007/s41130-016-0034-1.

Archuleta, Kristy, and Candyce Russell. 2009. "Farm Wives' Involvement and Marital Quality." *Journal of Rural Mental Health*, 33, No. 1:9 – 25. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0095971.

Ball, Jennifer A. 2014. "She Works Hard for the Money: Women in Kansas Agriculture." *Agriculture and Human Values*, 31, No. 4:593 – 605. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10460-014-9504-8.

Barthez, Alice. 1982. *Famille, Travail et Agriculture*. Paris : Économica.

Beingessner, Naomi, and Amber J. Fletcher. 2019. " 'Going Local': Farmers' Perspectives on Local Food Systems in Rural Canada." *Agriculture and Human Values,* 37, No. 1:129 – 45. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10460-019-09975-6.

Canadian Agricultural Human Resource Council. 2015. "Supporting the Advancement of Women in Agriculture: Needs Assessment." http://cwse-prairies.ca/pages/mentorship/docs/SAWANeedsAssessment.pdf.

Carter, Angie, and Andres Lazaro Lopez. 2019. "Rebranding the Farmer: Formula Story Revision and Masculine Symbolic Boundaries in US Agriculture." *Feminist Formations,* 31, No. 3:25 – 50. https://doi.org/10.1353/ff.2019.0029.

Contzen, Sandra. 2008. "Wenn das Einkommen Nicht Mehr Reicht." *Agrarforschung*, 15, No. 11–12:524–529.

Contzen, Sandra, and Jérémie Forney. 2016. "Family Farming and Gendered Division of Labour on the Move: a Typology of Farming-Family Configurations." *Agriculture and Human Values*, 34, No. 11:27 – 40. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10460-016-9687-2.

Cukier, Wendy, and Zohreh Hassannezhad Chavoushi. 2020. "Facilitating Women Entrepreneurship in Canada: the Case of WEKH." *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 35, No. 3:303 – 18. https://doi.org/10.1108/gm-11-2019-0204.

Danes, Sharon, and Kathryn Rettig. 1993. "The Role of Perception in the Intention to Change the Family Financial Situation." *Journal of Family and Economic,* Issues 14, No. 4:365 – 89. https://doi.org/10.1007/bf01013985.

Devillard, Sandrine, and Tiffany Vogel. 2017. "The Power of Parity: Advancing Women's Equality in Canada." McKinsey & Company, June 21, 2017. www.mckinsey.com/featured-insights/gender-equality/the-power-of-parity-advancing-womens-equality-in-canada.

Filion, Louis Jacques. 2011. "Defining the entrepreneur." In *World Encyclopedia of Entrepreneurship*, Edited by Leo Paul Dana, 41–52. Cheltenham, NH: Edward Elgar.

Fitz-Koch, Sarah, Mattias Nordqvist, Sara Carter, and Erik Hunter. 2018. "Entrepreneurship in the Agricultural Sector: A Literature Review and Future Research Opportunities." *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 42, No. 1:129 – 66. https://doi.org/10.1177/1042258717732958.

Fletcher, Amber J. 2017. "Applying Critical Realism in Qualitative Research: Methodology Meets Method." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology,* 20, No. 2:181 – 94. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2016.1144401.

Fletcher, Amber. J. and Erin Knuttila. 2016. "Gendering Change: Canadian Farm Women Respond to Drought." In *Vulnerability and Adaptation to Drought: The Canadian Prairies and South America*, edited by Harry Diaz, Margot Hurlbert, and Jim Warren, 159–177. Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press.

Folbre, Nancy. 2001. *The Invisible Heart: Economics and Family Values*. New York: New Press.

Gauthier, Nicolas and Julia White. 2019. "Aboriginal Peoples and Agriculture in 2016: A Portrait." *Canadian Agriculture at a Glance. Government of Canada*, Statistics Canada, January 17, 2019. www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/96-325-x/2019001/article/00001-eng.htm.

Gibson, Diane, J. Baxter, and C. Kingston. 1993. "Beyond the Dichotomy: The Paid and Unpaid Work of Rural Women." In *Rural Women*, edited by Margaret Alston, 11–27. Centre for Rural Social Research.

Grekou, Douwere, Jiang Li, and Huju Liu. 2018. "Women-Owned Enterprises in Canada." *Economic Insights*. Government of Canada,

Hall, Alan, and Veronika Mogyorody. 2007. "Organic Farming, Gender, and the Labor Process." *Rural Sociology,* 72, No. 2:289 – 316. https://doi.org/10.1526/003601107781170035.

Hamlin, Robert, John Knight, and Ron Cuthbert. 2015. "Niche Marketing and Farm Diversification Processes: Insights from New Zealand and Canada." *Renewable Agriculture and Food Systems*, 31, No. 1:86 – 98. https://doi.org/10.1017/s1742170514000489.

Hursh, Kevin. 2017. "Hursh: Women in Agriculture Can Be a Dicey Topic." *The Star Phoenix*, November 2, 2017. https://thestarphoenix.com/opinion/columnists/hursh-women-in-agriculture-can-be-a-dicey-topic.

Industry Canada. 2015. "Majority Female-Owned Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises – May 2015." *Special Edition: Key Small Business Statistics*. www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/061.nsf/eng/h_02966.html.

Industry Canada. 2018a. "Report of Canada's Economic Strategy Tables: Agri-Food.", September 28, 2018. www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/098.nsf/eng/00022.html.

Industry Canada. 2018b. "Report from Canada's Economic Strategy Tables: The Innovation and Competitiveness Imperative." November 5, 2018. www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/098.nsf/eng/h_00020.html.

Jarosz, Lucy. 2011. "Nourishing Women: Toward a Feminist Political Ecology of Community Supported Agriculture in the United States." *Gender, Place & Culture*, 18, No. 3:307 – 26. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369x.2011.565871.

Keller, Julie. C. 2014. " 'I Wanna Have My Own Damn Dairy Farm!': Women Farmers, Legibility, and Femininities in Rural Wisconsin, US." *Journal of Rural Social Sciences*, 29, No. 1: 75–102.

Korsgaard, Steffen, Sabine Müller, and Hanne Wittorff Tanvig. 2015. "Rural Entrepreneurship or Entrepreneurship in the Rural – between Place and Space." *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research,* 21, No. 1:5 – 26. https://doi.org/10.1108/ijebr-11-2013-0205.

Ministry of Agriculture, Government of Saskatchewan. 2019. *Annual Report 2018-19*.

Pon, Godwin. 2020. "Value-Added Strategy and Unit Overview." Government of Saskatchewan. Accessed May 22, 2020. www.saskatchewan.ca/business/agriculture-natural-resources-and-industry/agribusiness-farmers-and-ranchers/value-added-processing-in-saskatchewan-agriculture/value-added-strategy-and-unit-overview.

Rissing, Andrea. 2013. "Iowan Women Farmers' Perspectives on Alternative Agriculture and Gender." *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, 127–36. https://doi.org/10.5304/jafscd.2013.032.008.

Roppel, Carla, Annette Aurélie Desmarais, and Diane Martz. 2006. "Farm Women and Canadian Agricultural Policy." *National Farmers Union*, July 23, 2018. www.nfu.ca/publications/farm-women-and-canadian-agricultural-policy/.

Saskatchewan Institute of Agrologists. 2019. "2019 Agrologist Salary Survey: The Dollars and Cents of a Career in Agrology." AgrologistSalarySurvey.https://sia.sk.ca/html/about/Agrologist-Salary-Survey/index.cfm.

Saugeres, Lise. 2002. "Of Tractors and Men: Masculinity, Technology and Power in a French Farming Community." *Sociologia Ruralis,* 42, No. 2:143 – 59. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9523.00207.

Shumsky, Matthew, and Allison Nelson. 2018. "Female and Young Farm Operators Represent a New Era of Canadian Farmers." *Canadian Agriculture at a Glance*. Government of Canada, Statistics Canada, December 13, 2018. www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/96-325-x/2017001/article/54925-eng.htm.

Standards Council of Canada. 2018. "Organic Production Systems: General Principles and Management Standards." Government of Canada, March 2018. www.publications.gc.ca/site/eng/9.854643/publication.html.

Statistics Canada. n.d. "Table 36-10-0434-01. Gross domestic product (GDP) at basic prices, by industry, monthly (x 1,000,000)." Government of Canada. https://doi.org/10.25318/3610043401-eng.

Statistics Canada. 2012. "2011 Census of Agriculture," *The Daily*, Government of Canada. May 10, 2012. www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/120510/dq120510a-eng.htm.

Statistics Canada. 2013. "2011 National Household Survey: Data Tables". Statistics Canada Catalogue No. 99-012-X2011033. June 2013. www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dp-pd/dt-td/Apeng.cfm?lang=e&apath=3&detail=0&dim=0&fl=a&free=0&gc=0&gid=0&gk=0&grp=0&pid=105897&prid=0&ptype=105277&s=0&showall=1&sub=0&temporal=2013&theme=96&vid=0&vnamee=&vnamef=.

Statistics Canada. 2017a. "Saskatchewan Remains the Breadbasket of Canada." Farm and Farm Operator Data, Government of Canada, May 10, 2017. www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/95-640-x/2016001/article/14807-eng.htm.

Statistics Canada. 2017b. "Census of Agriculture 2016", The Daily, Government of Canada, May 10, 2017. www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/daily-quotidien/170510/dq170510a-eng.pdf? st=Xcr8y4N6.

Statistics Canada. 2017c. "A Portrait of a 21st Century Agricultural Operation." Government of Canada, May 17, 2017. www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/95-640-x/2016001/article/14811-eng.pdf.

Statistics Canada, September 24, 2018. www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-626-x/11-626-x2018083-eng.htm.

Statistics Canada. 2018a. "2016 Census of Population: Data Tables." Catalogue No. 98–400 – X2016357. March 29, 2018. www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/catalogue/98-400-X2016357.

Statistics Canada. 2018b. "Table 32-10-0441-01. Farm Operators Classified by Number of Operators per Farm and Sex." Government of Canada, November 6, 2018. www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/95-640-x/2011001/p1/p1-02-eng.ht.

Statistics Canada. 2019a. "Agriculture and Agri-Food Economic Account, 2015." *The Daily*, Government of Canada, July 30, 2019. www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/190730/dq190730a-eng.htm.

Statistics Canada. 2019b. "Labour Force Information: January 13 to 19, 2019." Government of Canada, February 8, 2019. www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/71-001-x/71-001-x2019001-eng.htm.

Statistics Canada. 2019c. Table 33-10-0037-01 – Canadian Business Counts, with employees, December 2018." Government of Canada, February 7, 2019. https://doi.org/10.25318/3310010601-eng

Stephenson, Garry, Lauren Gwin, Chris Schreiner, and Sarah Brown. 2017. "Breaking New Ground: Farmer Perspectives on Organic Transition." Corvallis, OR: Oregon Tilth and OSU Center for Small Farms & Community Food Systems.

Tang, Eric. 2003. "Agriculture: The Relationship between Aboriginal Farmers and Non-Aboriginal Farmers." Western Development Museum & Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre Partnership Project, 5–6. http://apihtawikosisan.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/FNAgriculture.pdf.

Wechsler, Pat. 2015. "Women-Led Companies Perform Three Times Better Than the S&P 500." *Fortune*. March 3, 2015. https://fortune.com/2015/03/03/women-led-companies-perform-three-times-better-than-the-sp-500/.

Women Entrepreneurs of Saskatchewan. 2018. "Women Entrepreneurship in Canada." October 15, 2018. https://wesk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/WESK-Report-Oct.-15-2018-PwC.pdf.

Wright, Wynne, and Alexis Annes. 2016. "Farm Women and the Empowerment Potential in Value-Added Agriculture." *Rural Sociology,* 81, No. 4:545 – 571. https://doi.org/10.1111/ruso.12105.