



Changing scripts: Gender, family farm succession and increasing farm values in Australia[☆]

Alison Sheridan^{a,*}, Lucie Newsome^a, Andrew Lawson^b, Skye Charry^b, Susan Field^b

^a UNE Business School, University of New England, Australia

^b School of Law, University of New England, Australia

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Gender
Farms
Intergenerational succession
Social scripts

ABSTRACT

In this paper we explore contemporary farm succession processes in Australia, with a particular focus on understanding how changing gender norms and increasing asset values may be impacting common patterns of farm ownership. We describe how social scripts inflect traditional patterns of farm succession and review what makes up a 'family farm', the changing economic environment in which family farms operate and take a deeper look at the traditional gender norms inflecting intergenerational farm succession. How the changing social and environmental norms may be transforming contemporary farm succession is the question driving this research. We interviewed 22 farm succession advisers and applied template analysis to address our research question. Through our analysis, we make the following contributions. We show there has been some disruption to the gender norms informing patrilineal succession practices. The interplay of increasing asset values and attending to the financial security of all members of the family has compounded this disruption, with both forces challenging the traditional gender scripts, resulting in the current scripts being more of a palimpsest. Theoretically, we contribute to understanding how scripts are challenged and co-exist.

1. Introduction

Women's participation rates in higher education, including in agriculture, are now greater than men's in many western countries and their representation in the paid workforce has increased significantly over the past 40 years (World Economic Forum 2021). How these trends of increasing gender equality in education and paid work translate into changing gender attitudes within the private sphere is less clear (Scarborough et al. 2019). There has been some evidence that gains made towards gender equality in the public sphere may not be reflected in the machinations of the private sphere (Knight and Brinton 2017), where there may be a lag between egalitarian attitudes to gender equality in paid work and, for instance, how domestic labour is divided (Kuperberg et al. 2022). What is taken as given in the public sphere – women's right to work and financial independence – may not manifest so clearly within the domestic sphere.

Consistent with changing social norms in developed economies where women's roles in paid work and their contributions to economic growth have largely been embraced (Evans 2019), in Australia over the past three decades there have been many industry and government

funded efforts to make visible women's roles on farms (Elix and Lambert 1998, Sheridan and Haslam McKenzie, 2009). Their increasing presence on farms and in agribusiness professional services points to the gains women have made in recent years, and that there has been some disruption of the traditional gender norms framing agricultural employment (Sheridan and Newsome 2021).

Over the same period, external pressures have transformed the farming context, including the rise of a globalised economic order and neo-liberal trade conditions (Dibden and Cocklin 2010), with a decline in terms of trade (Newsome 2020). This has resulted in increasing pressure on farmers to make their enterprises more productive. While family farming has continued to be the dominant form of farm ownership in Australia, many farmers have responded by seeking to increase their farm size, and capture economies of scale (Wheeler et al., 2012; Bassett et al., 2022). Land values have also been rising (Rural Bank 2022) which has increased the average Australian farm's asset value (ABARES 2022; Chancellor and Zhao 2020).

Women's improved social and economic status and the focus on efficiency and economies of scale are characteristics of contemporary social and economic life that may create shifts away from traditional

[☆] The authors gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the UNE Foundation for this research.

* Corresponding author.

E-mail address: asherida@une.edu.au (A. Sheridan).

social dynamics (Symes 1991). Research about agricultural communities examines the ways in which this transition from traditional social dynamics does or does not occur or where traditional and modern dynamics co-exist (Pongratz 1990). The question we seek to answer through our research is ‘how are the changing social and environmental norms transforming contemporary farm succession?’.

We utilise a social script approach for understanding how gender is understood in farm succession and whether there has been a shift from traditional primogeniture (the elder son inheriting the farm) approaches to succession to recognising the rights of farm daughters in response to external social and environmental norms. In doing so we seek to understand if external norm change has led to a shift in farming subculture, as social scripts are key indicators of farming subcultures (Vanclay et al. 2007). We respond to calls for attention to be paid to farming families and the interrelationship between symbolic meaning and material inequality (Brandth 1995), and gender and farm inheritance more specifically (Hacker 2010). This study contributes to the broader literature on how farming families respond to societal changes and the extent to which this results in changes to access to material resources.

The paper is structured as follows. We begin by describing how social scripts inflect traditional patterns of primogeniture and keeping the farm intact. We then consider what makes up a ‘family farm’, the changing economic environment in which family farms operate and take a deeper look at the traditional gender norms inflecting intergenerational farm succession. How the changing social and environmental norms may be transforming contemporary farm succession is the question driving this research. We describe the social constructivist approach employed, drawing on 22 interviews with farm succession advisers, to address our research question and present our results. Through our data analysis, we make the following contribution. We show there has been some disruption to the gender norms informing patrilineal succession practices. Compounding the disruptions have been the interplay of increasing asset values and attending to the financial security of all members of the family, with both forces challenging the traditional gender scripts. While daughters are still not as likely as first born sons to be the named successor in Australian farms, there does seem to be a greater recognition of their roles on farms, blurring the traditional division of labour. With the scale and value of the farm assets increasing, it seems there is more attention in the contemporary farm succession scripts to what this means for wealth distribution among *all* family members in the succession processes. Overall, we find farming families oscillate between traditional and modern discourses regarding gender roles, depending on the financial constraints and the ability of farming families to reinterpret external influences within existing narratives.

1.1. Social scripts

The dynamics by which actors respond or not to social and environmental changes can be examined through an analysis of social scripts. Drawing on script theory in social psychology and sociology, Vanclay and Enticott (2011 p.260) spoke to the importance of recognising the ‘social scripts’ that underpin rural subcultures. Social scripts are cognitive structures that simplify common decision situations, and become ‘habits of mind’ (Louis and Sutton 1991). According to script theory, much interpersonal communication accords with cultural scripts, including a stock of words and phrases, roles and actions (Goffman 1959). Scripts can be understood as cultural capital as they are repositories of values and inferential knowledge, but as habits of mind, may not be critically examined, so retain invalid or limiting assumptions. Scripts establish the common elements of farming subcultures (Vanclay et al. 2007) such as the importance of the continuity of the family farm, the gendered division of labour and farmers’ relationships with the land. According to Silvasti (2003b) ‘social scripting’ is a process where people are consciously and subconsciously conditioned to follow rules, adopting the values and behavioural norms determined by society and, given the focus of Silvasti’s work (Finnish farmers), the

understanding of these norms was further broken down to the subculture of farmers. Silvasti (2003a) argued that parents play an influential role in what children think about the farm and its associated way of life, and how they then place themselves in that context. Silvasti posited parents shape ideas about gender roles, define succession arrangements and expectations, and instil cultural meanings about the land and its environment.

From their analyses of interview transcripts and conversations held with farmers over many rural projects, Vanclay and Enticott (2011) identified four types of scripts relating to farming including:

- socially perceived routines where there is an understanding of how things will happen;
- catch phrases, metaphors or allegories that are frequently used in reference to life situations;
- mini-stories or narratives that are influential in social settings; and
- commonly used/often repeated lines of argument raised in particular contexts.

They recognised these categories are not mutually exclusive, and often overlap. From these four different levels of meaning, scripts do not determine human conduct, but shape interpretation and negotiation (Nordqvist 2021). Individuals subscribing to a script may not be aware they are navigating their spaces using frequently repeated stories, phrases and arguments when making major life decisions, such as who gets the farm. Behaviours regulated by scripts are interdependent: the choice to adhere to a particular norm is influenced by what one expects others to do (empirical expectations) and what one anticipates others think one should do in a situation (normative) (Bicchieri and McNally 2018).

Embedded in traditional ‘scripts’ for farming families in Australia, as in many countries, has been the primacy of the elder son as the natural successor with other children being prepared for life away from the family farm (Chiswell and Lobley 2018). That’s not to say that non-succeeding children were assumed to have no attachment to the farm, but their roles were seen as secondary to the aim of keeping a viable family farm. A common script was the family’s interests took precedence over the individual (Chiswell and Lobley 2018).

Also common to succession ‘scripts’ across countries has been the commitment to ‘keeping the farm intact’ (Sheridan et al., 2021). The ideal of the family farm has remained important internationally, despite the financial pressures faced (Sippel, 2016; Lobley and Baker 2012, Creighton et al., 2016). Passing on a viable business to the next generation is what is expected, as it preserves the family name, carries on the history of the farm (Chiswell and Lobley 2018) and sustains the rural communities in which they are located.

While these have been the traditional scripts, wider social norms have been changing, and what these changes may mean for the socially perceived routines, catch phrases, narratives and often repeated lines around farm succession is our focus. By examining social scripts, the extent to which farming families have accepted changing gender norms in broader society can be analysed. For communities in transition, traditional and modern social dynamics typically co-exist, often in an uneasy relationship until these dynamics are eventually stabilised (Pongratz 1990). Detraditionalised gender norms may be integrated into everyday life by being interpreted through traditional lenses. For example, as accepted social dynamics change, they may be reinterpreted with reference to traditional values (Pongratz 1990). In doing so, actors retain a sense of agency in the face of norm change that is often perceived to be originating from outside their community. On the other hand, Symes (1991) argues pressure for change may originate from a convergence between the social worlds of individuals within the farming family and external environmental change such as the changing status of women. Women in farming are more likely to be shaped by external environmental changes than in previous eras (Symes 1991).

1.2. Family farming in Australia

Farming has played a significant role in the story of colonial settlement and economic development of Australia (Mayes 2018). The agricultural sector's role in feeding the growing population and providing the underlying economic impetus to Australia's prosperity has been a strong element of the national narrative. The rhetoric of the (white male) farmer in shaping the country has been an enduring theme (Pini 2005). The Australian farmer was traditionally presented through the idealised masculine characteristics of toughness, hard work, physical strength, solitude and determination (Newsome 2021; Alston and Wilkinson 1998) as 'he' faced the challenges of droughts, floods and volatile markets. The farmer's wife was understood to be behind the scenes, caring for the family and sustaining their rural communities (Sheridan et al., 2011; Alston 2000), made up of similar family farms. Together with their children, they lived and worked on the family farm, with the expectation that business ownership and managerial control would be transferred across the generations over time (Barclay et al. 2012; Alston 2000). While this overlapping of the family, farm and business has been (Gray 1998), and remains (Alston et al. 2017), a distinguishing feature of Australian farming, other forces at play have unsettled traditional farming practices.

Since the 1980s, Australian agriculture has shifted from protectionism to a regime of 'competitive productivism' (Cocklin and Dibden 2005), where the viability of the family farm is reliant on commodity production, substituting labour with capital and seeking economies of scale (Newsome 2021). The pervasive influence of the National Competition Policy formulated by the Federal Government in the 1990s, prompted government action in favour of economic rationalism in agricultural policy and de-regulation of agricultural sectors (Lyster 2002; Pritchard 2006). This shift from heavily subsidised production to a highly productive, export-oriented and largely unsubsidised market (OECD 2020) reflects successive Australian governments' commitment to neo-liberalisation (Bassett et al., 2022). While neo-liberalisation is marked by its reification of markets and competitiveness and a strong antagonism to collectivist strategies (Peck and Tickell, 2002), it has taken different forms in different cultural contexts. In Australian agriculture, neo-liberalisation has been characterised by a shift from government regulation to an emphasis on the market (Pritchard 2005). At the same time, farmers have been challenged by increased competition internationally and are now navigating more complex value chains and managing the impacts of climate change (Dibden and Cocklin 2010; Alston et al. 2018). A common response to these competitive pressures has been to grow farm size, to capture economies of scale and realise cost efficiencies.

Over the past three decades, the number of farm businesses has decreased as average farm sizes have increased (ABARES 2022; Chancellor and Zhao 2020). While there has been growing attention to the rise of large, corporate farms, family farms continue to be the most common form of farm ownership in Australia (Binks et al., 2018). The average age of Australian farmers is 58 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2020), 21 years older than other occupations, so intergenerational succession – the process of transferring managerial control and other intangible assets such as farm specific knowledge (Lobley and Baker 2012) – is a pressing issue.

1.3. Gender and farming

That farming is perceived as inherently masculine is an example of one of the social scripts common across all countries (Sachs and Alston 2010). The enduring stereotypes about the body and gender differences in strength and power which inflect notions of farming (Little and Leyshon 2003) have also impacted who gets the land; men own farm land and pass it on their sons (Shortall and McKee, 2020). Ideologies of the family and women as farm wives reinforce power relations on farms, securing men's dominant position and the patrilineal succession of

property (Asztalos-Morell 2013; Alston 2000). Discourses of gender in rural areas reinforce the hegemonic masculinity of men in "hard" skills areas such as agricultural science, which historically necessitated physical, outdoor work (Brandth and Haugen 1998) and women as carers. In Australia, the most recent research done on farm transfers identified that daughters were the nominated successor for the family farm in only 10% of cases (Barclay et al. 2005).

Social movements commonly aim to change public opinion or cultural norms (Banaszak et al., 2016). As part of the wider 'women's movement', feminist rural sociologists have provided an important critique of the gender order of agriculture, demonstrating how capitalist relations of agriculture have traditionally excluded women (Alston 1998; Saugeres 2002; Sachs et al., 2014). Their analyses revealed how women have historically been excluded from accessing a raft of opportunities, including finance, education and decision-making roles (Bryant and Pini 2006), with their aim being to alter gender norms on farms and to highlight the limited roles women were allowed to play on farm and in farm organisations (Alston 2000).

In most developed countries, the gender division of labour is slowly changing as women's educational attainments improve (Moskos 2020) and conventional farming processes are moving away from traditional physical labour and becoming increasingly data enabled (Bryant and Higgins 2021). Whilst some literature points to the continued marginalisation of women in rural areas (Horst and Marion 2019; Evans 2019), there is also some evidence that as women's education and work experiences are aligning with the changing agricultural environment, the power balance between men and women is slowly shifting as women's roles in agriculture and agribusiness are gaining more visibility (Sheridan and Newsome 2021).

The degree to which there has been a shift away from traditional social scripts through broader changes in the status of women and the increasing financial value of farms, is of interest in this study. Specifically, we focus on social scripts in Australian contemporary intergenerational farm succession to examine the impact of these external factors. These social and environmental changes may be reinterpreted through the lens of traditional values and the extent to which norm change is accepted may depend on its convergence with the social world of members of farming families. Recognising and challenging such scripts may be a way of enhancing decision making about succession.

2. Method

A social constructivist approach was adopted for this research. Social constructivism stresses the role of the participant's subjective experience and how people make sense of their context (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). The role of the researcher is to interpret the meanings of the words of the participant. As part of our larger project about contemporary farm succession decisions, we applied purposeful sampling to identify a sample of professional advisers operating in the farm succession space to explore their perceptions of current practice. These included farm succession planners, lawyers, accountants, business planners and rural financial counsellors. With multiple clients, we believed the farm advisers' observations would encompass more experiences than if we surveyed farmers directly at this stage. We initially identified 10 participants through our professional networks and, through snowball sampling, ended up with 22 participants (17 women and five men) ranging in age from their 20s–60s largely located in NSW, Victoria and Queensland, with one participant from Western Australia. The majority of the sample had a farm background themselves which for many was seen as giving them credibility to their clients. See Table 1 for details of the participants.

We conducted semi-structured interviews where participants were asked about their observations of the challenges of farm succession planning, examples of where they saw it working well, how gender may impact the farm succession process and what could be done differently to improve intergenerational farm succession. The suite of questions was

Table 1
Profile of participants.

Interviewee ID Number	Sex	Age	Role	Farm background
1	F	20–30	Legal	Yes
2	F	50–60	Rural Financial Counsellor	Yes
3	F	50–60	Industry association exec/farmer	Yes
4	F	>60	Succession planner	Yes
5	F	>60	Rural Financial Counsellor	Yes
6	F	>60	Legal	No
7	F	40–50	Legal	Yes
8	F	50–60	Succession planner	Yes
9	M	50–60	Legal	No
10	F	30–40	Succession planner	Yes
11	F	30–40	Legal	Yes
12	F	>60	Succession planner	No
13	F	40–50	Legal	No
14	M	50–60	Succession planner	No
15	M	>60	Succession planner	Yes
16	F	40–50	Farm consultant/farmer	Yes
17	M	50–60	Legal	No
18	M	40–50	Agribusiness consultant	Yes
19	F	>60	Succession planner	No
20	F	40–50	Accountant	Yes
21	F	30–40	Accountant	Yes
22	F	30–40	Accountant	No

used flexibly with plenty of opportunity for interviewee to direct the conversation to issues they saw as important (King and Brooks 2017). Interviews were carried out by all authors. The interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed verbatim and transferred into software enabling qualitative text analysis (Nvivo 12).¹

We applied a form of thematic analysis – template analysis – because of its flexibility, capacity to allow for inductive and deductive themes (King and Brooks 2017) and that it lends itself to analysing the views of the sample as a whole rather than focus on individual accounts. As its name implies, template analysis involves developing a coding template which summarises the themes identified by the researchers. We recognised data reflect the historical, social, and situational conditions of their production (Charmaz and Liska Belgrave, 2019), and that we five interviewees all came with different backgrounds. We held an initial meeting of all team members to discuss our thoughts for coding based on the interviews we individually conducted, the repeated statements we were observing and the existing literature. This preliminary coding of interviews generated 16 categories and was both deductive and inductive, as some were recognisable from the literatures relating to gender and intergenerational farm succession (Sheridan et al., 2021) while others were generated from the data (King and Brooks 2017). We developed a coding template to capture the definitions of the categories to ensure we all had a common understanding of our coding. In this way we were giving form to the data through definition and categorisation (Charmaz and Liska Belgrave, 2019). Using a constant comparison technique to generate, reduce, verify and confirm emerging categories developed through the analysis, the first two authors further refined and added to the coding as we worked through the full sample of interviews, identifying a further seven categories.

From these preliminary categories, we clustered them into six overarching and interconnected themes to describe and explain our observations, where a theme reflected recurrent and distinctive features of participants' accounts (Brooks and King 2014). Our coding allowed the same segment of text to be categorised into more than one category, one of the advantages of template analysis (King and Brooks 2017). Certainly gender informed more than one theme. It seemed, too, that

while there were not major differences between the views of women and men, the women respondents were more comfortable addressing the gender questions. This was not surprising given these professional women have forged their careers in what has traditionally been a male dominated space.

In the next section, the results from the template analysis are explained and supported by quotes, making these visible through the participants' own words.

3. Results

Given the origins of our research involved a focus on gender, we included a question asking participants how they saw gender impacting farm succession. In applying the lens of social scripts, we were looking for the catch phrases frequently used, the mini-stories or narratives and the commonly used/often repeated lines of argument raised. As scripts contain a normative element reflective of farming subcultures we analysed these scripts to ascertain if there has been a shift away from traditional gender values. From the responses, we identified many examples where participants identified how traditional gender scripts still inflect succession practices which we clustered into the theme *traditional gender scripts*. As well, there were many examples from participants where the traditional scripts were being challenged by evidence of a greater awareness of women's roles on farms and their legal rights which we clustered into the theme *changing gender norms*. This layering of the old with the new created some interesting tensions for the farm succession scripts. From their responses about current succession practices, the increasing value of farm assets and how to ensure all parties' financial security were commonly raised by participants which we categorised into the theme *financial considerations*. The coming together of these themes point to the multiple dimensions of current farm succession scripts.

3.1. Traditional gender scripts

'In Australian agriculture ... it's still that view there's some things men can do and there's some things women can do, and, ...It is still patriarchal, but it's seen to be right.' (#8)

The form that traditional gender scripts manifested varied across the participants. The potency of traditional gender scripts came through the use of examples of how 'good' succession was seen to be done and the recognition of how the entrenched nature of gender roles on farms flows through succession. The quotes below exemplify this form of naturalising of the son as the rightful successor.

'a farmer would say succession is done well if the oldest son gets the farm, and ... the farm is safe from any divorces.' (#1)

'And so it's effectively first in best dressed, I suppose. And it generally is males because males are probably seen more as farmers, and it's more an expectation that the farm will go to the eldest son.' (#9)

The entrenched nature of the gender roles were recognised by participants. They described the traditional scripts as imbued in the older generations, but still playing out in current practices.

'Certainly within the older cohort of clients, there are some quite entrenched gender norms, and expectations within families, and probably when it comes to dealing with succession-related issues for those families, gender plays quite a big role still.' (#7)

'We are still seeing people being appointed to roles in families because they were born male, rather than being the best person for the job.' (#8)

'I think there's this unconscious bias that happens regardless. And there's this assumption that females can't and don't have the skills to take on certain roles.' (#16).

¹ Ethics approval to conduct the interviews was granted by the university.

'The opportunities the brother/son has received have not been equalised with the daughters during their lifetime, and when it's coming to the succession and transfer of those assets, that same inequality is being played through right to the bitter end.' (#17)

The potency of the social script was recognised by many participants, as they sought to explain what they were seeing on the ground. As the external adviser, they may not agree with a client's thinking, but they could see how it shaped the process.

'But it's almost like that influence of gender was subconscious. You know, "Of course he'll run the business." Well, he was 20. It was a massive business. And it was quite a diverse business. There was no way he would've had the skills to do that, but in fact that's what the will said.' (#12)

That there were changes to how farmers were thinking about their children's interest in farming was identified by Interviewee 15 who spoke to the framing of the issue within families and how this impacted decisions about successors.

'if a family's open and says, "Well, it's up to my children what they do, and I'll support them as best I can, and I'd like them to be a farmer but it's really up to them." If that's the upbringing, well, it can be either/or. If the upbringing is, well, when the first child is about to be born, "Well, I hope he's a boy because I've gotta have somebody to take over from me," ... well, it's likely that that's the way the leaning will be.' (#15).

The interviews demonstrated that social scripts reflecting traditional gender norms remain evident in Australian farm succession processes, despite social and environmental changes related to women's improved position in society. The symbolism of farming as masculine determines access to material benefits, such as farm assets, and to intangible benefits, including opportunities for developing business skills such as dealing with bankers, accountants and lawyers. The script that the son is the presumptive successor reflects the close link between the farmer and the male body, whereby women's bodies are seen as not having the necessary attributes and women not having the necessary skills. This script acts to shape individual identity, gives superior status to male family members and establishes who belongs to the group of 'farmer', while excluding female family members (Vanclay and Enticott 2011). This script shapes the expected unfolding of events, such as the transfer of the farm to the son. The scripts presented demonstrate there continue to be instances where the shaping of the son's identity as farmer begins at birth and directs farm succession processes. Once children internalise this message it shapes behaviours and values.

3.2. Changing gender norms

While the traditional patterns of farm succession were recognised, at the same time there was a striking degree of shared interpretation about how the wider social norms around women's roles were now permeating farming families and their succession decisions. The changes in women's roles in the wider society were priming individuals to think differently about gender norms and roles.

'From a very early time the farmers we're looking at say, "Who's gonna take over the farm?" You know, "Who will it be?" And often they would just have this blinkered thing: "Blokes." But now I see they've actually got daughters in their vision as well.' (#6).

'I do see the majority of people now, they don't mind whether it's their son or daughter, as long as that passion's there and they can see they really want to do it.' (#5).

Pongratz (1990) argued new social norms originating outside of rural communities are interpreted through the lens of traditional values. That succession planners referred to daughters being considered for farm succession if they had, for example, demonstrated a 'passion' for agriculture reflects the reinterpretation of modernised gender norms

through traditional values. For some participants, they saw this largely being driven by mothers acting on changing cultural norms. A mother's raised feminist consciousness was allowing for the conversation about who should be the successor.

'these issues come into play when there's at least a two-generation farming enterprise ... —often it's the mothers who say, "We should give her a chance. We should include her". So, it hasn't been a tool that the law has given ... it's been a cultural one.' (#16)

Another participant who had been advising on farm succession matters for more than 30 years spoke to the social shifts she had seen occur over each decade, to cumulatively arrive at a significantly different position for women on farms than when she started advising.

'It is a lot more equal than it was 30 years ago ... the general community's expectations have changed. And certainly women's expectations have gone through a process of change — in almost each decade ... there's been a significant change.' (#12).

Interviewee 12 described how when she started advising farming families about succession she was 'astounded' by how the sisters of the inheriting males had no expectations.

'They had been almost bred to believe that this business—this land and this business—would automatically become the realm of their brothers. And there was a sort of a passive acceptance of that in many ways. And that's changed.' (#12).

The changing roles of women were disrupting the status quo, which many participants anticipated would have flow on effects to family decision-making and dynamics, as well as strategies to diversify asset bases to enable more than one child to pursue farming.

'I had a conversation with clients ... about their wills where they leave ... at the moment, the farm assets to the son, and the non-farm assets, which are considerable, to the daughter. But the daughter had five years after university to decide whether she wants to be a farmer. And I think she's starting to decide she actually might want to be a farmer, which is really going to be an interesting time for that family.' (#7)

These quotes reflect changing expectations of women, both farm daughters and their mothers, with relation to gender and farm succession. The scripts evident in these quotes echo Symes' (1991) argument that individuals within rural communities may internalise change in norms that originate from outside of their communities. These quotes reflect strong normative elements of what the right course of behaviour is, for example 'we should give her a chance'. That this version of the farming script is still nascent was evident from the slippage between the changing gender norms and the traditional gender script within participants' responses. There would often be a lengthy description of how things were changing, and yet five minutes later in the interview, there would be a reference to the sons accessing the farm/running the trust/being consulted.

'there might be three or four different lots they could sell off or they could lease a portion of. So, the son could actually take it over as a lease, but then he could go and re-lease half the farm as well.' (#2)

Another interviewee reflected on what a good farm succession outcome could look like:

'So the more examples of it being done well, the better. And that's not the awful ex-wife or the ungrateful big sister, or whatever it is. That's not the examples we need to see. It's the: "I've engaged a professional. Yes, it cost me some money and it took a couple of years, but we know exactly where we stand. And I can now provide for my children And I'm happy about it. And I get on with my brother and I'm not angry at mum or my dad,"' (#11)

The quote points to how 'more examples' of farm succession being done well can influence habits of mind. The power of these mini-stories

comes from their construction of plot, characters and typical story sequencing and justifies decision making, actions or behaviour (Vanclay and Enticott 2011). Of note from this quote is its implicit gendering. The farmer in this framing is a man (as per the reference to the awful ex-wife). Slippage between awareness of a changing environment and the language reverting to framing the farmer as male occurred frequently throughout the interviews and makes visible just how resistant to change gender norms can be.

3.3. Financial considerations

The financial dimensions to succession decisions are also seen to be disrupting traditional practices of primogeniture and the unwavering commitment to the family collective.

'I think the daughters don't want to rock the boat ... there's something deep inside them, where they want the family farm to stay together, they want the family name to continue, because that's how they've been raised. ... But it's become difficult for them to reconcile that when the oldest brother has a \$5 million asset, and his children go to private schools. And you've got ... a sister over here living in a unit in a lower socio-economic area not making ends meet. So, yeah, finances can drive them away from their deep-seated belief the family farm should stay together.' (#1).

The interviews revealed some continuation of the social script that the key priority of intergenerational farm transfer was keeping it intact. This reflects the role of social scripting in socialising family members to follow rules, adopt the dominant values and shape their identity and place in their social and environmental context accordingly (Silvasti 2003b). While this script does continue to shape expectations around farm transfer, there is evidence of disruption. The social script of gender equality and fairness has a strong moral element that is disrupting the socialising force of the script that the most important thing is to keep the farm intact.

With the changing role of women, there is greater recognition of the financial needs of those leaving farming, and this was seen through women being clearer about their own financial needs.

'if ... the husband's passed away, the wife's got to farm. Whereas before she never did the farming, she always worked in town as a nurse or something. And now that he's passed away, she's finding herself looking after stock, hiring staff, and all of a sudden, the son comes in and goes, "Well, just hand it over, mum." And they're goin', "Oh hang on a minute, I need something to live on".' (#2)

The question of financial independence of those leaving the farm increasingly factors into the succession script. Ensuring financial security in retirement is an individual's responsibility in Australia, as citizens are encouraged to self-fund retirement rather than rely on welfare benefits. With more women working, no longer can parents assume the 'family' – or more specifically the daughter-in-law or daughter – will look after them post-farming.

Participants reported a strong desire by the farming parent/s to be 'fair' to all the children. This catch phrase was now more commonly used in the conversations with their clients. The notion of the oldest son 'getting it all' was no longer the norm.

'It's more about being fair to all the children when some are passionate about farming and others have built careers off-farm and as much as they love it, they don't want to be financially involved. And it's about fairness to those different ... offspring.' (#5)

The challenges around being fair were recognised, but the frequency with which participants used the term was indicative of how it is now permeating the narrative around farm succession (Vanclay and Enticott 2011). When there is limited off-farm investment, however, the lumpiness of the asset complicates the desire to be fair.

'the value of land has increased ... at such an astronomical rate over the last ... five years, it is just getting so much more difficult to come up with a proposal that suits both on-farm and off-farm children, and has fairness built into it ... if you're doing succession planning, so inter vivos transfers² land could just be sold by the early inheriting child and it would mean that what the other children receive is going to be significantly less. And that causes problems. And everyone can see these things coming up.' (#7)

This quote demonstrates the competition between social scripts to justify farm decisions. While gender equality is accepted as a value, it conflicts with traditional script of the importance of keeping the farm intact and socially reproducing the family farm. Social scripts play a key role in expressing the values of groups and creating and reaffirming group belonging. When social scripts conflict with each other the solidarity of the group, in this case the farming family, may be fractured.

In seeking to be fair, the outcome may mean having to sell the farm as it is not viable if it is divided, and/or one of the children has to buy the others out. The emotional and financial dimensions to the decision may make it too hard for some parents to act.

Sometimes the parents decide, "Well, we'll just split three ways, four ways," however many kids there are. And they'll have to buy one another out, or make decisions amongst themselves as to how they resolve this problem, because the parents aren't prepared to do so (#17).

Drawing these themes together, the complexity of the process is palpable, but there is evidence that the traditional scripts are being challenged. The awareness of the different roles, interests and needs of family members are feeding into the succession process.

'It sounds relatively easy in terms of trying to promote ... diversity in your business, bring your daughters through, ...Some of those things sound reasonably easy, but when you start talking about retirement and leaving assets and skills and diversity and expectations and built-in gender bias, ...then it gets much more complex.' (#3)

Reflecting on these themes we see contemporary farm succession and transition arrangements as a palimpsest on which the legacy of traditional scripts remains imprinted. See Fig. 1.

4. Discussion

Little attention has been paid to the role of social scripts in relation to the influence of gender in farm succession planning. This article contributes to our understanding of this area by examining the research question 'how are the changing social and environmental norms transforming contemporary farm succession?' Our analysis makes it clear the impact is not a simple linear process. Social scripts are interpreted and negotiated within everyday relationships, and as the wider social norms have been evolving, so too have the social scripts around farm succession. From our analyses, the 'socially perceived routines where there is an understanding of how things will happen' (Vanclay and Enticott 2011), specifically the well understood tropes of the oldest son 'getting the farm' and the family's interests taking precedence over the individual are in a state of flux. The oldest son inheriting the farm has been disrupted as women's education and their roles in the wider economy are challenging the notion of the woman as the unpaid carer on the farm, quietly contributing to her community. The traditional delineations of the roles of women and men on the farm have been blurred, reflecting wider social changes evident in women's changing labour market status and the changing nature of farm work. At the same time as this wider social movement, the value of farm land has been rapidly appreciating and the notions of what is a 'fair' distribution of assets is being reformulated.

² Inter vivos transfer - (especially with reference to a gift as opposed to a legacy) between living people.

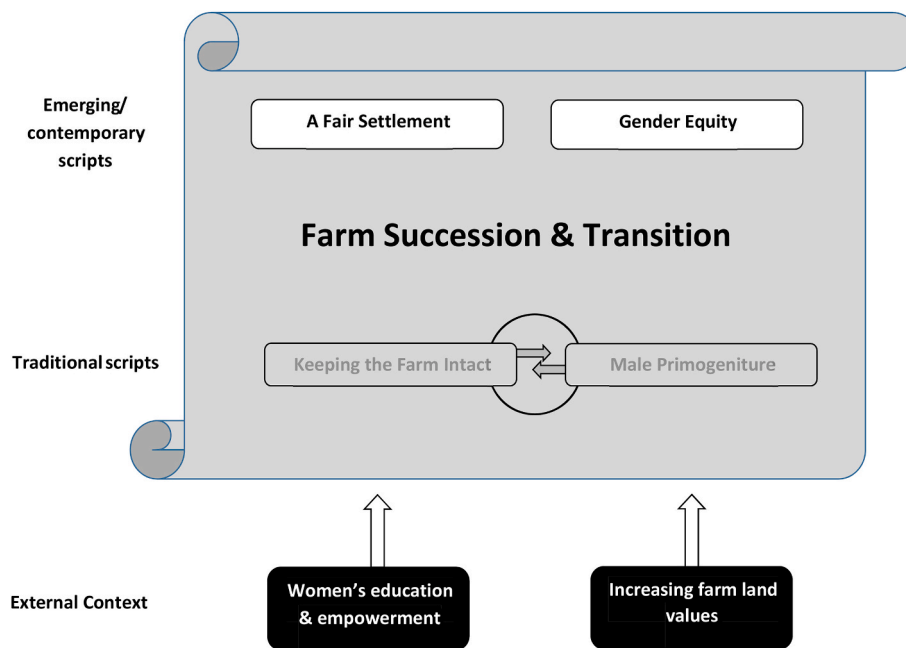


Fig. 1. Factors impacting contemporary farm succession scripts.

Our participants pointed to how the discussions about family farm succession are now more commonly recognising women's changing roles, but their responses also made it clear these were underlain by traditional gender norms. While there may be an aggregate shift in attitudes about gender equality (Banaszak et al., 2016), this doesn't necessarily translate into every individual reacting in the same way. Despite the apparent effectiveness of the wider social movement promoting gender equality and the attention directed to making visible women's contributions on farm and challenging outdated stereotypes of male = farmer, farm succession practices are constrained by the continued influence of traditional gender norms. There is evidence of modern gender norms being reinterpreted through the lens of traditional values such as farming being tied to masculinity. This results in farm daughters receiving off farm assets while the son continues to inherit the farm.

Changes to traditional gender norms are evident in the internalisation of norms that originate outside of rural communities such as fairness and equity for all family members. To an extent this has disrupted the socialisation of farm children into the social script of gender norms in the farming family (Silvasti 2003a). The women in farm families appear to be particularly vocal in bringing attention to these norms in farm succession practices. This is strengthened by the financial needs of female family members as women taken on breadwinning responsibilities in families and retirees are increasingly expected to self-fund their retirement. The family discussions and meetings typical of farm succession process allow for lines of argument and stories to be expressed and challenged. As normative expectations change, so too does behaviour (Bicchieri and McNally 2018), as evident in changes in farm succession practices.

While the value of farms has been increasing, the lumpiness of the farm as an asset can limit a 'fair' distribution, and can undermine efforts to reflect the changing environment. This is consistent with Vanclay and Enticott (2011: 267) who observe that scripts 'limit the range of options that individuals might perceive are available to them in specific situations'. There is evidence of both empirical and normative expectations changing, but the enduring nature of the traditional scripts is manifest. Rather than new scripts neatly replacing the older ones, a useful heuristic device to make sense of what is happening to the scripts around

farm succession is as a palimpsest – something reused or altered but still bearing visible traces of its earlier form (Conway 2008). It seems from our analysis of participants' perspectives, there is a layering of the new script (changing gender roles and fair allocation of assets) on the old (primogeniture and the family's interests subsuming the individual's), but under pressure (whether this be financial or familial), the newer layers may be shed, and the old scripts returned to. So for example, in an ideal situation where there are ample off farm liquid assets that can be shared 'fairly' without disrupting the viability of the family farm, the new script embracing gender equity and fairness can be honoured. It resonates with contemporary social norms and the farm succession process may be more focused on the successor being passionate about farming and how to fairly allocate the assets among all, rather than privileging the oldest son.

In situations where the farm is not so financially sound, there can be an incongruence between the abstract ideal and the concrete situation, with the result that what actually occurs may be more akin to reinforcing traditional patterns. Slippage to the old script remains the easiest option. Alternatively, new gender norms may be interpreted through the lens of traditional values and put into practice in everyday life. In this way the individual can respond to demands originating from outside of their community in a way that makes them feel in control (Pongratz 1990). The 'protective cocoon' (Giddens 1997) of social scripts and their reinterpretation in line with values the individual feels comfortable with allows for the continuation of farmer self-identity (Enticott and Vanclay, 2011). This may help re-establish a sense of stability for farming families and rural communities during periods of social change.

Our analysis points to the lag between the changes in the wider social norms embracing women's roles in the public sphere and equal access to opportunities and the private practice of farm succession. It contributes to our understanding of the dynamics by which traditional communities respond to changes in social norms. We argue this may be a reflection of the practical difficulties of seeking to act on contemporary values – gender equality and fairness – without the necessary preparation for how this can be realised through diversification of assets and planning for succession from the outset. That this is beginning to happen for some family farms was evident, but certainly not uniformly embraced. Further attention to considering the foundations for fair succession from the

earliest stages of a successor taking on the farm may make this process smoother in future. There is a role for farm advisers in prompting these conversations with their clients, as funding a diversified portfolio which can allow for the new scripts of gender equity and fairness to be enacted, takes time and planning.

As with most research projects, we are aware of the methodological limitations in our study. In asking for ‘volunteers’ to take part in our study it is self-selecting in ways that may unpredictably affect the findings. The initial sample was drawn from our professional networks and may be over-representing a well-connected sample of women professionals in the farm succession space. Future studies would benefit from drawing on a larger, more diverse sample of farm advisers from across Australia to explore whether the views expressed here are more widely held and how to better capture whether patterns of farm succession are changing in practice. Future studies could also move beyond the advisers to farm succession decision makers, such as those who have recently experienced and/or are in the process of an intergenerational transfer of their farms, to understand how their scripts reflect traditional gender norms or their disruption. It may be the backgrounds and experiences of the farm advisers we interviewed may be uncritically informing their responses to our questions and informing their views of how their clients behave. By building on this study with the experiences of families engaging directly with intergenerational farm transfer we may arrive at a more nuanced understanding of the changing scripts.

5. Conclusion

Farm succession has been entrenched in both tradition and a commitment to the family collective (Chiswell and Loblely 2018). Understanding the importance of scripts in rural settings can provide insights into women’s roles on farms. Through our analyses, we have explored contemporary farm succession processes in Australia through the perspectives of farm advisers, with a particular focus on understanding how changing gender norms, farm roles, and increasing asset values of farms may be intersecting, and challenging (or reinforcing) common patterns of farm succession. It seems the traditional scripts around the oldest son being the natural and only successor are being disrupted by the wider social norms around women’s roles in the public space. While there is evidence of the enduring nature of traditional gender scripts still inflecting farm succession, the farm advisers and other stakeholders we interviewed spoke to the changing scripts they were seeing within farm families. With a greater recognition of women’s roles, an increasingly common narrative about fairness and the growing asset value of the average farm, the decision about who takes on the family farm has made the script more complex.

Theoretically, we contribute to understanding how scripts are challenged and co-exist. We find some evidence of the internalisation of social norms originating from outside of rural communities that challenge the implicit stories and lines of argument shaping behaviour, such as the norm that farmers are male and the son is the obvious farm successor. We also find some evidence of new gender norms being interpreted through traditional values to recreate a sense of control and stability for farming families. For example, that daughters should receive some assets, but that the farm remains intact and is passed onto the son. Through the use of the social script approach we have contributed to the understanding to how symbolic meaning creates material inequality and how this may change. If the lag between the desired and the actual is to be achieved, there needs to be more planning from the very early stages of the farm owner taking on the farm, planning for succession. To be in a position to enact the values espoused in the contemporary farm succession script – gender equity and fairness – will require building a more flexible asset base.

Author statement

Alison Sheridan: Conceptualisation, data collection, data analysis

and interpretation, writing – original draft.

Lucie Newsome: Conceptualisation, data collection, data analysis and interpretation, writing – review and editing.

Andrew Lawson: Conceptualisation, data collection, writing – review and editing.

Skye Charry: Conceptualisation, data collection.

Susan Field: Conceptualisation, data collection.

Declaration of competing interest

None.

Data availability

The data that has been used is confidential.

References

- ABARES, 2022. Snapshot of Australian Agriculture 2022. ABARES, Canberra.
- Alston, Margaret, 1998. Farm women and their work: why is it not recognized? *J. Sociol.* 34 (1), 23–34.
- Alston, Margaret, 2000. *Breaking through the Grass Ceiling: Women, Power and Leadership in Rural Organisations*. Harwood Publishers, London.
- Alston, Margaret, Wilkinson, Jane, 1998. Australian farm women - shut out or fenced in? The lack of women in agricultural leadership. *Sociol. Rural.* 38 (3), 404–408.
- Alston, Margaret, Clarke, Josephine, Whittenbury, Kerri, 2017. Gender relations, livelihood strategies, water policies and structural adjustment in the Australian dairy industry. *Sociol. Rural.* 57, 752–768.
- Alston, Margaret, Clarke, Josephine, Whittendury, Kerri, 2018. Contemporary feminist analysis of Australian farm women in the context of climate changes. *Soc. Sci.* 7 (2), 16.
- Asztalos-Morell, Ildiko, 2013. Handing down - taking care: generation transfer in Hungarian farm families in the context of transitions. *Acta Ethnogr. Hung.* 58 (1), 57–86.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2020. *Agricultural Commodities, Australia 2018-19*. Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra.
- Banaszak, Lee Ann, Ondercin, Heather. L., 2016. Public opinion as a movement outcome: the case of the U.S. women’s movement. *Mobilization: Int. Q.* 21 (3), 361–378. <https://doi.org/10.17813/1086-671x-21-3-361>.
- Barclay, Elaine, Foskey, Ros, Reeve, Ian, 2005. Farm succession and inheritance : comparing Australian and international trends : a report for the Rural Industries Research and Development Corporation. In: *Rural Industries Research and Development Corporation*. Barton, A.C.T.
- Barclay, Elaine, Reeve, Ian, Foskey, Ros, 2012. Australian farmers’ attitudes toward succession and inheritance. In: Loblely, M., Baker, J., Whitehead, I. (Eds.), *Keeping it in the Family: International Perspectives on Succession and Retirement on Family Farms*. Ashgate, Surrey.
- Bassett, Katherine, Newsome, Lucie, Sheridan, Alison, Masood Azeem, Muhammad, 2022. Characterizing the changing profile of employment in Australian agriculture. *J. Rural Stud.* 89, 316–327. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2021.12.007>.
- Bicchieri, Cristina, McNally, Peter, 2018. Shrieking sirens: schemata, scripts, and social norms. How change occurs. *Soc. Philos. Pol.* 35 (1), 23–53. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0265052518000079>.
- Binks, Bill, Stenekes, Nyree, Kruger, Heleen, Kancans, Robert, 2018. Snapshot of Australia’s Agricultural Workforce 2016. Australian Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics and Sciences, Canberra.
- Brandth, Berit, 1995. Rural masculinity in transition: gender images in tractor advertisements. *J. Rural Stud.* 11 (2), 123–133. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0743-0167\(95\)00007-A](https://doi.org/10.1016/0743-0167(95)00007-A).
- Brandth, Berit, Haugen, Marit S., 1998. Breaking into a masculine discourse. *Women and farm forestry. Sociol. Rural.* 38, 427–442.
- Brooks, Joanna, King, Nigel, 2014. *Doing Template Analysis: Evaluating an End-Of-Life Care Service*. Sage Publication, London. <https://methods.sagepub.com/case/doing-template-analysis-evaluating-an-end-of-life-care-service>. (Accessed 20 July 2022).
- Bryant, Melanie, Higgins, Vaughan, 2021. Securitising uncertainty: ontological security and cultural scripts in smart farming technology implementation. *J. Rural Stud.* 81, 315–323. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2020.10.051>.
- Bryant, Lia, Pini, Barbara, 2006. Towards an understanding of gender and capital in constituting biotechnologies in agriculture. *Sociol. Rural.* 46 (4), 261–279.
- Chancellor, Will, Zhao, Shiji, 2020. Agricultural households: an exploratory analysis revisiting financial position and well-being in Australia. *Econ. Pap.* 40 (1), 14–30. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1759-3441.12293>.
- Charmaz, Kathy, Liska Belgrave, Linda, 2019. Thinking about data with grounded theory. *Qual. Inq.* 25 (8), 743–753. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800418809455>.
- Chiswell, Hannah, Loblely, Matt, 2018. It’s definitely a good time to be a farmer”: understanding the changing dynamics of successor creation in late modern society. *Rural Sociol.* 83 (3), 630–653. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ruso.12205>.
- Cocklin, Chris, Dibden, Jacqui, 2005. *Sustainability and Change in Rural Australia*. UNSW Press.
- Conway, Mary Louise, 2008. *Let’s Hear it from the Board: an Analysis of Regional Development Governance*. PhD Thesis Doctoral, University of New England.

- Creighton, Janean, Blatner, Keith, Carroll, Matthew, 2016. "For the love of the land: Generational land transfer and the future of family forests in western Washington State, USA." *Small-scale Forestry* 15 (1):1-15.
- Creswell, John W., Creswell, J. David, 2018. *Research Design : Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, fifth ed. SAGE, Los Angeles.
- Dibden, Jacqui, Cocklin, Chris, 2010. Re-mapping regulatory space: the new governance of Australian dairying. *Geoforum* 41 (3), 410–422. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2009.11.007>.
- Elix, Jane, Lambert, Judy, 1998. *Missed Opportunities - Harnessing the Potential of Women in Australian Agriculture*, Volumes 1 and 2. Rural Industries Research and Development Corporation, Department of Primary Industries and Energy, Canberra.
- Enticott, Gareth, Vanclay, Frank, 2011. Scripts, animal health and biosecurity: the moral accountability of farmers' talk about animal health risks. *Health Risk Soc.* 13 (4), 293–309. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698575.2011.575456>.
- Evans, Alice, 2019. How cities erode gender inequality: a new theory and evidence from Cambodia. *Gend. Soc.* 33 (6), 961–984. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243219865510>.
- Giddens, Anthony, 1997. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Gray, John, 1998. Family farms in the Scottish borders: a practical definition by hill sheep farmers. *J. Rural Stud.* 14 (3), 341–356.
- Hacker, Daphna, 2010. The gendered dimensions of inheritance: empirical food for legal thought. *J. Empir. Leg. Stud.* 7 (2), 322–354. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1740-1461.2010.01180.x>.
- Horst, Megan, Marion, Amy, 2019. Racial, ethnic and gender inequities in farmland ownership and farming in the U.S. *Agric. Hum. Val.* 36 (4), 1–16.
- King, Nigel, Brooks, Joanna M., 2017. *Template Analysis for Business and Management Students*. SAGE Publications Ltd, London.
- Knight, Carly, Brinton, Mary C., 2017. One egalitarianism or several? Two decades of gender-role attitude change in Europe. *Am. J. Sociol.* 122 (5), 1485–1532. <https://doi.org/10.1086/689814>.
- Kuperberg, Arielle, Stone, Pamela, Lucas, Torie, 2022. He's a Mr. Mom": cultural ambivalence in print news depictions of stay-at-home fathers, 1987–2016. *Gend. Soc.* 36 (3), 313–341. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08912432221089635>.
- Little, Jo, Leyshon, Michael, 2003. Embodied rural geographies: developing research agendas. *Prog. Hum. Geogr.* 27 (3), 257–272.
- Lobley, Matt, Baker, John, 2012. Succession and retirement in family farm business. In: *Keeping it in the Family: International Perspectives on Succession and Retirement on Family Farms*, Edited by Matt Lobley, John Baker and Ian Whitehead. Farnham, Surrey. Ashgate.
- Louis, Meryl R., Sutton, Robert I., 1991. Switching cognitive gears: from habits of mind to active thinking. *Hum. Relat.* 44 (1), 55–76.
- Lyster, Rosemary, 2002. (De)regulating the rural environment. *Environ. Plann. Law J.* 19 (1), 34–57.
- Mayes, Christopher, 2018. *Unsettling Food Politics : Agriculture, Dispossession and Sovereignty in Australia*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, London.
- Moskos, Megan, 2020. Why is the gender revolution uneven and stalled? Gender essentialism and men's movement into "women's work". *Gend. Work. Organ.* 27 (4), 527–544.
- Newsome, Lucie, 2020. Beyond 'get big or get out': female farmers' responses to the cost-price squeeze of Australian agriculture. *J. Rural Stud.* 79, 57–64. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2020.08.040>.
- Newsome, Lucie, 2021. Disrupted gender roles in Australian agriculture: first generation female farmers' construction of farming identity. *Agric. Hum. Val.* 38 (3), 803–814. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10460-021-10192-3>.
- Nordqvist, Petra, 2021. Telling reproductive stories: social scripts, relationality and donor conception. *Sociology* 55 (4), 677–695.
- OECD, 2020. *Agricultural Support Estimates*. OECD.
- Peck, Jamie, Tickell, Adam, 2002. Neoliberalizing space. *Antipode* 34 (3), 380–404.
- Pini, Barbara, 2005. The third sex: women leaders in Australian agriculture. *Gend. Work. Organ.* 12 (1), 73–88. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2005.00263.x>.
- Pongratz, Hans J., 1990. Cultural tradition and social change in agriculture. *Sociol. Rural.* (3/4), 5–17.
- Pritchard, Bill, 2005. Implementing and maintaining neoliberal agriculture in Australia -Part I. *Int. J. Sociol. Agric. Food* 13, 1–12.
- Pritchard, Bill, 2006. The political construction of free trade visions: the geo-politics and geo-economics of Australian beef exporting. *Agric. Hum. Val.* 23, 37–50.
- Rural Bank, 2022. *Australian Farmland Values 2022*. Bendigo and Adelaide Bank.
- Sachs, Carolyn, Alston, Margaret, 2010. Global shifts, sedimentations and imaginaries: an introduction to the special edition of women and agriculture. *Signs: J. Women Cult. Soci.* 35, 277–288.
- Sachs, Carolyn, Allen, Patricia, Terman, A. Rachel, Hayden, Jennifer, Hatcher, Christina, 2014. Front and back of the house: socio-spatial inequalities in food work. *Agric. Hum. Val.* 31, 3–17.
- Saugeres, Lise, 2002. The cultural representation of the farming landscape: masculinity, power and nature. *J. Rural Stud.* 18, 373–384.
- Scarborough, William J., Sin, Ray, Risman, Barbara, 2019. Attitudes and the stalled gender revolution: egalitarianism, traditionalism, and ambivalence from 1977 through 2016. *Gend. Soc.* 33 (2), 173–200.
- Sheridan, Alison, Haslam McKenzie, Fiona, 2009. *Revisiting Missed Opportunities*. Barton, ACT. RIRDC.
- Sheridan, Alison, Newsome, Lucie, 2021. Tempered disruption: gender and agricultural professional services. *Gend. Work. Organ.* 28 (3), 1040–1058. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12623>.
- Sheridan, Alison, Haslam McKenzie, Fiona, Still, Leonie, 2011. Making visible the 'space of betweenness': understanding women's limited access to leadership in regional Australia. *Gend. Place Cult.* 18 (6).
- Sheridan, Alison, Newsome, Lucie, Howard, Tanya, Lawson, Andrew, Saunders, Skye, 2021. Intergenerational farm succession: how does gender fit? *Land Use Pol.* 109 (October) <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2021.105612>.
- Shortall, Sally, McKee, Annie, Sutherland, Lee-ann, 2020. The performance of occupational closure: the case of agriculture and gender. *Sociol. Rural.* 60 (1), 40–57.
- Silvasti, Tiina, 2003a. Bending borders of gendered labour division on farm: the case of Finland. *Sociol. Rural.* 43 (2), 154–166.
- Silvasti, Tiina, 2003b. The cultural model of 'the good farmer' and the environmental question in Finland. *Agric. Hum. Val.* 20 (2), 143–150.
- Sippel, Sarah., 2016. Breaking ground: Multi-family farm entrepreneurs in Moroccan export agriculture. *Journal of Rural Studies* 45, 279–291. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2016.03.013>.
- Symes, David, 1991. Changing gender roles in productionist and post-productionist capitalist agriculture. *J. Rural Stud.* 7 (1–2), 85–90.
- Vanclay, Frank, Enticott, Gareth, 2011. The role and functioning of cultural scripts in farming and agriculture. *Sociol. Rural.* 51 (3), 256–271. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9523.2011.00537.x>.
- Vanclay, Frank, Silvasti, Tiina, Howden, Peter, 2007. Styles, parables and scripts: diversity and conformity in Australian and Finnish agriculture. *Rural Soc.* 17 (1), 3–18. <https://doi.org/10.5172/rsj.351.17.1.3>.
- Wheeler, Sarah, Bjornlund, Henning, Zuo, Alec, Edwards, Jane, 2012. Handing down the farm? The increasing uncertainty of irrigated farm succession in Australia. *J. Rural Stud.* 28 (3), 266–275. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2012.04.001>.
- World Economic Forum, 2021. *Global gender gap report 2020*. In: *Insight Report* (Switzerland).