

RECENT TRENDS IN THE UTILIZATION
OF PAID LABOUR IN
QUEBEC AGRICULTURE

Jan Zawilski

A. Thesis
in
The Department
of
Sociology and Anthropology

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

May 1979

© Jan Zawilski, 1979

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks are offered to Dr. William Reimer for the generous attention given to the formulation of this thesis in his capacity as advisor, while on sabbatical leave. Dr. Reimer's suggestions for the organization and presentation of the concerned arguments and the comments and recommendations put forward by Drs. John D. Jackson and Joseph Smucker were invaluable assets in the redaction of this study.

I am also deeply indebted to Mrs. S. Zawilski for her help in the preparation of this manuscript and the drafts which preceded it and to Mr. and Mrs. K. Zawilski for their support throughout the research. Thanks are also given to Christina Zawilski for her typing services when they were urgently required and to Risa Thau and my fellow graduate students for their encouragement during the difficult periods in the undertaking of this study.

ABSTRACT

JAN ZAWILSKI

RECENT TRENDS IN THE UTILIZATION OF
PAID LABOUR IN QUEBEC AGRICULTURE

Prompted by a concern for the vocational rehabilitation of developmentally handicapped persons in agricultural areas and by certain interesting empirical observations, the major aim of this research is to identify the most recent developments with respect to the utilization of paid labour by Québec farmers. In order to guide the empirical investigation, the following theoretical problem is put forward: How has the 'penetration of capitalism' into Québec agriculture affected the agricultural producer's use of paid labour?

Tackling this problem involved an elaborate theoretical discussion which saw the focus shift from an initially high level of abstraction to lower levels from which four propositions finally emerged. The first step is a review of the related work of some authors in the Marxist and Neo-Marxist tradition. The second phase is the integration of much of what is discussed in the review of the literature by formally introducing the concepts of 'Exchange'

and 'Dependence'. This permits the discussion to focus on the specific nature of the consequences of the exchange between the agricultural producer and the broader economic system on the economic activity of the Québec farmer including, most importantly, the study's ultimate concern - the use of the paid labour input.

Labour force and agricultural census data are put forward to evaluate the propositions which flow out of the theoretical discussion and which relate to 3 specific areas: the composition of the agricultural labour force, the temporal use of paid agricultural labour and the economic characteristics of the farmers utilizing paid labour.

The conclusion entails an assessment of the heuristic value of adopting a 'Political Economy' approach to the research problem and the formulation of broad implications for the development of social policy in the area of the vocational rehabilitation of developmentally handicapped persons in agricultural areas.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		
	I. INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter		
	II. MARXIST AND NEO-MARXIST PERSPECTIVES ON THE EFFECTS OF THE PENETRATION OF CAPITALISM INTO THE AGRICULTURAL MILIEU	21
	Marx	21
	Lenin	27
	Kautsky	29
	Mitchell	37
	Hedley	41
	Bernier	46
	Stavenhagen	48
Chapter		
	III. THE DEPENDENCE OF THE CONTEMPORARY AGRICULTURAL PRODUCER	52
Chapter		
	IV. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE USE OF PAID AGRICULTURAL LABOUR	89
	The composition of the agricultural labour force	90
	The economic characteristics of the agricultural producers utilizing paid labour	100
	The temporal nature of paid agricultural labour	111
	Summary of propositions	113
Chapter		
	V. METHODOLOGY	116
	Propositions 1 and 2	120
	Proposition 3	123
	Proposition 4	133

Chapter

VI. PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS	138
The declining relative importance of agriculture and its labour force	138
The changing composition of the agricultural labour force	143
The changing temporal nature of paid agricultural work	156
The changing economic characteristics of the agricultural producers hiring paid labour	169

Chapter

VII. CONCLUSION	184
Assessment of the heuristic value of the theoretical framework	185
Implications of the research for public policy formulation with regard to the vocational rehabilitation of developmentally handicapped persons in the agricultural regions of Québec ...	198

APPENDIX A

Official description of the Work Team Services Project	207
--	-----

APPENDIX B

Québec agricultural policies in relation to farm manpower	216
---	-----

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	225
-----------------------------	-----

LIST OF TABLES

1.	Number of year-round agricultural workers, total acreage of improved land, number of farms and average acreage of improved land per farm, Quebec, 1921-1976	11
2.	Number of year-round agricultural workers, total of improved land, number of farms and average acreage of improved land per farm in Ontario, 1921-1976	12
3.	Proportion of paid weeks of agricultural labour attributable to year-round workers, (Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry, 1961-1976)	15
4.	Concentration in the food and beverage industry, 1965 & 1970	75
5.	Number of dairy processors according to the nature of their operations, Quebec 1967-1971	76
6.	Number of farms in Quebec, by economic class, in constant 1961 Dollars, 1961, 1966 & 1971	101
7.	Number of census farms by type of product, Quebec, 1961, 1971 and 1976	126
8.	Adjustment of farm numbers by economic class in constant 1961 Dollars	131
9.	Total population, labor force, employed labor force, and persons employed in agriculture, Canada, selected years 1935 to 1976	139
10.	Index numbers of persons employed in Agriculture and selected industry groups, Canada, selected years, 1949 to 1976	142
11.	Index numbers of output of agriculture and selected industry groups, Canada, selected years 1949 to 1976	144
12.	Employed agricultural labor Force by class of workers, Canada, selected years 1946 to 1976	146

13.	EMPLOYED AGRICULTURAL LABOUR FORCE BY CLASS OF WORKERS, QUEBEC, SELECTED YEARS, 1946 to 1978..	147
14.	Changes in the temporal nature of paid agricultural labour, Quebec, 1961-1976	158
15.	Changes in the temporal nature of paid agricultural labour, Ontario, 1961-1976	161
16.	Farms reporting paid year-round agricul- tural workers, classified by the number of workers hired, Quebec 1961, 1971 & 1976	164
17.	Farms reporting paid year-round agricul- tural workers, classified by the number of workers hired, Ontario, 1961, 1971 and 1976	165
18.	Number of paid year-round agricultural workers classified by the number of paid year-round workers hired, Quebec, 1961, 1971 and 1976	170
19.	Number of paid year-round agricultural workers classified by the number of paid year-round workers hired, Ontario 1961, 1971 and 1976	171
20.	Data on paid agricultural labour classi- fied by economic class of farm in constant 1961 Dollars, Quebec, 1961, and 1971	175
21.	Data on paid agricultural labour classi- fied by total capital value of farm in constant 1971 Dollars - Quebec 1971 and 1976 .	179

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Price indexes for agricultural products, manufactured goods, semimanufactured goods, construction material, and consumption, Canada, 1949-1971 73
2. Employment in agriculture by region, 1951, to 1975 141
3. Trends in different types of workers in agriculture, both sexes, Canada, 1946-1958 150
4. Trends in different types of workers in agriculture, Quebec, 1958-1978 151

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It would appear that whenever the subject of present day activities of the farming community is mentioned by the media, either in the newspapers, on radio, or on television, a picture of unfavorable or uncertain economic prospects is depicted. If we take the sharp decrease in the number of farms in recent years as an indicator of the degree to which the situation warrants concern, the above depiction seems to be well grounded (see Tables 1 and 2 for the decreases in the number of farms). As will be seen later in this thesis the various sources of much of the unfavorable conditions faced by the agricultural producer originate in the exchange process between, on the one hand, the agricultural production sector and, on the other hand, the urban-based corporate centres and the State. The result of this 'unequal exchange' between the above parties leaves the agricultural producer in a dependent position with regard to the acquisition of vital production inputs, the securing of credit and the fixing of price levels for agricultural products. This situation is reflected in the demands of individual farmers and farm lobbying groups for higher prices regarding farm produce and fairer costs at the farm

input and finance levels. These demands underline the problems faced by the farmers in the area of the adoption of viable farming practices. Therefore, it would not be surprising to discover that the conditions faced by the agricultural producers have brought about noticeable variations in farming strategies in recent years. It is, thus, first imperative to analyse the economic conditions faced by the contemporary farmer, before attempting an investigation of any specific aspect related to trends concerning the economic strategies of farmers, in this case the utilization of the paid labour input.

Put broadly, the major objective of this thesis is to examine how the "penetration"¹ of capitalism into the agricultural sector has affected the use of paid agricultural labour in Quebec. This will entail placing the empirical focus upon three factors: (1) the composition of the agricultural labour force, (2) the temporal nature of paid labour employment in agriculture and (3) the economic characteristics of the agricultural producers employing paid labour, which implies a study of the degree of capital concentration in farming activities. Has the use of unpaid family labour and farm operator labour been substituted to any considerable extent by paid agricultural labour? Who

¹ This term is borrowed from an article written by Bernard Bernier, entitled "The Penetration of Capitalism in Quebec Agriculture", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 13 (4), 1976, pp. 422-435.

makes use of paid agricultural labour or, put differently, what are the economic characteristics of the agricultural producers employing paid labour, and have these traits changed in recent years? Is paid agricultural labour becoming less seasonal in character? These are some of the main questions which will be treated in the research.

The investigation of this problem will first involve a theoretical discussion in which the effects of the penetration of capitalism in agriculture on the economic activity of the contemporary farmer will be elaborated. This will entail proceeding from a high level to lower levels of abstraction. The initial theoretical discussion (Chapter II) will consist of a presentation of ideas, which are found in the related literature. This concerns the impact of the infiltration of capitalism into agriculture on the agrarian community, and most importantly, the forces contributing to the development and continuity of the generally precarious position of the farmer in various contexts. The theoretical treatment will then proceed to a lower level of abstraction, as the themes encountered in the literature review are integrated, so as to permit a more comprehensive analysis of the Quebec context (Chapter III). This will be achieved by introducing the concept of exchange and the notion of dependence and, subsequently, tracing the evolution of the interaction between 'town and country' to arrive at the crucial linkage points between the agricultural sector and the broader capitalist

system which characterize the nature of the concerned exchange process within the contemporary capitalist market economy.

This relationship between the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors is used as a basis for explaining changes in the farmer's use of paid agricultural labour (Chapter IV). Four propositions which flow out of the above discussion will then be evaluated in the light of census and labour force survey data for the working universe of Quebec.

The effects of the growth of the capitalist mode of production on agriculture have presented a theoretical challenge to many writers in several contexts.² The observation that capitalist relations of production have not penetrated the agricultural sector with the same ease they have invaded other branches of the economy, has stimulated much thought. Some writers³ (mainly from the Neo-Marxist school of thought) have tackled this problem with varying

² In the case of Quebec, for example, see B. Bernier in the work previously cited, Diane Lessard, "L'Agriculture et le Capitalisme au Québec" (Montréal: Editions l'Étincelle, 1976), C. Chatillon, "L'Histoire de l'Agriculture au Québec", (Montréal: Editions l'Étincelle, 1976), L. Bergeron, "L'intervention Étatique et l'Agriculture: le cas du Québec", Monograph paper, (Montreal, Un. de Montréal, Sept. 1977). For the broader Canadian context, see M.J. Hedley, "Independent Commodity Production and the Dynamics of Tradition", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 13 (4), 1976 and D. Mitchell, "The Politics of Food", (Toronto: James & Co., 1975). In relation to the European context see, for ex., Karl Kautsky, "La Question Agraire", (Paris; V. Giard et Brière, 1900). In relation to the Third World, see R. Stavenhagen, "Social Classes in Agrarian Societies", (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, 1975)

³ See, for example, the previously cited authors.

degrees of success. The general line which is argued by most is that, even though capitalist relations of production do not 'directly infiltrate'⁴ the agricultural sector in certain contexts, the effects of capitalism on the agrarian population are no less stringent than if the capitalist mode of production dominated the agricultural production process.

It will be argued that today's farmer, while still retaining his legal title to the ownership of his means of production, exercises little control over the profitability of his economic enterprise. He is little more than a proletarian in disguise who is in a dependent position vis-à-vis most of his crucial economic relations with the urban based corporate centers and the State. Besides including the elaboration of certain arguments related to the question of what barriers the capitalist mode of production may encounter with respect to agriculture, the above theoretical position will be articulated and conceptually integrated so as to provide an appropriate theoretical stepping stone which will guide the reader into the discussion surrounding the use of paid labour in agriculture. Concentrating on the sphere of economic exchange in which the agricultural production sector is engaged, and on changes in the degree of dependency of the agricultural producer on the metropolitan centres and on the State, will serve as a basis for discussing the effects of

⁴Or, put differently, that production is not organized along the same lines as it is in the industrial sectors.

the penetration of capitalism into Quebec agriculture.

It follows that if the economic situation of the contemporary farmer has deteriorated (the agricultural producer having lost much of his control over his economic activity) his use of paid labour will have also probably been affected. Except for a mainly descriptive look at paid agricultural labour in Quebec, in Diane Lessard's work "L'Agriculture et le Capitalisme au Québec", little has been written recently on this subject. Least of all, no attempts have been made to link developments related to the use of agricultural labour to events at the broader level of the general impact of the penetration of capitalism in agriculture. The two most comprehensive studies⁵ encountered in the review of the literature both date back to 1960 and are also mostly descriptive in nature. After reviewing the catalogue of the publications which emanate from the "Ministère de l'Agriculture du Québec", no publication related specifically to the study of agricultural labour was uncovered. This fact underlines the need for research in this area, even at the descriptive level. Also, by outlining and articulating the previously mentioned theoretical linkages, and then evaluating the crucial propositions which emerge, the product of this research

⁵ George V. Haythorne, "Labor in Canadian Agriculture", (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960) and Economics and Research Branch, Dept. of Labor, "Trends in the Agricultural Labour Force in Canada, from 1921 to 1959", Ottawa, August, 1960.

should contribute to the clarification and elaboration of the general Neo-Marxist theoretical framework to be presented in Chapters II and III.

One major issue to which this research will address itself concerns the question of : To what extent have capitalist relations of production directly penetrated agriculture? By focusing on the paid labour component of the agricultural labour force, we will be able to observe to what extent the agricultural producer exploits paid labour. This procedure will provide the most accurate measuring rod of the penetration of capitalist relations of production - not to be confused with the penetration of capitalism⁶ - into agriculture. As will be seen in the next chapter, B. Bernier has argued that the family farm still remains the major form of organization of agricultural production in Quebec. The analysis of the available data on the paid agricultural labour force will not only serve to evaluate the propositions put forward in Chapter IV, but will provide a more reliable statistical basis on which the role of the paid labour force in the organization of

⁶ It will be argued later that the penetration of capitalism into agriculture in Quebec, and in other contexts as well, has not taken the same form with respect to the penetration of capitalist relations of production as it has in most other sectors of the economy, due to the existence of certain obstacles unique to agricultural production. It is therefore necessary to clearly distinguish between these two terms. The 'penetration of capitalism into agriculture' refers to the seemingly unique and more indirect manner in which 'capital' has affected economic activity in the agricultural production sector. It is the penetration of capitalism 'in total', as opposed to the more limited concept of the infiltration of capitalist relations of production.

agricultural production can be more accurately pinpointed.

As seen earlier, the empirical focus of the research is aimed at obtaining a comprehensive picture of the latest developments with respect to the following three headings:

1. The composition of the agricultural labour force in Quebec
2. The temporal use of the paid agricultural labour force in Quebec and
3. The economic characteristics of the agricultural producers employing paid labour.

In the next few pages of this introduction the basis for the initial curiosity concerning the problem, and subsequently for the interest in the above mentioned areas, will be explored. As is often the case, this research was prompted partly by observations which, at first, seemed puzzling. A practical rationale also stimulated the interest in the area of the paid agricultural labour force.

Traditionally the term 'agricultural labour force' has been interpreted by the agricultural economist as consisting of three major elements, namely farm operators, unpaid family members and paid agricultural workers. As already noted, the focus of the empirical investigation will be on the paid labour component of the agricultural labour force. However, this does not mean to say that the other two components will be ignored, since developments with respect to anyone of the three elements can only be fully understood if viewed simultaneously with the developments pertaining to the other two.

As seen above, the rationale for focusing primarily on the paid labour component of the agricultural labour force is twofold. First, the most interesting and at first puzzling observations which emerged as a result of the initial readings and empirical research, left many questions unanswered. For example, Why has the absolute size of the paid year-round agricultural labour force in Quebec not decreased, while the number of farms and the acreage of improved land have decreased drastically? Is paid agricultural labour becoming generally less seasonal in character and, if so, why? Second, an association with a L.E.A.P. project (Local Employment Assistance Program) in Eastern Ontario which has, as its major objective, the integration of developmentally handicapped persons into employment situations that are 'typically rural', motivated the pursuit of this study for more practical reasons.

As just hinted, one unexpected observation was noted when reading "L'Agriculture et le Capitalisme au Québec" by Diane Lessard (1976). In a chapter devoted to the agricultural labour force, this author brings out the fact⁷

⁷ Actually Lessard does get somewhat mixed-up in her figures (interverting the 1961 and 1971 figures for year-round workers) and instead of showing an increase for the period 1961-71, the figures should have been showing a decrease (7,276 in 1961 to 6,184 in 1971). However, when viewed in relation to the large decrease in the number of farms for the same period and the fact that the 1976 census of agriculture shows a substantial increase in the number of year-round agricultural workers (6,184 to 6,678) which occurred simultaneously with again a large decrease in the number of farms, her inference was not, after all, without basis for validity.

that, despite the large decreases in the number of farms since 1961, the number of paid year-round agricultural workers has actually increased (see Table 1). In the light of the large decreases in the size of the agricultural labour force which have been recorded since the Second World War, this development was, at first, somewhat puzzling.

Lessard does not elaborate any comprehensive explanation of this phenomenon, and her treatment of paid labour is generally descriptive. She does not articulate the theoretical links which may have served to bridge the gap between her general theoretical perspective and the statistical observations that she noted. Why has the number of year-round agricultural workers not decreased to a more significant degree and actually shown an increase for the most recent period (1966-1976)? Why has this phenomenon occurred concurrently with an unprecedented decrease in the number of farms since 1956, and in the total acreage of improved land since 1961 (also see Table 1)?

These, and other related questions, should become clearer as the propositions put forward in Chapter IV are partly aimed at explicating this development as it occurred in Quebec and in other parts of Canada (for e.g., see Table 2, in the case of Ontario).

The fact that decreases in the acreage of improved land have occurred concurrently⁸ with decreases in the number

⁸The fact that in the case of Ontario a substantial increase in the total acreage of improved land was recorded for the

TABLE 1: Number of year-round agricultural workers, total acreage of improved land, number of farms* and average acreage of improved land per farm, Quebec, 1921-1976

Year	Number of year-round**agricultural workers	Number of farms	Total acr. of improved land	Average Acr. of impr.land per farm
1921	--	137,619	13,169,359	95.7
1931	--	135,957	13,272,986	97.6
1941	--	154,669	13,363,361	86.4
1951	--	134,336	12,693,250	94.5
1956	--	122,617	12,572,157	102.5
1961	7,276	95,777	12,032,924	125.6
1966	5,966	80,294	7,629,346	95.
1971	6,184	61,257	6,449,992	105.2
1976	6,678	51,587	5,548,374	107.5

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, Agriculture-Quebec, Catalogues:
 -96-535, Vol. V, Part 2, Bulletin 5.2-1, (1961)
 -96-706, Vol. IV, Part 2, Bulletin 4.2-1, (1971)
 -96-805, Bulletin 12-1, (1976)

* The definition of farm used in this table is that of the 1961 and 1971 census, i.e., 1 acre or more, with sales of agricultural products of \$50.00 or more (not in constant \$).

** Data is not available for the earlier census years and the absence of such an item in previous years may be an indication that paid year-round labour in agriculture constituted a proportionately less significant segment of the overall agricultural labour force.

TABLE 2: Number of year-round agricultural workers, total acreage of improved land, number of farms* and average acreage of improved land per farm in Ontario, 1921-1976

Year	Number of year-round**agricultural workers	Number of farms	Total acr. of improved land	Average acr. of impr. land per farm
1921	--	198,053	13,169,359	66.5
1931	--	192,174	13,272,986	69.1
1941	--	178,204	13,363,361	75.
1951	--	149,920	12,693,250	84.7
1956	--	140,602	12,572,157	89.4
1961	18,419	121,333	12,032,924	99.2
1966	14,339	109,887	10,761,916	97.9
1971	13,389	94,722	9,992,467	105.5
1976	14,470	88,801	10,707,799	120.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, Agriculture-Ontario; Catalogues:

- 96-536, Vol. V, Part 2, Bulletin 5.2-2 (1961)
- 96-707, Vol. IV, Part 2, Bulletin 4.2-2 (1971)
- 96-806, Bulletin 12-2, (1976)

* Same comment as in Table 1.

** Same comment as in Table 1

of farms argues against a simple consolidation approach to the above question. This approach would suggest that the increase in the number of paid year-round agricultural workers is attributable to the exploitation of larger spreads of farm land. But, as seen in Table 1, in the case of Quebec, not only has the number of farms dropped sharply, but so has the number of acres of improved land. Even though the consolidation of farm land is most probably one of the factors (but not the only one) behind the numerical stabilization of the paid year-round agricultural labour force (as reflected in the noticeable increase in the average acreage of improved land per farm in Quebec for the period 1966-1971 --95. to 105.2--) it will be argued that a more comprehensive explanation can be substantiated. This explanation takes into account developments in the spheres of relations between the agricultural producer and the other economic agents with which the farmer must interact.

The second puzzling development which was noted concerns the proportion of total paid labour (as measured by the total weeks paid) taken up by year-round employment. While carrying out research related to the numerical

period 1971-1976 (as reflected in a substantial increase in the average acreage of improved land per farm -- 105.5 for 1971 to 120.6 for 1976 --) would lead one to believe that the consolidation of farm land had a greater role to play in the maintenance of a relatively stable numerical composition of the paid year-round agricultural labour force for the concerned period than it is the case for Quebec.

composition of the paid agricultural labour force in the Eastern Ontario counties of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry, a very interesting observation emerged. As seen in Table 3, the proportion of total weeks of paid labour attributable to year-round employment rose by 16% from 1961 to 1971 (63.6% to 79.6%) to level off, in 1976, at 77.1%. Was this development unique to the agricultural structure of these three counties, or was it an indicator of a trend which was common to agriculture as a whole? And, if this development was not a localized phenomenon, what underlying structural changes related to agricultural production does it reflect?

The second section of the research addresses itself to these questions. The fact that the nature of the agricultural production in these three Eastern Ontario counties is quite similar to that found in the Province of Quebec (i.e., the great majority of production being dairy oriented) would lead one to expect the development in question to be occurring in the much larger universe of Quebec agriculture. This expectation is, of course, qualified by the assumption that the other important variables affecting the use of the paid labour input in agriculture (such as degree of mechanization and size of farm as measured by value of agricultural products sold) are also distributed in a proportionately similar fashion in both regions. Investigating the question at the provincial level will first serve to empirically verify whether a trend toward a larger proportion of paid year-

TABLE 3: Proportion of paid weeks of agricultural labour attributable to year-round workers (Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry, 1961-1976)

Year	Proportion of paid weeks attributable to year-round workers		Total number of paid weeks of labour	
1961	63.6%	(30,600)	100%	(48,076)
1971	79.6%	(24,450)	100%	(30,718)
1976	77.1%	(19,600)	100%	(25,427)

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, Agriculture-Ontario, Catalogues:

- 96-536, Vol. V, Part 2, Bulletin 5.2-2 (1961)
- 96-707, Vol. IV, Part 2, Bulletin 4.2-2 (1971)
- 96-806, Bulletin 12-2, (1976)

*The total weeks of paid agricultural labour attributable to year-round employment was calculated by multiplying the number of year-round workers by 50 (weeks).

round employment does exist in Quebec agriculture, as well as to determine the heuristic value of the theoretical framework which will be put forward in the following three chapters.

The third area on which the research will focus concerns the economic characteristics of the agricultural producers hiring paid agricultural labour. As will be elaborated in Chapter IV, certain changes in the economic characteristics (e.g., total capital value of farm, total value of agricultural products sold, number of year-round workers and acreage of improved land) are put forward as being associated with the maintenance of a relatively stable paid agricultural labour force. This segment of the research is crucial in so far as it complements the explanation of the observation noted earlier with respect to the number of paid year-round workers in agriculture.

Returning to the second aspect of the experience which sparked the initial curiosity in the problem (i.e., the relationship with the Work Team Services Project⁹) the basis for the interest is quite simple. As implied earlier, to vocationally train developmentally handicapped persons for agricultural and other jobs that are typically rural and, subsequently, to find these people employment in these

⁹ See Appendix A for a brief description of the Project (i.e., the official pamphlet put out by the Project).

sectors, are the two major mandates of this Project. This investigation of the use of paid agricultural labour is of great potential practical value, both in terms of the functioning of the project and with respect to the more general social policy issues related to services for the developmentally handicapped in agricultural regions. The empirical data presented in this study will provide persons responsible for the formulation of coherent social policy in the latter area with information that may guide them in the production of more responsive and progressive policy formulation. Since the developmentally handicapped segment of the population displays greater than average difficulty in adapting to the exigencies of the social milieu, they are more likely than not to be restricted in their possibilities for mobility which would provide them access to other geographic locations in which job opportunities may exist. In other words, developmentally handicapped persons are more likely to be trapped in their region of birth and hence suffer from the poor state of the local labour market wherever it exists. Thus, a secondary objective of this research will be to abstract, from what is generally put forward as a gloomy picture for labour in agriculture, the potential bright spots¹⁰ with respect to the integration of

¹⁰Analysing all the major factors which may affect the chances of a developmentally handicapped person securing employment in agriculture goes beyond the design of this study. For the purpose of this study, 'bright spots' should here be interpreted as the existence of job opportunities in agriculture. The identification of recent trends related to the employment situation

developmentally handicapped persons into the agricultural labour force.

The following two chapters will involve an elaboration of a theoretical perspective through which the effects of the penetration of capitalism in agriculture upon the overall life conditions of the contemporary farmer will be viewed. Chapter II will comprise a discussion of how the concerned topic has been treated in the literature. This will include a brief discussion of certain obstacles to the development of capitalist relations of production which are inherent to agricultural production and which appear to set the agricultural sector apart from most other production categories in a modern industrialized context. In Chapter III, the focus will shift to how these theoretical perspectives can be integrated in order to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of the general situation in which the agricultural producer finds himself today in Quebec. To this end, the notions of 'exchange' and 'dependence' will be introduced to conceptually clarify the theoretical discussion of the effects of the capitalist intervention into agriculture. As an illustration of the heuristic value of introducing the concept of dependence, the discussion will turn to the work of Karl Kautsky

in agriculture constitutes the first step in determining the potential for employment of the developmentally handicapped population in agriculture. A discussion of some of the factors affecting the integration of developmentally handicapped persons into agricultural employment may be found in the conclusion of this study. However, it is

entitled "La Question Agraire", in which he outlines the origins and development of the dependence of the agricultural producer. Chapter III will conclude by describing the present dilemma in which the agricultural producer finds himself; with a special emphasis being placed on the notion of the 'cost-price squeeze' which is at the source of much of his economic ills. This concept refers to a constellation of factors which are related to the unprecedented degree to which today's agricultural producer is dependent on corporate interests and on the state.

Chapter IV will bring the theoretical discussion to its lowest level of abstraction, namely the effects of the contemporary farmer's economic situation on his use of paid agricultural labour. Four propositions will be put forward and these will be evaluated in the empirical research.

Chapter V consists of a discussion of the methodology adopted in the light of the concerned research problem and the rationale for using secondary analysis is made explicit. The advantages and disadvantages of using census data and labour force statistics are explored.

brought-in to help clarify issues related to policy formulation in the area of services for the developmentally handicapped in rural areas and should not be seen as a comprehensive enumeration and weighed analysis of all the major factors which could potentially come into play vis-à-vis the employment of the concerned population in agriculture.

Finally the four propositions put forward in Chapter IV are operationalized in harmony with the data which is available for analysis.

Chapter VI involves the presentation and analysis of the data put forward in order to evaluate the propositions in Chapter IV.

Finally, in Chapter VII, the conclusions are discussed and a special focus is placed on the relevance of the research findings for the formulation of social policy related to the employment of developmentally handicapped persons in agricultural areas.

CHAPTER II

MARXIST AND NEO-MARXIST PERSPECTIVES ON THE EFFECTS OF THE PENETRATION OF CAPITALISM INTO THE AGRICULTURAL MILIEU

In this Chapter, key arguments from the work of Marx, Lenin, Kautsky, Mitchell, Hedley, Bernier and Stavenhagen, concerning the effects of the penetration of capitalism into agriculture upon the relations of production within that sector, and the general economic situation of the independent commodity (farm) producer, will be outlined. The discussion will set the groundwork for the more comprehensive treatment of the subject matter in Chapter III. In keeping with the fundamental tenets of this perspective, the focus has been on the ownership and control of the means of production and the relations of production which ensue. The fundamental question which is being asked is: How have these factors in the agricultural context been affected by the growth of capitalism?

Perhaps a good starting point in approaching Marx's work on this question is his concept of "primary accumulation":

...it signifies nothing other than the expropriation of the immediate producers, this is the end of private property based upon the labour of

its owner...the transformation of the individual and scattered means of production into socially concentrated means of production, the transformation of the pigmy property of the many into the titan property of the few, the expropriation of the great masses of the people from the land, from the means of subsistence, and from the instruments of labour- this terrible and grievous expropriation of the populace - comprises the prelude to the history of capital... 1

Generally speaking, for Marx, the consequences of this primary accumulation were the formation of industrial cities, the commercialization of agriculture, the growing division of labour between industry and agriculture and the formation of the capitalist market.² These were necessary prerequisites for the transition from feudalism to capitalism. The opposition between town and country is the first stage in the emergence of classes in this transition:

The division of labour inside a nation leads at first to the separation of industrial and commercial from agricultural labour, and hence to the separation of town and country and to the conflict of their interests. Its further development leads to the separation of commercial from industrial labour. At the same time, through the division of labour inside these various branches, there develop various divisions among the individuals co-operating in definite kinds of labour. 3

But Marx did not suggest that the development of these divisions would necessarily be similar in both industrial

¹ Karl Marx, "Capital," Vol. 1, (London: Everyman, 1972), p. 844-855

² Enzo Mingione, "Territorial Division of Labour and Capitalist Development" Current Sociology, Volume 22, 1974.

³ Karl Marx, "The German Ideology", Part I, (New York: International Publishers), p. 43

centers and the countryside. As Mingione points out:

...for Marx, primary accumulation is a total socio-economic process taking place outside the economic laws of capital which will later regulate its reproduction. In view of this, one ought not to reduce the process to a mere economic mechanism or even a generic historical evolution. Although Marx only focused on the specific forms in which primary accumulation presented itself in England, he did not exclude the possibility of several variants occurring in other countries. 4

Thus, for Marx, primary accumulation does not necessarily imply that the great majority of people remaining in the countryside become proletarian, as was the case with the peasants who emigrated to the urban centers. The principles delineated in "Capital", which describe the polarization of the urban population into two conflicting classes, should not be seen as being automatically paralleled in the countryside. Perhaps, not realizing to what extent his views were compatible with those of Marx in this regard, Kautsky rightfully points out:

The tendencies of social evolution, as well as those of the evolution of agriculture, are in most civilized countries essentially alike, but the specific state of affairs which these tendencies have created are extremely different in the various countries and even in the various parts of a given country, due to differences in geographical situation, climate, soil conditions, past history, etc... 5

Turning to Marx's analysis of British agriculture

⁴ Enzo Mingione, *Ibid*, p. 228

⁵ K. Kautsky, "La Question Agraire", (Paris: V. Giard & E. Brière, 1900), p. v.

it is easy to see how one could interpret this author as believing that capitalism in agriculture would necessarily develop along lines similar to those in other sectors of the economy. If one took his empirical investigation of British agriculture as an indicator that Marx believed similar economic processes as the ones described in "Capital" were at work in both industry and agriculture, one would expect the eventual disappearance of the independent commodity producer in agriculture (or the traditional family oriented organization of production).

Marx argued that this family form of production organization employed little or no paid agricultural labour. British agricultural development, from the 14th Century on, was initially affected by the "expropriation of peasants from communal land and individual plots."⁶ This resulted in the creation of a landed aristocracy, which with time, according to Marx, appropriated surplus-value from "the farmer proper who makes his own capital breed by employing wage-labourers, and pays part of the surplus-product, in money or in kind to the landlords rents".⁷ Thus, one finds that the British case comprises a three-fold class model (a landed aristocracy, capitalist farmers and wage labourers) which has been described as what

⁶ B. Bernier, "The Penetration of Capitalism in Quebec Agriculture," Canadian review of Sociology and Anthropology, 13 (4) 1976

⁷ Karl Marx, "Capital", Vol.1, (Moscow:Progress Publishers, 1974), p. 694

Marx saw as "typical of capitalist development and as the model which would eventually and rapidly prevail in other capitalist countries".⁸ Yet, as Marx was well aware, eventually in Britain the relationship between the capitalist farmer and the landed aristocracy was to be altered significantly by certain historical developments. These were the fall in the value of precious metals, the rise in price of farm products and, finally, the contractual agreement with the landlords. The first two developments "swelled the money capital of the farmers"⁹ and, in effect, this basically removed from them the burden of the appropriation by the landlords of the part of the surplus-product because, as pointed out, rents were paid on the basis of the old value of the money. If these factors aided in the development of capitalist farming, as Marx states, then it is obvious that, in the end, the relationship between the capitalist farmer and the landed aristocracy was radically altered. Although in "Capital" Marx does not elaborate upon the effects of these historical developments on the class model, some speculation leads one to conclude that the conditions were ripe for the capitalist farmer to buy the land from the landed aristocracy and, thus, Marx's three-fold class model would be reduced to two, the capitalist farmer and wage labour. For Marx, only one type of farm, in terms of size --physical

⁸ Bernier, Ibid., p. 423. However, Bernier, unlike other Neo-Marxist writers, does qualify this statement in a manner that is consistent with the interpretation of Marx found in this thesis.

⁹ Marx, Ibid., p. 695.

size-- will be able to survive in such a situation, that is the large farm. With the introduction of machinery, Marx expected a decrease in the number of smaller scale farmers, because "greater outlays of capital per acre and, as a consequence, more rapid concentration of farms, were essential conditions of this new method".¹⁰ With respect to the small farms (which in Ireland at the time were more or less 100 acres) he is quite explicit as to their fate: "crushed one after the other...crushed by the competition of an agriculture managed by capital".¹¹ Thus, one sees that, for Marx, the essential characteristics of capitalistic farming, as it developed in Britain, were large farms controlled and owned by capitalist farmers employing wage labourers working within a money-credit economy.

However, this is not the only agricultural production system affected by capitalism which was examined by Marx. As Bernier ¹² points out, in "The 18th. Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" Marx describes the existence of an independent commodity producer who "was increasingly controlled by the bourgeoisie through mortgage, loans and the sale of agricultural products".¹³ As will be elaborated in greater detail in the latter part of chapter 11, the dependence of the contemporary Quebecois farmer in these

¹⁰ Marx, Ibid, p. 634

¹¹ Marx, Ibid, p. 659

¹² Bernier, Ibid, p. 423-424

¹³ Bernier, Ibid, p. 423

two spheres of interaction has grown to unprecedented heights. Thus, even though Marx did, to a certain extent, analyse and describe the loss of control which was exercised by the independent commodity (farm) producer, he seems to have believed that their fate with regard to the British context would be the same as the artisan's, in the industrial context, forced into the working class by the economic superiority of large capitalist enterprises.

With the introduction of machinery and the development of an agriculture managed by capital, Marx expected the number of farms to decrease and, as a result of concentration of farm land, the size of farms to increase. For Lenin, these particular aspects of British agriculture, when applied to American agriculture, were not particularly good indicators of capitalist agriculture. From Lenin's perspective, wage labour, like in Marx, is an indicator of capitalist agriculture,¹⁴ along with such indicators as increased capital investment in terms of both machinery and wages to labour.¹⁵ Yet, in this particular study by Lenin, there is one indicator, which although dealt with by Marx,¹⁶ leads Lenin to different conclusions about the nature and development of capitalist farms. This indicator is the intensity of productivity (value of product over area of improved land) of farming.¹⁷

¹⁴ V.I. Lenin "New data on the Law of the development of capitalism in agriculture", Selected Works, Vol. 12, 1943

¹⁵ Lenin, *Ibid*, p. 220-222

¹⁶ Marx, "Capital", *Ibid*, p. 632-634

¹⁷ Lenin, *Ibid*, p. 220

Thus, for Lenin, capitalism is seen to be developing along two lines: one being compatible with Marx's views that there will be an increase in farms, along the old technical basis, and the other being the "creation of new farms, particularly commercial farms, small and very small in area, producing special commercial crops, farms which are distinguished for their extremely large scale of production and the employment of hired labour on very small areas of land."¹⁸ Here one sees that, for Lenin, the development of the small specialized farm is consistent with capitalist agriculture, because farms, small in area, may not necessarily be small in other terms:

Small farms, while still remaining small as regards area, are being converted into big farms as regards scale of production, the development of livestock farming, the quantity of fertilizer used, the extent to which machinery is employed, etc. ¹⁹

These farms will survive because the "main trend of capitalism is the elimination of small production by large-scale production, both in industry and agriculture".²⁰ Therefore, in Lenin's model of capitalist development of the agricultural sector, one finds the disappearance of the small farmer in terms of the scale of production and the creation of highly intensive commercial farms which are more capitalistic than the larger farms. In the process, the farmer will become "a commodity producer, whether he wishes

¹⁸ Lenin, Ibid, p. 235

¹⁹ Lenin, Ibid, p. 247

²⁰ Lenin, Ibid, p. 248

to or not, whether he is aware of it or not..."²¹

The main theoretical contribution advanced by Lenin is that the intensity of production, rather than merely the size of the farm, should be seen as the key variable in an assessment of the degree to which agricultural production has been influenced by the exigencies of the capitalist market place. Lenin implies that the objective of achieving a high rate of productivity (which is related to the question of the size of farms) may impede the extent to which capitalist relations of production develop in agriculture. In contrast to other sectors, where the small entrepreneurs and artisans are more likely to succumb to the more competitive position of the larger scale capitalist enterprises, and where the polarization of labour and capital is more pronounced, the survival of the small acreage, highly intensive farm operation in agriculture, will result in a less pronounced labour/capital split with regard to the organization of the relations of production.

Karl Kautsky has provided an elaboration of some of the arguments implicit in Lenin's work, as well as articulating the nature of other obstacles to the development of capitalist relations of production inherent in agriculture. As hinted earlier, Kautsky viewed Marx as applying, without reservation, his economic theory of "Capital" to the agricultural sector. He notes:

²¹ Lenin, Ibid, p. 275

As far as I can judge, Marx's deductions cannot be transported as such in the agricultural domain. On questions related to agriculture, he sometimes expresses thoughts of great value, but his evolutionary theory, which presupposes the growth of large scale exploitation, the proletarianization of the masses, and which deduces from this evolution, as necessary, socialism, this theory becomes clear only when considering industrial evolution. 22

Little has been said in the contemporary literature about what makes agricultural exploitation structurally incongruous to industrial enterprise. The following arguments put forth by Kautsky should serve to enlighten the question of why the composition of the agricultural labour force presents a vivid contrast to that found in most other economic sectors. These arguments are also relevant to a discussion regarding the future of the organization of agricultural production.

For Kautsky there are more obstacles to overcome in agriculture than in industry with regard to the use of machinery.²³ First, there is the problem of an artificial vs. a natural environment. The factory environment is molded to fit the exigencies of the machine. However, in agriculture the machine must be adapted to nature and this is difficult as it often presents a technical obstacle. Second, in agriculture, machines are used part of the year, as compared to the whole year in industry. This is due to climatic conditions (the number of crops that can be

²² Karl Kautsky, *Ibid*, p. 5

²³ This discussion of machinery is a summary of the arguments found in Kautsky's previously cited work and more specifically in Section c), "La Machine dans l'Agriculture" of Chapter IV, pp 55-71.

harvested each year) and to the temporally spaced stages of agricultural production (tillering, seeding, harvesting, etc.). Thus, the savings in manpower are smaller in agriculture, all things being equal. The cost of the machinery must be weighed against man-hours saved in agricultural production, and this represents an economic obstacle. Third, Kautsky argues that agricultural labour has usually been relatively cheaper than industrial labour, and this still holds true today. The lower the salaries, the less the wish to introduce machinery, since the entrepreneur wishes to save money paid out in salaries and not merely man-hours. Fourth, machinery in industry usually requires no more specialized workers than the ones found in the factory or craft. Working all year with a particular machine, a worker becomes proficient in serving it as, for example, Adam Smith,²⁴ Marx and De Tocqueville²⁵ have pointed out. On the other hand, in agriculture, machines are often more complicated and require greater knowledge to service. But there are generally less opportunities for education in the country and the agricultural worker does not become as proficient with any particular farm machinery due to the seasonal nature of agricultural production. It follows from the above that, with the increased use of more complex

²⁴ Adam Smith, "Wealth of Nations", (New York: Penguin Books, 1977)

²⁵ Alexis De Tocqueville, "Democracy in America", Volume 2, (New York: Random House Inc., 1945)

machinery, recruitment of agricultural workers possessing the specialized knowledge can become a serious problem. Fifth, Kautsky maintains that for farm enterprises, being often far away from transportation links and from machinery factories, it is more difficult and more costly than for industrial enterprises to procure machines and to service breakdowns.

The next set of obstacles raised by Kautsky concerns the limitations of land²⁶. He argues that, in industry, the means of production can be multiplied almost at will, whereas in agriculture the essential productive force, land, has in given conditions a given area and cannot be increased at will. However, one must admit that, since Kautsky's time, there has been a striking increase in the productivity of land due to scientific breakthroughs in fertilizer, pesticide and other crop planning areas and acreage of improved land represents less problems in terms of increasing yields than it has in the past.

In contrast to accumulation and centralization of capital in industry, according to Kautsky, all the land that can be acquired for agricultural production has a minimum dimension which is unworthy of being compared to the amounts accumulated by the capitalist class in industry. In agriculture the enlargement of the estate can only be

²⁶ Karl Kautsky, *Ibid.*, summary of argument in Section c), "La limitation du Sol", pp 216-219 of Chapter VII, "Les limites de l'exploitation capitaliste"

achieved by uniting several plots into one. In industry, accumulation usually precedes centralization and can be achieved independently of centralization (i.e., by uniting different small capitals into a large one). In agriculture, Kautsky argues, this 'law' does not apply and centralization must occur before accumulation can result. In industry the suppression of smaller scale business is the consequence and not the a priori condition of the formation of a large industrial enterprise, like it is in agriculture:

...wherever land is split into private plots and where small ownership dominates, land cannot be acquired by large scale enterprise other than by centralization of a few small properties. The disappearance of several small farm enterprises is the prerequisite condition necessary for the formation of a large enterprise. But this is not the only condition; they have to form a continuous surface, so that from their reunion a large exploitation is born. 27

...this private ownership of land in agriculture is thus a powerful obstacle to the development of large scale exploitation as powerful as it may be, an obstacle that industry does not have to cope with. 28

Kautsky then goes on to argue, like Lenin, that the large scale exploitation is not necessarily the most profitable and that there is an "ideal size" ²⁹ for a farm enterprise. In industry, generally speaking, large scale exploitation is superior to small scale. In industry, however, there are also

27 Karl Kautsky, Ibid, p. 217

28 Karl Kautsky, Ibid.

29 Karl Kautsky, Ibid, summary of argument in Section d), "La grande exploitation n'est pas nécessairement la meilleure", Chapter VII, pp 219-227

limits to size of an enterprise which, if exceeded, will cause it to become non productive; but in agriculture, the size limitation is of a far greater importance:

The enlargement of any industrial enterprise represents a concentration of productive forces with all its ensuing advantages: the saving of time, costs, material, supervision, etc. In agriculture this is true up to a certain point. In contrast, in agriculture, each increase in size amounts to a considerable increase of the surface of exploited land and, as a consequence, produces a greater loss of material, a greater expense in effort, means and time for transportation of the workers and tools...³⁰

In agriculture, by contrast to industry, the value of material transported is less, generally, relative to their weight and volume (e.g., fertilizers, hay and other feed). The larger the property, the more supervision of isolated workers is difficult. Also, in agriculture, the methods of transportation are usually more primitive than in industry. The advantages of large scale exploitation compensate for the disadvantages of distance, but after a certain size limit the advantages decrease. Thus, Kautsky argues, there is an ideal size, all factors being equal, which differs according to the nature and quality of the soil, the type of farming and the degree of mechanization:

We can say generally that the maximum spread of a property [the ideal size] beyond which the advantages decrease [advantages of large scale farm exploitation] diminishes as production becomes more intensive, i.e., as there is more capital engaged. The more intensive the exploitation, the smaller the land will have to be for a given capital. ³¹

³⁰ Kautsky, Ibid, p. 219

³¹ Kautsky, Ibid, p. 221

The final obstacle mentioned by Kautsky concerns the manpower shortage.³² Large scale ideal size enterprises cannot be exploited without an adequate supply of agricultural workers. Kautsky foresees that, with technological progress, the need for labour should decrease and that conceivably labour shortages will become less of an obstacle to the development of capitalist agriculture. Also, as seen earlier in relation to machinery, the shortage problem will also depend on the skill level of the available labour. But, until a high degree of technical sophistication is reached, the availability of labour will have an important part to play in determining the extent to which capitalist agricultural production will infiltrate into the countryside. It is mainly the small farms that provide the manpower for the large output farm enterprises, either in the form of small farmers who require work, or in the form of the sons and daughters of these small farmers who have been forced off the land:

The production of this agricultural reserve labour force decreases wherever large scale production is replacing small scale exploitation. By evicting independent commodity producers, large scale exploitation increases its acreage, but decreases the number of persons who work the land. 33

Kautsky argues that even where large scale farm enterprise has tried to expropriate the peasant owners, there are

³² Karl Kautsky, Ibid, Summary of argument in Section f), "Le manque de bras", Chapter VII, p. 236-250

³³ Karl Kautsky, Ibid, p. 242

always a few who manage to settle down in the vicinity. This reflects the mechanism whereby large scale exploitation, although it is substantially technologically superior, sooner or later fails as a viable enterprise without an adequate supply of labour. Kautsky sees the key to the evolution of agricultural production in the growth of what he terms the Latifundia³⁴ i.e., large ideal size exploitations cultivated by agricultural workers for the benefit of an absentee owner. He believes that it is through this form, and not through the extension ad infinitum of individual properties, that modern capitalist agriculture will develop and that this form has no more limits than the centralization of capital. This leads the way to the most perfect kind of production that modern agriculture is capable of i.e., the individual ownership of several farm enterprises, which results eventually in their fusion into a unique organization, in a methodical division of labour and cooperation between the various farm enterprises. According to Kautsky,³⁵ the advantages of the Latifundium lie in the centralization of management i.e., in the combined organization of various services. Hence, in the interest of production, a more rational use is made of the diversity of the various lands,

³⁴ Karl Kautsky, *Ibid.*, summary of argument in Section e) "Le Latifundium", Chapter VII, pp 227-236

³⁵ Kautsky had much more to say on the question of the impact of capitalism on agriculture, a discussion of which, however, is reported in the next chapter as his analysis seems to integrate and expand on many of the ideas put forth in this review of the literature.

climates and resources of the properties. However, as will be seen later in this literature review, the penetration of capitalism in Quebec agriculture has not taken this route to any considerable extent.

So far, the related perspectives of three of the most prominent radical thinkers of the 19th and early 20th centuries have been presented. The works of the next three authors to be examined take, as their context, agriculture in the Canadian Prairies (Mitchell and Hedley) and in Quebec (Bernier).

Don Mitchell's starting point in his discussion of the penetration of capitalism into Canadian agriculture is the identification of "the central dynamic of change".³⁶ This is the cost-price squeeze which results from the inflationary land prices produced by speculation on land and the Canadian land tenure system,³⁷ from "the existence of oligopolies with power to regulate prices and markets"³⁸ and from the fact that "farm product prices are deliberately depressed by both public and private agencies"³⁹. The cost-price squeeze, according to Mitchell, has radically altered the Canadian agricultural production

³⁶D. Mitchell, M.A. Thesis, "Oligopoly and the cost-price Squeeze; Assessing the causes and effects of rural Decline", unpublished MA Thesis, (Regina: University of Saskatchewan, 1973), p. 11

³⁷D. Mitchell, "The Politics of Food", (Toronto: James & Co., 1975), pp 18-28

³⁸D. Mitchell, MA Thesis, p. 61

³⁹D. Mitchell, MA Thesis, p. 76

system in Western Canada.

The traditional farmer, who "operates as an independent capitalist-producer, usually owning his own land and equipment and providing most of the labour himself"⁴⁰ is a rapidly disappearing breed in Canadian agriculture. Mitchell argues that the traditional independent commodity producer is being replaced by the development of four specific types of farms. First, there is the corporate farm which hires wage labourers and is not owned by individual capitalist farmers. As Marx would certainly agree, these farms represent the complete penetration of capitalism into the agricultural sector. Although they represent only a small proportion of the total number of Canadian farms, Mitchell asserts that there is a trend in this direction which, although small, is "significant"⁴¹. The next three types of farms represent basically the changes in the organization of production which have ensued in Western Canada as a result of the cost-price squeeze. Having to face production costs which were rising faster than returns on their produce, one group of farmers (who, according to Mitchell are in the majority) tried to achieve higher incomes by increasing the volume of output in whatever commodity they were engaged in. This meant the purchase of more land, machinery, fertilizers, etc.

⁴⁰ Mitchell, "The Politics of Food", *ibid.*, p. 11.

⁴¹ Mitchell, *Ibid.*, p. 11

"They became the high risk entrepreneurs who would exchange debts for capital, equipment and land on the gamble that the productivity advantages would pay dividends".⁴² This group is, in turn, divided into two other sub-groups, the medium and large farmers, who are defined in terms of their relations of production:

Middle farmers are expanding incomes through greater use of technology and land, generally work independently without hired farm labour and without themselves being engaged in off-farm work; the larger individual and corporate farms are expanding employment of both technology and labour and control an increasing proportion of overall resources. 43

To put it plainly, "They are becoming bosses over wage-labour in addition to, or instead of, their traditional role as independent producer".⁴⁴ The other group of farmers, created in response to the cost-price squeeze, were those who:

"tried to avoid the pressure of rising costs by maintaining a small land base. They scrupulously avoided cost outlays for land, buildings and machinery. They tried to offset declining net incomes by making their farms more labour intensive and self sufficient....by keeping a small number of pigs... and, when possible, engaging in off-farm work."⁴⁵

Mitchell chooses not to compare this last category of farmers with the others in terms of similarities, but rather chooses to see these small farmers as having "increasingly

⁴² Mitchell, "The Politics of Food", Ibid, p. 19

⁴³ Mitchell, Ibid, p. 26

⁴⁴ Mitchell, Ibid, p. 26

⁴⁵ Mitchell, Ibid, p. 19

more in common with non farm industrial workers than with their large farm neighbours".⁴⁶ They also have, for Mitchell, "much in common" with the growing number of skilled farm workers who are working for wages for larger farms or farm corporations".⁴⁷ Changing relations of production are occurring in Western Canada and this is indicated by the development of capitalist and 'semi-capitalist' relations of production, as reflected in the development of corporate and large farms, through the employment of wage labour and capital intensive farming methods. However, for Mitchell, the impact of the penetration of capitalism into agriculture is not limited to changes in the relations of production. This can be seen by the fact that, in Mitchell's model, the middle size farmer is not a capitalist farmer. Yet, his coming into existence marks the adoption of an economic strategy of expansion in view of the cost-price squeeze. Organizational change has occurred, and by this is meant "changes in the organization of production which occur within the framework of the independent commodity form of productive relationship"⁴⁸ i.e., changes from labour intensive farming to capital intensive farming. Concerning the third group of farmers in Mitchell's model i.e., the small farmer, changes are also occurring on the level of the relations of production and they are becoming, to a large degree, wage labourers.

⁴⁶ Mitchell, Ibid, p. 26

⁴⁷ Mitchell, Ibid, p. 26

⁴⁸ M.J. Hedley, "Independent Commodity Production and the Dynamics of Tradition", Can.Rev. of Soc. and Anthr., 13 (4), 1976

Like Mitchell, Max Hedley sees the independent commodity producer faced with the problem of continuous declining income as a result of the cost-price squeeze. As a consequence the producer is forced into making continuous changes in the organization of production if he is to remain in farming. As will be seen in Chapter IV, the nature of the various economic strategies which are adopted by the agricultural producers caught in the cost-price squeeze is very relevant to any discussion of the use of paid labour in agriculture today. This Chapter will include a discussion of the range of the various economic strategies adopted by the farmer and their implications for the use of paid agricultural labour.

According to Mitchell, the resulting organizational change implies the necessity of the transformation from labour intensive to capital intensive farming and a need "to continuously modernize the technology of production".⁴⁹ For Hedley, however, the organizational changes related to production, brought on by the cost-price squeeze, may also take on a non-expansionist nature in terms of continuously modernizing the technology of production and of becoming more capital intensive. Yet, they may still be considered as rational strategies in view of the goal of staying in farming. Hedley came to this conclusion in an article,

49

Hedley, Ibid, p. 416

entitled "Independent Commodity Production and the Dynamics of Tradition"⁵⁰ in which he argues against the tendency to interpret the presence of seemingly backward farm practices as resulting from the persistence of traditional attitudes and values:

Farm producers in Western Canada do not fit the classical acculturation model or the model of an isolated reality, in that historically they came into existence as part of the frontier of an expanding capitalist society. They were the agents of the colonizing society. However, attempts to analyse the small-farm problem tend to adopt the perspective of normative dualism in that small producers are treated as being "backward" and isolated from a more progressive sector and their difficulties are considered to be a product of their own perversity.⁵¹

In contrast, Hedley suggests that what may appear to be backward farm practices are not necessarily reflections of outmoded values and attitudes. Rather, he maintains that the persistence of these apparently backward practices is the result of the response of producers to evolving conditions of production.⁵² Thus, for Hedley, the exchange system within the capitalist market framework plays a crucial role in the persistence of these seemingly traditional farming strategies:

Direction is imposed on the process of change through the dynamics of inter and intra-class interaction, which is mediated through the process of exchange. The outcome of exchange is fundamental for, upon it rests the ability of farm households to renew or expand the means of production.⁵³

⁵⁰ Hedley, Ibid.

⁵¹ Hedley, Ibid, P. 413

⁵² Hedley, Ibid, p. 415

⁵³ Hedley, Ibid, p. 416

Given the presence of oligopolies in both the agricultural input sector and the food-processing and retail sectors, Hedley, like Mitchell, argues that the independent commodity producer is in a weak bargaining position vis-à-vis the sale of his produce and the acquisition of farm input products. But, whereas Mitchell seems to imply that the path of survival is toward becoming more specialized and more capital intensive, (and hence a greater indebtedness) Hedley sees the independent commodity producers in his study as adopting strategies which range between, on the one hand the risks of greater capitalization and specialization and, on the other hand, the certain doom of maintaining a low productivity farm enterprise. Implicit in Hedley's description of the organizational changes of agricultural production is that farmers in his study view the legal ownership of the means of production and a large mortgage and capital debt as incompatible. As he states:

All producers are clearly aware of the necessity of continually increasing output and productivity to maintain or increase their income. Conversely they recognize that the growing specialization that is entailed heightens their vulnerability to rapid loss of ownership of the means of production. It is therefore not surprising to find that all Rossan producers still attempt to maintain some protective diversity while progressively becoming more specialized. In other words, current attempts to maintain a diversified operation as well as the

development of more specialized farms are a direct response to the social conditions of production. 54

Hedley's independent commodity producers are juxtaposed somewhere between Mitchell's medium and small farmers. They have chosen, or rather have been forced, to increase their productivity and output of their labour through increased capital intensive farming, but they have chosen to do so slowly "while reducing the risk of rapid loss of ownership of the means of production"⁵⁵. Under such conditions, expansion is slow and can be quite easily undermined as it "takes very little to turn a small surplus into a deficit".⁵⁶ It is indeed questionable as to whether any of the independent commodity producers in Hedley's study will achieve the status of the middle size farmer as characterized by Mitchell. Their response to the cost-price squeeze has put them in a situation where they are faced with low savings and are therefore frequently obliged to cut back on personal and productive consumption or to engage in wage labour. In doing so, they threaten to undermine the viability of their enterprises. "For the smallest producers, the future is sealed because the cumulative effect of these practices places the renewal of capital beyond their immediate resources."⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Hedley, Ibid, p. 418
⁵⁵ Hedley, Ibid, p. 417
⁵⁶ Hedley, Ibid, p. 418
⁵⁷ Hedley, Ibid, p. 419

From the above discussion certain features of Western Canadian agriculture have become clear. Both Mitchell and Hedley see that farmers who adopt wage labour as a means of earning additional income are a step away from:

...total alienation from the means of production. Individual producers will undoubtedly survive for the duration of their productive life, but the opportunity of financing a new generation of producers by this adaptation seems to be practically absent. 58

In Mitchell's model this would leave only the middle size farmer as an independent commodity producer, and his future in this context is vague. He may be unable to reproduce himself as a class, or may rely upon wage labour as he becomes increasingly capital intensive. For Hedley, the future is clearer, it will become increasingly difficult for the "independent commodity form of productive relations, with its limited supply of labour, to provide access to the steadily increasing capital requirement of agricultural production".⁵⁹ Therefore, if one accepts Mitchell's and Hedley's positions, the future holds, at best, a decreasing rôle for the independent commodity producer in Canadian agriculture. The question now at hand is: What changes in terms of relations and organization of production have occurred in the Quebec agricultural sector?

Assuming that the arguments put forward by Mitchell and Hedley, pertaining to the effect of the cost-price

⁵⁸ Hedley, Ibid, p. 419

⁵⁹ Hedley, Ibid, p. 419

squeeze upon the independent commodity producer have heuristic value in the Quebec context, we would expect to find that in Quebec the independent commodity producer is also being forced into organizational changes in order to survive. Therefore, in order to maintain or increase his income, the Quebec farmer will be forced to increase the productivity of his enterprise and, as will be argued in Chapter IV, this will involve, in certain instances, increasing the use of the paid labour input.

B. Bernier, in his article "The Penetration of Capitalism in Quebec Agriculture" argues that, up to this point in time, capitalist relations of production have not developed to any considerable degree in Quebec:

In fact, with the exception of a small number of very large farms where one can find the use of fulltime agricultural workers, the great majority of Quebec farms are still of the family type, although some hire wage labour occasionally or at harvest time. Thus, family farming is still the dominant form in agriculture. But, as the rates of dispossession and indebtedness show, this type of agricultural venture meets with increasing difficulty. 60

Even though Bernier did not have access to the 1976 census related to agriculture in Quebec, his argument concerning the overwhelming incidence of family farm ownership is well founded. The vast majority of farms are still family farms. According to the 1976 census of agriculture for Quebec (Catalogue 96-805, Bulletin 12-1, Table 32-1) only 184 or

⁶⁰B. Bernier, "The Penetration of Capitalism in Quebec Agriculture", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 13 (4), 1976, p. 431.

0.43% of the 43,097 census farms were legally constituted companies, other than family farm corporations. This table (the first time the data has been made available in the census publication) also shows that 40,800, or 94.7% of the 43,097 census farms are individually or familially owned, 887, or 2.05% are partnerships and, 1,138, or 2.6% are family corporations.

Bernier argues that the development of capitalist relations of production, to any significant degree, cannot be expected in Quebec agriculture, due to various factors such as soil, climate, the existence of capitalist agriculture in Ontario and the U.S.A., and low return on capital investment.⁶¹ Yet, data seems to indicate that the blockage of the growth of capitalist relations of production is not as complete as perhaps Bernier would have liked us to believe. For example, one indicator of the development of capitalist relations of production is the fact that, in 1976, 3804 farms reported, on the average, 1.76 year-round paid workers per farm. This figure, although a small proportion of the total number of farms in the province, (8.8%) is not insignificant, as can be seen by the fact that they are concentrated in some counties. For example, in Brome, Huntington and Lac St. Jean Est, the percentage of farms reporting year-round wage labourers is 17.3%, 21.5% and 17.0% respectively. The empirical research

⁶¹ However, Bernier and other Quebecois authors who have adopted the Neo-Marxist approach to the study of Québec agriculture, such as Lessard (work stated earlier) and Bergeron (work to be cited later on in Chapter III) do

undertaken in this thesis, focusing on the use of paid agricultural labour by farmers in Quebec, should provide more complete data in the light of which Bernier's argument may be assessed.

Bernier seems to be in full agreement with Mitchell and Hedley as to the effects which the cost-price squeeze have had on the independent commodity production structure of Quebec agriculture. In keeping with the Marxist conceptual framework, Bernier argues that the surplus value which is created in the production process, through the labour of the independent commodity producer and that of his family, is being absorbed by the corporate interests which dominate the agricultural input and food wholesale and retail sectors and, to a certain extent, by the State. By an adaptation of economic strategy, Bernier argues that the traditional family oriented organization of production appears to be surviving. But the crucial question which he raises is: For how long?

The last author to be discussed in this section,
62
Rudolpho Stavenhagen, reflects a somewhat different approach to the question of the effects of the infiltration of

not seem to clearly identify the nature of the obstacles faced by the capitalist mode of production with respect to agricultural production.

62

Rudolpho Stavenhagen, "Social Classes in Agrarian Societies", (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, 1975)

capitalism into agriculture. He writes in the tradition of Frank and other theorists utilizing the Metropolis-Hinterland (or Center-Periphery) approach to the issue of underdevelopment. This analysis extends the discussion beyond national boundaries. Agrarian regions, in underdeveloped countries, are portrayed as being exploited by urban-based metropolitan satellites within the underdeveloped country, which in turn are being drained of much of their wealth by the metropolitan centers. Broadly speaking, this theoretical perspective has been used to describe various situations in which one party is benefiting unequally from its relations with the other party concerned. The most common use to which this theoretical tool has been put concerns the relations between countries.⁶³ Other writers⁶⁴ have put the focus of the framework on internal inequalities within a given country, while still emphasizing the related international links.

63

For ex. see Andre Gunder Frank, "Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America", Monthly Review Press, (New-York: 1967) and, "Dependence and Underdevelopment", Anchor Books, (Garden City, New York: 1972).

and, in the case of Canada:

Karl Levitt, "Silent Surrender", (Toronto: MacMilland of Canada, 1970)

64

For ex. see R. Stavenhagen, "Social Classes in Agrarian Societies", Ibid., J. Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism", Journal of Peace Research, 1971

and in the case of Canada:

H. Chorney, "Regional Development and Cultural Decay" in "Imperialism, Nationalism and Canada" by J. Saul & C. Heron, Edited by C. Heron (Kitchener, Ont: Toronto New Haytown Press, 1977)

Three main propositions, which seem to flow from the work of Stavenhagen and that of the other authors who have concentrated on regional differences within countries, are:

- Just as in the case of the underdeveloped-developed country imperialist relationship, where the flow of wealth (i.e., surplus value and natural resources) is in the direction of the metropolis, in the developed nation-state⁶⁵ there is an outflow of value from the agrarian region to the urban-based corporate centre.

- Just as the relatively self-sufficient traditional agrarian economy of the hinterland state is disrupted (i.e., altered) by the penetration of foreign capitalist interests, (in and around urban centres usually) the agrarian economy in the developed nation state (independent commodity producer) has also been subjugated to the urban based corporate interests by way of the growing sphere of interaction between the countryside and the metropolitan based corporate centre and the concentration of capital in the corporate centre.

- Just as in the case of the underdeveloped country, where new 'social categories' emerged in agrarian regions, as a result of the penetration of foreign capital, the infiltration of modern oligopolistic capitalism into the agrarian regions of the developed country has culminated in the creation of new social categories (e.g., the independent commodity producer now having to work part-time as a wage labourer, former I.C.P. now turned agricultural wage labourer, commercial farmer and farm manager).

D. Drache, "Stapleization: A Theory of Canadian Capitalist Development", in "Imperialism, Nationalism and Canada"
Ibid.

⁶⁵This does not mean to say that a similar flow of wealth from the agrarian regions to the satellite corporate centres does not occur in underdeveloped countries as well.

Even though most of Stavenhagen's work is directed at specifically demonstrating the way in which foreign capital investment into underdeveloped countries has contributed to the formation of new social categories, its relevance to the Quebec agricultural context is clear. The same basic processes which characterise the extraction of surplus value from the agrarian regions in underdeveloped countries also seem to be at work with regard to the relations between the agricultural milieu and the urban-based corporate centres.

Now that the main arguments of seven authors who have discussed the effects of the infiltration of capitalism in agriculture have been presented, the task in Chapter III is to proceed to a lower level of theoretical abstraction. The level in question concerns the specific nature of the effects of the penetration of capitalism on the economic and social activity of the Quebec farmer. By discerning the points of consensus which emerged from the review of the literature through the formal introduction of certain key concepts, the discussion will then be able to focus in far greater detail on the nature and outcome of the relations between the agricultural community and the broader economic system.

CHAPTER III

THE DEPENDENCE OF THE CONTEMPORARY AGRICULTURAL PRODUCER

In this Chapter we will elaborate on the effects of the infiltration of capitalism into agriculture upon the economic and social activities of the present day agrarian community in Quebec. To this end, the concepts of 'exchange' (within a capitalist market system) and 'dependence' will be introduced. The origins and development of the dependence of the agrarian community will be explored and, finally, the peculiarities of the contemporary situation of the agricultural producer will be delineated.

Most of the authors discussed in the previous chapter have adopted a theoretical perspective and then have applied it in a specific context. For our purposes, however, there is a need to identify the important theoretical assumptions which seem to be present in the preceding treatments of the subject matter. Hedley points to the source of the apparent consensus when he focuses on the exchange process between the farmer and the economic agents with whom he must interact and on the degree of control over the "outcome of exchange".¹

¹M.J. Hedley, "Independent Commodity Production and the Dynamics of Tradition", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 13 (4) 1976, p. 416

This topic is reflected in the work of Marx, in relation to his concept of "primary accumulation". This refers to an uneven exchange between town and country involving the absorption of human and natural resources from the countryside to the city. For Lenin, this theme is evident in his discussion of the scale of production in agriculture. Large scale production, (in terms of productivity per acre) weakens the competitive position of small scale farm enterprises within a capitalist market situation. In Mitchell's work, this theme is apparent in his discussion of the lack of control over land prices and, more generally, in his treatment of the cost-price squeeze which is at the source of the farmer's dependent status with regard to key economic exchange areas. The work of Bernier also addresses itself to this concern when he states: "Farm producers...have little control over the markets".² It is Bernier's argument that the contemporary farmer has lost most of his control over the establishment of price levels for his farm produce in that he is, thanks partly to the State and its various marketing agencies, on the 'short end' of the exchange process with the agricultural retail oligopoly. This concern with regard to the exchange process and the nature of the relations which ensue is also most apparent in Stavenhagen's work. For this author, it is the center within the developed country which benefits

²B. Bernier, "The Penetration of Capitalism in Quebec Agriculture", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 13 (4), 1976

most from its interaction with the peripheral regions within this developed country, and from its relations with peripheral regions in hinterland countries, through the intermediary of the satellite centres. These concerns seem to merge in the concept of 'exchange' (the process) and in the notion of 'dependence' (the consequence). Dependence qualifies the subordinate ensuing relations in an exchange process or, put differently, is the result of unequal exchange. What the above authors seem to describe is the increasing dependence of the agricultural producer on the bourgeoisie, corporate oligopolies, or metropolitan interests and the State.

By clearly identifying the various economic agents which come into play and, most importantly their role in relation to the economic activity of the farmer in a capitalist exchange system, the proposed analytical framework integrates and complements the Marxist and Neo-Marxist viewpoints discussed in the previous chapter. Discussing the effects of the penetration of capitalism into agriculture, by identifying changes in the type and degree of the farmer's dependency, will also avoid certain problems which the previously discussed perspectives have encountered regarding certain analytical concepts and empirical support for some basic assumptions. First, we find that in the case of the agricultural producer, concentrating on the ownership of the means of production does not provide an analytical framework in which benefactors and beneficiaries can be clearly

identified in relation to the production process. The fact that the agricultural producer owns (at least legally speaking) his means of production does not mean to say that he is the main beneficiary of the fruits of his production.

Some Neo-Marxist writers, such as Mitchell, Hedley, Bernier and Bergeron, however, have shifted the focus from the ownership to the control of the means of production. The results have not always been clear in terms of identifying the exact ways in which the agricultural producer has lost control over his economic activity. Lack of control implies the existence of various dependent relationships with the other parties involved and, if the concept 'dependence' is not introduced formally into the analysis, the discussion may become ambiguous. By identifying in which key areas the farmer is 'dependent' and 'independent' and by focusing on the various degrees of dependency, the phenomenon, which the contemporary Neo-Marxist analysis tries to depict as 'indirect exploitation',⁴ should become more conceptually manageable.

If, in general terms, dependence⁵ is taken to refer

³ L. Bergeron, "L'Intervention Etatique et l'Agriculture: Le Cas du Québec", Monograph Paper, (Montreal: Université de Montréal, Sept. 1977)

⁴ This is the term which is used in this thesis for the purpose of qualifying the situation in which the contemporary farmer, although having legal title to his land, benefits little from the surplus value created in the production process.

⁵ For a more complete elaboration of the conceptual framework surrounding the notion of dependence, see Illich P., W. Reimer & J. Zawilski, "Toward a Theory of Dependency", mimeographed paper, (Dept. of Soc. & Anthr., Concordia U., 1978)

to a state of reliance on resources, from a single or limited number of sources, then it follows that independence should be seen as a state in which a given collectivity is relatively self-sufficient in essential resources. It also follows that independence implies a relatively autonomous position i.e., having a high degree of control over the supply lines to, and production of, resources deemed necessary. To be of the greatest theoretical use, a resource is here defined as any material product (i.e., man-made or natural), or intellectual product (i.e., knowledge and services) which satisfies a given need or desire⁶ of a given collectivity. Although, in most cases, economic requirements are often of paramount importance, the above definition of dependence will allow for the inclusion of certain superstructural elements in the analysis of the overall state of affairs pertaining to the relationship between two, or more, unequal parties. These elements are often excluded from a comprehensive analysis and, when introduced, they may serve the goal of a more complete theoretical understanding.

⁷
Fowke, Innis and others have argued that Canadian

⁶ It is important to note that desires and not only needs are included in this definition. Dependence may be created by satisfying a desire which is not a vital requirement or need of a given collectivity. This leaves room, in the definition of 'resource', for the theoretical treatment of a given man-made or natural product which satisfies an 'externally stimulated' desire as a 'resource'.

⁷ V.C. Fowke, "The myth of the Self-Sufficient Canadian Pioneer", Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Series 2, pp. 23-27, 1962

farm pioneers were never actually entirely self-sufficient.

As Fowke points out:

It is true that he [the Canadian farm pioneer] and his family produced much of what they consumed and, conversely, consumed much of what they produced. But additional needs which could be satisfied only through the processes of exchange - whether on a cash, credit or barter basis - were sufficient to sustain a marketing structure which extended from the manufacturing centres of the Old World to the margins of the advancing agricultural frontier...

...The uncritical believer in pioneer self-sufficiency may find it difficult to admit that immigration and agricultural settlement in Eastern Canada had to be provisioned by resort to the market-place. Yet, this was clearly the case. Provisions had to be purchased for the long Atlantic crossing. Immigrants travelling inland from Quebec relied on food secured from farmers and merchants along the way. Settlers had to purchase supplies for a year or more after they settled on their land...

...Of all the evidence that the pioneer on the St. Lawrence was not self-sufficient, the most obvious describes the cash and barter transactions by which he persistently exchanged the products of his farm for manufactured and processed goods from near and far. True, he had no agricultural produce to dispose of until he harvested at least the first yields of cereal or animal husbandry. But that required only a year or two. Thereafter, although individual offerings remained small and diverse, and were more frequently paid for in trade credit than in cash, the typical frontier farmer could never be regarded as indifferent to conditions in the market-place. 8

It would appear that some writers⁹ in the Neo-Marxist school of thought, in relation to the Canadian context and the European context as well, have fallen into the trap of attributing a very high level of self-sufficiency to farm

⁸V.C. Fowke, *Ibid.*, p. 26-31

⁹In relation to the European context see, for example, Karl Kautsky, "La Question Agraire", (Paris: V. Giard et E. Brière, 1900).

households in earlier periods of agrarian settlement. In speaking of the European context, Fowke adds:

Introducing her near-classic lectures on the English wool trade, Eileen Power insisted upon the "weakness of the conventional view of the middle ages in Western Europe as mainly a period of natural economy and self-sufficiency". At the risk of being "accused of beating a dead horse" she felt it necessary to "emphasize the fact ... that during the middle ages few great estates failed to grow some cash crop for the market and the majority of peasant holdings, likewise, relied on a cash crop in order to pay the money rents which almost invariably formed part of their dues". Other writers have cautioned us with equal firmness against thinking of later European agricultural life as essentially self-sufficient. 10

Discussing the effects of the penetration of capitalism into agriculture upon the agricultural community, in terms of changes in the degree and type of dependency of the agricultural producer, will avoid the problems raised by Fowke concerning empirical support for the characteristics which are often attributed to the forefathers of the contemporary farmer.

Perhaps the most detailed discussion of the origins and evolution of the dependency of the agricultural producer on capitalist interests is provided by Karl Kautsky, in his book entitled "La Question Agraire". Even though Kautsky uses, as a basis for his discussion, the transition from feudalism to capitalism in the European historical context, he is pointing at several exchange relations and economic

¹⁰V.C. Fowke, Ibid., p. 23

mechanisms which seem to be at the source of the financial problems faced by the contemporary Quebecois farmer. The fact that, unlike in other parts of Canada, vestiges of the feudal order -- the French seigneurial system -- were implanted in New France, would also suggest that Kautsky's arguments have heuristic value vis-à-vis certain aspects of the history of agricultural production in Quebec. Kautsky starts his argument by discussing his conception of the European pre-capitalist, self-sufficient, rural society in which the independent peasant strived. In Feudalism, Kautsky argues, the peasant was not in interaction with a non-immediate external exchange system in so far as essential resources were concerned. This depiction is not incongruent with the situation related to land settlements as it existed in New-France in the 17th and the first half of the 18th Centuries.¹¹ As Bernier points out:

...the seigneurial system was a failure from the standpoint of both population and agricultural production. The majority of seigneurs were involved in fur-trading and administration and were more interested in making profit from trade or speculation than in financing immigration...

...the sparse population discouraged the establishment of commercial agriculture; most peasants were engaged in subsistence agriculture. As a consequence, rents were rarely paid. ¹²

¹¹ For a comprehensive analysis of the history of agriculture in Québec see Colette Chatillon, "Le Développement de l'Agriculture au Québec", MA Thesis, (Montreal: Université de Montréal, 1976), Richard Colebrook Harris, "The Seigneurial System in Early Canada" (Quebec: Presses de L'Université Laval, 1966) and Fernand Ouellet, "Histoire Economique et Sociale du Québec, 1760-1815", (Montreal: Fides, 1966)

¹² B. Bernier, Ibid., p. 425

However, after the conquest of 1760, agriculture became increasingly more commercialized due to the fact that the seigneurs were relying more and more on agriculture for the maintenance of their class privileges, and since English colonists were beginning to settle on the land:

...the dignitaries of the French administration, losing their administrative posts and their trading partners, had to live off the land; thus, their interest in reviving old rights that had been marginally applied before...

...thus, the seigneurial system, which had existed legally but had not been applied in reality, was revived; and old rights and dues which had never been followed before, were now in force...

...English farmers, established first in Upper Canada, and later, after 1790; in the Eastern Townships, were the first to profit from this commercialization of agriculture. Even Quebec peasants living under the seigneurial system started specializing their production in order to gain from trade. 13

Kautsky's main argument is that transformations in the life style and interaction patterns of the peasant find their starting point in the dissolution that the essentially urban industry and commerce provoked in the small handicrafts of the peasants ("petite industrie des paysans").¹⁴ A weak division of labour existed in the peasant household and it usually did not go beyond the traditional allocation of tasks to men and women. According to Kautsky, this domestic labour power produced all of the essential resources necessary for the continuity of the traditional seemingly wholesome way of life. As a result of the rise

¹³ B. Bernier, *Ibid.*, p. 425.

¹⁴ K. Kautsky, *Ibid.*, p. 9

of capitalism, which initially was concentrated in large agglomerations (i.e., in cities and city states) the development of urban industry created, for the peasant, tools and instruments that the domestic industry could not provide as perfectly, or even not provide at all. Besides creating new needs in the city, the rapid urban industrialization was responsible for the penetration of these needs in the countryside, as relations between town and countryside became more active. Luxury articles, which were produced in the city, were introduced into the countryside. Not only luxury items, but essential goods, now infiltrated the home of the peasant; for example, the development of the cotton industry provided the peasant with ready made clothing material which eliminated his need for domestically grown flax. But, as we will see, the benefits to the peasant, of the infiltration of goods produced by urban industries, were to be offset by the disadvantages of a growing dependency which was to bring about a long term deterioration of agrarian living conditions.

Kautsky characterises the power behind, and the nature of the transformation of the peasant's traditional lifestyle, in the following words:

Only capitalist industrialism has such a great superiority that it rapidly eliminates the domestic industrious production of the peasant for his own usage and only the communication system of capitalism, with its railways, postal system, newspapers, etc., spreads the ideas and the products of the city to the most remote areas of the countryside, thus submitting the

entire population of the countryside to this process. 15 As a result of his growing dependence on urban industry, the peasant now needed money to buy certain indispensable items, which he formerly produced himself or (as a consequence of technological progress) had now adopted and considered essential. Besides forming a market with respect to goods which he had previously produced domestically (or adopted as essential to his subsistence) he also slowly became a prey for the capitalist producers of superfluous goods, now that he had been exposed to certain luxury goods and had developed a need for them. Of course, the acquisition of these goods required the possession of currency (barter being normally restricted to local-village transactions of domestically produced handicrafts and agricultural produce) and the only method through which he could obtain money to procure these goods was to 'make his products merchandise' (i.e., by conversion from use to exchange value) by bringing them to the market and selling them. Thus, the peasant's market consisted of selling products to urban dwellers which the latter could not produce (i.e. food) and not his handicrafts which urban industry produced more efficiently. Hence, according to Kautsky:

...the peasant was compelled to become what we now understand to be a peasant, something which he was not in the beginning, that is a pure farmer ["un pur agriculteur"]. The more he became a pure farmer, the more industry and agriculture became

15

K. Kautsky, Ibid., p. 11

independent from one another and the more he got away from the independence, security and joy of living found, by Sismondi, to exist in the free peasant. 16

It is Kautsky's argument that, due to the growing separation of domestic industry from agriculture in the peasant's productive life, the peasant was now dependent on markets which Kautsky qualifies as being: "more capricious and unpredictable than changes in the weather".¹⁷ Whereas stockpiling could act as a safeguard against poor weather, and hence a poor crop, the peasant had no protection against sudden market fluctuations.¹⁸ Ironically, now that the peasant interacted within a broader market exchange system, overproduction was a disaster, since it brought down the prices of his produce.

Prior to the creeping of the products of urban industrial capitalism into the countryside, the peasant's sphere of exchange had been limited to his neighbours and local village. The peasant's need to exchange was also minimal, due to the self-sufficient nature of his traditional way of life (i.e., producing most of what he required in handicrafts and agricultural produce).

Associated with the growing dependence of the peasant on the urban based industrial sectors was the fact that agricultural production slowly shifted from

¹⁶ K. Kautsky, Ibid., p. 12

¹⁷ K. Kautsky, Ibid., p. 13

¹⁸ One must not forget that Kautsky is describing earlier periods of capitalist penetration into agriculture and

diversification to specialization. As Kautsky puts it:

Now there appeared market oriented production as well as competition. The question was for the peasant, of all the agricultural products in demand, which one could he produce in the most advantageous way, according to the nature and quality of the soil, the location and size of his land, the transportation conditions and the value of his capital. 19

Ironically, besides the fact that he did not produce everything he needed as an industrialist handicraft producer, the peasant-farmer was now obliged to buy, not only tools, but also some food which he did not produce himself as a result of his specialization. Thus, the realm of his dependence grew to affect even the agricultural side of his traditional self-sufficient way of life.

The more agricultural production transformed itself into the production of merchandise goods, the less the peasant was able to maintain the exchange process at the primitive stage of direct sales (or barter) from producer to consumer. In the above process, the merchant was non-existent, thus no middle man (processor and retailer) was

that marketing boards, and more generally speaking, State intervention into the exchange relations between the agricultural production sector and the urban-based corporate sector were non-existent. One must also remember that obligatory and permanent price-fixing (not only in instances of sharp decreases) in the areas of beef, porc, lamb, cheese, eggs and cereals, was implemented in Canada only in 1958.

Diane Lessard, "L'Agriculture et le Capitalisme au Québec" (Montréal: Editions l'Étincelle, 1976).

19

Kautsky, Ibid., p. 57

exploiting the producer and consumer, the major cause of exorbitant food prices today. Furthermore:

The more the peasant became dependent on the market, the more he needed currency and the greater the surplus of goods that he was compelled to produce and sell, and therefore his need of land increased in proportion to the size of his family, production conditions being the same to cover his needs. 20

The above requirements, in terms of land, tools, machinery, livestock, etc., introduced a new element into the picture. The forces pushing the peasant to integrate economically into the broader capitalist market (e.g., the requirement of having currency and, as a result of the latter, the need to produce more) brought the peasant to the door of the local creditor, or to that of the more powerful urban financier. Like many of the contemporary authors on agricultural development, Kautsky saw the advent of the interaction between farmers and financial capital (whether it be private or state agency) as the ultimate dependency to which the peasant had been subjected, due to the rise of capitalism. "A new dependence, a new exploitation, the worst of all, started for him, that of financial capital..."²¹ The peasant was now deeper into dependence, having mortgaged his land, and this represents a major turning point to the worst, since he now ran the risk of losing the ownership of his main productive force, i.e., his land. Also, the means of production (land, machinery, cattle, etc.) bought through this credit cannot be considered as the real property of

²⁰Karl Kautsky, Ibid., p. 14

²¹Karl Kautsky, Ibid., p. 14

the buyer, but only as his legal property.²² The amounts of the loans being large, relative to the liquid assets of the enterprises, the indebtedness is often passed from generation to generation and the creditor, rather than the legal owner, sees the financial benefits which come out of the indebted farm enterprise.

Kautsky introduces a further dimension to his analysis when he treats the subject of the importation of knowledge. He states:

Agriculture being taught in the big city (in universities) is the most striking illustration of the fact that agriculture is totally dependent on the city and that technological progress in the area of agriculture originates in the city. ²³

Now that the peasant-farmer's economic activity was subjected to the laws of the capitalist market place, and hence to the use of currency, accurate bookkeeping was to become an essential requirement for modern agriculture. Thus, knowledge of accounting, which is conceptually more difficult in agriculture than in industry,²⁴ as well as knowledge of the latest technical innovations and scientific discoveries, became essential if the farmer wished to try and offset the negative aspects of the other dimensions of his dependence.

²²D. Lessard, "L'Agriculture et le Capitalisme au Québec" (Montreal: Editions l'Etincelle, 1976), p. 94

²³Karl Kautsky, Ibid., p. 80

²⁴As Kautsky points out, many aspects of bookkeeping in agriculture are harder to evaluate than in industry (e.g., salaries are often paid in kind as well as in money). Benefits are less immediate and therefore the bookkeeping is more difficult and requires training.

It is Kautsky's argument that the new state of affairs concerning agricultural production forced the peasant to reduce surplus family members. The peasant farmer had to rationalize the use of manpower on the farm and this usually meant the formation of smaller family units, idle members no longer being welcome. As will be seen in the next chapter, this point is relevant to an explanation of the changing composition of the agricultural labour force in Quebec in recent years. According to the season more or less work was required on the land, and now that domestic industry (handicrafts) declined, this was a further reason to reduce family size. A further striking consequence of the growing dependency of the peasant on industrial capitalism was the often abusive living conditions and excess work to which he had to subject himself and his family. As a result of his new status as a peasant (i.e., his productive activity now being more limited to the sphere of agriculture) and due to the greater output which he now had to provide for exchange purposes, Kautsky argues that the peasant and his family were forced to work harder and for longer hours; and this to achieve a standard of living which, it could be debated, was barely equal to that enjoyed in the Middle Ages,²⁵ if not lower. For example, in terms of the time spent working on agricultural production, Kautsky suggests that, comparatively speaking, the traditional medieval peasant enjoyed a life of leisure, having close to two hundred religious holidays a year.²⁶ Kautsky also makes the point that

²⁵Karl Kautsky, Ibid., pp.161-164 ²⁶K. Kautsky, Ibid., p.164

the peasant and his family had to deprive themselves of certain essential products or services (e.g., education for children, clothes and even certain foods, etc.) in order to save enough money to keep the farm in operation, if the proceeds from the sale of his agricultural products were insufficient.

Another effect of the disappearance of the domestic industry of the peasant, according to Kautsky, was that agricultural labour was now required, in peak farming periods, to replace the work of those members of the family who had left due to their overall small contribution to the productivity of the farm.²⁷ Ironically, the source of this labour was, to a great extent, the excess sons and daughters of peasants, as well as peasant farmers who were looking for additional income. Thus, as Kautsky has so justly pointed out:

The same evolution which, on the one hand produced the need for these salaried workers has, on the other hand, also created the desired labour force.²⁸

Kautsky states a corollary to the above when he says:

The class antagonism that exists between the owner and the proletarian now penetrates the village and the peasant household itself and destroys the old harmony and community of interests.²⁹

Thus, even without directly penetrating into the agrarian regions, i.e., before the antagonism between large and small

²⁷ The relevance of this point, in view of the empirical work undertaken in this thesis, will become more apparent when discussing the proposition put forward in Chapter IV, in relation to the composition of the agricultural labour force.

²⁸ Karl Kautsky, Ibid., p. 16

²⁹ Karl Kautsky, Ibid., p. 17

scale farming took place to any significant degree, the rise of the capitalist mode of production in the city had so powerful an effect that it was responsible for planting the seeds of class conflict within the countryside.

In summary, according to Kautsky, the development of industrial capitalism had the following major initial consequences for the agrarian regions of Europe:

- The development of new regions for agricultural production.

- The transformation of the peasant, from a handicraftman and subsistence farmer, into an agricultural producer.

- The transformation of the peasant's agricultural production for personal use into merchandise production, i.e., the products take on exchange value instead of use value.

- The growing dependency of the peasant farmer on farm input products manufactured in industrial centers.

- The onset of the transformation of agricultural production, from diversification to specialization.

- The increased dependency on money for the acquisition of products related to farm production and personal consumption.

- The emergence of the dependency on financial capital.

- The beginning of the deterioration of the living conditions in the peasant household, as reflected by excess work and inadequate consumption of goods and services by the peasant-farmer household.

- The substitution of familial work by salaried work.

- The dependency of the farm producer on agricultural knowledge imported from the city.

Even though most of the previous discussion has

been based on Kautsky's analysis of the initial impact of the rise of urban industrial capitalism on European agrarian society, it is of great theoretical use in that it points to the interaction spheres which are at the basis of the alarming state in which the modern agricultural producer finds himself, today, in most Western capitalist countries. Kautsky's arguments serve as the basis on which the nature and degree of the contemporary farmer's dependence can be analytically elaborated.

The most recent and most commonly used concept in describing the mechanisms responsible for the precarious economic situation of the contemporary farmer has been 'the cost-price squeeze'. As seen earlier in the discussion of Don Mitchell's contribution to the subject matter, the cost-price squeeze has prompted the emergence of a new and, if not fatal, then at least more severe level of dependence for the agrarian population of this country. The unfavorable consequences of the penetration of capitalism for the farmer have reached an unprecedented level. The disunion of small handicraft and agricultural production is complete and the contemporary farmer devotes himself mostly to specialized agricultural production in a capitalist market exchange system. To this end, he has become increasingly dependent on industrially produced farm inputs, the financing of mortgages and farm equipment, marketing boards and price subvention agencies of the State and, as will be argued in the next chapter, on paid agricultural labour.

The contemporary farmer, as the name implies, usually specializes in the production of one or a few farm products. It is true that recent statistics³⁰ show that a high proportion of farm operators are doing work off the farm (often in larger and/or more productive farm enterprises). However, this does not obscure the main argument to be elaborated here, namely that the contemporary farmer is more than ever dependent on the generally urban based industrial sectors, or even on foreign corporate interests for his essential economic resources. The fact that one out of every two contemporary farmers approximately must work off the farm in order to survive is a further example of their growing dependence. To keep his enterprise alive, the apparently vanishing breed of independent commodity producers has to take on extra work on other farms, in factories, small businesses, or in other primary sectors (e.g., lumber). The off farm employment does little more to directly provide him with his essential needs (economic mainly) than to supply him with the currency to buy these products.

The contemporary farmer, besides being subjected to the inflated costs paid by the urban dweller for necessary consumer items such as clothes, shoes, housing and, ironically, food, as well as for luxury items (and in many cases paying even more, being further away from the industrial centres)

30

R.O. Bollman, "Off farm Work by Farmers: a study with a kinked Demand for Labour curve", unpublished manuscript, (Ottawa: February 1978)

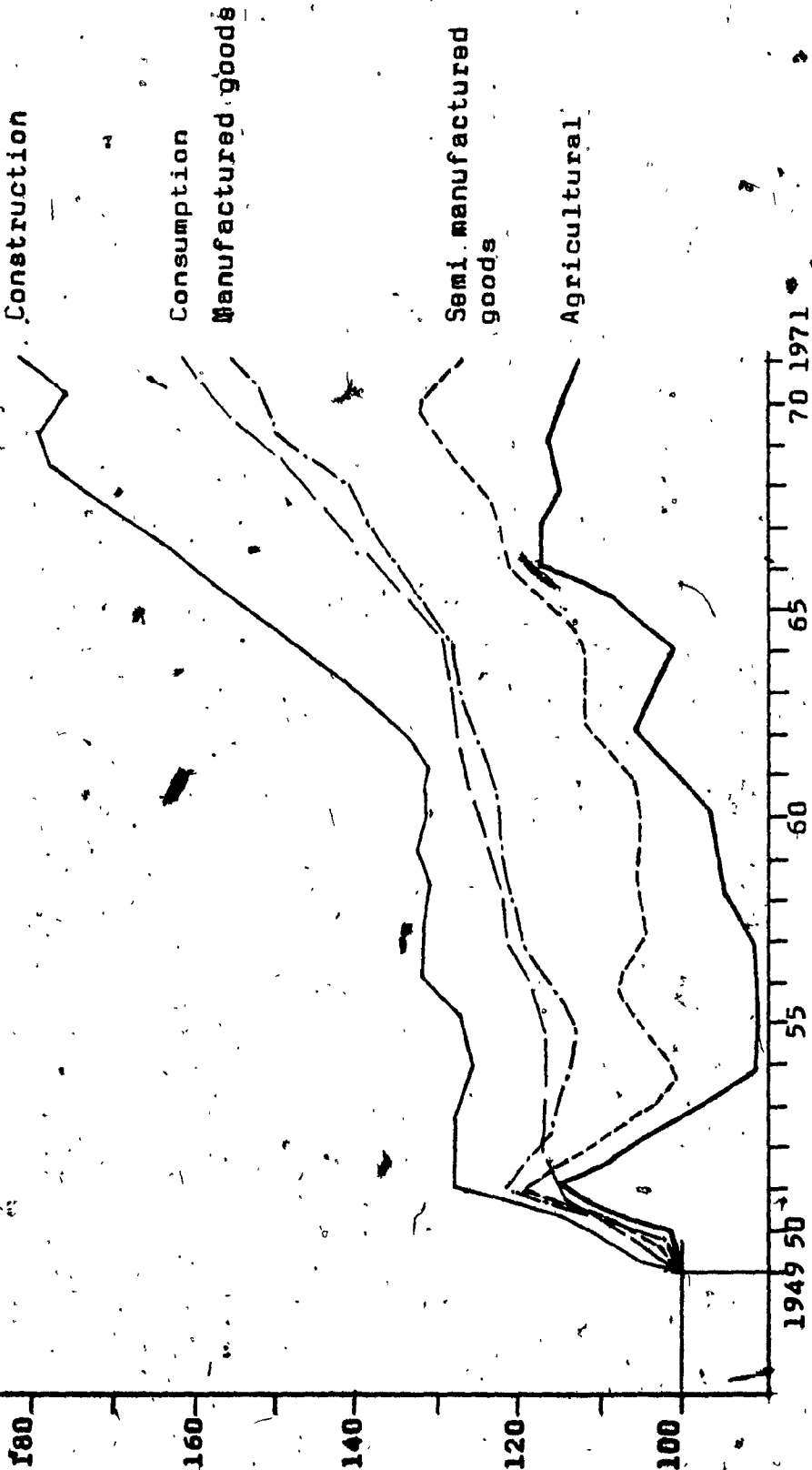
is also affected by his dependence on products which are now necessary in order to break even or to make a small profit in farming (i.e., farm machinery, tractors, fertilizers, pesticides, feed, and last but not the least, land). The increase in the cost of these necessary items has been greater than the general increase in the overall price index³¹ and this reflects the very high concentration of capital in these areas (as it has been so well documented by several authors, such as Mitchell, Bronson³² and Lessard, to name a few). Figure 1 shows clearly that agricultural price levels have not kept pace with those of construction, consumption goods, manufactured goods and semi-manufactured goods. This means that the agricultural producer has had to pay the going price levels for the latter categories of products although the prices he has obtained for his agricultural products have not kept pace with these increases. The advent of monopoly capital into the farm supply area and land speculation field³³ has meant that the dependent position of the agricultural producer on these urban based corporations (and in the case of Canada, often U.S. based as well) has been efficiently exploited.

³¹ For ex. from 1956 to 1968 the price of agricultural machinery rose 50%, comparatively to an increase of only 10% for automobiles & a decrease of 14% for electrical products, Lessard, *Ibid.* p. 39.

³² H.E. Bronson, "Continentalism and Canadian Agriculture", an article in "Capitalism & the National Question in Canada", Ed. G. Teeple, (Toronto: Un. of Toronto Press, 1972)

³³ In recent years the State has gained more and more control over the land market for agricultural production and, as we will see later, this development, along with the important role it plays in the area of agricultural credit and subsidies to farmers, reflects the increasing control it has over the destiny of the agrarian community.

FIGURE 1



Price indexes for agricultural products, manufactured goods, semimanufactured goods, construction material, and consumption, Canada 1949-71, based on data from Compte-rendu de la Situation Economique, Ministère des Finances, avril 1972: 136, 139.

Source: Diane Lévesque, 1974, "Les Rapports de Production dans l'Agriculture Québécoise, 1941-1971," M.A. Thesis, Un. de Montréal, Anthr. p. 29

through greater market control. With the diminution of the number of alternative sources left open to the farmer for the procurement of these vital economic resources, the oligopolies which have resulted have been able to squeeze more wealth from the agrarian regions.

The other side of the coin, the price squeeze, is as impregnated by oligopolies. Table 4 shows this clearly for the Food and Beverage industry in Canada. The important columns to note pertain to the relatively large percentage of shipments attributable to the top 4 and top 8 corporations which have shown little change from 1965 to 1970.

One interesting observation is that, in 1970, for 11 out of the 16 Food and Beverage Industry areas, the top 4 firms had 40% or more of the total business, (e.g., sugar refineries, 95%, distilleries, 94% and flour mills, 70%). Also worth noticing is that, except in one area, where the number of firms actually increased, and in another category where the number stayed the same, decreases in the number of firms occurred. In the case of the Quebec Dairy Industry, the trend toward greater concentration is also evident. Table 5 shows that, for most production categories, a decrease in the number of dairy processors from 1967 to 1971 is evident.

The price squeeze mechanism has the added feature of being covertly supported by various government farm commodity marketing bodies (with all their rigid quota systems and price scale). The explanation for this is very simple:

TABLE 4
CONCENTRATION IN THE FOOD AND BEVERAGE INDUSTRY, 1965 & 1970

INDUSTRY	Firms		Plants		Percent of shipments	
	1965	1970	1965	1970	1965	1970
Slaughtering & meat processing	365	407	399	453	58	53
Poultry Processors	137	86	150	102	24	37
Dairy factories & cheese	1165	643	1421	880	25	29
Fruit & Vegetable canners	266	187	313	238	39	42
Food Manufacturers	739	647	855	789	28	29
Flour Mills & Breakfast Cereals	36	32	51	51	80	70
Biscuits manufacturers	36	34	44	42	67	68
Bakeries	2376	1857	2465	1921	32	31
Confectionery Manufacturers	173	132	180	139	47	53
Sugar Refineries	8	7	13	14	95	95
Vegetable Oil Mills	10	10	12	10	81	78
Misc. Food manufacturers	240	228	272	275	33	34
Soft drink manufacturers	410	333	470	395	41	46
Distilleries	13	12	22	27	84	86
Breweries	11	9	52	42	95	94
Wineries	13	14	19	22	71	64
Totals/Averages	5996	4638	6738	5400	56	57
						69
						71

Source: J.W. Warnock, Our Generation, "Oligopoly: The Food Industry in Canada", Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 58

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF DAIRY PROCESSORS ACCORDING TO THE
NATURE OF THEIR OPERATIONS

Quebec 1967-1971

OPERATIONS	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Butter manufacturers	94	70	55	47	42
Butter & casein Manuf.	40	27	17	16	10
Casein Manuf.	2	2	2	2	1
Butter & powd.milk Manuf.	39	35	32	33	30
Cheese manuf.	57	54	52	49	49
Ice cream Manuf.	9	9	9	9	11
Receiving Centres	16	15	18	16	13
Yogurt Manuf.	3	3	3	3	3
Casein & powd.milk Manuf.	2	2	2	2	2
Processed butter manuf.	8	9	10	9	9
Concentrated & evaporated milk manuf.	4	4	4	4	4
	274	230	204	190	171

Source: D. Lessard, "L'Agriculture et le Capitalisme au Québec" (Montreal: Editions l'Étincelle, 1976), p. 105

monopoly capital requires little help to raise prices, but it needs a helping hand³⁴ to prevent other small scale producers, (i.e., farmers in this case) who supply them with the raw materials, from increasing their prices.

In relation to the above, Lessard provides a concrete example of how the State, through marketing boards and price subvention agencies, favours food processors over the interests of the majority of the farmers these agencies claim to be assisting. In speaking of the circulation of milk from farmer to processors, she states:

We see clearly that the milk category system is established to profit dairies and dairy processors and does not take into account the producers and the quality of the milk they are able to deliver. 35

There are five milk categories and, even though the quality of the milk sold to the processors under each is the same, the dairy farmer obtains various prices, according to the category under which the milk is sold. Even though, in 1971 for example, 81.7% of all milk production in Quebec was bought by the processors under the other than direct consumption category, the highest price was and still remains, for milk which is destined for direct consumption³⁶

³⁴ If not because the concentration of capital is not powerful enough to extract the same level of surplus, then at least to avoid higher levels of conflict, by having the State act as a legitimizing agent, i.e., in this case, performing the very questionable function of a consumer watchdog.

³⁵ D. Lessard, Ibid., p. 110

³⁶ D. Lessard, Ibid., p. 113

(or Category 1) i.e. 18.3% of the total milk production for 1971. These categories are established according to the use and needs of the dairies and dairy processors. Milk bought under Category 5, which commands the lowest price, is that which is delivered by dairy farmers over and above their allotted quota. Yet, the dairy processor can use it for whatever purpose he wishes, including selling it as milk for direct consumption (Category 1). Furthermore, due to the fact that they are able to determine the percentage of their utilization for each category of milk, dairies and dairy processors can further economize by purchasing milk under lower priced categories.³⁷

Thus, not only does the contemporary farmer have little option but to pay the monopoly price of the goods which are necessary for the operation of the farm, he has little or no market control over the prices he obtains for his products. As stated previously, the symptoms of this new step into economic powerlessness marks the development of a more acute state of dependence. On the one hand, the alternative sources for essential economic inputs into agriculture have been drastically limited, due to the entry of great masses of concentrated capital into the farm supply sector. On the other hand, the oligopolistic nature of the food processing and retail sectors, coupled with state intervention in favour of these oligopolies, has obliterated the autonomy of the agricultural producer in the area of

³⁷D. Lessard, *Ibid.*, p. 113

fixing the prices he will receive for his produce.

The above analysis seems to be congruent with an observation found in a study completed in 1960 by the Economic and Research Branch of the Department of Labour (Ottawa) in which it is stated in the introduction that:

Since, among other things, specialization in production has made the farm enterprise increasingly dependent on the products of non-agricultural industries, the development of organized strength, or put differently the concentration of capital in other industries, has materially weakened the overall competitive position of agriculture. 38

It becomes quite clear, at this juncture, to see how 'capital' has directly contributed to the creation of a poor return on investment situation in the agricultural production sector and consequently discouraged a high degree of corporate investment in agricultural production. The power of the farming milieu over their economic destiny is weak and it is the corporate oligopolies who control the crucial economic input and output links which reap most of the wealth created in the production process. As a result there is little corporate investment in agricultural production itself, since no rational corporate body would risk a sizeable investment given the adverse economic conditions in agricultural production. Only in a situation where a corporate farm is vertically integrated at either

38

Economics and Research Branch, Dept. of Labour, "Trends in the Agricultural Labour Force in Canada, from 1921 to 1959", Ottawa, August 1960, p. 1

end of the cost-price squeeze (say, a food retail corporation) could the investment be seen as potentially worth taking the risk. But, why should one actively engage in agricultural production, when the difference between the low prices paid to the farmers (relative to production costs) and the cost of producing the agricultural products oneself is very small or non-existent? The fact that we find an insignificant number of non-family farm corporations in Quebec for 1976 would suggest that complete vertical integration is considered a poor investment by corporations.

The previously cited study by the Economics and Research Branch of the Department of Labour brings in a further dimension into the discussion of the unattractiveness of agricultural production to corporate interests, namely the inelasticity of demand for farm products.

The diminishing importance of agriculture has been inevitable in a country in which technology has encouraged the growth of secondary and tertiary industries. The economist explains the decline as primarily due to the inelasticity of demand for farm products, as incomes rise in a highly industrialized society. As advances are made in technology, productivity, and real incomes increase. A smaller proportion of total income is required to meet food requirements and higher proportions of income are spent on non-farm

products. Thus, while other industries continue to grow, the agricultural industry steadily falls behind. 39

Even though the days of the cheap food supply are history, there is still much validity to the above. The related economic growth indexes⁴⁰ still show a decline in the relative importance of agriculture in the Canadian economy. The fact that the real growth of the economy is taking place in the non-agricultural sectors appears to be a consideration that would discourage corporate investment in the area of agricultural production. This consideration, and the prospect of a very low return on investment in the area of agricultural production, are likely to keep on dissuading potential large capital investment into this area.

Returning to the main thrust of the discussion, a further dimension which enters the picture of dependence concerns the subject of credit (an elaborate discussion of which, in the case of Quebec, was put together by Lessard). As seen earlier, Kautsky linked the growing dependence of the peasant farmer on credit to his need to produce more, which was itself linked to an increased need for money.

³⁹Economics and Research Branch, Dept. of Labour, "Trends in the Agricultural Labour Force in Canada, from 1921 to 1959", Ottawa, August, 1960, P. 1

⁴⁰For example, see Table 11 (in Chapter V), "Index numbers of output of agriculture and selected industry groups, Canada, Selected years".

The fact that this dependence on credit has grown to unprecedented heights for both the financing of land and buildings (mortgages) and for machinery, reflects the evolution of a higher level of dependence in this sphere of exchange. More than ever,⁴¹ many farmers, in the hope of keeping-up with their rising costs and unbalanced prices decide to further indebt themselves.

When we look at the major source of credit today,⁴² the State, who according to Bergeron is the main force which has prevented the disappearance of the so called 'independent' (farm) commodity producer, we find another monopoly power on which the contemporary farmer heavily relies. By providing loans at a lower rate, and consequently slowly replacing financial institutions and individual loans as the single most important source of credit, the State has taken control over the last means through which an increasing number of farmers remain in farming. For example, this dimension of State intervention which, in Quebec, coincided with the

⁴¹ Here the effects of monopoly power can be seen as directly linked to the development of the farmer's greater dependency on credit, the exorbitant costs of essential resources and the low return on investment compelling many farmers to seek out the financier. In Quebec the proportion of farms which were mortgaged grew from 36.6% in 1951 to 53.4% in 1971 (Lessard, Ibid., p. 90).

⁴² "Most of the loans now come from government sources: either the Farm Credit Corporation (Federal Government) which accounts for about one quarter of the total agricultural credit given in Quebec between 1929 and 1973, or the Quebec Farm Credit Bureau (Provincial Government) which accounts for about half of the credit between 1936 and 1973".
B. Bernier, Ibid, p. 429

development of commercial farming and the rising cost of farms⁴³ has permitted the easier transfer of property from generation to generation. However, under the guise of assisting the farmers in their fight to hold on to their land, the State has, in fact, become the actual (as opposed to the legitimate) owner of the means of production. As Bergeron puts it:

...by permitting the continuity of ownership from generation to generation by way of credit, the State now controls and directs the evolution of productivity, the number and size of the farm and finally the pace of the rural exodus. 44

If we now go back to our original definition of dependence, we see the alarming extent to which the agrarian community has lost much of the autonomy which, to varying degrees, characterized earlier stages in the evolution of agricultural production in Quebec. Today's agrarian community is, to a large extent, dependent on the corporate oligopolies for its essential economic resources and on this same corporate sector and the State for the inadequate and often increasingly unprofitable prices it obtains for its products, relative to costs. Finally, the contemporary farmers are increasingly dependent on the State for credit and subsidies without which the rural exodus would have,

⁴³ L. Bergeron, "Intervention Etatique et l'Agriculture; Le cas du Québec," Sept. 1977, p. 18

⁴⁴ L. Bergeron, *Ibid.*, p. 17

most probably, been greater. But the latter development, i.e., the unprecedented dependency on credit, as Kautsky and Lessard have characterized it, is the most striking indicator of their poor economic situation. The legal title to the land is, to the farmer who has survived the costs of his dependence, little more than a title and, as many authors⁴⁵ in the Neo-Marxist school have suggested, the similarities of this position with that of the urban proletariat are concrete. The most crucial similarity, according to the Neo-Marxist school, relates to the concept of surplus-value. Just as the worker in a factory does not benefit from the exchange value over and above production costs, which the owner of the means of production realizes in the sale of the finished product, the contemporary farmer (although the legal owner of his means of production) benefits very little, if at all, from the exchange process, due to the 'cost-price squeeze' mechanism. It is the food retailer and processor, the middle man, the financier, the land speculator and the corporations involved on the farm input side who enrich themselves with most of the surplus-value created by the labour involved in agricultural production. The labelling of the contemporary independent commodity producer as a proletariat or not is academic. Whether large scale capitalist enterprise comes to overtly

45 M. Piot, "Agriculture et Capitalisme au Québec: L'Agro-Industrie et l'Etat", *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, 1 (2) 1977, pp 71-88

G. Breton, "La Place des Producteurs Agricoles dans les Rapports de Production Capitaliste", *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, 1 (2), 1977, pp. 51-70

dominate agriculture or not, the complete alienation of the independent (farm) commodity producer from his means of production and from the measure of economic independence which this ownership usually implies, is a description which comes very close to characterizing the contemporary situation in agriculture.

But, the farmer's dependence is not limited to the economic sphere. As Chorney⁴⁶ has pointed out, we would be getting an incomplete picture of the dependence of a collectivity if we did not examine areas which are beyond the strict realm of economics:

...regional underdevelopment is closely linked, not only to capital accumulation, but to the cultural reproduction of the system itself. 47

Just as the metropolitan center economically dominates the hinterland (thus making the latter dependent on it for its vital economic resources) the metropolitan based culture also dominates the hinterland culture. In speaking of what he terms the "cultural nature of capitalism" Chorney goes on to say:

The domination of metropolitan culture is reinforced through the network television system which centralizes programming in the major metropolis, assigns certain submetropolis centres to subsidiary roles, and the rest of the country to a totally passive recipient role. The world view that is presented to the audiences in the hinterland solidifies the cultural hegemony of

⁴⁶H. Chorney, "Regional Development and Cultural Decay" in imperialism, nationalism and Canada, by J. Saul & C. Heron, Edited by C. Heron (Toronto: New Haytown Press, 1977)

⁴⁷H. Chorney, Ibid., p. 112

the metropolitan bourgeoisie...

...This pattern of hegemony also prevails in the educational system where local community culture and values are suppressed to the benefit of centre-inspired values and culture. 48

Besides being subserviently swept into the capitalist market place, the contemporary farmer has also been subjugated by the mass produced culture which originates from the metropolitan areas of the country and, in the case of Canada in general, and even Quebec, originates to a large extent from the metropolitan areas of the United States. This steady flow of city oriented culture (most of its substance being in harmony with the interests of the dominant urban corporate citizenry) has infiltrated the countryside and has had for an effect to make the farmer dependent on the center for the fulfillment of his cultural needs (entertainment, hobbies, etc.). Just as the impact of the growth of capitalism has drastically altered the farmer's economic way of life and created new forms of social organization in agrarian regions, the penetration of the dominant culture has weakened the cultural traditions which, if left intact, may have served to give more impetus to the fight against the growing dependency.

The realm of external dependence can also be seen as extending itself to the political arena. Whatever political representation the farmers may now benefit from is quite limited by the numerical fact that the farming

48
H. Chorney, Ibid., p. 114

community, over the years, has become a proportionately smaller segment of the overall population. The political influence of the farmers obviously has more impact where they are in larger numbers, such as in the Prairie Provinces. But, even in these regions the interests of the predominant corporate class seem to take priority. Thus, despite the activities of the N.F.U. and other farmers' interest groups, the farming community appears unable to protect its economic interests by way of the political arena and is as dependent on external corporate interests in the area of politics as it is in the closely related area of economic activity. The lack of input of the farmers into their economic, social and cultural destiny is, as we saw earlier, reflected in agricultural State policy which does little to improve their overall dependence on the urban-based corporate conglomerates. Rather, the political impotence of the agricultural producers extends the sphere of their dependence, thus placing their fate into the hands of the State to an even greater extent.

In the following chapter, the implications of the precarious position of the contemporary agricultural producer regarding his use of paid agricultural labour will be elaborated. The main focus will be on the ways in which the 'cost-price squeeze' has affected the use of the paid labour input in agricultural production. This

will first entail a discussion of the nature of the economic strategies adopted by the contemporary agricultural producer in order to cope with the adverse situation. Thus, by proceeding to this lower level of theoretical abstraction, the original problem, namely how the penetration of capitalism into the agricultural sector has affected the use of paid agricultural labour, will generate four propositions subject to evaluation.

CHAPTER IV

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE USE OF PAID

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

In this Chapter the focus will be on how the farmer's dependent economic status is reflected in his use of paid agricultural labour. By proceeding with the discussion at this lower level of abstraction, the main underlying question of this research will give rise to the formulation of four propositions, or test implications, to be evaluated in the light of related census and labour force survey data. The starting point of the discussion will be the 'cost-price squeeze' which, as already elaborated in the preceding Chapter, is the result of fundamental economic processes responsible for the economic dependence of the contemporary agricultural producer. In order to move in the direction of identifying the effects of the cost-price squeeze on the farmer's use of paid labour, the discussion will first have to address itself to the broader question: What are the implications of the cost-price squeeze for the economic strategies adopted by farmers in recent years?

It will be argued that the economic strategies which are adopted by farmers, to try and cope with the cost-price squeeze, have contributed to the development of

significant changes in the following three areas: the structure of the agricultural labour force, the economic characteristics of the agricultural producers hiring paid labour, and the temporal nature of paid agricultural labour.

The Composition of the Agricultural Labour Force

As seen in the introduction, the agricultural labour force in our contemporary industrialized society, comprises three major components: self-employed farm operators, unpaid family workers and paid labourers. It is to the structural make-up of the agricultural labour force (and not only to its numerical composition as a whole) that we must first turn in order to acquire a more complete understanding of the implications of the economic dependence of agricultural producers vis-à-vis changes in the agricultural labour force. Failure to do so presents the danger that trends related to figures¹ that are released by various government agencies may be interpreted as applicable to each component element.

As seen earlier, Kautsky argued that the traditional composition of the concerned labour force in Europe was limited mainly to the farmer and the members of his family, with some outside help being acquired at harvest time, if at all. Since he believed that the traditional farm household was organized primarily in terms of directly satisfying its own needs (the union of industry and agriculture under one roof) he argued that the need for

¹Usually one figure which includes all three structural components lumped together is most common.

hired labour to help with agriculture was usually limited to peak periods during which the labour provided by the family was not sufficient to cope with the work. The extent to which the above portrait is reflective of the situation of the French farm settlers in the 17th and first half of the 18th century is open to speculation² due to the unavailability of aggregate data concerning the breakdown of the agricultural labour force until fairly recently. The fact that the contemporary farmer must, more than ever, emphasize rational production in the face of the cost-price squeeze if he wishes to remain in agriculture, would however lead one to believe that, when comparing today's farmer to his forefathers, in any given era, he is more likely to require outside help to achieve his necessary production objectives (i.e., all other factors being equal).

As seen in the previous chapter, the cost-price squeeze is responsible for the coming into being of a relatively new stage in the evolution of the dependence of the agricultural producer. Kautsky traced the origin and development of the farmer's dependent economic status, but

² Depending on which phase of agricultural production one is concerned with, arguments can be made in support of, or in opposition to, the minimal utilization notion of paid labour by the farm pioneer. In the case of agricultural production in the French colony, the low priority attached to the commercial potential of farming (a brief discussion of which is found in Chapter III) and the social organization of production (the Seigniorial System) would lead one to believe that outside help was rarely needed. On the other hand, with the conquest and the arrival of British land settlers, agricultural production in general became market oriented. The seignours, being cut off from their

5

he did not describe one of the logical consequences of this evolution, (that is according to the basic Marxist tenet) namely the cost-price squeeze. This does not mean to say that he did not foresee the concentration of capital in both the farm input and farm output linkage areas within the broader economic system and the more pronounced effects this concentration would have on the economic activity of the farmer.

Kautsky believed that since the household was less oriented toward self-sufficiency and more toward commercialized production, the costs of sustaining a large family actually took away manpower (family power) which had previously been available for agricultural work in the former domestic setup. Thus, for example, in the case of a farm household which was faced with the pressures of becoming more commercialized and had traditionally been composed of ten or more people, a reduction in the number of family members living on the farm, in order to try and maintain

previous commercial pursuits fell back upon the land as a source of revenue and the British settlers had their sights set on the lucrative wheat trade. In this case, one could argue that paid labour most probably played a more important role than in the preceding period, due to the greater stress placed on output.

a standard of living equivalent to previous eras, would necessitate hiring paid labour in peak periods of agricultural production, all other factors being equal. The extent to which paid labour is substituted for family labour depends on the degree to which family members are considered dispensable vis-à-vis the cost of the paid labour. If the labour of a given member of the farm household is only required at harvest time, for example, then the cost of sustaining that family member for the rest of the year will be weighed against the cost of hiring paid labour to replace the labour of that member.

The above argument is perhaps questionable in that it attributes only an economic rationale to the decision making process of the farmer. As exemplified by the fact that large family sizes are usually associated with high levels of poverty throughout the world, rational decisions based on the economic situation of the farmer most probably affect family size on the farm, but to a lesser degree than it is argued by Kautsky. However, in view of the higher level of dependence that characterizes the economic activity of the contemporary farmer, one would expect the effects of the rational decision making process on family size to have been amplified in recent years.

A factor which comes into play in terms of this rational decision making process (implicit, but not emphasized in Kautsky's treatment) is the effect of

mechanization, or put differently, of a higher degree of capital intensive production on farm family size. A move toward the greater commercialization of farms often involves an increase in the use of industrially produced farm machinery, and its use usually reduces the extent to which manpower is needed to achieve the previous output level. Therefore the introduction of machinery is a key variable contributing to the extent to which family members may be considered superfluous.

To summarize the argument, so far, as interaction with the urban based industrial sector increases, so does the use of paid labour. On the other hand, the use of unpaid family labour decreases as the farm family is subjected to adverse economic pressures and farm youths are attracted by job opportunities in the city. With respect to the economic pressures, Kautsky's focus on the rational decision making process in agricultural production is important in that it questions the completeness of explanations pertaining to the decreasing importance of unpaid family labour which only adopt a 'job attractiveness' proposition³ as the main inciting aspect. As the reader is well aware of by now, the focus of this thesis is to discern

³ See, for example, John Porter, a chapter entitled "Rural Decline and New Urban Strata" in his work "The Vertical Mosaic" (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965) and The Economics and Research Board, "Trends in the Agricultural Labour Force in Canada from 1921 to 1959" (Ottawa: Dept. of Labour, 1960)

the various ways in which the unequal exchange between the agricultural sector and the broader economic system has affected the use of paid labour in agriculture. It is most likely accurate to say that the attractiveness of jobs in and around rapidly growing cities and metropolitan areas did motivate the rural exodus of many sons and daughters of farmers. However, looking at things from the theoretical perspective elaborated in this thesis, it is also important to stress the increasing economic pressures placed on the farm household (i.e. the economic burden of supporting a large family) as a factor related to the rural exodus of the young agrarian population. As farms increase their intensity of production, one would expect more paid labour to be required at harvest time and during other peak periods of the year. In certain cases this would replace the unpaid family labour which is no longer available and help in achieving the new production objectives. As agricultural production becomes more specialized and commercialized, one would expect the ranks of this component of the agricultural labour force to swell (both in terms of seasonal and part-time workers, and in terms of year-round workers). What had made (and still makes, to a very noticeable extent) agriculture strikingly different from the industrial sectors, including other primary sectors, is the composition of its labour force. Whereas the labour force of most other sectors was composed largely of a dichotomy of, on the one hand, a very large proportion

of paid workers and, on the other hand, a small proportion of entrepreneurs,⁴ the agricultural labour force provided a vivid contrast. However, with the externally stimulated push toward the increased commercialization of agriculture, one would expect this gap to be closing at an accelerated rate. This is true to the extent that the factors presented earlier in the discussion as obstacles to the penetration of capitalist relations of production in agriculture do not impede the structural transition of the agricultural labour force. For example, the limitations of the land -- a production input which is more crucial in agriculture than it is in most other sectors -- may impede the growth of large acreage farms and hence, all other factors being equal, the growth of the paid labour component in agriculture. However, before continuing on the subject of the changing composition of the labour force in agriculture, a further dimension must be introduced into the discussion, namely the economic strategies which may be adopted by the agricultural producer in the light of the cost-price squeeze.

As seen in the previous chapter, the agricultural producer has to cope with the effects of the cost-price

⁴As is obvious from reading the previous chapter, contrasting the composition of the agricultural labour force to that of other industries should not be seen as an admission that the contemporary farmer has a similar degree of control over his means of production than that exercised by an entrepreneur in other sectors of the economy. The parallel is made for the sole purpose of trying to present a clear picture of the hypothesized changes in the composition of the agricultural labour force.

squeeze which have become acute in recent years. This is due to the greater degree of concentration of capital in the industrial sectors which supply the contemporary farmer with his essential economic resources, and in the retail outlet sector which dictates to the farmer (with the help of the 'legitimate' authority of the State) the prices he will receive for his products.⁵ As a result of the unequal exchange which has characterized the contemporary farmer's growing field of relations with the urban-based corporate 'center', there appears to have been two opposite polar directions toward which the economic strategies of the agricultural producer have gravitated. On the one hand, he has tried to cope with the cost-price squeeze without implementing any major changes in his pattern of agricultural production which would require greater disbursement on his part. This economic strategy pole implies that the farmer would not incur any further expenses as a result of substitution and/or amelioration with respect to any major input component. This would have the result of not increasing his production substantially, except in some cases, where an increase in production would be attributable to greater physical strain on his part and that of his family. On the other hand, many farmers have tried to cope with the squeeze by procuring more capital (land, machinery

⁵For a discussion of the extent to which capital is concentrated in these sectors in Canada and in Quebec, see for example, Don Mitchell, "The Politics of Food" (Toronto: James and CO., 1975), D. Lessard, "L'Agriculture et le Capitalisme au Québec", (Montréal: Editions l'Étincelle, 1976, Monique Piot, "Agriculture et Capitalisme au Québec:

and building) and/or labour, and/or other input variables, such as fertilizers and pesticides.

As seen earlier, both Mitchell and Hedley seem to recognize the existence of these two economic strategy poles in their analysis of the changes in the organization of production in Western Canadian agriculture. This is most evident in Mitchell's work and is reflected in his classification of farmers into small farmers (who "tried to avoid the pressure of rising costs by maintaining a small land base... [and avoiding] ...cost outlays for land, buildings and machinery"⁶ and medium and large farmers (who try to achieve higher incomes by increasing the volume of their output). In the case of the farmer who tries to cope with the cost-price squeeze without implementing any major changes in his pattern of agricultural production, this strategy more often than not, means a gradual withdrawal from agriculture. This operator exodus out of agriculture is likely to be reflected in a noticeable drop in the numerical composition of the self-employed operator component of the agricultural labour force.

So far, what has been put forward in terms of

L'Agro-Industrie et l'Etat", Anthropologie et Sociétés, 1 (2), 1977, pp 71-88, and John Warnock, "The Political Economy of the Food Industry in Canada - Oligopoly and American Domination", in Our Generation, Vol. 11, No. 4

⁶ Don Mitchell, "The Politics of Food", *Ibid.*, p. 19

expectations vis-à-vis the composition of the agricultural labour force is: (1) a decrease in the proportion of the unpaid family component; (2) a decrease in the proportion of the operator component and; (3) an increase in the proportion of the paid labour element (Proposition 1). It has been argued that the decrease in the proportion of the unpaid family component is attributable to the rural exodus of a large number of young members of the farm family household. This exodus should be seen as not only due to the attractiveness of employment opportunities in industrial centres, relative to job opportunities in the agrarian community, but also as partly due to the inability of farmers (who are faced with the cost-price squeeze) to adequately provide for large families. As just seen, the decrease in the proportion of the operator component was put forth as being reflective of the fate of the agricultural producers who, in the face of the cost-price squeeze, adopt economic strategies approaching what could be termed the 'coping without expanding' pole of action. The increase in the proportion of the paid labour component has been first associated with the hypothesized decrease in the unpaid family component, in that the use of paid labour was likely to replace a portion of the labour of the unpaid family members who left the farm. Second, as will be seen in the following section, the agricultural producers adopting economic strategies approaching what could be labelled the 'coping by expanding' pole of action are likely to

increase their use of paid labour.

It follows that, if there has been an overall decrease in the numerical composition of the agricultural labour force, the brunt of this decrease would be absorbed by the operator and unpaid family components (Proposition 2).

The Economic Characteristics of the Agricultural Producer utilizing Paid Labour

Returning to the plight of the farmers adopting economic strategies which tend toward the coping without expanding pole of action, their eventual exodus from agriculture is almost certain. As seen in Table 6 (in which farms are distributed according to the total sales of agricultural products in constant 1961 Dollars) there is a very noticeable decline in the number of farms in the lower total value of sales categories for Quebec from 1961 to 1971. Even though 'value of the total sales' is only one of the three indicators of the scale of production used later on in this research, the 38,325 decrease in the absolute number of farms for the less than \$2,500 total sales category, for the period 1961 to 1971, and the 11,085 decrease in the absolute number of farms for the \$2,500-\$4,999 total sales category for the same period, clearly depicts the fate of farmers who do not increase their productivity. The disappearance of these low productivity enterprises can only be postponed by greater

TABLE 6: Number of farms in Quebec, by Economic Class, in constant 1961 Dollars*, 1961, 1966 & 1971

Economic Class	Farm Numbers**			Distribution of Farm Numbers by Economic Class			Rate of Change By Economic Class (1961=100)		
	1961	1966	1971	1961	1966	1971	1961	1966	1971
Less than \$2,500	56,655	41,538	23,300	59.27	51.83	38.10	100.00	73.32	41.13
\$2,500 - \$4,999	23,205	18,725	12,120	24.28	23.36	19.82	100.00	80.69	52.23
\$5,000 - \$9,999	11,851	13,299	14,555	12.40	16.59	23.80	100.00	112.22	122.82
\$10,000 & over	3,871	6,584	11,179	4.05	8.22	18.28	100.00	170.09	288.79
Total	95,582	80,146	61,154	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	83.85	63.98

* Farm numbers by economic class in constant 1961 dollars for 1966 and 1971 census years were the adjusted results based on the method to be described in Chapter V

** Farm numbers shown in the table exclude institutional farms

Source: W.D. Jones & Fu-Lai Lung, "A regional comparison of structural change and Resource use in the Canadian Farm Industry, 1961 to 1971", Canadian Farm Economics, Vol. 12 (5), October 1977, p. 22

inputs of unpaid labour on the part of the farmer and his family, that is if indeed he has more time and energy to put into his operation and/or can fall back on more non-remunerated labour on the part of his family. Without a substantial increase in his production, and hence in his sales, his net income will keep on falling, and in this case, a reduction in the expenses attributable to certain input variables is likely to come about.

Depending on the input composition of a given agricultural operation, paid agricultural labour may be one of the inputs which is reduced as a result of the decrease in income. In speaking of the undermining of the highly diversified labour intensive pattern of farming which dominated agricultural production, prior to the end of the Second World War, in the area of Central Alberta he studied, Hedley states:

Of particular relevance, in this respect, was that the low productivity of these enterprises, in addition to the increasing demand for labour in other sectors of the economy, made it impossible to retain sufficient hired or unpaid family labour to support the diverse operations. 7

The traditional pattern of farming which Hedley describes, comes close to the coping without expanding strategy pole since, as seen in Chapter II (in the discussion of his article) the priority is not in the direction of constantly seeking to increase productivity, but is rather to provide

7 Max J. Hedley "Independent Commodity Production and the Dynamics of Tradition", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 13 (4) 1976, pp. 417-418

greater security in the face of the natural risks which are inherent to agricultural production and the hazards⁸ of market fluctuations. Looking at the paid labour component, one may find that farmers who tend to act along lines which approach the 'coping without expanding' strategy may be forced to cut back on the paid labour component which goes into the production process and this may be realized (depending on the extent to which labour has been used in the past) by eliminating the use of year-round agricultural labour and/or by cutting back on paid seasonal and casual labour.⁹ Thus, it is hypothesized that farmers who adopt economic strategies along the lines of the 'coping without expanding' model (who, by definition, would generally tend

⁸As noted in Chapter III, one will remember that Marketing Boards, which have as one of their functions, to provide stable price levels, are a relatively new phenomenon.

⁹Viewed in relation to Proposition 1, and more specifically the hypothesized increase in the proportion of the paid labour component, this development is not seen as altering to any significant extent the direction of the trend toward a larger paid labour element in the agricultural labour force. The farmers who are likely to cut back on their use of paid labour (those adopting economic strategies approaching the 'coping without expanding' pole) are also most likely to eventually drop out of agriculture or to seek a large share of their income in off-farm employment. On the other hand, as will soon be argued, those farmers who adopt economic strategies approaching the 'coping by expanding' pole are most likely to increase their use of the paid labour input, besides having the greatest chances of remaining in agriculture by virtue of their greater productivity in the face of the cost-price squeeze. Thus, since the number of farms likely to cut back on the use of paid labour most probably will have decreased, and the number of farms likely to increase their use of paid labour, most probably will have increased, the proportion of the total agricultural labour force attributable to the paid labour component will have a tendency to increase. It goes without saying that this pressure

to be of the smaller scale variety) will tend, over time, to employ less paid agricultural labour (the first dimension of the hypothesized trend stated at the end of the chapter in the form of Proposition 3). The substitution of paid labour by the operator's own free labour and/or that of his family¹⁰ or by way of increasing the expenditure on another input factor accordingly (i.e. spending the amount which would have been disbursed for paid labour on another input item) can only delay the eventual withdrawal of the operator from agriculture, or his transition into a part-time farmer. Whatever line of action is followed by the agricultural producers who, in the face of the cost-price squeeze adopt economic strategies congruent to, or approaching, the coping without expanding pole of possible action, one thing seems clear with respect to hired labour: in their futile fight to stay in farming, they will be cutting back on its use since the cost of this labour and that of other input factors will increase while their net income decreases.

In contrast to the above, the agricultural producer who adopts a strategy that approaches what could be termed the 'coping by expanding' pole of action will take measures

contributing to an increase in the proportion of the paid labour element is complemented by the decline in the number of farm operators and unpaid family farm workers.

¹⁰This may involve a temporary increase in the use of unpaid family labour, but since the farms which adopt economic strategies which approach the coping without expanding pole of action are likely to be squeezed out of agriculture, this does not contradict the hypothesized decrease in the unpaid family labour element.

to increase his production by incurring greater expenses on input factors for which he is presently disbursing money, or by introducing one or more new input components without simply readjusting his budget by eliminating other inputs (a strategy which, as just seen, comes closer to approaching the coping without expanding pole). By increasing certain outputs such as land, tractors and other machinery, fertilizers, pesticides and, in some cases, even paid labour, the farmer who adopts this position hopes to increase his production to an extent that he will be producing more per dollar invested and, hence, be able to better cope with the unfavorable market conditions and the high prices he is paying for his essential economic resources. As most recent studies show,¹¹ at least at an aggregate level, a substantial increase in production is usually accompanied by an increase in the rate of return on investment, and this is based on the principle that each additional unit produced above and beyond the total cost of inputs going into production increases net income. Even though a high profit margin is not likely to exist¹² in the agricultural production sector, due to the cost-price squeeze, striving for higher productivity would seem to be the only viable means of

¹¹ For example, see article by D. Shute, "Agricultural Productivity in Eastern Canada", Canadian Farm Economics, Vol. 11, No. 5, October 1976, pp 7-16

¹² As seen in an article in a recent issue of Time Magazine, entitled "The New American Farmer", November 6, 1978, the return on investment which is obtained by the most successful and largest scale American farmers is not comparable to the profit margins in other industries, especially if we take into account the size of the

ensuring the continuity of an agricultural enterprise.

Whether agricultural production will survive by implementing the above rationale, without the development of large capitalistic corporate farm operations, is a question that time alone will answer. If one keeps in mind the obstacles to the infiltration of the capitalist mode of production touched upon in Chapters II and III, then it would not be audacious to speculate that whatever large scale capitalistic farming exists will remain outnumbered by individually and/or family owned capital intensive farming operations. As we have just seen in table 6 , the coping without expanding strategy does not look promising in terms of the farmer remaining in agriculture and survival seems to be in the direction of the option just discussed, with family farms still being able to hang-on by increasing their output.

As far as the labour input is concerned, the increase in disbursements by the farmers who adopt the 'coping by expanding' approach appears to be directed toward input

investment involved in these immense U.S. farming enterprises. In speaking of one of the new breed of American farmers, in this case a wheat and sugar beet farmer of 3,500 acres, Time Magazine states: "Over the years Benedict has averaged a return of only 3.5% on the 3.5 Million present value of his investment... in theory he could enjoy a larger income by selling out and putting the money in Bank Certificates of deposits paying around 9% interest." p. 58 Time Magazine then goes on to reinforce one of the arguments made in Chapter III when pointing out: "...such profits, on even the most efficient farms are too meager to interest big corporations. The fears that family farm would be taken over by agri-business have proved unfounded. Corporations with more than ten stockholders account for less than 2% of U.S. farm sales". p. 58

variables other than paid labour and especially farm machinery.¹³ However, to conclude that job opportunities will become non-existent would be misleading. With the increasing use of farm technology and scientific know how by farmers who implement an economic strategy which tends to approach the coping by expanding pole, the requirements placed on paid agricultural labour will become greater in terms of the skill level of each worker. This is especially true in the case of year-round workers. Even though the latter dimension will not be explored in detail in this research, it should be kept in mind in relation to policy formulation in the area of the rehabilitation of developmentally handicapped persons in agricultural areas. What directly concerns us here is the expectation which has been implied throughout the last two or three pages, namely that the paid agricultural labour input is likely to be utilized increasingly more by those farmers who cope by expanding, and increasingly less by those farmers who cope without expanding (Proposition 3).

The above expectation would seem to logically follow Propositions 1 and 2. As seen earlier, what is usually termed 'the agricultural labour force' is composed of three elements, and the theoretical perspective through which this research has been undertaken points to a marked change in the distribution within each of these elements, which includes a drop in the proportion attributable to the operator

¹³For example, see article by D.M. Shute, Ibid.,

element. It follows from the above discussion, that the largest proportion of those farmers being evicted from agriculture would be the ones who are not able to increase their productivity sufficiently to remain in business (i.e., those who tended to adopt a coping without expanding economic strategy) and that the use of paid labour made by this category of farmers would decrease. In fact, this expectation seems to be quite consistent with the objectives of a report of the Federal Royal Commission on Canadian Agriculture entitled "Canadian Agriculture in the Seventies" in which one of the most clearly stated recommendations to the Government was the commercialization of agriculture. This objective stands out clearly when looking at some of the main guidelines on which the major recommendations of this report are based:

- 1- Whenever possible production must be oriented toward more profitable commercial outlets...
- 4- The young farm operators who cultivate non profitable farm enterprises should pull out of agriculture and benefit from short-term social assistance and vocational training programs as well as from job placement services in other sectors of the economy. 14

Since governments usually have a tendency to publish policy studies which are compatible with their own views on the subject, and since government policy has such a great impact on the destiny of farmers in this country, it would not be surprising to find out that the governmental

¹⁴"Canadian Agriculture in the 70's", a report from the Commission on the Planification of Canadian Agriculture, (Ottawa, The Queen's Printer, 1970), p. 11

spearheaded push toward the commercialization of agriculture has had, as a consequence, a strong contribution to the realignment of the agricultural labour force in a manner which is increasingly compatible with the great majority of other sectors of the economy (i.e. a small entrepreneurial class and a large paid labour force).

Even though the coping by expanding strategy may eliminate paid agricultural work opportunities in cases where a farm operation was radically transformed from being labour intensive to capital intensive, the expansion of production, if it does not involve a drastic shift from a labour intensive to a capital intensive operation, should (given a sufficient increase) actually entail new job opportunities for paid labour. Here, it is useful to distinguish between the short and the long term effects of the increased intensification of farm operations. If, by adopting a strategy which approaches the coping by expanding pole of action, a farm operation takes a radical step in the direction of becoming more capital intensive, the short term effects of the utilization of paid labour may result in a reduction of its use. However, the long term effects should also be envisaged. Being faced with the cost-price squeeze, agricultural producers are confronted by the task of having to increase their productivity. Thus, a farm which initially reduced its use of paid labour as its production process was drastically altered in the direction of being more capital intensive, can in the long

run, increase its utilization of paid labour beyond the degree to which it did prior to the initial change in the nature of its operation. In the case of farms which were already capital intensive at the beginning of the time span being considered, efforts to become productive may have the short term consequence of increasing the use of the paid labour input. For example, the addition of X value of livestock and Y value of machinery in an already capital intensive dairy enterprise (which had been run by a single operator with some unpaid help from his family) may actually necessitate the hiring of a paid year-round worker for the simple reason that the operator would no longer be able to cope with all the work required, or willing to put in the necessary extra hours of work.

The final decision concerning the hiring of paid labour will obviously be influenced by the availability of suitable labour and the market price. These conditions being favorable to the farmer, his use of paid labour should increase, as production increases. If the present Quebec Government policies vis-à-vis helping the agricultural producer secure paid agricultural labour¹⁵ achieve their intended impact, then decisions to employ paid labour or not should be positively influenced.

¹⁵ See Appendix B for an official description of four such programs - two wage subsidy programs, one housing improvement program aimed at improving the state of dwellings for seasonal farm workers, and one moving and transportation subsidy program for full-time and seasonal workers - for the fiscal year 1978-1979.

If the trend is to less unpaid family labour, it would seem logical to expect that more and more of the labour requirements that are created by farmers adopting economic strategies which approach the coping by expanding pole of action will be filled by paid agricultural workers. As is pointed out in a study on "Trends in the Agricultural Labour Force in Canada", undertaken by the Economics and Research Branch of the Department of Labour:

If less help is obtained from family members, farmers will probably have to engage a higher proportion of hired labour which may not be as readily available and which will require more careful recruitment. 16.

As will be seen in Chapter VI, the first dimension of this expectation seems to have realized itself. As for the availability and skill level of the paid agricultural labour force, the existence of programs to help farmers secure paid labour in Quebec and in other regions of Canada, attests to the disequilibrium between the demand for, and the supply of paid labour in agriculture, given current wage levels and working conditions.

The Temporal Nature of Paid Agricultural Labour

A further expectation put forward, here, is that year-round labour will increasingly become a larger proportion of all paid agricultural labour (Proposition 4). If the number of small scale farm enterprises is decreasing at an unprecedented rate, and the number of large scale

¹⁶ Trends in the Agricultural Labour Force in Canada, from 1921 to 1959, Economics and Research Branch, Dept. of Labour, Ottawa, August, 1960, p. 56

farms appears to have significantly increased (see Table 6 in the case of Quebec¹⁷) then one would expect the proportion of total weeks of paid labour attributable to paid year-round employment to have increased. The reason for this is quite simple, small scale farm enterprises tend to use paid labour in a seasonal manner, if they use paid labour at all, whereas large scale farms are more likely to employ paid agricultural labour, especially as far as year-round labour is concerned. In speaking of Canadian agriculture up to 1960, the previously cited study comments on this subject in the following way:

It might be supposed that with a considerably smaller labour force in agriculture in recent years, a higher percentage of those remaining on farms would be employed the year-round. The trend, however, has actually been in the opposite direction. 18

It is the contention put forward here that the above expectation has finally been realized in the last two decades. Since the above mentioned study was completed, the cost-price squeeze has become more acute and has contributed to the acceleration of the previously described economic mechanism which is put forward here as having, as a relevant effect, an increase in the proportion of the

¹⁷As seen earlier in this Chapter, Table 6 shows that a definite trend exists in the direction of the disappearance of smaller scale farms and the growth of larger scale operations, as reflected by decreases in the absolute number of farms classified under the two lower total sales categories and by increases in the number of farms listed under the two higher total sales categories during the period 1961-1971.

¹⁸Trends in the Agricultural Labour Force in Canada, from 1921 to 1959, Ibid.,

total weeks of paid labour attributable to year-round employment. If this claim is substantiated, then the agricultural labour force could be said to be realigning itself with the other sectors of the economy on another front (besides that of the rapprochement with respect to the structural composition of the agricultural labour force) namely the regularity of its paid labour.

Summary of Propositions

The model which follows summarizes the logic of the arguments put forward in this chapter. The propositions which are listed below should be seen as 'non-operationalized' statements of the expectations which have given shape to the empirical dimension of the research design.

Proposition 1

There has been a significant structural change in the composition of the agricultural labour force in Quebec in the direction of a proportional decrease in the self-employed farm operator and unpaid family components, and a proportional increase in the paid labour element.

Proposition 2

The decrease in the number of persons engaged in

the agricultural labour force in Quebec has been at the cost of the self-employed farm operator and unpaid family components of the agricultural labour force.

(This can be seen as a corollary of Proposition 1).

Proposition 3

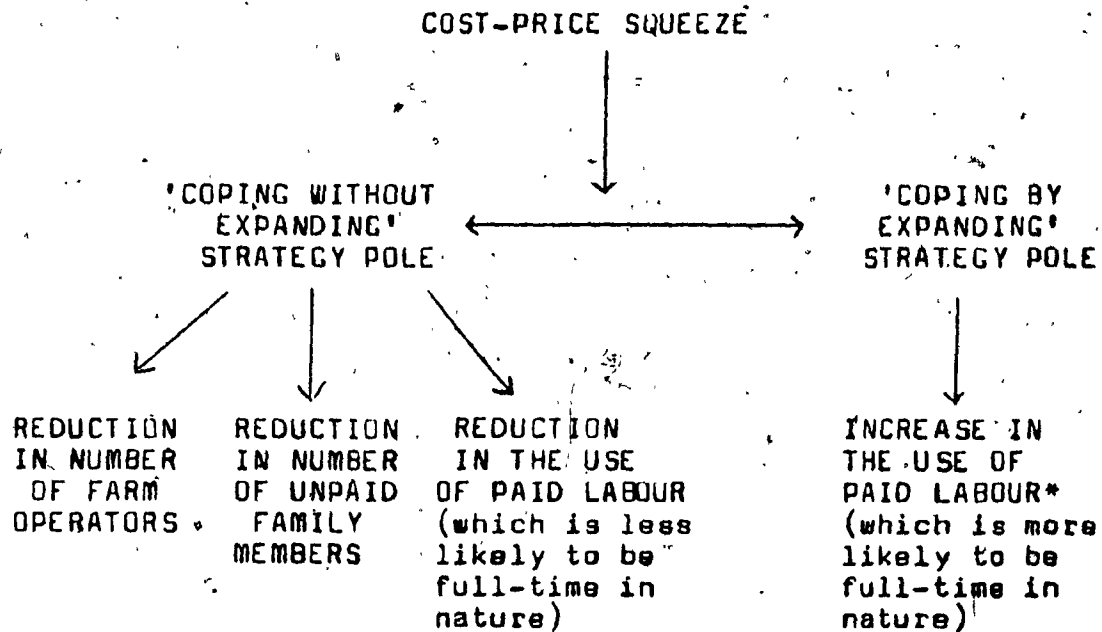
The proportion of paid labour being utilized by large scale farm enterprises has increased and conversely the proportion utilized by small scale farm enterprises has decreased.

Proposition 4

There has been an increase in the proportion of paid agricultural labour attributable to year-round work.

Prior to assessing the empirical validity of the above propositions, we must first turn to a discussion of the methodology employed in the collection of the relevant data.

MODULAR RECAPITULATION OF ARGUMENTS CONCERNING THE HYPOTHESIZED EFFECTS OF THE FARMER'S DEPENDENT ECONOMIC STATUS ON THE USE OF PAID AGRICULTURAL LABOUR IN RELATION TO THE COMPOSITION OF THE AGRICULTURAL LABOUR FORCE, THE ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS EMPLOYING PAID LABOUR AND THE TEMPORAL NATURE OF PAID LABOUR.



*The absence of any direction concerning the numerical composition of the operator and family labour elements under the 'coping by expanding' pole of action should be interpreted as an indicator that the numerical composition of these two components is expected to remain relatively stable when compared to the hypothesized changes with respect to these two elements under the 'coping without expanding' strategy pole. It has been argued that the farmer who expands, and consequently should increase productivity, will be in a more favorable position to cope with the cost-price squeeze than his 'coping without expanding' counterparts. This implies that he will be more likely to remain in agriculture and sustain the cost of providing for the members of his family.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

This Chapter will concern itself with the methodology adopted in light of the research problem and will comprise an elaboration of the rationale for using secondary analysis, and a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of working with census and labour force survey data. It will conclude with the operationalization of the four propositions put forward in the previous Chapter.

As the reader might have expected, due to the size of the working universe, the propositions will be evaluated in the light of data which has already been gathered and organized in a tabular format. This method, which is termed 'secondary analysis', was judged to be the only realistic avenue. First, the funds which would have permitted the first hand collection of data (by way of a survey) were not available and, second, the analysis involves comparison over time and the accurate recording of data related to happenings dating from 10, 15 years, and even longer periods back in time would be, to say the least, difficult to achieve in the light of the quantitative nature of the desired data (e.g., the number of weeks of paid labour hired by a farmer in 1961). To conduct the equivalent of a one phase census of

agriculture (in which the entire universe is consulted) related to the questions being explored, or even a statistically viable survey in the hope of obtaining the desired data, would be not only financially impossible, but methodologically questionable with respect to the quality of the data collected in relation to previous periods. As seen in an article by Allan D. Steeves, entitled "The Flows of Canadian Farm Operators into and out of Agriculture"¹, the turnover rate in farming is very high. By obtaining information only from the farm operators who are functioning at one point in time (who may not have been in agriculture 5, 10 or 15 years ago) any attempt at making viable comparisons over time would be impossible. Thus, it is not surprising to find out that the only source of data which is available in view of the aggregate level of the information desired emanates from Statistics Canada which is responsible for the collection and compilation of census data and a multitude of other quantifiable information.

There are two principle sources for the data presented in Chapter VI: first, the Census of Agriculture and, second, the Labour Force Survey Catalogue 71.001, from which the raw data was abstracted. More will be said later on this subject, and on the problems which were encountered in relation to each proposition, but first the choice of the working universe must be elaborated.

¹Allan D. Steeves, "The Flows of Canadian Farm Operators into and out of Agriculture, Depart. of Sociology and Anthr., Carleton University, Ottawa, a paper delivered to the annual meeting of the C.S.A.A., in London, Ontario, May-June 1978, p.14

As seen earlier, the main focus is on Quebec agriculture as a whole, even though data on Canada and/or other provinces will be presented for purposes of comparison. The adoption of this general universe is consistent with the objective of determining whether the hypothesized trends are noticeable at the provincial level of Quebec agriculture. One point should be made very clear in relation to the choice of the working universe, and it concerns the level at which generalizations may be made. It is not the intention of this researcher to commit what is called 'the ecological fallacy'. "The ecological fallacy can occur when we make inferences from units of observation at a higher level [in this case the provincial level] to units of observation at a lower level"². As previously discussed, the objective is to see whether the hypothesized developments are apparent at the provincial level, and concluding that such developments (if confirmed for the province as a whole) exist at the county level or even the census subdivision level, would be committing such a fallacy. In a given region of the province a certain trend, which was found to exist at the provincial level, may not exist, or even be in a completely opposite direction, whereas in another region the trend may be congruent with, or even far more noticeable than the development noted at the higher level of observation.

As he states: "...it now appears that of Canada's 337,810 census farm operators in 1976, approximately 44 percent of them had entered agriculture in the previous ten year period. By contrast, 56.2% of the total number of 1966 census farm operators had exited from agriculture by 1976", p. 14

²D. McGaw & G. Watson, "Political and Social Inquiry", (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1976), p. 134

As will be discussed in the conclusion, any policy formulation should realize the danger outlined above and a decision to implement vocational services related to the employment of developmentally handicapped persons in a given agricultural area should be first preceded by, among other things, a careful examination of the topics discussed in this research, but this time at a lower level of observation. However, the techniques involved in obtaining the desired data at the census division and census subdivision levels, would be more complicated since the desired cross-tabulations are only available in the agricultural census publications for the province (a technical reason which renders analysis at this level somewhat less complicated). Unfortunately, the desired cross-tabulations are not always available at the provincial level (or they may be available for one year, but not for another) and trivariate tables are not available at any level of observation.

Besides these problems, other difficulties exist related to the changing definitions of terms and the changing categories used, from year to year, in the presentation of the census data. However, these problems are usually only minor and can be overcome by manipulating the raw data (e.g., grouping two categories together for one year to enable comparison with a category in another year). If we are dealing with data that is presented in the census publications, at worst one may get a slight headache before figuring out the solution to such a problem. More will be

said on this subject in relation to the presented data related to each proposition, as we now turn to the operationalization of the major terms involved and to the description of the procedures used in the presentation of the data.

Propositions 1 and 2

In the previous Chapter it was hypothesized that a change in the structural composition of the agricultural labour force has taken place in the direction of a proportional increase in the paid labour component and a proportional decrease in the operator and unpaid family labour elements (Proposition 1). It was also put forward that these two latter components have absorbed the major part of the reduction in the numerical composition of the agricultural labour force since the Second World War (Proposition 2). The main source which enabled the evaluation of these two propositions is Statistics Canada, "The Labour Force Survey" Catalogue 71.001, which includes (according to which year is being scrutinized), besides the unemployment rates and the numerical breakdown of the employed and unemployed labour force per sector of the economy, a table in which the agricultural labour force is classified according to what is termed 'class of workers', for Canada and for the Provinces. Two other sources, which had put together some of the data contained in the "Labour Force Survey Catalogue", were also consulted, namely a previously cited study entitled

"Trends in the Agricultural Labour Force in Canada, 1921-1960" and a statistical package entitled "Selected Agricultural Statistics for Canada, June 1977", published by "Agriculture Canada". Since the desired breakdown (i.e. agricultural labour force classified by type of worker) is not available at the provincial level in the concerned Labour Force Survey Catalogue, prior to 1976, the former source was particularly useful in that it provided the desired information for Quebec, for the years 1946 and 1958 (Table 13) which enable the examination of data spanning over a 32 year period.³

As far as the operationalization of the terms involved in these two propositions is concerned, little elaboration is really required. Starting with the component parts of agricultural labour, 'unpaid family labour' should be interpreted as such i.e., members of the farm operator's family who, at the time the labour force survey was conducted, had worked⁴ on the farm without receiving any monetary remuneration. The operator component includes two categories which are separated in the Labour Force Survey, namely 'self-employed operators' (who do not employ paid labour) and 'farm operators' who are

³The analysis of the related data would only have been possible for Canada as a whole if the authors of the research in question had not taken the initiative in obtaining the special tabulations.

⁴The duration of time which had to be spent by an unpaid family member to qualify as such was not specified, which would lead one to believe that, if a family member was reported as working for any period of time without remuneration by the operator, for the period for which he was being questioned, that family member was put into the 'unpaid family labour' category.

employers of paid labour and who are presumably self-employed in the great majority of cases since, as seen earlier in Chapter II, the number of corporate farms other than family farm corporations are minimal, at least in the case of Quebec. The 'paid labour' component is obviously made-up of persons who are hired by farm operators and receive a monetary remuneration for agricultural work they perform and, as it is the case with the 'unpaid family labour' category, no time requirements are given which would serve as a guideline for classification into this category. Thus, included in the 'paid labour' component are paid year-round agricultural workers and part-time, seasonal and casual workers, and this is certainly evident if we compare the figures for the total number of paid year-round workers found in the census for Quebec agriculture to the figures under the heading of 'paid labour' in the Labour Force Survey, for any

particular census year In Proposition 1, 'a proportional decrease in the operator and unpaid family components' simply means that a proportional decrease in the numerical composition of the agricultural labour force attributable to, on the one hand, the operator component and, on the other hand, the unpaid family labour component of the agricultural labour force, has occurred since the Second World War, and this obviously implies that the proportion attributable to the third component 'paid labour' has increased. The second proposition flows out of the first and is self evident if the first proposition is substantiated since, if a major shift in the composition of the agricultural

labour force is shown to have occurred in the hypothesized direction, over the 1946-1978 period, it follows that any decrease in the overall numerical composition of the agricultural labour force over the same period would be at the cost of the components displaying decreases in the proportion of the concerned labour force attributable to each.

As far as the reliability of the data presented in Chapter VI, in relation to these two propositions, is concerned, it should be stated that the method through which the data was obtained by Statistics Canada is a survey and not a consultation of the entire universe, as it is the case in the decennial census. However, the sampling techniques used (which resemble to a great extent that used by the Gallop Poll Organization) are the same as the ones used for obtaining the data on which the calculations of the unemployment rates are based and are hailed by Statistics Canada as being among the most sophisticated and accurate of their entire arsenal.

Proposition 3

It was hypothesized that the proportion of paid labour being utilized by large scale farm enterprises has increased. This implies, conversely, that the proportion of paid labour attributable to small scale farm enterprises has decreased. In evaluating this proposition we will focus

on two indicators of paid labour: 'paid labour in general', as indicated by weeks of paid labour, and 'year-round employment', as indicated by the number of year-round workers.

The theoretical definition of a 'large scale' enterprise, which was implicit in the previous Chapter, relates directly to the economic strategies adopted by farmers in the face of the cost-price squeeze. A large scale farm is defined as a farm which, due to its generally superior level of productivity, is strategically in a more favorable position to cope with the cost-price squeeze than farms displaying lower levels of productivity ('small scale' farms). Thus, all factors being equal, except for the quantity of inputs going into agricultural production, one would expect farms using a relatively large quantity of inputs (i.e., having a relatively large dollar value of production expenses) and displaying a relatively high level of total sales, to fall under this rubric. As seen in Chapter IV, higher levels of productivity are usually associated with higher levels of return on investment. However, it should again be stressed that, in the case of agriculture, this should not be taken to mean that the agricultural producer, who considerably increases his productivity, will be automatically reaping immense profits. Rather, the higher return on investment will permit the farmer to better cope with the adverse economic conditions, and hopefully benefit from a small profit margin.

For the purpose of this study, and keeping in mind the nature and organization of agricultural data available in the census, a 'large scale farm enterprise' should be seen as ranking toward the largest value poles in relation to the three⁵ following indicators: (1) 'value of agricultural products sold', (2) 'total capital value' and, (3) 'number of year-round workers'. With respect to the indicator 'number of year-round workers', it is argued that since 88.8%⁶ of all farms in Quebec, classified as commercial in the census publication,⁷ received 50% or more of their gross income from the sale of livestock and/or products of livestock, in 1961, and the related figures are 89.3% in 1971 and 83% in 1976 (see Table 7), the use of this indicator is justifiable. All major input variables being equal (except for the purpose of this discussion, paid year-round labour) it would seem logical to argue that a farm that receives the majority of its gross receipts from the sale and/or products of animals would more likely be in the labour market for paid year-round labour than a farm which receives most of its gross receipts from, say field crops, or the sale of other agricultural products not involving a high degree of animal

⁵Originally 4 indicators were to be used, the fourth being 'acreage of improved land'. However, since the desired cross-classification (data on agricultural labour force by acreage of improved land) is only available in the 1976 census publication, it was dropped as an indicator for the obvious reason that comparison over time is not possible.

⁶This total proportion was obtained by combining the dairy, cattle-hog-sheep, poultry and livestock combination categories of the breakdown given in the census.

⁷In the 1961 census a 'commercial farm' was defined as having sales exceeding \$1,200. In 1971 and 1976, this figure was \$2,500 and over (not in constant dollars).

TABLE 7

Years	Cattle		Poul-try	Wheat	Small Grains	Field crops other than	Fruits Vege-tables	Fores-try	Misc. Spec.	Mixed	Live-stock comb.		
	Hogs Sheep	try									Field crop	Other	
<u>1961</u>													
62,497	39,657	7,034	2,236		185	1,629	1,659	943	584	8,588	294	6,508	1,766
100%	63.5%	11.25%	3.6%	0%	0.29%	2.6%	2.65%	1.5%	0.93%	13.7%	0.47%	10.4%	2.8%
<u>1971</u>													
40,932	28,646	5,183	1,561	20	342	1,124	1,472	331	423	1,830	137	1,169	524
100%	70%	12.6%	3.8%	0.048%	0.83%	2.74%	3.6%	0.80%	1.03%	4.47%	0.33%	2.85%	1.28%
<u>1976</u>													
37,270	24,072	5,239	1,103	143	1,674	1,053	1,811	N.A.	884	1,291	127	459	705
100%	64.6%	14.05%	2.95%	0.38%	4.5%	2.8%	4.85%		2.4%	3.5%	0.34%	1.23%	1.9%

Source: for "raw" data, Quebec census of Agriculture 1961, 1971, 1976.

care. Whereas the cultivation of vegetables usually does not involve a constant degree of year-round labour (except perhaps when a farm also operates large green-houses) agricultural production which is not primarily tied down to the caprices of the land and weather, but rather to the more predictable habits of animals, necessitates a constant year-round level of attention. This is especially true of other than animal care agriculture in this part of the Northern Hemisphere which limits the farmer to one crop a year. In contrast to the seasonal nature of the labour input⁸ in other than animal-care farm operations, the peak season is far less pronounced in dairy farm enterprises. The cows must be milked twice a day and one must make the rounds to pick-up the eggs, not twice a year, but every day.

The above being said, the statement made earlier, that farms involving animal care are more likely (all major input variables being equal) to employ paid year-round labour than farms where production is more directly tied to the soil, becomes clearer. In view of the large proportion of farms obtaining the majority of their gross revenue from the sale of, and/or products of animals in Quebec, the recorded shifts in the number of paid year-round workers employed, classified by number of workers hired by farms over the 1961-1976 period should, along with the

⁸ Here, I am referring to labour in general, not only paid labour.

other two indicators, serve to reveal the validity of Proposition 3. The degree of confidence in utilizing this indicator would be greater if all the farms in Quebec involved animal-care. Obviously, there is the possibility that this indicator may not apply to large scale 'non animal-care' farm enterprises (i.e., the number of paid year-round workers would not be a sensitive major indicator in these cases) and it would be less appropriate to use it for data related to a Province such as Saskatchewan, where wheat is the main source of gross receipts. However, recognizing these limitations, this indicator should be able to pick-up major changes with respect to paid labour usage. If there has been a noticeable trend toward the greater use of year-round paid labour by large scale farms in Quebec (i.e., in terms of the number of year-round workers engaged per farm) then the proportion of the paid year-round labour force attributable to the larger value categories of the number of year-round workers hired should increase; these increases would obviously be counter-balanced by decreases in the proportions attributable to the lower value categories.

In relation to the first two indicators of a large scale farm enterprise, the legitimization of their status requires less elaboration and has already been touched upon. One important qualification should lead-off this discussion: that is that whenever we refer to value of agricultural

products sold and total capital value, we are referring to value in constant Dollars. With respect to the total value of agricultural products sold, 1961 is the base year of the index "Farm Product Price Index"⁹ used to readjust the data on paid labour, whereas in the case of total capital value, the base year of the index "Farm Input Price Index"¹⁰ is 1971. By rearranging the raw data with regard to paid labour in agriculture (number of paid year-round workers and weeks of paid labour) into constant Dollar categories, for both value of agricultural products sold and total capital value¹¹ for the non base years, one should be able

⁹This index (F.P. P.I.) is found in Catalogue 62.003 and indexes for each province are available (1961=100). Its purpose is to provide a basis for evaluation of the fluctuations related to the prices received by the farmer for his products. The method employed in obtaining the data (the prices which the index reflects) is by way of a regular survey of farmers in each Province. This index is the most accurate guideline available that can be followed in an attempt to readjust the concerned paid labour data in light of a meaningful interpretation of the value of agricultural products sold. This index has also been used to readjust the distribution of farms in Quebec, according to economic class (Table 6 in Chapter IV)

¹⁰The F.I.P.I. is related to the other counterpart of the cost-price squeeze, the prices farmers pay for the economic resources (the inputs) going into the production process. Unlike the F.P.P.I., the base year for the F.I.P.I. is 1971 and an Eastern Canada Index and Western Canada Index, rather than an Index for each Province, are provided. It goes without saying that the Eastern Canada Index is used in the light of the working universe.

¹¹"This is the value of census farm capital: land and buildings, machinery and equipment (including automobiles) livestock and poultry", Statistics Canada, 1976 Census of Canada, Agriculture-Quebec, Cat. 96-805, Bulletin 12-1, p. x.

to detect whether there are 'real' increases¹² in the use of paid labour (in general) and paid year-round labour attributable to farms falling under the higher value categories (see Table 8 for an example of the use of the F.P.P.I. in standardizing data). Whereas the indicator number of year-round workers implies¹³ that the farms employing several workers will have a relatively high gross revenue and total capital value, the analysis of the concerned data in the bivariate tables involving the indicators 'value of agricultural products sold' and 'total capital value' should

¹² 'Real increases' in this instance, simply means increases which are not the result of movement from one unstandardized Dollar value category (in terms of being in constant Dollars) to another, over time, due to the concerned inflation rate.

¹³ In the case of an operator who hires several year-round agricultural labourers (if the farmer is to stay in agriculture) he must be able to cover the costs of employing year-round labour and this necessitates that the total value of the agricultural products which he sells must exceed this cost, as well as that of the other input factors going into production. It is also very unlikely that a farm employing several paid year-round agricultural workers will have a relatively low total capital value, since paid labour can only be productive enough (given the unfavourable economic setting in which agriculture operates today) to cover its costs, if it is used compatibly with the crucial resources of land and other input variables such as machinery, fertilizers, livestock, etc.. As seen in the latest studies on productivity in Canadian agriculture (cited earlier) the labour input has become increasingly less important (in terms of the capital spent on it) when compared to most other input variables, and this development lends empirical support to the above line of reasoning. If the labour input is relatively less important than the other major inputs, then one would expect a farm employing several year-round workers, or a large amount of part-time labour in general, to have a high total capital value relative to farms that employ less paid labour, (not to mention a relatively high value of agricultural products sold).

TABLE 8: Adjustment of Farm Numbers by Economic Class in Constant 1961 Dollars

Economic Class (Value of Products sold)	1971 unadjusted farm numbers	1971 farm product Price In- dex (June 1960-May 1961=100)	1971 Economic Class adjustment	1971 Adjusted farm numbers
<\$2,500	28,971	-	-	28,971+3,452=32,513
\$2,500 - \$4,999	13,316	126.6	13,316x.266=3,542	13,316-3,542+4,397=14,171
\$5,000 - \$9,999	16,527	126.6	16,527x.266=4,397	16,527-4,397+9,530=21,660
\$10,000 +	35,824	126.6	35,824x.266=9,530	35,824-9,530=26,294
TOTAL:	94,638			94,638

Source: Canadian Farm Economics, Vol. 12, No. 5, p. 31

serve to satisfy sceptics who would only use 'Dollar value' indicators in relation to any argument made concerning Proposition 3.

One last point should be made in relation to the compilation and presentation of the data related to this proposition, and it concerns the absence or readjusted paid labour data classified by value of agricultural products sold for the year 1976 and the absence of paid labour data classified by total capital value for the year 1961. Starting with the latter omission, the fact that the base year of the farm input price index is 1971 and no corresponding index number is provided for previous years, did not permit the readjustment of the paid labour data of the concerned 1961 cross-tabulation. In the case of the former omission, the explanation is more complex; due to technical reasons, which remained unresolved as expert advice was not located in spite of several attempts,¹⁴ the cross-classification of the paid labour data by value of agricultural products sold in constant Dollars only includes 1961 data, and readjusted data for 1971. It would appear that the procedure to readjust data according to the F.P.P.I. index may be somewhat different,¹⁵ when the index exceeds the 200 point level (as it

¹⁴Even though economists working for Statistics Canada and others in local universities were contacted, new information which would have helped in the resolution of the problem was not obtained.

¹⁵When the index exceeds 200 the data readjusted in the higher value category according to the given formula appears to be grossly unrepresentative due to the existence of the unlimited highest value category (in this case \$25,000 and over).

does for the year 1976) and the source¹⁶ which was used as a guide in the task of readjusting the tables in constant Dollars did not provide any additional hint. However, the data which is presented in the concerned table does permit comparison over time, and it would appear that the trend which is identified in the following chapter has persisted for the period 1971-1976. The reasoning for this is that since, as it has already been argued, high total value of sales implies high total value of capital assets, and since the hypothesized trend with respect to paid labour was detected for the latter indicator of the scale of production for the period 1971-1976 (not to mention for the other indicator 'number of year-round workers hired by farm enterprises' for the same period) one would expect the trend to have been detected by the concerned indicator for the 1971-1976 period.

Proposition 4

It was hypothesized that the proportion of paid labour attributable to year-round employment in Quebec has increased. The data source which permitted the assessment of this proposition was the Census of Canada, and more specifically the Section devoted to Agriculture. In order to obtain the most accurate reading in relation to the hypothesized changes with respect to the temporal nature of paid agricultural labour, the focus will be on 'weeks of paid labour'. Thus, the indicator which is used is the

¹⁶Canadian Farm Economics, Vol. 12, No. 5, Oct. 1972, pp 20-32

proportion of the total weeks of paid labour attributable to year-round employment. Even though this indicator provides the greatest degree of accuracy possible in view of the way in which the raw data is presented in the census publications, what constitutes a week of paid labour is not clearly defined, and this question seems to have been left to the farm operator to interpret as he wished (which could be 4, 5 or 6 days of 7, 8, 10 or even 12 hours of remunerated work per day). What is specified, in relation to weeks of paid labour, is that this labour is attributable to persons 15 years of age and over, hired¹⁷ for agricultural work (excluding housework) during the twelve month period prior to the date of the census reading and that the persons for which the weeks are recorded include paid family members as well. The definition of a 'year-round paid agricultural worker' is also somewhat problematic since it characterizes such a worker as "employed on a year-round basis as of the date of the census reading"¹⁸ and does not specify, to any greater extent, what is meant by 'year-round basis' leaving it to the farm operator to interpret at will. However, even though the definition of a year-round worker does not provide a farm operator with enough guidelines in relation to, for example, the case where he employs an agricultural worker for 40 weeks out of the last twelve months, the

¹⁷ i.e., receiving wages, a salary or a commission, or paid on a piece rate or labour contract basis.

¹⁸ 1976 Census of Canada, Agriculture - Quebec, Ibid., p. xi.

definition of this term seems to be clear enough to indicate that casual, seasonal and part-time workers should not be considered as year-round workers. With these problems in mind and since the number of weeks of paid labour attributable to year-round employment are not provided in the census, the following formula was adopted for calculating the desired proportion:

$$\frac{\text{Total number of year-round workers reported} \times 52 \text{ weeks}}{\text{Total number of weeks of paid agricultural labour}}$$

In the light of the vague definition of a paid year-round agricultural worker, the resulting proportions may be somewhat exaggerated (since, for the purposes of the formula, a year-round worker is a person who is remunerated 52 weeks out of the year), but the consistent use of the formula for the three concerned census years¹⁹, i.e., 1961, 1971 and 1976, should be able to pick-up any major fluctuations. Since the same vague definitions are used for the three concerned census years, one can only presume that the farm operators, as an aggregate body, in filling-in the census forms, interpreted these terms (i.e., weeks of paid labour and paid year-round workers) in a consistent manner, from census year to census year.

Also related to the hypothesized shift of the temporal nature of agricultural labour are two further

¹⁹As noted in Table 1, data concerning year-round employment in agriculture is not available prior to 1961. For this reason the assessment of Proposition 4 will be undertaken only for the period 1961-1976.

indicators of the changing periodical use of paid agricultural labour which came to the forefront during the closer examination of the census data, namely the classification of the farms reporting paid labour by the number of weeks of paid labour reported, and the classification of the farms hiring paid year-round agricultural workers by the number of year-round workers hired. The former indicator should also reflect the hypothesized shift toward a greater proportion of the total weeks of paid labour attributable to year-round employment, if Proposition 4 is substantiated, by showing a proportional increase in the frequencies attributable to farms hiring in the 53-104, 105-208 and the 209+ week range categories²⁰ of the concerned tables. Also, more generally speaking, this indicator should reflect any overall shift in the temporal use of paid labour (i.e., the extent to which paid labour is being used, either on a longer or a shorter duration basis. The second indicator listed above will not reflect the development depicted in Proposition 4, if substantiated. As will be seen in the next Chapter, the shifts in the

²⁰ Since a farm that hires one or more paid year-round workers is, in most cases, unlikely to report less than 52 or so weeks of paid labour, especially if seasonal, casual and/or part-time work is also reported, any shifts in the proportions of farms reporting hired labour, classified by week span of the hired labour reported due to a longer proportion of total weeks of paid labour attributable to year-round employment, should be noticeable in these three categories. It should also be added here that, whereas the census publications classify the farms reporting paid labour into 9 week span categories, the first 8 were transformed into 4 categories

proportion of farms classified by the number of year-round workers hired (i.e. either 1,2,3,4 or 5+ ²¹ workers) are not incompatible with the developments related to the previously described indicator and the original indicator of the development depicted in Proposition 4. Specifically, what this indicator measures is the changes in the extent to which paid year-round labour is being used, not in terms of the proportion of total weeks of paid labour attributable to year-round employment, but in terms of the number of year-round workers hired (i.e., 1,2,3,4, or 5+ workers) by farms reporting year-round employment.

Now that the methodology which will guide the evaluation of the 4 propositions has been made explicit, that the advantages and disadvantages of using census and labour force survey data have been discussed and that the propositions have been operationalized, the task at hand is to present and analyze the data put forward to assess these 4 propositions. Also, it should be noted that in order to facilitate the presentation of the data in a manner which will be most appropriate in view of the arguments which have been made, the findings related to Proposition 4 will be presented before those related to Proposition 3.

²¹ In this case the categories used are the ones that are found in the concerned census publications.

CHAPTER VI

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

Before proceeding with the presentation and analysis of the data related to the propositions put forward in Chapter IV, some background information will be provided.

The Declining Relative Importance of Agriculture and its Labour Force

Perhaps two of the most noticeable consequences of the rapid rate of industrialization which occurred in Canada during the Second World War and the two decades which followed, have been the striking decrease in the numerical composition of the agricultural labour force and the relegation of agriculture and its labour force to a relatively less important position vis-à-vis the other sectors of the economy.

As seen in Table 9, the total numerical composition of the Canadian agricultural labour force dropped sharply from the average of 1,399,000, for the period 1935-1939, to 474,000 in 1975 (for a percentage change of approximately -66.1%). Also, whereas the proportion of the total employed labour force in Canada engaged in agriculture constituted an average of 31.5% for the period 1935-1939¹, it has fallen

¹An estimated peak of 1,500,000 in Canadian agriculture was

Table 9 - Total Population, Labor Force, Employed Labor Force, and Persons Employed in Agriculture, Canada, Selected Years, 1935 to 1976.

Year	Total Population at June 1	Population ^a 14 years of age and over	Labor Force		Employed Labor Force ^c	
			Total ^b	Non-Agriculture	Employed in Agriculture	as a Percentage of Total
Average 1935-1939	11,052	7,872	4,526	---	3,995	31.5
1949	13,447	9,268	5,055	1,082	4,913	21.9
1951	14,009	9,732	5,223	943	5,097	18.4
1956	16,081	10,807	5,782	781	5,585	13.9
1961	18,238	12,053	6,521	698	6,055	11.2
1966	20,015	13,475	7,420	551	7,152	7.6
1967	20,378	13,874	7,694	566	7,379	7.6
1968	20,701	14,264	7,919	556	7,537	7.2
1969,	21,001	14,638	8,162	545	7,780	6.9
1970	21,297	15,016	8,374	524	7,879	6.5
1971	21,569	15,388	8,631	523	8,079	6.3
1972	21,821	15,747	8,891	491	8,329	5.8 ^d
1973	22,095	16,124	9,279	475	8,759	5.3
1974	22,446	16,562	9,662	483	9,137	5.2
1975	22,800	17,019	10,015	495	9,308	5.2
1976	23,110	16,873 ^d	10,308	491	9,572	5.0

Thousands

^a Excludes inmates of institutions, members of the armed services, Indians living on reserves and residents of the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

^b That part of the civilian population, 14 years of age and over, who were employed or unemployed.

^c Includes paid workers, self-employed and unpaid family workers.

^d 15 years of age and over.

Sources: (1) The Labor Force, Cat. No. 71-001, Monthly, Statistics Canada.

(2) Estimated Population of Canada at June 1, Cat. No. 91-201, Annual, Statistics Canada.

Note: This Table is taken from Selected Agricultural Statistics for Canada, Agriculture Canada, June 1977.

progressively to establish itself at only 5% of the total employed labour force in 1976 (474,000 out of 9,572,000)².

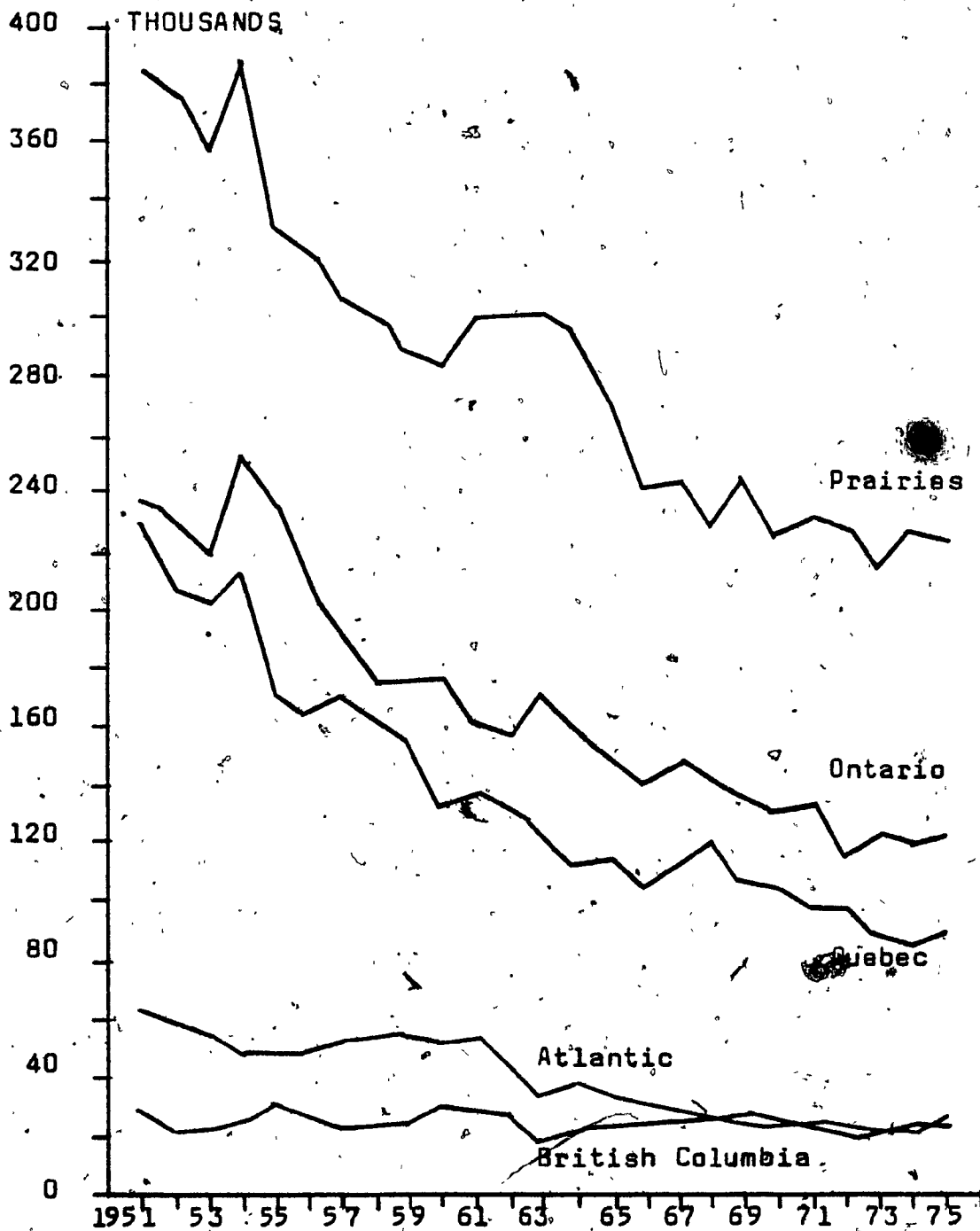
These striking decreases are not unique to Canada and should rather be viewed as 'quasi-universal' developments related to the rapid advent of industrialization.³ If this development had not been related to the changing nature of the economy, then one would have expected the agricultural labour force to have increased simultaneously with the overall increase in the total population and labour force recorded during this period (also see Table 9). Instead, employment in agriculture (i.e., remunerated and not remunerated) has decreased dramatically, whereas employment in all the other major sectors of the economy has absorbed the growth in the overall labour force. As seen in Table 10, for the period 1949-1976, agriculture was the only major sector of the economy to have

reached during that summer" (that is 1939), G.V. Haythorne, Labour in Canadian Agriculture, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1960); p. 10

² For a graphic picture of the numerical decrease in the agricultural labour force by region (1951-75) see Figure 2. The graph shows that the drastic decrease noted above for Canada occurred in every region, except British Columbia.

³ A substantive discussion of the relationship between the depopulation of the countryside and the concentration of the population in large agglomerations as a result of the growth of the manufacturing, service and even other primary sectors of the economy seems superfluous in view of the main thrust of the analysis. For a comprehensive discussion of this topic see, for example, G.V. Haythorne, "Labour in Canadian Agriculture", Ibid., Chapter I and John Porter, "Rural Decline and New Urban Strata" in "Social and Cultural Change in Canada, Editor: W.E. Mann, (Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1970), Vol.1, pp 133-144

FIGURE 2: Employment in Agriculture by Region, 1951 to 1975



Note: This chart is taken from an article by R.S. Rust and W.D. Jones entitled "Farm Labour", Canadian Farm Economics, Vol. 11, No. 6, December 1976.

Table 10 - Index Numbers of Persons Employed in Agriculture and Selected Industry Groups, Canada, Selected Years, 1949 to 1976.

Year	Industry Classification					
	Agriculture	Commercial Non-Agricultural Goods-Producing ^a	Commercial Service- ^b Producing	Manufacturing	Commercial Non-Agricultural ^c Industries	All Commercial Industries
1949	160.8	91.6	71.1	91.6	80.9	92.3
1951	139.3	99.9	75.0	98.2	87.0	94.5
1956	115.1	106.6	88.7	105.6	97.3	99.9
1961	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1966	79.9	121.4	124.2	121.2	122.9	116.7
1967	82.1	121.1	128.6	121.7	125.0	118.9
1968	80.2	120.4	130.2	120.8	125.5	119.0
1969	78.6	122.4	137.2	123.2	130.1	122.8
1970	75.0	119.9	140.5	120.3	130.6	122.7
1971	74.9	120.6	143.7	119.6	132.6	124.4
1972	70.6	123.1	149.7	123.1	136.9	127.5
1973	68.4	129.1	156.9	128.5	143.5	132.8
1974	69.5	133.7	166.8	132.7	150.9	139.3
1975	70.5	128.0	171.5	125.2	150.6	139.1
1976	68.4	129.9	177.1	126.9	154.4	142.1

.1961 = 100

^a Commercial non-agricultural goods-producing industries include: forestry, fishing and trapping, mining, manufacturing, electric power and gas utilities, and construction.

^b Commercial service-producing industries include: transportation, storage, communications, wholesale and retail trade, finance, insurance and real estate, recreation, business and personal services. Services which are not generally established for the purpose of making financial gain are excluded: for example, public administration and defence, educational institutions and hospitals.

^c Commercial non-agricultural industries exclude such non-commercial industries as public administration and defence, educational institutions and hospitals.

Source: Aggregate Productivity Measures, Cat. No. 14-201, Annual, Statistics Canada.

Note: This Table is taken from Selected Agricultural Statistics for Canada, Agriculture Canada, June 1977.

shown a decrease in the size of its labour force, as reflected by the Index 1961 equals 100. In the case of agriculture, the index decreased from 160.8 in 1949 to 68.4 in 1976. In contrast, the largest proportional increase was noted for the service producing sector (71 in 1949 to 177.1 in 1976).

The fact that agriculture has lost the predominant place it used to occupy in the economy, both in terms of being the principal employer of manpower, and in terms of the proportion of total output attributable to agricultural products (see Table 11), is beyond dispute. However, a question which follows from the above and which is crucial in the light of the rationale for undertaking this study is: To what extent has the decrease in the agricultural labour force (both in terms of absolute numbers and of its relative importance vis-à-vis the overall labour force) affected the extent to which paid agricultural labour is being utilized? It is with this question in mind that the presentation and analysis of the data related to the previously stated hypotheses will proceed.

The Changing Composition of the Agricultural Labour Force

It was hypothesized (Proposition 1) that there has been a major structural change in the composition of the agricultural labour force in the direction of a decrease in the proportion attributable to operator labour and unpaid family

Table 11 - Index Numbers of Output^a of Agriculture and Selected Industry Groups, Canada, Selected Years, 1949 to 1976

Year	Industry Classification					
	Agriculture	Commercial Non-Agricultural Goods-Producing	Commercial Service-Producing	Manufacturing Non-Agricultural	All Commercial Industries	
1949	86.8	53.3	59.1	59.5	56.1	58.5
1951	108.3	62.4	65.7	68.9	64.0	67.5
1956	122.0	87.3	85.6	89.9	86.8	89.5
1961	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1966	145.9	145.3	137.2	149.3	141.2	141.4
1967	118.6	149.2	144.9	153.3	147.0	145.5
1968	126.0	158.8	152.7	163.6	155.7	154.1
1969	133.3	168.4	162.1	175.4	165.2	163.3
1970	131.4	170.3	168.1	173.0	169.1	167.2
1971	152.7	180.6	177.6	183.3	179.1	177.7
1972	134.2	191.4	189.5	196.1	190.6	187.7
1973	137.7	207.9	204.1	213.0	206.0	202.4
1974	122.5	214.0	217.4	219.4	216.0	211.3
1975	131.2	205.2	222.5	208.6	214.4	210.2
1976	149.3	214.4	234.2	218.5	224.9	221.0

1961 = 100

- a Real Domestic Product.
- b Commercial non-agricultural goods-producing industries include: forestry, fishing and trapping, mining, manufacturing, electric power and gas utilities, and construction.
- c Commercial service-producing industries include: transportation, storage, communications, wholesale and retail trade, finance, insurance and real estate, recreation, business and personal services. Services which are not generally established for the purpose of making financial gain are excluded: for example, public administration and defence, educational institutions and hospitals.
- d Commercial non-agricultural industries exclude such non-commercial industries as public administration and defence, educational institutions and hospitals.

Source: Aggregate Productivity Measures, Cat. No. 14-201, Annual, Statistics Canada.

Note: This Table is taken from Selected Agricultural Statistics for Canada, Agriculture Canada, June 1977.

labour respectively. This implies that an increase in the proportion attributable to the paid labour element was also expected, since we are dealing here with three components. One will remember that the discovery of such a development, (according to its extent) could be interpreted as a realignment of the agricultural labour force in a manner which is more consistent with that of the other sectors of the economy. It was also seen that this realignment, if substantiated, could be interpreted as an indicator of the 'direct penetration'⁴ of capitalism into agriculture.

Table 12 (for Canada as a whole) and Table 13 (for Quebec) show that a definite realignment of the agricultural labour force has occurred to a significant extent since the Second World War. However, the process is far from being completed if the agricultural labour force is ever to resemble the structural composition of the labour force in most other major economic sectors (that is, being comprised, on the one side of a very large majority of paid workers and, on the other side, of a small entrepreneurial faction).

As it stands now, the entrepreneurial-paid worker breakdown in agriculture could be seen as characteristic of many industrial sectors during what Marx termed the

⁴'Direct penetration' should be understood here as the proportionately greater extent to which man exploits man in the production process. As seen earlier, the extent to which 'capital' has a grip on economic activity in the agricultural sector, without having as a consequence the reorganization of the relations of production, is alarming to say the least.

TABLE 12: Employed Agricultural Labor Force by Class of Workers, Canada, Selected Years, 1946 to 1976

Year	Class of workers			Total
	Paid	Unpaid	Farm Operators*	
Thousands				
1946	147 (12.4%)	360 (30.3%)	679 (57.3%)	1,186 (100%)
1949	143 (13.3%)	273 (25.3%)	662 (61.5%)	1,077 (100%)
1951	100 (10.6%)	243 (25.9%)	596 (63.5%)	939 (100%)
1956	103 (13.25%)	160 (20.6%)	514 (66.15%)	777 (100%)
1961	112 (16.4%)	133 (19.5%)	436 (64.%)	681 (100%)
1966	98 (18.%)	110 (20.2%)	336 (61.7%)	544 (100%)
1967	99 (17.7%)	122 (21.8%)	338 (60.5%)	559 (100%)
1968	99 (18.1%)	128 (23.4%)	319 (58.4%)	546 (100%)
1969	96 (17.9%)	125 (23.4%)	314 (58.7%)	535 (100%)
1970	99 (19.4%)	116 (22.7%)	296 (57.9%)	511 (100%)
1971	102 (20%)	118 (23.1%)	291 (57.%)	510 (100%)
1972	99 (20.6%)	110 (22.9%)	273 (56.7%)	481 (100%)
1973	96 (20.5%)	100 (21.4%)	270 (57.8%)	467 (100%)
1974	99 (20.9%)	103 (21.8%)	271 (57.3%)	473 (100%)
1975	110 (23.%)	99 (20.7%)	270 (56.4%)	479 (100%)
1976	143 (30.2%)	90 (19.%)	241 (50.8%)	474 (100%)

Percentage change 1946-1976

-2.7%

-75%

-64.5%

-60%

* Total of categories enumerated as "own account" and "employers"

Sources: (1) The Labor Force, Cat. No. 71-001, Monthly, Statistics Canada.
 (2) The Labor Force, Supplement, April 1965, Cat. No. 71-001, Statistics Canada.

Note: This table is taken from "Selected Agricultural Statistics for Canada, Agriculture Canada, June 1977."

TABLE 13: Employed Agricultural Labour Force by Class of Workers, Quebec, selected years, 1946 to 1978

Year	Thousands			Total all Workers
	Paid Workers	Unpaid Family Workers	Self employed	
1946	27 (9.7%)	105 (37.9%)	145 (52.3%)	277 (100%)
1958	16 (9.9%)	53 (32.9%)	92 (57.1%)	161 (100%)
July 1976	33 (36.7%)	22 (24.4%)	35 (38.9%)	90 (100%)
July 1977	31 (36.5%)	22 (25.9%)	32 (37.6%)	85 (100%)
August 1978	33 (37.1%)	23 (25.8%)	33 (37.1%)	89 (100%)
Percentage change from 1946 to 1978				
	+22.2%	-78.1%	-77.25%	-67.8%

Source: For July 1976 and 1977 and for August 1978, The Labour Force Survey, Catalogue No. 71.001, (monthly).

For the years 1946 and 1958, the figures were obtained from a Table in a previously cited study entitled "Trends in the Agricultural Labour Force, 1921-1960", which apparently obtained special tabulations from the DBS labour force survey data, since the desired breakdown for the Provinces does not appear to have been published prior to 1976.

"simple co-operation" phase⁵. This was the starting point of capitalist production and is the stage immediately following handicraft production in the guild system. In this phase production was still organized on a household basis but was becoming more and more concentrated in small capitalist enterprises.

For Canada as a whole, the proportional breakdown changed from 12.4% paid labour, 30.3% unpaid family labour and 57.3% self-employed operator labour in 1946, to 30.2% paid, 19% unpaid family and 50.8% self-employed operator labour in 1976. Put differently, this means that the only component to have shown a proportional increase is paid labour (a proportional increase of 17.8%) while unpaid family labour and self-employed operator labour showed proportional decreases (-11.3% and -6.5% respectively). In the case of Quebec (see Table 13) the structural change appears to have been more noticeable.⁶ In 1946 paid labour accounted for 9.7% of the agricultural labour force, unpaid family labour, 37.9%, and operator labour for 52.3%. In August 1978 the corresponding proportions were 37.1% for paid labour (or a proportional increase of 27.4% from 1946).

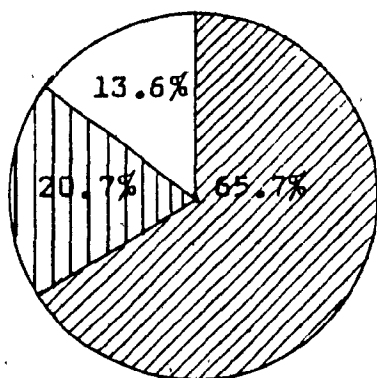
⁵ For a discussion of this Marxian concept and more generally Marx's analysis of the evolution of the capitalist mode of production in industry see I.M. Zeitlin, "Ideology and the Development of Social Theory" (New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1968) pp 104-110

⁶ Note that the latest figures for Quebec (August 1978) are being used instead of the 1976 figures in comparing this trend for Quebec to that of Canada. However, since there is only a 1% difference or so per category between the breakdowns for these two periods, the observation remains valid.

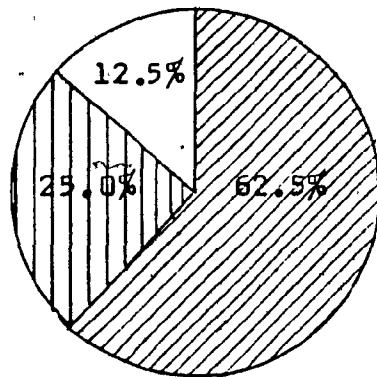
25.8% for unpaid family labour (a decrease of 12.1%) and 37.1% for operator labour (a decrease of 15.2%). The fact that, for the first time (August 1978) in the history of Quebec's agricultural labour force, the proportion of paid labour actually equalled that of operator labour (both being estimated at 37.1% of the agricultural labour force, or approximately 33,000 operators and 33,000 paid agricultural workers) highlights the observation that a major realignment has taken place in the hypothesized direction. But, this also substantiates the claim that the structural transformation of the agricultural labour force in this direction is far from being complete if the composition of the agricultural labour force is ever to resemble the sharp numerical split between paid workers and entrepreneurs which prevails in the vast majority of working forces in the other major economic sectors.

For purposes of analysis, this partial realignment of the agricultural labour force since the Second World War, may be seen as consisting of two phases. First (as seen in Figure 3 for the whole of Canada and in Figure 4 for Quebec) we have the period 1946-1958 in which a noticeable decrease (9.7% for Canada and 5% for Quebec) in the proportion of unpaid family labour took place. These decreases were compensated almost entirely by a proportional increase in the operator labour component of 8.5% for Canada and 4.8% for Quebec. Second, there is the period 1958-1978

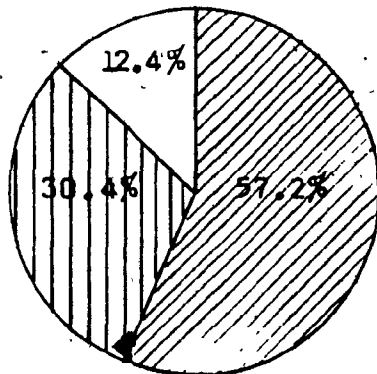
FIGURE 3: Trends in Different Types of Workers in Agriculture, Both Sexes, Canada, 1946-58
(Total Persons with Jobs* equals 100%)



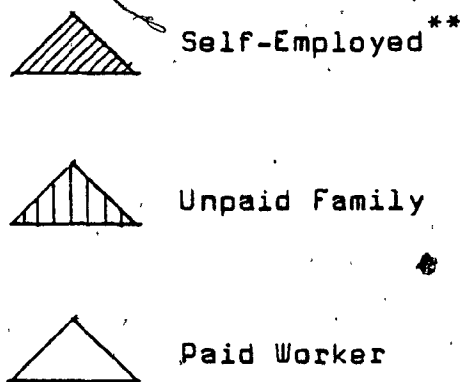
1958



1952



1946



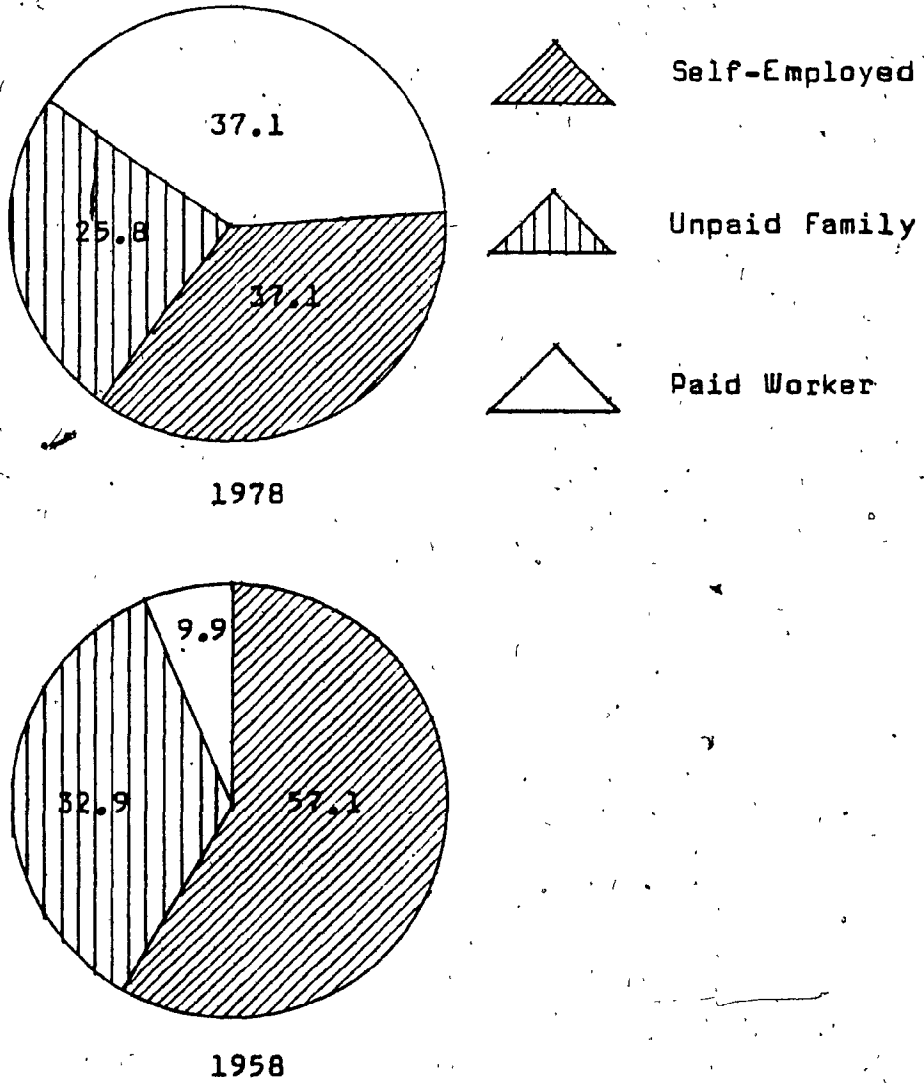
*Calculated from annual averages

**Includes own account workers and employers

Source: DBS Reference Paper No. 58, 1958 revision

Note: This chart is taken from a study of the Economics & Research Branch, Dept. of Labour, (Ottawa) entitled: "Trends in the Agricultural Labour Force in Canada (1921-1959), 1960"

FIGURE 4: Trends in Different Types of Workers in Agriculture -Quebec, 1958-1978



in which a significant increase in the paid labour proportion of the agricultural labour force was noted (plus 17.8% for Canada between 1958-1976 and plus 37% for Quebec between 1958 and August 1978). Associated with these proportional increases were sharp proportional decreases in the operator labour component (-14.9% for Canada and -20.% for Quebec).

In speaking of the period 1946-1958 and of the sharp decline in the numerical composition of the agricultural labour force, the previously cited study on "Trends in the Agricultural Labour Force" goes on to say:

Associated with this rapid decline there have been changes in the characteristics of farm labour. Perhaps the most significant of these is the diminishing supply of unpaid family help available to operators of farms. 7

However, this scenario has changed radically in the last two decades and it is mainly to changes in the operator component and much less to the unpaid family element that we must turn in order to comprehend the scope of this decline.

As seen in Chapter IV, it was hypothesized (Proposition 2) that the majority of the overall decline in the size of the agricultural labour force would be at the cost of the unpaid family and operator components of agricultural labour. As is obvious from the previous discussion, the expectation was substantiated, since if the paid labour

⁷ "Trends in the Agricultural Labour Force in Canada", Economics and Research Branch, Department of Labour, Ottawa, August 1960, p. 55

component remained proportionately stable during the period 1946-1958, and increased during the next two decades, the brunt of the overall decrease must have been absorbed by the other two categories. Table 12 (for Canada) shows that the number of paid agricultural workers noted in 1976 is, for all intents and purposes, equal to that recorded in 1946 (143,000 compared to 147,000) and that the striking -60% percentage change in the total number of agricultural workers during this period (1,186,000 in 1946 to 474,000 in 1976) was almost totally attributable to the even more striking -64.5% percentage change for the operator category (679,000 in 1946 to 241,000 in 1976) and the -75% change for the unpaid family element (360,000 to 90,000). In the case of Quebec⁸ this phenomenon is even more noticeable. Whereas the numerical composition of the paid labour component showed a -2.7% percentage change for Canada as a whole, from 1946 to 1976, it actually showed a +22.2% change for Quebec (see Table 13) for the period 1946-1978 (27,000 to 33,000). It follows that the -67.8% percentage change in the total number of agricultural workers recorded in Quebec was attributable to the even more striking percentage changes in the other two components which sustained the overall decrease in the agricultural labour force more evenly than was the case for Canada as a whole (-78.1% change in unpaid family labour and a -77.2% change in the operator labour).

⁸ Even though the time span being compared is two years longer in the case of Quebec, the percentage changes would be approximately the same if the 1976 figures were used in the calculations.

One explanation of the more acute manifestation of this pattern in Quebec is that Quebec agriculture was less commercialized than that of most other regions of Canada during the immediate post-war period⁹ and that, in attaining a level of commercialization comparable to that of most other regions in Canada, the catching-up would be reflected in more striking percentage changes for the three labour force components. But the fact that Quebec agriculture shows a greater realignment of the three component parts of its labour force than is the case for Canada as a whole, (see Tables 11 and 12 for the year 1976) in the direction which is common to the great majority of other economic sectors, indicates that Quebec agriculture has gone beyond the point of catching-up. Capitalist relations of production, in Quebec agriculture, have become proportionately somewhat more significant in terms of the present-day composition of the agricultural labour force¹⁰ than it is the case for Canadian agriculture in general. To the extent that the proportional breakdown of a given sectorial labour force is

⁹ Both the study entitled "Trends in the Agricultural Labour Force in Canada" (1960) and Haythorne's "Labour in Canadian Agriculture" (1960), cited previously, attest to the relative backwardness of Quebec agriculture vis-à-vis agriculture in the Prairies and Ontario.

¹⁰ Even though the number of paid agricultural workers has only increased by 5,000, from 1946 to 1978 (27,000 to 33,000) the striking decreases in the numerical composition of the other two components has had for an effect to increase the relative importance of the paid labour element vis-à-vis the agricultural production process.

a valuable indicator¹¹ of the concentration of capital in the production process of that sector, Quebec agricultural production still remains dominated by a large number of relatively small scale entrepreneurs. As observed in Chapter II, this portrait certainly seems to be accurate if one looks at legal ownership of farm statistics for Quebec.

It would have been erroneous to conclude that paid employment opportunities in agriculture decreased since the overall numerical composition of the agricultural labour force dropped sharply. Yet, this danger would have been present in the absence of an examination of each element of the concerned labour force. Now that it has been shown that a major structural change in the composition of the agricultural labour force has taken place, we can now proceed to explore the second dimension of the hypothesized realignment, i.e., that which relates to the seasonality of the labour force. The changes in the composition of the concerned labour force noted earlier, while still providing a vivid contrast to the labour force composition found with respect to the other major sectors of the economy, are nevertheless significant developments related to agricultural production in Quebec. The question now at hand is : Has there also

¹¹ Without going into an elaborate discussion of Marxist and Neo-Marxist theories and their supporting observations related to this subject, it is the view put forward here that the concentration of capital in a given production sector, into a few hands, (i.e., an oligopoly setup for example) will necessarily reflect a labour force situation

been a significant change in the temporal use of paid labour in Quebec agriculture?

The Changing Temporal Nature of Paid¹² Agricultural Work

As previously noted, it was hypothesized that the proportion of the total weeks of paid agricultural labour attributable to year-round employment has increased in Quebec over the last two decades (Proposition 4). Furthermore, it was argued that if this hypothesis was substantiated to any significant degree, a claim could be made to the effect that the paid labour component of the agricultural labour force had taken a step closer to its counterparts in other economic sectors in the area of the temporal nature of employment.

In order to determine to what extent the hypothesized

in which the vast majority of the labour engaged in that sector will be of the wage earning type (i.e. employees). Conversely, the decentralization of the capital involved in the production process of a given sector into the hands of a multitude of entrepreneurs or companies reflects a labour force situation in which the labour force elements have a relatively more equitable distribution.

¹² Since the relevant data for the other two elements of the agricultural labour force is not available (i.e., data which would show to what extent unpaid family and operator labour have or have not become year-round in nature) the treatment of this question will remain limited to the paid labour element. Data on off-farm employment of farm operators is available (see Ray D. Bollman "Off-Farm Work by Farmers: a Study with a Kinked Demand for Labour Curve", Ibid., for a comprehensive analysis of the available data for Canada), but there is no data available on the time spent by the farm operator and/or his family in doing agricultural work.

phenomenon is or is not unique to Quebec, Ontario rather than Canada as a whole (as treated in the previous section) will serve as a basis for comparison in this section. If the theoretical framework developed in Chapters II, III and IV have heuristic value, the direction of the hypothesized development should not diverge significantly from one province to another, that is to the extent that factors judged potentially significant in relation to the hypothesized outcome are taken into account. Ontario seems to provide a good basis for establishing to what extent the hypothesized development is not only due to coincidence since its product base, although somewhat different, is not that dissimilar to that found in Quebec (dairy farming mainly). Another variable which may affect the strength of the expected development is the degree of commercialization of agricultural production in both provinces. If Ontario was more commercialized than Quebec in 1960 (i.e., had a greater proportion of large scale enterprises), then the extent of the phenomenon might differ in intensity in these two regions.

As seen in Table 14, for Quebec, the proportion of paid labour attributable to year-round employment¹³ increased by 9.7% from 1961 to 1971 (57.2% to 66.9%). Even though, as noted in the methodology Chapter, these proportions may be exaggerated, the adopted formula should have served to detect any significant variation over

¹³ See the methodology Chapter for a discussion of the formula employed in obtaining these proportions.

TABLE 14: Changes in the temporal nature of paid agricultural labour, Quebec, 1961-1976

Year	Total weeks paid labour	Farms reporting paid labour	Prop. of Tot. weeks attr. to year-round workers employ.	Farms reporting year-round workers	Farms reporting paid labour classified by weeks of paid labour acquired
					1 - 13 14 - 52 53-104 105-208 209+
1961	661,054	32,433	(57.2%) 378,352	5,392	21,731 (67%) 7,865 (24.2%) 1,266 (3.9%) 382 (1.2%) 189 (.6%)
1971	480,520	20,698	(66.9%) 321,568	3,849	13,695 (66.2%) 5,692 (27.5%) 769 (3.7%) 326 (1.6%) 216 (1.1%)
1976	526,103	15,065	(66.%) 347,256	3,804	7,588 (50.4%) 6,003 (39.8%) 878 (5.8%) 348 (2.3%) 248 (1.6%)

Source: For raw data, Statistics Canada, Census of Canada Agriculture, Quebec, 1961, 1971 and 1976 (Catalogue details as per Table 1).

Note: The proportion of total weeks of paid labour attributable to year-round employment was calculated by multiplying the number of year-round workers (see Table 1 for Quebec) by 52 (weeks). The numbers in parenthesis under the proportions are the respective products (in weeks) of these multiplications. Since no data on the number of year-round agricultural workers is available for census years prior to 1961, it follows that the corresponding proportions for earlier census years are missing. The percentages in parenthesis under the number of farms reporting paid labour for each week span of paid labour utilized are the proportions of the total number of farms reporting paid labour for that year.

time as it appears to have done in the direction previously hypothesized. Also, associated with this development, is a noticeable decrease in the proportion of farms utilizing between 1 and 13 weeks of paid labour (67% in 1961 to 50.4% in 1976), as well as a noticeable increase in the other 4 week span categories (also see Table 14). Related to the next section of this chapter, this may be seen as yet another indication of the trend toward larger scale farming or, put differently, the disappearance of 'marginal' farm enterprises, as well as of the inability of the smaller scale farmers to compete for hired labour. But, in relation to the heading being discussed, this development could be seen as yet another sign of the changing temporal nature of paid agricultural work. The situation which the shifts in the proportional breakdown (by week span) of farms employing paid labour seem to be depicting is one in which paid labour is being increasingly utilized for longer periods of time. This phenomenon is consistent with the greater proportion of paid labour attributable to year-round employment recorded earlier, since the last '3 week' span categories obviously reflect the greater proportional use of year-round employment. But a new dimension is also brought into the picture, namely that seasonal, casual and part-time work appear to be slowly moving in the direction of being used for greater periods of time. This would certainly appear to be the case if we look at the proportional shifts in the first two time span categories which exclude -

by definition, the farms reporting year-round workers. The '1-13 week' span category shows a 16.6% decrease in the proportion of farms employing paid labour in this range from 1961 to 1976, and the '14-52 week' span category shows a 15.6% increase for the same period.

In the case of Ontario (see Table 15) the trend in relation to the proportion of total labour attributable to year-round employment appears to have also been in the same direction, but the shift has occurred during a different period. Whereas the proportion of paid labour taken-up by year-round employment went up almost 10% in Quebec from 1961 to 1971, it actually decreased in Ontario during the same period, (49.9% to 46.1%) but then swelled by 13%, to establish itself at 59.1% in 1976, thus paralleling a development which had occurred in Quebec in the previous decade (1961-1971). The fact that Quebec has displayed a greater proportion of paid labour attributable to year-round employment than Ontario, for the three census years, (57.2% compared to 49.9% in 1961, 66.9% to 46.1% in 1971 and 66.% to 59.1% in 1976) reflects a relatively greater need for year-round employment which may well be related to proportional variations, between Quebec and Ontario, in the number of farms classified by type of agricultural products. Returning to Table 15, the variations over the 1961-1976 period for the farms reporting paid labour in Ontario, (classified by week span of the labour hired) is in the same general direction but far less

TABLE 15: Changes in the temporal nature of paid agricultural labour, Ontario, 1961-1976

Year	Total weeks of paid labour	Farms re-ported paid labour	Prop. of Tot. weeks attr. to year-round employ.	Farms re-ported year-round workers	Farms reporting paid labour classified by weeks of paid labour acquired				
					1 - 13	14 - 52	53-104	105-208 209+	
1961	1,920,309	52,380	49.9% (957,788)	11,964	28,230 (53.9%)	16,298 (31.1%)	4,224 (8.1%)	2,636 (5.%)	1,012 (1.9%)
1971	1,509,412	36,383	46.1% (696,228)	6,538	20,619 (56.7%)	10,296 (28.3%)	3,067 (8.4%)	1,634 (4.5%)	767 (2.1%)
1976	1,273,140	27,889	59.1% (752,440)	6,607	13,797 (49.5%)	9,280 (33.3%)	2,716 (9.7%)	1,357 (4.9%)	739 (2.7%)

Source: For raw data, Statistics Canada, Census of Canada Agriculture-Ontario, 1961, 1971 and 1976

- 96-536, Vol. V, Part 2, Bulletin 5.2-2 (1961)
- 96-707, Vol. IV, Part 2, Bulletin 4.2-2 (1971)
- 96-806, Bulletin 12-2, (1976)

Note: Same remarks as for Table 14

pronounced than it is in the case for Quebec. Whereas, for the '1-12 week' span of paid labour, the census recorded a 16.6% decline in the proportion of farms reporting paid labour in Quebec, this decline was only 4.4% in Ontario, and the proportion of farms which hired labour in the other week span categories only increased very marginally, if compared to the increases recorded for Quebec (one such category -- '105-208 weeks' -- actually showing a very slight decrease). However, as mentioned earlier, the contrast between these two provinces may be due to the relatively more commercialized nature of agriculture in Ontario in 1961, and hence the greater variation recorded in Quebec may reflect a certain degree of 'catching-up' with respect to this dimension of the temporal use of paid labour.

A comparative scanning of 1961 and 1976 for the week span categories for both Quebec and Ontario suggests that such a catching-up has taken place. But the above explanation of the concerned variation between Quebec and Ontario should not take away from the validity of the observation noted earlier, but rather serve to qualify it. There is a definite trend toward a proportionately greater use of paid labour on a longer term duration, both as far as year-round and non year-round employment in both provinces are concerned. As noted earlier this trend is associated with certain specific developments related to the changing pattern of production in agriculture. What we have seen, up till now, in this section of the Chapter is, as expected, that

there was a significant increase in the proportion of paid labour attributable to year-round employment, and that the time span of paid labour being used in agriculture in general seems to be moving slowly in an upward direction. Both these developments tend to support the claim made earlier, namely that a certain realignment with the other major economic sectors of the economy has taken place on a second front, that of the temporal nature of paid agricultural work. However, before explaining the validity of the third proposition, a related development will serve to make the bridge between the two propositions.

This development (which in itself is not an accurate indicator of the shift toward the use of less seasonal paid labour in agriculture) also concerns changes in the extent to which farms utilize year-round workers, but this time classified by number of year-round workers employed. Table 16 (for Quebec) and Table 17 (for Ontario) show that since 1961 there has been a steady decrease in the proportion of farms hiring only one year-round worker, and a consistent increase in the proportion of farms using 2,3,4 and 5+ year-round workers. This happening is compatible with the findings discussed in the previous paragraph. In the case of Quebec, the proportion of farms hiring one worker dropped from 83.2% of all farms hiring year-round workers in 1961, to 74% in 1976 (a decline of 9.2%) while, in Ontario, the corresponding decrease was even more noticeable (79.6% in 1961 to 65.7% in 1976, or a decrease of 14.9%). The

TABLE 16: Farms reporting paid year-round agricultural workers, classified by the number of workers hired, Quebec 1961, 1971 and 1976

Year	Farms Hiring					Total No. of farms hiring paid year round agr. workers
	1 worker	2 workers	3 workers	4 workers	5+ workers	
1961	4487 (83.2%)	598 (11.1%)	138 (2.6%)	74 (1.4%)	95 (1.8%)	5,392 (100%)
1971	3000 (77.9%)	504 (13.1%)	142 (3.7%)	78 (2%)	125 (3.3%)	3,849 (100%)
1976	2,817 (74%)	579 (15.2%)	161 (4.2%)	83 (2.2%)	164 (4.3%)	3,804 (100%)

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada Agriculture-Quebec, 1961, 1971 and 1976

Note: the percentages in parenthesis under each frequency represent the proportion of the total number of farms hiring year-round workers for that year.

TABLE 17: Farms reporting paid year-round agricultural workers, classified by the number of workers hired, Ontario, 1961, 1971 and 1976

Year	Farms Hiring					Total No. of farms hiring paid year round agr. workers
	1 worker	2 workers	3 workers	4 workers	5+ workers	
1961	9,530 (79.6%)	1,599 (13.4%)	393 (3.3%)	169 (1.4%)	273 (2.3%)	11,964 (100%)
1971	4,674 (71.5%)	988 (15.1%)	348 (5.3%)	168 (2.6%)	358 (5.5%)	6,536 (100%)
1976	4,340 (65.7%)	1,194 (18.1%)	413 (6.2%)	200 (3.%)	460 (7.%)	6,607 (100%)

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada Agriculture: Ontario, 1961, 1971 and 1976.

Note: The percentages in parenthesis under each frequency represent the proportion of the total number of farms hiring year-round workers for that year.

direction of the proportional changes were again identical for Québec and Ontario with respect to the other four categories, but this time the figures show an increase.¹⁴

If we group the last three categories, we observe that, for Québec, the proportion of farms hiring 3 or more workers rose from 307, or 5.7% of all farms reporting year-round workers in 1961, to 408, or 10.7% in 1976, and this development was paralleled and even more striking in Ontario (835 farms hiring 3 or more workers, or 7% in 1961 and 1,073 farms, or 16.2% in 1976). This trend is not surprising in the light of Tables 14 and 15. Paid year-round employment constitutes a large proportion of all paid labour and, as seen in these tables, there were proportional increases of labour usage recorded for the three largest week span categories (i.e. '53-104', '105-208' and '208 + weeks') which, by definition, are largely made-up of weeks attributable to year-round employment. Just as a progressive move appears to be occurring in the direction of more prolonged use of paid seasonal, casual and part-time employment in agriculture (as indicated by decreases in the proportional use of labour in the '1-13 week' span category and increases in most of the other week span category of Tables 14 and 15) there has been a move toward a proportionately greater use of year-round workers. Thus to

¹⁴Also of interest here is the fact that not only was a proportional increase recorded in both provinces for these four categories (2 workers, 3 workers, 4 workers and 5+ workers) but an absolute increase in the number of farms reporting 3,4,5, and over year-round workers is observed.

summarize, the trend appears to be toward first, a greater use of year-round labour in agriculture in Quebec and in Ontario, relative to paid labour in general, (as shown in Tables 14 and 15) second, an increase in the duration of paid labour being utilized, both generally speaking and more specifically in terms of non year-round paid labour (also seen in Tables 14 and 15) and, third (as discussed above and shown in Tables 16 and 17) a greater temporal use of year-round labour, but this time when viewed from the perspective of the number of year-round employees being hired by farms reporting year-round workers. Even though only the first development was hypothesized, the other two developments¹⁵ would also appear to be indicators of the second dimension of the hypothesized realignment of the agricultural labour force. These indicators, like the one used in the previous section (i.e. type of worker) point to increases in the relative importance of capitalist relations of production in the agricultural production process. More generally, they also reflect the growing commercialization of agriculture, i.e., the greater stress placed on productivity in the face of the cost-price squeeze. As seen in Chapter IV, the great majority of paid labour utilized in the other major sectors of the economy (with some rare

¹⁵ It is during the data gathering stage of the research and the arrangements of the raw census data into manageable tables (as far as comparison over time is concerned) that these two developments were noted and judged to be complementary to the indicator which was originally to be put forward as a measure of the hypothesized changing temporal nature of paid agricultural labour.

exceptions, such as the fishing and forestry industries) is of the year-round variety. A constant level of production throughout the year is seen, in the capitalist market context, as being crucial for the ultimate purpose of obtaining as great a return on investment as possible (especially when the larger is the proportion of total capital invested attributable to land, machinery and buildings). In certain sectors, industrial mainly, where the work environment is more artificially controllable,¹⁶ there often exists a three shift system of paid year-round production worker input. The utilization of a shift system is unlikely to occur in the case of agriculture (due to its less artificially controllable work environment and the paramount role of land in the production process itself) and the three developments listed above may appear insignificant, if not viewed from this standpoint. When these trends are put in perspective, they appear as small but important¹⁷ steps in the direction of the establishment of a largely year-round work force typical of most other sectors of the economy. Despite the noted differences between Quebec and Ontario, the similarities displayed with respect to these three aspects of the changing temporal nature of paid agricultural labour are indicators of the heuristic value of the theoretical framework from

¹⁶ See the discussion of Kautsky on this subject, as it relates to agriculture, in Chapter II.

¹⁷ In view of all the obstacles to the 'direct penetration' of Capitalism into agriculture (discussed in Chapters II and IV, the temporal realignment of the paid agricultural labour force, however (statistically) small, should be seen as important, since agriculture appears to be in a very special position vis-à-vis other sectors with regard to barriers which impede the development of capitalist relations of production.

which the propositions were are derived.

The Changing Economic Characteristics of the
Agricultural Producers Hiring Paid Labour

In this section the validity of the third proposition put forward in Chapter IV will be examined. This will involve a close examination over time of the economic characteristics of the farmers who utilize paid agricultural labour. It was hypothesized that the proportion of paid labour being utilized in Quebec by agricultural producers displaying economic characteristics congruent to what has been defined earlier as 'large scale' farmers has increased. This obviously implies that the paid labour input employed by smaller scale farm enterprises has decreased. As discussed in the methodology chapter, three indicators of the economic characteristics of a large scale farm producer will be employed, namely the number of year-round agricultural workers hired by a given farmer, his economic class, as it is termed in the census, (or the total value of the products sold by an agricultural producer), and the total capital value of the farming enterprise. It is in the above listed order that we will proceed in the presentation and analysis of the related data.

Table 18 (for Quebec) and Table 19 (for Ontario) show a definite trend toward the greater use of the paid year-round labour input by those farm operators who employ

TABLE 18: Number of paid year-round agricultural workers classified by the number of paid year-round workers hired, Quebec, 1961, 1971 and 1976

Year	Farms Hiring					Total No. of farms hiring paid year-round agr. workers
	1 Worker	2 Workers	3 Workers	4 Workers	5+ Workers	
1961	4487 (61.7%)	1,196 (16.4%)	414 (5.7%)	296 (4.1%)	883 (12.1%)	7,276 (100%)
1971	3000 (48.5%)	1,008 (16.3%)	426 (9.0%)	312 (5.0%)	1,438 (23.3%)	6,184 (100%)
1976	2817 (42.2%)	1,158 (17.3%)	483 (7.2%)	332 (5.0%)	1,888 (28.3%)	6,678 (100%)

Note: This table was calculated using the data contained in Table 16. The percentages in parenthesis represent the proportion of the total number of paid year-round workers for that year.

TABLE 19: Number of paid year-round agricultural workers classified by the number of paid year-round workers hired, Ontario, 1961, 1971 and 1976

Year	Farms Hiring					Total No. of farms hiring paid year-round agr. workers
	1 Worker	2 Workers	3 Workers	4 Workers	5+ Workers	
1961	9,530 (51.7%)	3,198 (17.4%)	1,179 (6.4%)	676 (3.7%)	3,836 (20.8%)	18,419 (100%)
1971	4,674 (34.9%)	1,976 (14.8%)	1,044 (7.8%)	672 (5.0%)	5,023 (37.5%)	13,389 (100%)
1976	4,340 (30.0%)	2,388 (16.5%)	1,239 (8.6%)	800 (5.5%)	5,703 (39.4%)	14,470 (100%)

Note: This table was calculated using the data contained in Table 17. The percentages in parenthesis represent the proportion of the total number of paid year-round workers for that year.

more than two agricultural workers. In both provinces the proportion of regularly employed year-round workers, attributable to farmers employing only one year-round worker, dropped significantly. In Quebec, it went from 61.7% of all such workers in 1961, to 48.5% in 1971 and to 42.2% in 1976 (or a drop of 19.5% over 15 years) and in Ontario it decreased even more strikingly, falling from 51.7% in 1961 to 30% in 1976 (or a decrease of 21.7%). Whereas a clear pattern is not evident from the '2 worker' category (in both tables 18 and 19), the proportion remaining approximately the same in 1961 and in 1976, the '3 workers', '4 workers' and especially the '5+ workers' categories show a consistent increase in their respective proportion of paid agricultural workers. The greatest increase in both tables is in the '5+ workers' category in which a 16.2% increase (12.1% in 1961 to 28.3% in 1976) was noted for Quebec, and a 18.6% increase (20.8% in 1961 to 39.4% in 1976) was observed for Ontario. These increases almost entirely compensate for the decreases just noted with respect to the '1 worker' column, and this indicates that the great majority of the change is taking place in the two most extreme value categories of this variable. The fact that the change is, for all intents and purposes, localized in these two extreme values of the employment of year-round labour tends to reflect a situation, with respect to the use of production inputs, which was described in Chapter IV. The related discussion is centered upon the ideal typical continuum of possible farming strategies, i.e., 'coping without expanding'... 'coping by

expanding'. What the data in Tables 16, 17, 18 and 19 appear to be telling us here is that less and less¹⁸ farmers employing only one year-round worker are able to remain in agriculture in the face of the adverse economic pressures, while the number of farms employing 5 or more workers is growing (see Tables 16 and 17). To the extent that the decrease in the number of farms hiring one year-round worker is a useful indicator of the precarious situation faced by the agricultural producer who tends to adopt an economic strategy approaching the 'coping without expanding' pole of action, the data suggests that the theoretical discussion of the long term effects of the economic strategies adopted by the agricultural producer has substantive validity.

Returning to the main thrust of the proposition being evaluated in this section, the proportional swing is clearly in the direction of the greater use of this production input by larger scale operations. Even though the split in the use of the year-round worker input component does not appear to be clearly in favour of what was previously operationalized (in relation to this indicator) as smaller scale producers (i.e., hiring 2 or less year-round workers), or in favour of larger scale producers (i.e., hiring 3+

¹⁸

It should be added here that an absolute decrease in the year-round workers, attributable to farms hiring 1 worker, occurred concurrently with previously observed proportional decreases. Not surprisingly, since the number of farms reporting 1-year-round worker is equal to the number of year-round workers in that '1 worker' category, tables 16 & 17 show that the number of farms reporting 1 year-round worker also decreased as drastically (4187 in 1961 to 2817 in 1976, for Quebec and 9,530 in 1961 to 4,340 in 1976 for Ontario.

year-round workers¹⁹ if this trend continues, we may eventually see the monopolization of this input by larger scale farms. The identification of this trend confirms the validity of Proposition 3 with respect to the first indicator put forward which, (as seen in the methodology chapter) is used with a somewhat lower degree of confidence than the other two indices. It now remains to be seen to what extent any changes in the proportion of farmers hiring paid labour, classified by value of products sold and total capital value, reflect the hypothesized development.

With regard to the value of agricultural products sold²⁰ (or, put differently, economic class) the hypothesized trend in relation to the use of paid labour is again very evident. Table 20 shows this clearly for paid labour in general, as seen in the changes in the use of weeks of paid labour, and for paid year-round employment as well, as reflected in changes in the use of year round workers.

In the latter case, the reduction in the use of year-round workers by small scale farms is apparent if we look at the decreases in the use of this type of worker by

¹⁹ For Quebec, the proportion of the total number of year-round workers attributable to farms hiring two or less year-round workers was 59.5% in 1976, and the corresponding figure for Ontario was 46.5%.

²⁰ In the case of this indicator and total capital value, the related cross-classifications will only be presented for Quebec, since the process of readjusting the data into constant Dollars categories is complex and time consuming. However, one would expect the same trend toward the greater proportional use of paid labour by large scale farm

TABLE 20

**DATA ON PAID AGRICULTURAL LABOUR CLASSIFIED BY ECONOMIC CLASS OF FARM
IN CONSTANT 1961 DOLLARS, QUEBEC, 1961 and 1971**

Year	Item	Economic Class						Total
		-\$2,500	\$2,500-4,999	\$5,000-9,999	\$10,000-24,999	\$25,000+	Institutional	
1961	Year round workers	1,120 15.4%	1,399 19.2%	1,871 25.7%	1,459 20.0%	752 10.3%	675 9.3%	7,276 100%
1971	Year round workers	487 7.9%	582 9.4%	1,197 19.4%	2,068 33.4%	1,557 25.2%	293 4.7%	6,184 100%
1961	Weeks of paid labour	134,995 20.4%	144,935 21.9%	158,702 24.0%	114,358 17.3%	68,708 10.4%	39,356 5.9%	661,054 100%
1971	Weeks of paid labour	41,923 8.7%	51,363 10.7%	99,823 20.8%	156,050 32.5%	110,744 23.0%	20,629 4.3%	480,550 100%

Source: For the raw data for the year 1961, Statistics Canada, Census of Canada Agriculture, Quebec, Cat. 96-535, Vol. V, Part 2, Bull. 5.2-1

In the case of 1971, the Farm Product Price Index was used to readjust the raw data found in Statistics Canada, Census of Canada Agriculture, Quebec, Cat. 96-706, Vol IV, part 2, Bull. 4.2-1.

farms classified under the three lowest constant Dollar sales categories. Whereas, in 1961, 1,120 year-round workers, or 15.4% of all such workers hired in Quebec agriculture that year, were employed by farms reporting total sales of less than \$2,500, the corresponding figure was only 487, or 7.9% of all year-round workers hired in 1971 (a drop of 633 workers and a 7.5% decrease in the proportion of the labour force in question). The drop, under the \$2,500-\$4,999 total sales category was from 1,399, or 19.2% of all year-round agricultural workers employed in 1961, to 582, or 9.4% in 1971 (a net decline of 817 and roughly a 10% decrease in the proportion of the concerned labour force). The decrease in the \$5,000-\$9,999 category was from 1871, or 25.7% of all year-round agricultural workers in 1961, to 1197, or 19.4% in 1971 (a decrease of 674). Conversely, the increased use of year-round workers by larger scale farm enterprises is evident when looking at the two highest 'total value of sales' columns. In both these categories the proportion of year-round workers hired increased very noticeably from 1961 to 1971. For the farms reporting between \$10,000 and \$24,999 in sales of agricultural products, the jump was from 1,459, or 20% of all such workers employed, to 2,068,

enterprises to be reflected in the concerned tabulation for Ontario, due to reasons exposed earlier and which can be summarized in the statement; farmers in Ontario are also subjected to the cost-price squeeze. Also, as noted earlier, the identification of the trend with respect to the previous indicator implies that the phenomenon would also be discerned by the other two indicators.

or 33.4% of the concerned labour force (an absolute increase of 609 and, more significantly, a proportional increase of 13.4%). Under the largest total sales category, (\$25,000 and over) the proportional increase was even greater, as the number of year-round workers hired increased from 752, or 10.3% of the labour force in question in 1961, to 1,557, or 25.2% of all regularly employed agricultural workers in 1971 (an absolute increase of 809, and a proportional increase of roughly 15%).

In the case of weeks of paid labour, the pattern is exactly in the same direction, that is absolute and proportional decreases in the three lowest total sales categories and absolute and proportional increases in the two highest value categories. Sharp absolute decreases were noted for the two lowest economic class categories and these were accompanied by noticeable decreases in the proportion of weeks of paid labour hired by the farms in each of these categories from 1961 to 1971. Under the less than \$2,500 category, the use of paid labour declined from 134,995 weeks, or 20.4% of the total weeks of paid labour utilized in 1961, to 41,923, or 8.7% of the paid labour employed in 1971 (an 11.7% drop in the proportion of paid labour utilized by this class of agricultural producers). The decrease was as pronounced for the \$2,500-\$4,999 category which saw its use of paid labour decrease from 144,935 weeks, or 21.9% of all paid labour in 1961, to only 51,363, or 10.7% of the paid labour utilized in 1971 (an 11.2% decline in the proportion

of paid labour attributable to the farm enterprises falling under this category). The direction of the change is reversed for the two largest total sales categories, and the proportion of paid labour employed by the farmers under these two headings has increased almost exactly to the same extent than it has in the case of year-round labour.²¹ The weeks of paid labour utilized by farms with sales of \$10,000 to \$24,999 increased from 114,358 weeks, or 17.3% of all paid labour in 1961, to 156,050 weeks, or 32.5% of all paid labour utilized in 1971 (an increase of roughly 15% in the proportion of the total weeks of paid labour employed by farms in this range of sales). For the \$25,000 and over category, the decrease was as noticeable, going from 68,708 weeks, or 10.4% of the paid labour employed in 1961, to 110,744 weeks, or 23% of paid agricultural labour in 1971 (a 12.6% increase in the proportion of total weeks of paid labour being utilized by this 'economic class' of farmers).

The third indicator of scale of production also uncovered the same general trend when the paid labour data was classified by total capital value of farms (see Table 21). The direction of the changes in the proportions of the concerned paid labour force, attributable to the various capital value categories, are again identical in the case of weeks of paid labour and number of year-round workers.

²¹ This is not surprising since, as we have seen in the previous section, year-round employment has become an increasingly larger part of paid labour in general, and since large scale enterprises are more likely to hire year-round labour than smaller scale farming operations.

TABLE 21

DATA ON PAID AGRICULTURAL LABOUR CLASSIFIED BY TOTAL CAPITAL VALUE OF FARM IN CONSTANT 1971 DOLLARS-QUEBEC 1971 and 1976

Year	Item	Capital Value				Total
		Less than \$9,949	\$9,950-49,949	\$99,950-199,949	\$199,950 and over	
1971	Paid year round Agric. workers	57 .09%	1,863 30.1%	2,161 35%	917 14.8%	1,189 19.2%
1976	Paid year round Agric. workers	37 .05%	765 11.4%	1,715 25.7%	3,233 48.4%	920 13.8%
1971	Weeks of paid Labour	5,062 1.04%	175,617 36.5%	156,334 32.5%	69,167 14.3%	74,568 15.5%
1976	Weeks of paid Labour	3,613 0.68%	78,279 14.9%	150,809 28.7%	230,589 43.8%	62,813 11.9%

Source: For the raw data for the year 1971, Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, Agriculture, Quebec, Catalogue, 96-706, Vol. IV, Part 2, Bulletin 4.2-1
 In the case of 1976: the Farm Input Price Index was used to readjust the raw data found in Statistics Canada, Census of Canada Agriculture, Quebec, Cat. 96-805, Bul. 12-1

With respect to the farms falling into the constant Dollar category of less than \$9,949 of total capital value, it is not surprising to find out that these enterprises hire an increasingly insignificant proportion of the total weeks of paid agricultural labour (1.04% in 1971 compared with .68% in 1976), and an even smaller proportion of the number of year-round workers (.09% in 1971 and .05% in 1976). The most significant absolute and proportional decreases were recorded for the \$9,950 to \$49,949 ²² total capital value category. In this column the number of year-round workers decreased by more than half, going from 1863 in 1971 (or 30.1% of the year-round workers employed) to 765 (or only 11.4% of the concerned labour force) in 1976, while the proportion of the total weeks of paid labour utilized by this category of farm operators declined even more noticeably, passing from 36.6% in 1971, to 14.9% in 1976. In the case of the \$49,950-\$99,949 category, decreases were also discovered, but this time they were less pronounced, yet still significant (35% of the paid year-round agricultural labour force and 32.6% of the total weeks of paid labour in 1971, to 25.7% and 28.7% respectively in 1976). However, the absolute and proportional decreases noted for the first three categories were compensated for by a striking increase in the \$99,950-\$199,949

22

It should be noted that for the purpose of facilitating the analysis the categories given in the census were combined. As in the case of Table 20, using all the categories provided in the census publications would have made the analysis to say the least tedious and the process of adjusting the data on paid labour for the non base years into 1971 constant \$ categories more time consuming. As presented in

capital value column. The number of year-round workers rose from 917, or 14.8% of the concerned labour force in 1971, to 3,233, or 48.4% of all year-round workers employed in Quebec agriculture in 1976, and the proportion of the total weeks of paid labour attributable to the farm enterprises falling under this range of capital value increased, from 14.3% in 1971, to 43.8%²³ in 1976.

Again the general trend which is portrayed in Table 21 is, on the one hand, the greater use of paid labour in general, and paid year-round workers by larger scale farm operations and, on the other hand, a reduction in the utilization of the paid labour input by smaller scale farms. In view of the data presented in Table 6 (number of farms classified by economic class, Quebec 1961, 1966 and 1971) this trend was expected for the simple reason that small scale farms, as measured by sales of products in Table 6, are rapidly disappearing (or are being transformed into large scale operations) and due to the fact that the number of large scale farms has increased. But, as we have seen in Chapter IV, the adverse economic conditions faced by farms

Table 20 and 21, the economic class and capital value categories respect the range of the raw data categories presented in the related census tables.

23

It should be noted that part of the sharp increase for this category, from 1971 to 1976, is due to the readjustment of the 1976 data into constant Dollar categories. Since the \$199,950 and over category has no upper limit, the readjustment procedure (see Table 8 in the Methodology Chapter) most probably shifted a portion of the year-round workers and weeks of paid labour attributable to farms with very high total capital value (which should not have been attributed

in general would also lead one to believe that the reduction in the use of paid labour by the small scale farmers is not only attributable to decreases in their number, but to a certain extent (albeit perhaps small) to the increasing inability of those who remain in farming to compete for the available paid manpower. The fact that the paid labour input is being increasingly employed by large scale farms, clearly substantiates the trend depicted in Proposition 3 and, most importantly, attests to the heuristic value of the theoretical elaborations found in Chapters II, III and IV in relation to the problem as it was originally formulated.

The identification of the expected trends related to the composition of the agricultural labour force, the temporal nature of paid agricultural employment, and the economic characteristics of the farmers utilizing the paid labour input, underlines the usefulness of clearly identifying the key economic exchange areas between the farmer and the broader economic system, the economic mechanisms which govern the outcome of this interaction and the precise nature of the consequences of this exchange for the agricultural producer at various levels of inquiry.

to a lower category according to the index) to the \$99,950-\$199,949 category. This also serves to explain the small decreases recorded under the \$199,950 and over columns. However, in the light of the very large increases noted for the \$99,950-199,949 category, this does not take away from the validity of the observation that large scale farms (as measured by this indicator) have increased their use of paid labour.

Now that the research findings have been presented and analysed in terms of how the data unveils the existence of the expected trends, the concluding Chapter will explore in greater detail the question touched upon in the previous paragraph, i.e.: How do the research findings reflect back upon the theoretical framework elaborated in the earlier Chapters? Attention will also be focused on the implications of the research for the formulation of social policy related to the vocational rehabilitation of developmentally handicapped persons in agricultural regions.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

In this concluding chapter the discussion will first concern itself with the heuristic value of the theoretical framework. This will involve a brief recapitulation of the research findings, an evaluation of their significance and an assessment of how these findings relate back to the four propositions put forward in Chapter IV, and, more generally, to the broader theoretical perspective from which these propositions originated. A discussion of the empirical observations which contributed to the initial interest in the problem will be included as the research findings have cleared a path in the direction of their explanation. Also, the question of: To what extent have capitalist relations of production developed in Quebec agriculture? will be explored. The focus of the Chapter will then shift toward discerning the implications of the thesis and the specific research findings concerning the formulation of public policy with respect to the vocational rehabilitation of developmentally handicapped persons in agricultural regions.

Assessment of the heuristic value
of the theoretical framework

As seen in the preceding Chapter, the data put forward in order to assess the four propositions which emerged from Chapter IV reflected the existence of definite trends related to the use of paid agricultural labour. Furthermore, these trends were clearly in the directions which were hypothesized.

First, in Québec the composition of the agricultural labour force has shifted noticeably in the expected direction from 1946 to 1978, (Proposition 1). The paid labour component has shown a small increase in terms of absolute numbers and, most importantly, a large increase with respect to its proportion of the overall agricultural labour force. Conversely, the operator and unpaid family labour components have undergone sharp decreases, both in terms of their numerical composition and of their respective proportions of the total agricultural labour force. It follows that the large decrease in the numerical composition of the agricultural labour force in Québec, in the 1946-1978 period, was absorbed by these two components, (the confirmation of hypothesis 2).

Second, data concerning the temporal use of the paid agricultural input has shown a definite trend towards the increased proportional importance of paid year-round

employment vis-à-vis paid labour in agriculture (the substantiation of Proposition 3), and more generally speaking, the more prolonged use made of paid labour in this sector. The trend in Québec agriculture has been toward a greater use of year-round labour relative to paid labour in general, (as measured by changes in the total weeks of paid labour reported attributable to year-round employment), an increase in the duration of paid labour being utilized, both generally speaking and more specifically in terms of the non year-round labour, (as indicated by changes in the proportions of farms reporting paid labour classified by week-span of paid labour acquired) and, finally, an increase in the duration of paid year-round labour (as measured by changes in the number of year-round workers being hired by farms reporting year-round workers).

Third, there has been a marked variation over time in the economic characteristics of the agricultural producers hiring paid labour, which is consistent with the expectations voiced in Proposition 4. 'Large scale' farm producers, (as reflected by the 3 indicators 'hiring 3 or more year-round workers', having 'a relatively high constant Dollar value of total capital assets' and 'a relatively high constant Dollar value of sales of agricultural products'), are increasingly making use of a larger proportion of paid labour. Whereas the number of year-round agricultural workers hired by farms hiring only 1 year-round worker

decreased, both in terms of absolute numbers and its proportion of total year-round workers, from 1961 to 1976, these decreases were offset by substantial increases in the proportion of such workers hired by farms reporting 3, 4 and especially 5 and more year-round workers. In the case of paid labour in general (as measured by weeks of paid labour) and paid year-round workers, the trend was in the same direction in relation to the other two indicators. The larger constant Dollar value categories of farm producers were increasingly utilizing a greater proportion of the paid year-round agricultural labour force and, more generally speaking, of the total weeks of paid labour utilized in Québec agriculture.

Prior to undertaking a discussion of the heuristic value of the theoretical framework, the research findings should be placed in proper perspective. When dealing with quantitative data in sociology, a question that often arises is: What constitutes a significant change? It is the view put forward here that the researcher has no set guidelines that transcend the boundaries of any given research problem. The sociologist must refer back to the theoretical framework which was put forward to throw light upon the research problem in order to answer this question. A 20% change in the proportion of a given category for a given variable is not necessarily more significant than say a 5% proportional change in relation to another study. The opposite may

indeed be possible and the extent to which a percentage change is judged 'significant' is dependent upon the relevant aspects of the study's theoretical framework.

In relation to the significance of the main trends identified in this study, it should be recalled that, generally speaking, the evolution of capitalist forms of production and, more specifically, the development of capitalist relations of production in agriculture face obstacles that appear to be unique to the agricultural sector. However, the extent to which these obstacles impede the development of capitalism in a given social formation is, of course, dependent on a multitude of aspects associated with the specific context being studied (e.g, climate, the nature of the soil, the nature and quantity of the domestic agricultural production requirements, the stage of capitalist development prevailing in the non-agricultural sectors of the economy, etc.). Keeping in mind the arguments advanced by Kautsky (included in Chapter II) in relation to the limitations of land, machinery, scale of production (or ideal size) and paid manpower, as well as the weak competitive position of agricultural producers in Québec and more generally in Canada (discussed in Chapters III and IV) it is argued that the statistical changes recorded with respect to the four propositions of this study are significant.

As will be seen later, the realignment of the structure of the agricultural labour force in Québec with that which exists in most other sectors of the economy reflects the

increasing importance of the paid labour force in the agricultural production process. Changes in the temporal nature of paid agricultural work should also be seen as significant in the light of, for example, the seasonal nature of agricultural production in this part of the Northern Hemisphere, or perhaps more important in relation to the relatively stable high proportion of farms involving animal care¹ in Québec. The changes recorded in the use of paid labour by farms, controlling for 'scale of production', can, to a certain extent, also be seen as a realignment of the agricultural labour force in a manner which is significantly more compatible with that found in the other major sectors of the economy. In this case, we are referring to the greater use made of paid labour by large scale production units. The trend in Québec agriculture has been toward larger scale production and toward the increased utilization of paid labour by the larger scale farm operations. Remembering some of the arguments put forward.

¹As discussed in Chapter V, it was argued that farms involving animal care were (all factors being equal) more likely to require year-round workers than farms engaged in field crops and other forms of non-animal care agriculture. Even though peak periods for the use of paid labour in general are usually seasonal as far as all types of farms are concerned (due to the cultivation of crops by most farming enterprises), the increase in the proportion of paid labour in Québec agriculture attributable to year-round employment is not likely to be related to changes in the proportion of farms involving animal care, but rather to changes in the scale of production of the concerned farms.

earlier in relation to the obstacles to the penetration of capitalist relations of production in agriculture, it should be noted that, in view of the limitations of land, of scale of production, and, in particular, the weak competitive position² of agricultural producers, the existence of a definite trend toward the greater use of paid labour by large scale farm enterprises clearly substantiates the concerned hypothesis.

Turning to a discussion of the empirical observations noted in the first Chapter, the identification of the changes which have brought about a structural realignment of the concerned labour force clarifies the issue of the relative stability and slight increases noted with respect to the numerical composition of the paid year-round agricultural labour force in Québec. Initially, the relative stability of this labour force was somewhat puzzling in the light of the sharp decreases noted with respect to the number of farms and total acreage of improved land. Also, a vague awareness that the agricultural labour force in general had been decreasing steadily since three or four decades, contributed to the formulation of the question: Why had the number of paid year-round agricultural workers not followed

²The fact that large corporations are not attracted to invest in agricultural production, due to the existence of small profit margins, underlines the significance of the growth of large scale family farms in Québec and their increased use of paid labour.

the downward trend? The trends related to the composition of the agricultural labour force provide the broader empirical context through which this question finds its descriptive explanation. The paid labour component, in general, has shown a small numerical increase and simultaneously, a sharp increase as far as its proportion of the overall agricultural labour force is concerned.

The same can be said for the increase in the proportion of the total weeks of paid agricultural labour attributable to year-round employment noted in relation to three Eastern Ontario counties during the initial stages of the interest in the agricultural labour force which, in part, prompted the work involved in this thesis. The empirical research clearly shows that the temporal shift toward greater use of paid year-round labour, in relation to paid labour in general, was not a localized phenomenon. The fact that the small scale farmers, rather than large scale farmers, tended to be the ones who dropped out of farming, and that small scale farmers are less likely to utilize paid year-round workers than their large scale counterparts, provides us with an important descriptive mechanism which accounts for the existence of the concerned phenomenon. But, what is crucial here is the theoretical framework -- the theoretical explanation -- which has pointed the way to these descriptive explanations and, more generally, has given rise to the concerned propositions.

Starting with the premise that the agricultural producer is not isolated from the broader economic system, the analysis subsequently focussed on the effects of the penetration of capitalism on the economic activity of the contemporary farmer. The theoretical discussion was thus able to provide the necessary guidance to the empirical research. The various levels of this discourse permitted the analysis to clearly point to the concerned, empirical manifestations of the relevant economic processes. This involved proceeding from a high level of abstraction, in terms of the discussion of the effects of the penetration of capitalism into agriculture, to lower levels of theoretical abstraction from which emerged four propositions directly related to the use of paid agricultural labour. The first shift in levels of abstraction involved proceeding from the review of the literature to a more focussed outlook on the effects of the infiltration of capitalism into agriculture. This entailed the integration of certain themes, which kept reoccurring in the literature, by formally introducing the notion of 'exchange' and the concept of 'dependence'. By tracing the origins and evolution of the sphere of exchange between the agrarian community and the broader economic system and by analyzing the outcome of this unequal exchange in terms of changes in the nature and degree of the dependence of the agricultural producer on various agents functioning in the broader economic context, the discussion was able to move to the

more concrete level of the economic strategies of contemporary farmers. The success of this transition was also dependent upon clearly describing the functioning of the crucial mechanisms which influence the economic interaction of farmers. Thus, by relating the economic strategies (i.e., the farming practices) of the contemporary farmer back to his sphere of exchange with the broader economic system and the economic mechanisms which govern the outcome of the exchange, we were able to make the final bridge to the specific aspect of the economic strategy of farmers with which the problem is concerned, namely his use of paid labour. Once all these theoretical links were made, and keeping in mind the observations which stimulated the initial interest in the problem, the empirical research found its guiding light in the form of four propositions directly related to the utilization of paid labour in the agricultural production process.

To briefly summarize the arguments which gave rise to these propositions, in the present context the rules which govern the crucial spheres of exchange between the farmer and the economic agents with whom he interacts in the broader economic context are clearly in favour of the latter group i.e., financial capital, the farm input supply sector and the food processors and retail outlets. This leaves the farmer in a dependent position in the key exchange spheres which influence the control he has over the potential viability of his enterprise. 'The rules of

this game', the cost-price squeeze mechanism, has forced the low productivity farmers and their families out of agriculture. The farmers who made the necessary productivity gains by altering their economic strategies in the direction of expansion survived. Due to the intensification of their operations, there is an increase in the use of agricultural inputs, including, in certain cases, paid labour. Thus, in relation to the composition of the agricultural labour force, the trend which is deduced from the above is that the operator and paid labour components would shrink (due to the exodus out of agriculture of the family farm enterprises who were not able to adapt their economic strategies in order to cope with the cost-price squeeze) while the paid labour component would persist and become proportionately more important. The farm enterprises which are forced out of business would generally tend to be of the small scale variety and have a low level of productivity. Their use of paid labour would also tend to be minimal, the operator and his family doing most of the farm work, and if paid labour is employed it would tend to be seasonal or casual in nature. In the case of the 'larger scale', higher productivity, farm enterprises, who can afford to use paid labour to a greater extent, a step in the direction of increasing productivity entails increasing farm inputs. Even though, as seen in Chapter IV, the paid labour input is not likely to be one of the inputs which is initially increased, it will be augmented given increases in the use

of other inputs by capital intensive enterprises.

Besides reflecting the heuristic value of the theoretical framework, the substantiation of Proposition 1 and of its corollary, Proposition 2, has implications related to the topic of the penetration of capitalist relations of production into agriculture. Since the absolute size of the paid agricultural labour force has not grown substantially in Québec, it would not be accurate to say that capitalist relations of production³ are becoming more prevalent. However, the increase in the proportion of the total agricultural labour force attributable to the paid labour element reflects the growing importance of capitalist relations of production in agricultural production, and this would lead one to qualify the argument put forth by Bernier (in Chapter II). It is true that capitalist relations of production have not developed to a very appreciable extent in Québec agriculture over the last three decades; but their relative importance vis-à-vis the production process has shown a definitive increase (as measured by the proportion of the total agricultural labour force attributable to the paid labour component).

Returning to the discussion of the usefulness of the

³ Putting aside the valid argument that the contemporary farmer is in reality little more than a proletarian in disguise, this term should be strictly interpreted as the direct exploitation of man by man in the production process.

theoretical elaborations for the empirical research, the 'political economy' framework also provided the direction required to interpret the data related to the changing temporal nature of agricultural work. As discussed earlier, the cost-price squeeze has forced a large number of small scale low productivity farmers out of agriculture. The farmers who survive are either those who have already a high level of productivity or those who have made the necessary changes in their economic strategies to bring about the desired level of productivity. Since the farm enterprises that are squeezed out of agriculture are also the ones which were the least likely to employ paid year-round labour (due to their inability to afford this input and to the traditional family organization of production) and since the farmers who are the most likely to survive are also the ones who most probably will use paid year-round labour, the growth in the proportion of paid labour attributable to year-round employment was expected.

As far as the changes in the economic characteristics of the farmers hiring paid labour are concerned, the expectations are implicit in the above discussion. In the face of the cost-price squeeze, the small scale low productivity farmer, who traditionally has not employed much paid labour, is less and less able to afford the services of paid labour due to his inability to increase the viability of his enterprise. Besides the above and the

fact that the latter group of farmers are being pushed out of agriculture, the proportion of paid labour being utilized in agriculture by larger scale enterprises is also growing due to the need of the more viable enterprises to constantly increase their level of productivity.

By logically pursuing the theoretical implications from an initially high level of abstraction to lower levels, empirically manageable propositions emerged which were operationalized in accordance with the nature of the data judged most appropriate in the light of the research problem. The culmination of the research process, i.e., the evaluation of the propositions, is the crucial step since, if the propositions are contradicted, or seriously questioned by the concerned data, the theoretical elaborations most probably overlooked relevant aspects, or may even have been totally erroneous. The clear substantiation of the propositions put forth in this research to guide the analysis of the relevant data attests to the heuristic value of the theoretical elaborations to be found in Chapters II, III and IV. Since the focus of these elaborations was to trace the implications of the main developments related to the farmer's economic sphere of activity on his use of paid labour, the compatible nature of the research findings underlines the utility of stressing a 'political economy' focus in view of the nature of the research problem. Put differently, the data in this study points to the paramount importance of

stressing economic factors in the study of changes related to the use of paid labour or, for that matter, changes related to the use of any other input in agricultural production.

Implications of the Research for Public Policy formulation with regard to the vocational rehabilitation of developmentally handicapped persons in the agricultural regions of Québec

As noted in the first Chapter, one concern which stimulated the interest in the use of paid agricultural labour was the integration of developmentally handicapped persons into the labour force in agricultural areas. In fact, the research undertaken in this Thesis can be seen as the first step in terms of a comprehensive analysis surrounding the problem of securing employment for developmentally handicapped persons in agriculture. The identification of the trends related to the use of paid agricultural labour in Québec provides the broader contextual portrait of the extent to which paid employment exists in agriculture, the temporal nature of the employment and the economic characteristics of the concerned employers. However, as discussed in the methodology chapter, the trends which were noted have occurred at the provincial level and we would be committing the 'ecological fallacy' if we assumed that the findings reflect the situation with regard to the use of paid labour in any given region or county of

the province. Therefore, concrete social policy recommendations in this area should follow, among other things, an analysis of the related agricultural labour force data, but, this time, at a more regional level. The problem with much public policy is that it is formulated in the light of studies which take as their working universes a given province or country, or other large aggregate. It follows that the implementation of a policy based on research findings related to a large working universe may be totally unapplicable to certain subdivisions of that working universe, or may not take advantage of exceptional conditions in other subdivisions (i.e., exceptional in terms of the potential positive impact of a given policy). This concern is reflected in the appeals which are often voiced in the media in favour of the decentralization of public policy. At the root of these demands is a genuine concern for greater efficiency in the maximization of the social benefit of any given social policy. The above being said, we can now turn to a brief discussion of some of the broad implications of the research for the concerned social policy area.

Perhaps the most important finding, in terms of broad considerations for social policy formulation in this area, is the realization that, as a whole, paid employment opportunities in Québec agriculture have not decreased over the last three decades and have actually shown a slight

increase. This is important since one could have erroneously concluded that, in view of the decreases recorded in the numerical composition of the agricultural labour force taken as a whole, paid employment opportunities⁴ were decreasing. Although job opportunities have not increased very substantially, it was argued, earlier in this chapter, that the paid labour component in agriculture has assumed a greater role in the production process, due to the sharp increase in its proportion of the overall agricultural labour force. What this means, when translated into social policy concerns, is that we should not rule out agricultural employment as a potential avenue for the vocational rehabilitation of developmentally handicapped persons in the agricultural areas of the province. However, as stated previously, the extent to which agricultural employment, in any given area, is seen as potentially beneficial to developmentally handicapped persons will be dependent on the extent to which farm jobs exist in that particular region, as well as on the nature of the agricultural labour market (i.e., whether there is a high or low demand for, and supply of, paid agricultural labour).

⁴In this context, paid job opportunities should be understood simply as the existence of remunerated employment. More will be said, later on, regarding which other factors should be considered in terms of securing employment for developmentally handicapped persons in agriculture.

Another important point at which the research touches upon the related social policy, is the question of the temporal nature of paid agricultural labour. It is important to know that jobs still exist in agriculture; but it is as important to discover whether the work is full-time, seasonal or casual. Since the ultimate goal of vocational rehabilitation is, or at least should be, placing the client in a full-time job setting, it is crucial that full-time employment opportunities exist in the sector of the economy to which one is directing the clients. The fact that the temporal nature of agricultural work in Québec has shifted toward more full-time employment (and more generally, toward a more prolonged usage of paid labour by the agricultural producer) suggests that the previous concern, in terms of permanent placement opportunities, should be somewhat appeased⁵. Conversely, the opportunities for 'on the job' training and other forms of exposure to agricultural work are still plentiful, (at least when viewed at the provincial level). Thus, potential semi-sheltered or unsheltered work situations for developmentally handicapped persons should be, relative to other sectors of the economy, more accessible in agriculture, due to the seasonal and casual nature of much of the paid labour employed.

⁵ Even though there was an increase in the proportion of the total weeks of paid labour attributable to full-time employment, from 1961 to 1971, in Québec, the fact that 66% of the total weeks of paid labour were of the full-time variety in 1976 still sets agriculture apart from most sectors of the economy with respect to prospects for full-time placement opportunities.

The final aspect of the study to be discussed here in relation to the social policy in question concerns the economic characteristics of the agricultural producers hiring paid labour. These traits have changed in recent years and it is large scale farm enterprises that utilize increasingly more of the year-round labour and of the paid labour input in general. Thus, with regard to identifying the specific regions where work opportunities exist in agriculture, an additional index (besides establishing the existence of jobs) would be to look at the economic traits of the farmers.

As stressed earlier, there is a definite danger in taking the findings of this research as a basis for the implementation of social policy related to the vocational rehabilitation of developmentally handicapped persons in agricultural areas throughout the province. For this reason, concrete recommendations should be preceded by a thorough study of paid labour at the regional or county level. However, finding out that jobs exist does not comprise a complete knowledge package from which policy recommendations can flow. The main question which a comprehensive study, leading to the formulation of specific policy recommendations, should ask is: What conditions are conducive to the employment of developmentally handicapped persons in a given agricultural area? 'Conducive conditions' are here defined as phenomena which positively contribute to the integration

or potential integration of developmentally handicapped persons into the agricultural labour force. Whereas the vast majority of the literature in the area of the vocational rehabilitation of the handicapped seems to focus primarily on the topic of training (thus giving the impression that the solution to the problem is merely one of developing adequate skills) it should be the intention of the researcher to obtain a general picture of the major contributing factors related to the successful integration of developmentally handicapped persons into the concerned work world. In order to tackle the major research question with some degree of scientific validity, the research should look in the direction of two main categories of phenomena or conducive factors: (1) Phenomena contributing to the creation of job potential for developmentally handicapped adults in an agricultural area and, (2) phenomena contributing to the availability⁶ of developmentally handicapped persons for employment in the agricultural labour force.

In relation to the first group of factors, (or put differently with regard to the demand side of the concern) relevant aspects which should be explored would include the existence of job opportunities in agriculture, the temporal nature of the paid employment in agriculture and the economic characteristics of the agricultural producers

⁶ Availability is here defined as suitably trained, for and willing to fill a given position, short and long term, in the concerned labour force.

utilizing paid labour (and the analysis should proceed in a similar manner than it has in this research, but this time, at a more regional level). The investigation should also include an analysis of the ease with which farm producers can secure paid labour and the attitudes of the prospective employers toward hiring developmentally handicapped persons.

With reference to the second group of factors (the supply side), the investigation should involve, among other things, an analysis of the size of the concerned target group and the extent to which developmentally handicapped persons secure work (including agricultural employment) in the region and a study of the existing vocational rehabilitation services (including, most importantly, the types of jobs developmentally handicapped persons are being trained for). The nature of the policy recommendations should then be oriented, given the state of the agricultural labour market, toward the question of how could some of the above mentioned factors be affected so as to ensure that developmentally handicapped persons reap the greatest benefits in terms of finding employment.

As mentioned in the introduction, developmentally handicapped persons are more likely to remain in the general vicinity of their birth place since they often do not possess the necessary social skills required for the establishment of a new domicile in other regions. For this reason they are more likely than other members of the labour force to

suffer the consequences of poor employment situations wherever they exist. The most important finding of this study for the related area of public policy has been that, at the provincial level, paid employment opportunities in agriculture have not decreased. This will hopefully stimulate more research into the concrete possibilities of improving the situation of the related target group in agrarian regions. In view of the recent implementation of agricultural policies of the Québec government in support of the farmer in his quest to find paid agricultural labour (see Appendix B for more detail in relation to four such programs), there appears to be a supply gap which may benefit developmentally handicapped persons. But special attention should be paid to the task of securing adequate working conditions and wages for these persons in the agricultural production sector which, unfortunately, is notoriously known for its lacunes in this respect.

If the nature of the economic mechanisms which govern the exchange relations between the agricultural producer and the broader economic system does not change significantly, then one would expect the trends in the use of paid agricultural labour discussed in this study to continue. Some important questions then become: Will the emphasis placed on output in agriculture, which is a result of the adverse conditions under which the farmer operates, place paid labour in a more prominent position vis-à-vis

the production process? and: Will job opportunities in agriculture decrease if agricultural production becomes more concentrated (i.e., if the exodus of agricultural producers does not decrease in intensity)? These questions raise issues which should be looked into when considering the implementation of any long term policy recommendations in the related social policy area.

APPENDIX A

Official description of the
work team services project

WORK TEAM SERVICES DE L'EQUIPE DU TRAVAIL
FOR
DEVELOPMENTALLY HANDICAPPED PERSONS

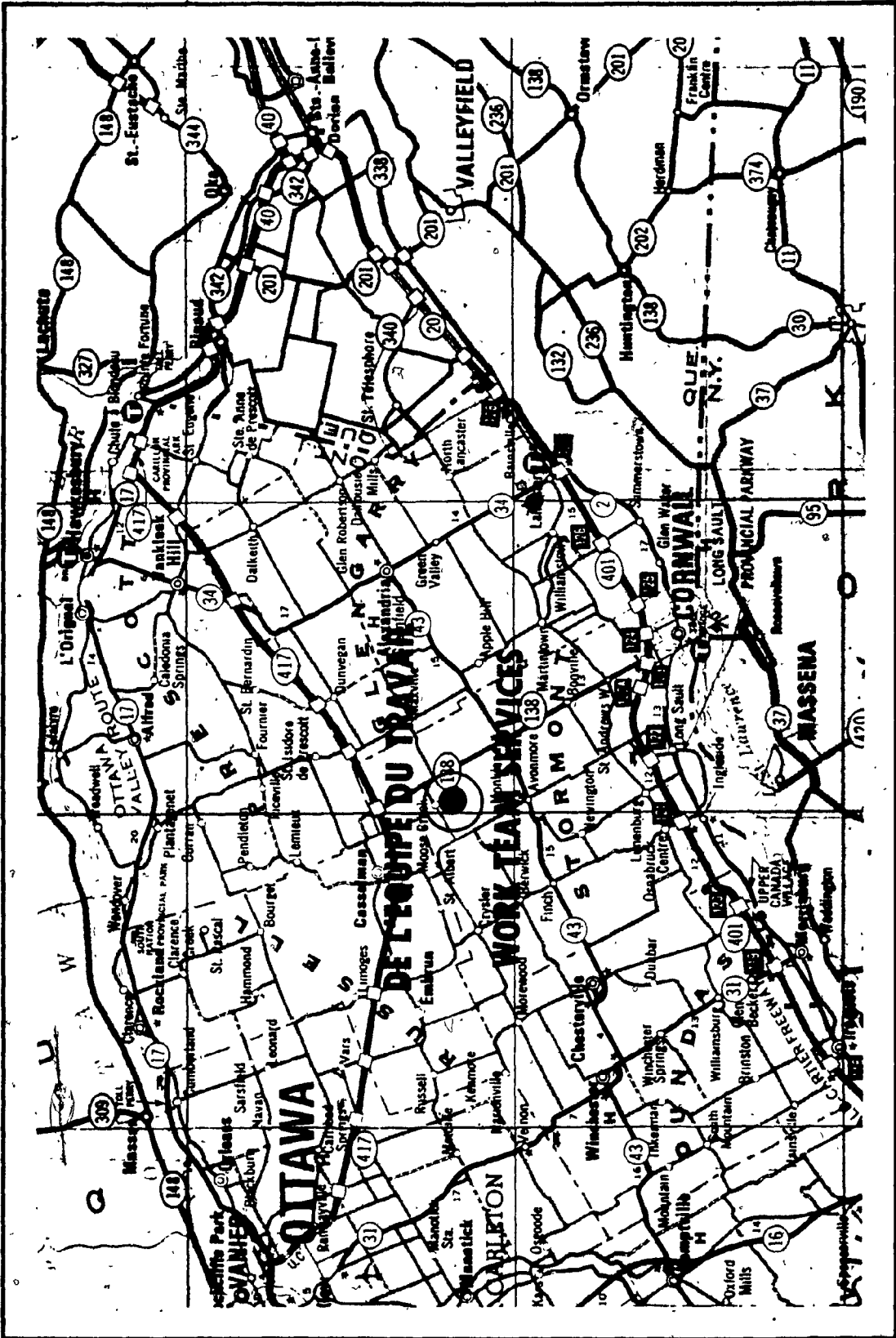
9. Main Street
P.O. Box 1060
Alexandria, Ontario
K0C 1A0

TERENCE COOKE: DIRECTOR
EUGENE LEGAULT: SECRETARY
ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE

Sylvio Cléroux
Daniel Filliol
Eugène Legault

Sponsored by:

GLENGARRY INTER-AGENCY GROUP INC.
PRESIDENT: DANIEL FILLIOL



This program was conceived to put into action the idea that developmentally handicapped people could learn and could be trained in rural skills, could work with animals productively, could work in rural small business, and could receive training most effectively by working in small groups or teams, and through these activities achieve the personal satisfaction of doing productive work, and becoming self-supporting.

The program was motivated by 81 handicapped men and women and their families of Glengarry County who attempted to explain some of their problems to two interviewers in the fall of 1976.

The program has been inspired principally by The Variety Farm Training Centre at Ladner, B.C. "In the eight years this program (Variety Farm) has been in operation, the results have been outstanding. Young people have moved from no skills to competency in handling mechanical equipment, from no understanding of responsibility to completing job assignments without constant supervision, from complete dependence to a measure of maturity and limited independent action".

The ground-breaking effort of demonstrating the practicability and some of the benefits of the Team Approach was done in the citrus groves of Israel by Dr. A. Chigier.

The drive behind this program was provided by a

hastily brought together, and dedicated group of nine people and four developmentally handicapped men, who in 1977 talked with over 850 potential employers in Stormont, Dundas, and Glengarry Counties of Ontario, and tested out the team approach in Canadian Agriculture and other rural work by setting up two "Teams" (one supervisor, and two handicapped men). As the research indicated it would happen, the teams were very busy.

The program will be based at its Farm Centre where people will meet and define their vocational capabilities, needs, and training program. If basic skills are needed to work effectively with the teams, they will be learned at the Farm Centre. If there isn't a contract for a team, the team will work at the Farm Centre.

The key concept underlying this program is the "Work Team". The potential for this innovative idea, to learning and assisting the developmentally handicapped and others in getting and keeping a full-time job, is enormous and exciting.

The basic philosophy underlying the program is a belief in the rights of all to be treated equally and with respect. Although this is a long way off, it is the goal of this program to play a role, however small (large to the individual participating) in furthering this pursuit.

The major implication of this philosophy is that although the program does not see itself as the sole

provider of training in rural job skills, the program is responsible for it being an answer for those that choose it. A person will choose it because it makes sense to him/her.

The following is a description of one day in the life of John M., Work Team Services worker. John begins his day at the same time and in the same way as the rest of his family. (He lives at home). Between 7:30 and 8:00 a.m. he grabs his lunch and hard hat and walks out to the road to wait for his lift. Mr. Sauvé, a neighbour, picks him up at the usual time on the way to his work, and takes him to the Apple Grove Restaurant. Mike (Supervisor) and Réjean, his fellow team members are waiting in Mike's truck. They've been working together as a team now for over a month, so their regular gags are down pat.

When John arrives, Mike asks about breakfast as they head off to their contract for that day at Mr. Aube's. This is the third day at this contract (clearing the rocks from the new field Mr. Aube wants to plant next spring), and they talk about whether or not Mr. Aube will have John drive the tractor again today. John gives a couple of reasons why Mr. Aube should have him drive (Mr. Aube will be able to get at other work he needs to do). Mike points out that like other first time employers, Mr. Aube spent the first day with them to see what kind of a job they were doing; then, when he saw the work they were doing ("haven't seen workers like you in a long time") he left them the next day to continue

on their own.

When they arrive at Mr. Aube's he tells them to go ahead to the field, that he will see them later in the day, and to take the same tractor and wagon as they used before.

They put the cooler from the truck onto the wagon and get going. (John driving). They've been working together long enough that when they start in the field Mike doesn't have to spend a lot of time giving directions. They have a good pace, (John remembers though how many times especially when he first started working, Mike told him "Slow Down", don't tire yourself in the first hour, (he was pretty excited), then "Speed it up", then "go back and get those you missed". He felt great today, knowing what he was supposed to do. A little after 10:00 they stop for a break. Réjean breaks open the cooler and passes the lemonade around. (He remembers when Mike first brought up the idea of a cooler. Up to that time he had brought two jelly sandwiches and four cokes to keep himself going all day. Mike suggested that they could all save a little money, feel better and do a better day's work if they ate well. So he suggested they eat a good breakfast, bring a good lunch and drink lemonade, or water instead of cokes). When the break is finished they keep going at the job...

In the truck on the way back to the restaurant, Mike asks John and Réjean to recount the two best things about the way they had worked that day, and the two worst. It's

hard to come up with the two best and the two worst. By the time they finally agree they're already back at the restaurant. By the time Mr. Sauvé drops him off at his road, John feels good about the feeling he gets when he flexes his shoulders.

The preceding was obviously only one of many scenarios that take place daily on the program. Its purpose was to attempt to give, in a few paragraphs, an idea of how the program "feels".

Reading between the lines, we see that John has the opportunity to interact; test out ideas and behaviours while developing job and job-related skills. He has: the opportunity to be partly responsible (as he later will completely be) for his transportation to and from work; five opportunities with the team led by the supervisor, to assess his and team actions related to direct and indirect job skills (in the truck to (1st) and from (2nd) work, the two breaks (3rd & 4th), and lunch (5th); on-going opportunities for the supervisor to immediately reinforce his job skill development while the work takes place; the opportunity for peer feed back and friendship; and most importantly the opportunity to value himself highly. (He is doing what adults do and he is an adult).

While John and his team were working on their contract many other program teams were out doing their contracts (painting a house, fencing) and one team was working at the Farm Centre; the program Contractor was out giving estimates

on five other potential contracts and finalizing the two contracts; the Farm Centre Manager was demonstrating how to pick and grade cucumbers, organizing the materials for the shop renovation, and making sure the daily tasks of the centre were attended to; the program Director was meeting with a Manpower Official, an employer, and the Adult Protective Service Worker, all trying to organize the full-time placement of one of the program workers; and the cat was asleep in the barn.

It is essential to understand that the two components of the program, the Farm Centre and the Work Teams are interdependent. The Farm Centre provides the opportunity for assessments, skill building, and continuity the teams need. Additionally it is financially more viable than the Work Teams, but is too insulated to provide sufficiently realistic training.

The Work Team contracts provide a controlled but extremely realistic training environment. The contracts cannot, however guarantee continuity and are too realistic for "getting to know you" and for building some basics. But, one component perfectly compliments the other. They work together.

When a person is ready for a full-time "independent" job, the final phase of the program swings into action. The person will not be sent to the job; the program will first

send one of its supervisors to the job. The supervisor will do the job for several days to completely understand its skill and social demands. If the job is seen as suitable the developmentally handicapped person will be informed of what to expect. Then the supervisor will introduce the job and its environment to the worker and remain on the job with the worker* until he/she is comfortable in the new job.

Work Team Services is unique in Canada, and possibly internationally. It capitalizes upon approximately \$70,000 research dollars invested into Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Counties and uncounted hours of volunteer effort. It is exciting, isn't it?

A P P E N D I X B.

Québec agricultural policies
in relation to farm manpower



**Agriculture
Québec**

PROGRAMME AGRICOLE

Service de la main-d'œuvre agricole du Québec

Référence budgétaire:
Programme 08
Élément 02

AIDE FINANCIERE A LA CREATION D'EMPLOIS SAISONNIERS POUR LES ETUDIANTS EN MILIEU AGRICOLE

Pour favoriser la création d'emplois saisonniers en milieu agricole, à l'intention des étudiants et fournir aux producteurs agricoles la main-d'œuvre nécessaire à l'exécution de leurs travaux, le ministère de l'Agriculture contribuera financièrement à la rémunération des étudiants qui occuperont un emploi dans le secteur agricole, au niveau de la production, au cours de l'été 1978.

A- AIDE FINANCIERE

Le ministère de l'Agriculture rembourse directement au producteur agricole qui fait la preuve de ses besoins en main-d'œuvre et qui emploie un étudiant pour effectuer les travaux reliés à son exploitation agricole, une partie du salaire payé, soit \$1.25 l'heure. Le salaire versé doit être de \$3,50 ou plus l'heure.

B- LIMITES

La période pendant laquelle un agriculteur peut employer un étudiant et profiter du présent programme débute le 15 avril et se termine le 15 octobre 1978. Durant cette période, la participation financière du ministère est limitée à \$350 par étudiant. La subvention est également limitée à \$1 050 par producteur agricole et à \$1 750 dans le cas d'une société de production agricole, d'une coopérative d'exploitation agricole ou d'une corporation d'exploitation agricole.

Le budget total alloué pour la mise en vigueur de ce programme est de \$1.5 million. Lorsque les engagements atteindront ce montant, aucune nouvelle demande ne sera acceptée et le programme sera considéré comme étant terminé.

C- ADMISSIBILITE

Pour les fins du présent programme, est considérée comme étudiant toute personne qui a fréquenté une institution d'enseignement au cours du 2^e semestre de l'année scolaire 1977-78, qui a complété son secondaire V ou qui est âgée de 18 ans et plus. L'étudiant doit fournir la preuve de son statut d'étudiant à son employeur en lui remettant une attestation émise par l'institution qu'il a fréquentée au cours du 2^e semestre de l'année scolaire 1977-78 qui indique son numéro d'assurance sociale, sa date de naissance de même que son niveau scolaire. Ce document doit porter le sceau officiel de ladite institution.

Le producteur agricole peut engager son fils ou sa fille s'ils répondent à la définition d'étudiant mentionnée précédemment. Au moment où il retient les services de son fils ou de sa fille, le producteur agricole doit signer une déclaration à l'effet que ceux-ci n'occupent pas déjà un emploi et qu'ils n'occuperont pas un autre emploi pendant la période où ils travailleront dans la ferme.

D- BENEFICIAIRES

Tout producteur agricole dont les besoins en main-d'œuvre pour l'exploitation de sa ferme justifient l'emploi d'une main-d'œuvre salariée et qui accepte de verser un salaire horaire de \$3,50 ou plus.

E- DUREE DE L'EMPLOI

Pour profiter de cette mesure, le producteur agricole doit procurer à un étudiant un emploi continu d'une durée minimale de 180 heures. La semaine de travail doit être de 30 heures ou plus. Si ce premier étudiant quitte avant que cette période minimale soit complétée, le producteur doit en engager un deuxième pour la terminer.

Dans le cas où plus d'un étudiant travaillent en même temps pour le même producteur, chacun d'eux devra compléter la période minimale de 180 heures. Si l'un d'eux quitte avant que cette période minimale soit complétée, le producteur doit engager un autre étudiant pour la terminer.

F- DEMANDE

Tout producteur agricole qui désire bénéficier des avantages offerts en vertu du présent programme doit faire une demande avant de retenir les services d'un étudiant. Il doit à ce moment, faire la preuve de ses besoins en main-d'œuvre agricole et fournir la preuve du statut de l'étudiant (requisés en C ci-dessus). Pour faire sa demande, le producteur doit s'adresser à son bureau local de renseignements agricoles; il peut retenir les services de l'étudiant admissible de son choix. S'il n'en connaît pas, il peut se référer auprès des centres de main-d'œuvre du Québec ou du Canada.

Toute fausse déclaration au niveau de la demande ou de la réclamation entraîne automatiquement l'annulation de la subvention. Les montants qui auraient alors pu être versés en trop sont remboursables immédiatement sous peine de poursuite judiciaire.

G- RECLAMATIONS

Pour obtenir le remboursement d'une partie des salaires payés, l'employeur doit s'adresser à son bureau local de renseignements agricoles, utiliser les formules qui sont mises à sa disposition, fournir l'information et les documents requis. Une seule réclamation est faite pour chaque étudiant à la fin de la période d'emploi.

H- DISPOSITIONS SPECIALES

Lorsqu'il présente sa réclamation, l'employeur doit fournir la preuve qu'il s'est conformé aux lois et règlements relatifs aux programmes de sécurité sociale (assurance-chômage, régime des rentes pour les étudiants de 18 ans ou plus, le programme de santé du Québec) et à l'impôt sur le revenu. Pour lui faciliter la tâche, le ministère de l'Agriculture met à sa disposition un feuillet explicatif ainsi que les formulaires nécessaires. De plus amples informations peuvent également être obtenues directement des ministères concernés.

I- DEFINITIONS

Société d'exploitation agricole: une société au sens du Code civil qui a pour objet principal l'exploitation en commun d'une ferme rentable dont elle est propriétaire ou locataire, qui est formée au moyen d'un contrat écrit conforme au règlement, qui est constituée de personnes physiques et dont au moins soixante pour cent des intérêts sont la propriété d'exploitants agricoles dont la majorité a pour principale occupation l'exploitation de cette ferme; cette expression désigne également plusieurs personnes physiques, propriétaires par indivis d'une ferme rentable, lorsqu'au moins soixante pour cent des droits de propriété dans telle ferme sont détenus par des exploitants agricoles dont la majorité a pour occupation principale l'exploitation de cette ferme, chacune de ces personnes étant considérée comme un sociétaire pour les fins de la présente loi.

Coopérative d'exploitation agricole: une société coopérative agricole formée en vertu de la Loi des sociétés coopératives agricoles (Statuts refondus, 1964, chapitre 124) ou une association coopérative formée en vertu de la Loi des associations coopératives (Statuts refondus, 1964, chapitre 292), ayant pour objet principal et pour activité principale l'exploitation d'une ferme rentable dont elle est propriétaire ou locataire pourvu que tous ses producteurs actionnaires ou tous ses membres, selon le cas, soient des personnes physiques, qu'au moins soixante pour cent des actions ordinaires émises ou des parts sociales, selon le cas, soient la propriété d'exploitants agricoles dont la majorité a pour principale occupation l'exploitation de cette ferme.

Corporation d'exploitation agricole: une corporation constituée en vertu de la Loi des compagnies (chap. 271), ayant pour objet principal et pour activité principale l'exploitation d'une ferme rentable dont elle est propriétaire ou locataire, pourvu que tous ses actionnaires soient des personnes physiques et qu'au moins soixante pour cent des actions de chaque catégorie émise soient la propriété d'exploitants agricoles dont la majorité a pour principale occupation l'exploitation de cette ferme.

Le ministre de l'Agriculture



JEAN GARON

QUEBEC, 1978 04 01



**Agriculture
Québec**

PROGRAMME AGRICOLE

Service de la main-d'oeuvre agricole du Québec

Référence budgétaire:
Programme 08
Élément 02

AIDE FINANCIERE A LA CREATION D'EMPLOIS EN MILIEU AGRICOLE

Pour favoriser la création d'emplois et fournir aux agriculteurs la main-d'oeuvre agricole nécessaire à l'exécution de leurs travaux, le ministre de l'Agriculture offre en vertu du présent programme de contribuer financièrement à la rémunération de certaines catégories de travailleurs québécois qui occuperont un emploi dans le secteur agricole au niveau de la production.

A- AIDE FINANCIERE

Le ministre de l'Agriculture du Québec rembourse directement au producteur agricole admissible qui fait la preuve de ses besoins en main-d'oeuvre et qui accepte d'employer un bénéficiaire d'aide sociale ou un chômeur pour des travaux reliés à son exploitation, 75% du salaire payé dans le cas d'un bénéficiaire d'aide sociale et 50% du salaire payé dans le cas d'un chômeur. L'employeur doit verser un salaire horaire de \$3,50 ou plus.

B- LIMITES

La subvention est calculée sur un salaire de \$3,50 l'heure. Elle est versée pour la période couvrant le déficit en main-d'oeuvre limitée toutefois à un maximum de trente (30) semaines par employé. Cette période ne doit pas excéder le 31 mars 1979. La participation du ministère est limitée à \$105 par semaine pour celui qui emploie un bénéficiaire d'aide sociale et à \$70 par semaine pour celui qui emploie un chômeur, à condition que la semaine de travail soit de 40 heures ou plus.

La contribution financière du ministère pour la durée du programme, soit du 1er avril 1978 au 31 mars 1979, est limitée à \$3 150 ou à \$2 100 par travailleur selon qu'il est bénéficiaire d'aide sociale ou chômeur et à \$6 300 par employeur. Ce maximum est porté à \$9 150 lorsque l'employeur est une corporation d'exploitation agricole, une coopérative d'exploitation agricole ou une société d'exploitation agricole.

La subvention est versée pour les travailleurs engagés en sus des travailleurs permanents qui sont à l'emploi du bénéficiaire au moment de la demande.

C- ADMISSIBILITE DE L'EMPLOYE

Pour les fins du présent programme, est considéré comme bénéficiaire d'aide sociale, celui qui est reconnu admissible à l'aide sociale, par le ministère

des Affaires Sociales, au moment de son emploi par le producteur agricole; est considérée comme chômeur, toute personne âgée de 18 ans et plus qui est à la recherche et dans l'attente d'un emploi et qui est enregistrée auprès d'un centre de main-d'oeuvre du Québec ou du Canada.

Ne peuvent participer au présent programme à titre de travailleur agricole:

- a) le conjoint de l'employeur
- b) les personnes âgées de 65 ans et plus
- c) les étudiants qui fréquentaient les classes au cours du 2^e semestre de l'année scolaire 1977-78. Ils sont cependant admissibles après le 1^{er} septembre 1978, s'ils ne retournent pas aux études et s'ils sont bénéficiaires d'aide sociale ou chômeurs
- d) le conjoint d'un membre d'une société d'exploitation agricole
- e) le conjoint d'un sociétaire d'une coopérative d'exploitation agricole
- f) le conjoint d'un actionnaire d'une corporation d'exploitation agricole

D- BENEFICIAIRE

Tout employeur reconnu comme producteur agricole au sens de la loi, dont les besoins en main-d'oeuvre nécessaire pour l'exploitation de sa ferme excèdent la somme de travail que lui-même, les membres non-admissibles de sa famille (dans le cas d'une société d'exploitation agricole, d'une coopérative d'exploitation agricole ou d'une corporation d'exploitation agricole, les sociétaires, les membres, les actionnaires ainsi que leur conjoint) ainsi que ses employés permanents peuvent fournir et qui accepte d'employer un ou des travailleurs admissibles pour combler le déficit.

E- DUREE DE L'EMPLOI

Pour profiter de cette mesure, l'employeur doit procurer un emploi continu à chaque travailleur admissible pour une période minimale de dix (10) semaines d'une durée moyenne de 40 heures; une exception est faite cependant pour les horticulteurs, les pomiculteurs et les acériculteurs, de même que pour les producteurs agricoles des Iles de la Madeleine, où la période minimale d'emploi est de quatre (4) semaines d'une moyenne de 40 heures.

Dans le cas où plusieurs employés travaillent en même temps pour le même employeur, chacun doit compléter une période minimale d'emploi de 10 semaines ou de 4 semaines selon les exceptions mentionnées ci-dessus.

Dans le cas où l'employé ne complète pas la période minimale d'emploi, il doit être remplacé et la somme de travail de ces employés doit être d'une durée minimale de 10 semaines ou de 4 semaines selon les exceptions mentionnées ci-dessus.

F- DEMANDE

Tout producteur agricole qui désire bénéficier des avantages offerts en vertu du présent programme doit faire une demande avant de recevoir les services de travailleurs admissibles.

Il doit à cet effet s'adresser à son bureau local de renseignements agricoles. La subvention est versée à compter de la date d'emploi du travailleur ou de la date de la demande si celle-ci est faite après l'engagement des travailleurs agricoles. Dans ce dernier cas, la période d'emploi de 10 semaines ou exceptionnellement de 4 semaines débute à la date de la demande.

G- RECLAMATION

Pour obtenir le remboursement, par le ministère de l'Agriculture, d'une partie des salaires payés, l'employeur doit s'adresser à son bureau local de renseignements agricoles, utiliser les formules qui sont mises à sa disposition, fournir l'information et les documents requis. La première réclamation peut être présentée à la fin des périodes minimales d'emploi mentionnées ci-dessus soit 10 ou 4 semaines, selon le cas; les réclamations subséquentes peuvent se faire une fois toutes les quatre (4) semaines ou avant, lorsque l'emploi se termine.

H- DISPOSITIONS SPECIALES

Lorsqu'il présente ses réclamations, l'employeur doit fournir la preuve qu'il s'est conformé aux lois et règlements relatifs aux programmes de sécurité (assurance-chômage, régimes des rentes, programme de santé du Québec) et à l'impôt sur le revenu. Pour lui faciliter la tâche, le ministère de l'Agriculture met à sa disposition un feuillet explicatif ainsi que les formules nécessaires. De plus amples informations peuvent également être obtenues directement des ministères concernés.

I- DEFINITIONS

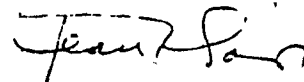
Société d'exploitation agricole: une société au sens du Code civil qui a pour objet principal l'exploitation en commun d'une ferme rentable dont elle est propriétaire ou locataire qui est formée au moyen d'un contrat écrit conforme au règlement, qui est constituée de personnes physiques et dont au moins soixante pour cent des intérêts sont la propriété d'exploitants agricoles dont la majorité a pour principale occupation l'exploitation de cette ferme; cette expression désigne également plusieurs personnes physiques, propriétaires par indivis d'une ferme rentable,

lorsqu'au moins soixante pour cent des droits de propriété dans telle ferme sont détenus par des exploitants agricoles dont la majorité a pour occupation principale l'exploitation de cette ferme, chacune de ces personnes étant considérée comme un sociétaire pour les fins de la présente loi.

Coopérative d'exploitation agricole: une société coopérative agricole formée en vertu de la Loi des sociétés coopératives agricoles (Statuts refondus, 1964, chapitre 124) ou une association coopérative formée en vertu de la Loi des associations coopératives (Statuts refondus, 1964, chapitre 292), ayant pour objet principal et pour activité principale l'exploitation d'une ferme rentable dont elle est propriétaire ou locataire, pourvu que tous ses producteurs actionnaires ou tous ses membres, selon le cas, soient des personnes physiques, qu'au moins soixante pour cent des actions ordinaires émises ou des parts sociales, selon le cas, soient la propriété d'exploitants agricoles et que la majorité de ses producteurs actionnaires ou de ses membres, selon le cas, soient des exploitants agricoles dont la majorité a pour principale occupation l'exploitation de cette ferme.

Corporation d'exploitation agricole: une corporation constituée en vertu de la Loi des compagnies (chap. 271), ayant pour objet principal et pour activité principale l'exploitation d'une ferme rentable dont elle est propriétaire ou locataire, pourvu que tous ses actionnaires soient des personnes physiques et qu'au moins soixante pour cent des actions de chaque catégorie émises soient la propriété d'exploitants agricoles dont la majorité a pour principale occupation l'exploitation de cette ferme.

Le ministre de l'Agriculture



JEAN GARON

QUEBEC, 1978 04 01



**Agriculture
Québec**

PROGRAMME AGRICOLE

Service de la main-d'œuvre agricole du Québec

Référence budgétaire:
Programme 08
Élément 02

AIDE FINANCIÈRE À L'ACHAT, À LA CONSTRUCTION ET À LA RÉNOVATION DE LOGEMENTS DESTINÉS À LA MAIN-D'OEUVRE AGRICOLE SAISONNIÈRE

La concentration dans certaines localités des producteurs agricoles qui doivent faire appel à des travailleurs saisonniers cause chaque année une pénurie locale de main-d'œuvre agricole. Il devient nécessaire de faire appel à des travailleurs provenant quelquefois de régions très éloignées. Les producteurs doivent alors leur fournir des logements adéquats à proximité de leur lieu de travail. Les logements qui existent présentement sont insuffisants en nombre ou inadéquats pour répondre aux besoins.

Pour remédier à cette situation, le ministre de l'Agriculture du Québec, conformément à l'accord fédéral-provincial relatif à la main-d'œuvre agricole, offre de contribuer financièrement au coût d'achat, de construction ou de rénovation de logements salubres dans les fermes.

SUBVENTION

La subvention peut représenter un maximum de 50 % du coût d'achat, de construction et de rénovation des logements destinés aux travailleurs agricoles saisonniers. Elle est limitée au moindre de \$750 par travailleur qui peut y être logé ou \$15 000.

ADMISSIBILITÉ

La subvention est accordée au producteur agricole pour l'achat, la construction et la rénovation de bâtiments destinés à loger la main-d'œuvre agricole salariée, à l'exception des membres de sa famille.

Les logements pour lesquels une subvention est versée doivent être disponibles pour loger les ouvriers agricoles durant les périodes normales d'emploi au cours des cinq (5) années suivant le paiement de ladite subvention.

DEMANDE

Le producteur agricole qui désire se prévaloir de cette mesure doit en faire la demande en s'adressant au Service de la main-d'œuvre agricole du Québec, 1020, route de l'Église, à Sainte-Foy, (tél: 643-8495) ou à 100, place Charles-Lemoyne, bureau 278, édifice du Métro, Longueuil, Québec, (tél: 873-2648).

La demande doit être accompagnée de plans et devis ou de croquis suffisamment détaillés pour qu'il soit possible de voir si le projet rencontre les normes prévues au présent programme et d'évaluer l'ampleur du projet présenté. La demande doit également être accompagnée d'une copie de tous les permis qui sont requis par les divers paliers de gouvernement.

Lorsqu'il s'agit uniquement d'un achat, le requérant doit accompagner sa demande d'un croquis, d'une description détaillée et de photos du bâtiment qu'il désire acquérir.

La demande doit être approuvée par le directeur du Service de la main-d'œuvre agricole avant le début des travaux ou avant l'acquisition.

NORMES À RESPECTER

Les locaux pour lesquels le producteur agricole reçoit une subvention doivent comporter:

- 1) Une surface totale minimale de plancher de 75 pieds carrés par travailleur;
- 2) Un espace minimum de 300 pieds cubes par travailleur dans les chambres à coucher ou les dortoirs;
- 3) Des fenêtres possédant une surface vitrée égale ou supérieure à 8 % de la surface du plancher;
- 4) Des grillages (moustiquaires) aux portes et fenêtres et des ouvertures suffisamment grandes pour assurer une ventilation adéquate;
- 5) Des planchers et des murs recouverts de matériaux facilement lavables;
- 6) Une entrée principale et une sortie d'urgence;
- 7) Un système adéquat d'approvisionnement en eau potable et d'élimination des eaux usées;
- 8) Un système d'éclairage électrique d'une capacité et d'une intensité suffisantes;
- 9) Un système de chauffage suffisamment puissant pour maintenir une température minimale de 18 degrés Celsius. Lorsqu'il s'agit d'un système à combustion, celui-ci doit être relié à une cheminée.

- 10) Des lits placés à 36 pouces ou plus les uns des autres incluant des matelas propres et en bonne condition, placés à 8 pouces ou plus au-dessus de la surface du plancher;
- 11) Des espaces de rangement, c'est-à-dire des cases ou des tablettes, en nombre suffisant;
- 12) Une douche pourvue d'eau chaude et d'eau froide par 10 travailleurs;
- 13) Un lavabo pourvu d'eau chaude et d'eau froide par 6 travailleurs;
- 14) Une toilette par 6 travailleurs.
- 15) Des commodités de lavage pour le linge;
- 16) A moins que les travailleurs ne prennent leurs repas avec la famille de l'employeur, une cuisinette pourvue d'installations pour la conservation, la préparation et la cuisson des aliments, de même qu'une table, des chaises et des ustensiles en nombre suffisant:
Les employés affectés à la préparation des repas doivent satisfaire à toutes les exigences du ministère des Affaires sociales et de celui de l'Agriculture, s'il y a lieu.
- 17) Des poubelles avec couvercles. Les déchets sont enlevés une fois par semaine, plus souvent durant l'été lorsque les conditions d'hygiène l'imposent;
- 18) Un extincteur;

Les locaux doivent être maintenus propres et exempts de vermine et de rongeurs.

On doit éviter d'entreposer à l'intérieur ou près de ces locaux tout matériel inflammable ou qui peut présenter un danger pour la santé des travailleurs.

DÉBOURSEMENT:

La subvention est versée à la fin des travaux lorsque le représentant autorisé du ministère s'est assuré que le requérant a satisfait à toutes les exigences du programme et qu'il lui a soumis un compte détaillé des dépenses engagées pour l'achat, la construction et la rénovation des bâtiments.

Le sous-ministre de l'Agriculture,



FERDINAND OUELLET

QUÉBEC, 1978 04 01



**Agriculture
Québec**

PROGRAMME AGRICOLE

Service de la main-d'oeuvre agricole du Québec

Référence budgétaire:
Programme 08
Élément 02

AIDE FINANCIÈRE AU DÉPLACEMENT DES OUVRIERS AGRICOLES

La pénurie de main-d'oeuvre agricole que l'on connaît dans certaines régions oblige les producteurs à faire appel aux services d'ouvriers agricoles venant souvent de localités éloignées. Ceux-ci doivent alors faire face à des frais de transport et de déménagement assez élevés considérant leur situation financière quelquefois précaire.

Afin de les inciter à se rendre travailler chez les producteurs agricoles québécois qui en font la demande, le ministre de l'Agriculture du Québec offre aux ouvriers agricoles saisonniers de défrayer le coût de leur déplacement, aller et retour. Les ouvriers agricoles permanents, de même que les membres de leur famille, peuvent aussi profiter de ces avantages en plus d'obtenir le remboursement d'une partie importante des frais engagés lors de leur déménagement.

Conformément à l'accord fédéral-provincial relatif à la main-d'oeuvre agricole et sujet à une approbation préalable, le ministre de l'Agriculture du Québec offre également de payer le transport, par véhicule public notifié, des ouvriers agricoles recrutés sur une base journalière.

I OUVRIERS PERMANENTS

a) Subvention au transport

La subvention est équivalente au coût du transport par train, avion ou autobus, en classe économique, pour le travailleur lui-même et, s'il y a lieu, pour ses dépendants, à partir de la gare ou du point d'arrêt le plus près de chez lui jusqu'à la gare ou au point d'arrêt le plus près de sa nouvelle résidence.

Si le travailleur est autorisé à utiliser sa propre automobile, il lui est alloué un montant de 10¢ le kilomètre parcouru entre son ancien domicile et sa nouvelle résidence.

b) Subvention au déménagement

La subvention couvre une partie importante des frais engagés par le travailleur agricole pour faire effectuer le déménagement de ses meubles ainsi que de ses effets personnels et ceux de ses dépendants. Elle est calculée selon les taux suivants qui sont établis en fonction du poids moyen d'un ameublement de 5 pièces qui est d'environ deux mille kilogrammes.

Distance aller seulement (kilomètres)	Subvention maximale
30 - 75	\$400
76 - 150	\$425
151 - 225	\$450
226 - 300	\$475
301 - 450	\$525
451 - 600	\$575
601 - 750	\$650
751 - 900	\$725

c) Subvention pour repas et coucher

Les frais de repas réguliers pris en cours de route par le travailleur et les membres de sa famille peuvent être remboursés sur présentation de reçus. La subvention est cependant limitée à \$4.50 par repas et par personne.

Lorsque la distance à parcourir excède 450 kilomètres, les frais de coucher en cours de route peuvent être remboursés sur présentation de reçus d'un établissement hôtelier.

La subvention est limitée à \$25 pour les deux premières personnes et à \$3 pour chaque personne additionnelle.

ADMISSIBILITÉ

Est admissible aux subventions ci-dessus, tout ouvrier agricole qui prouve à la satisfaction du ministre de l'Agriculture, qu'il se rend occuper un emploi permanent chez un producteur agricole québécois disposé à l'employer.

II OUVRIERS SAISONNIERS

a) Subvention au transport

La subvention défraie le coût du transport par train ou autobus et exceptionnellement par avion, en classe économique, à partir du point d'arrêt ou de la gare la plus près de la résidence du travailleur jusqu'au point d'arrêt ou de la gare la plus près de son lieu de travail.

Sujet à une approbation préalable, il est alloué au travailleur agricole saisonnier, qui utilise son automobile, un montant de 10¢ le kilomètre parcouru entre son domicile et son lieu de travail. La subvention est

cependant limitée au moindre du montant qu'il lui en aurait coûté s'il avait voyagé soit par train, autobus ou avion. Si plusieurs travailleurs doivent être déplacés en même temps, celui qui est autorisé à utiliser son automobile doit accepter de transporter au même tarif au moins trois (3) autres travailleurs et leurs bagages.

b) Lorsque le nombre de travailleurs agricoles saisonniers à déplacer est assez important, un autobus peut être nolisé. Le coût du nolissement dudit autobus doit être inférieur à la somme du coût des billets qui auraient dû être émis pour transporter ces travailleurs individuellement.

c) Les frais de repas réguliers pris en cours de route peuvent être remboursés. Les frais sont cependant limités à \$4.50 par repas et par personne. Le nombre de repas à être remboursés est déterminé au départ par celui qui émet le bon de transport.

Le coût du transport de retour et des repas pris en cours de route sont défrayés aux mêmes conditions lorsque le travail est terminé. Le travailleur doit alors faire une deuxième demande en s'adressant au fonctionnaire autorisé à émettre les bons de transport dont le bureau est situé le plus près de son lieu de travail.

ADMISSIBILITÉ

Est admissible à cette subvention, tout ouvrier agricole saisonnier qui prouve à la satisfaction du ministre de l'Agriculture, qu'il se rend effectuer un travail saisonnier chez un producteur agricole québécois disposé à l'employer ou qu'il revient chez lui après avoir terminé le travail agricole saisonnier pour lequel on avait retenu ses services.

III OUVRIERS AGRICOLES JOURNALIERS

Le coût du transport quotidien, par véhicule public nolisé, des ouvriers agricoles journaliers peut être défrayé, lorsque le producteur agricole ne peut recruter localement la main-d'oeuvre nécessaire à l'exécution de ses travaux.

Lorsque possible, les producteurs doivent recruter des ouvriers agricoles sur une base saisonnière. A cet effet, ils doivent être encouragés à organiser dans leur ferme des logements adéquats pour satisfaire aux besoins d'une équipe de base à laquelle ils font appel d'année en année (voir programme "d'Aide financière à l'achat, la construction et à la rénovation de logements destinés à la main-d'oeuvre agricole saisonnière").

Pour que le transport journalier soit organisé, les normes suivantes doivent être respectées:

a) Celui qui désire organiser le déplacement de travailleurs agricoles sur une base journalière doit présenter et faire approuver son projet par un fonctionnaire responsable du Service de la main-d'oeuvre agricole du Québec, en utilisant les formules qui sont mises à sa disposition. La durée du projet ne peut excéder trois semaines. Si la période de transport doit se prolonger au-delà de cette période, un nouveau projet doit être soumis pour approbation;

b) La distance à parcourir entre le point de rassemblement ou d'embarquement doit être d'un minimum de cinq (5) kilomètres et d'un maximum de quatre-vingts (80) kilomètres du lieu de travail (10 kilomètres et 160 kilomètres aller et retour)

Dans des cas exceptionnels, sur autorisation du directeur du Service de la main-d'oeuvre agricole du Québec, cette distance peut atteindre cent dix (110) kilomètres (220 kilomètres aller et retour)

c) les travailleurs qualifiés qui se présentent au point de rassemblement et dont les services sont requis doivent être transportés en évitant toute forme de discrimination;

d) de façon à assurer l'exécution d'un travail valable et une répartition raisonnable des frais de transport, le travailleur doit, à moins d'empêchements majeurs, fournir un minimum quotidien de six heures de travail dans la ferme;

e) le nolissement de véhicules publics est autorisé par le directeur du Service de la main-d'oeuvre agricole du Québec ou son représentant. Lorsque plus d'une compagnie de transport opèrent sur le territoire à desservir, des appels d'offres doivent être sollicités de tous les transporteurs susceptibles de fournir le service requis. A service égal, l'offre du plus bas soumissionnaire est retenue. Lorsqu'il n'y a qu'un seul transporteur, des prix convenables sont négociés en tenant compte des conditions entourant le transport et des distances à parcourir;

f) celui qui nolise un autobus scolaire doit s'assurer que le transporteur obtenu le permis nécessaire pour véhiculer des personnes autres que des écoliers.

DEMANDE

Pour se prévaloir des mesures décrites ci-dessus, l'agriculteur-employeur ou le groupe de travailleurs agricoles doit faire une demande en s'adressant soit au bureau local des renseignements agricoles du ministère de l'Agriculture du Québec, soit directement au Service de la main-d'oeuvre agricole du Québec, 1020, route de l'Eglise, Sainte-Foy, Québec, G1V 3V9, (tél: 643-8495) ou à 100, place Charles-Lemoyne, bureau 278, édifice du Métro, Longueuil, Québec, J4K 2T4 (tél: 873-2648) ou aux Centres de main-d'oeuvre du Canada, (C.M.C. s ou S.M.A.C.s).

DÉBOURSEMENT

1- Subvention au transport des ouvriers permanents ou saisonniers

Sur acceptation de sa demande, l'ouvrier agricole se voit remettre un bon de transport. Lorsqu'il présente ce document à l'aérogare, à la gare ferroviaire ou d'autobus, il lui est remis un billet pour le trajet à effectuer. Sur réception du bon de transport accompagné de la facture originale émise par la compagnie transporteuse, le prix du billet est remboursé directement à ladite compagnie.

Si le travailleur agricole est autorisé à utiliser son automobile, il doit soumettre sa réclamation directement au Service de la main-d'oeuvre agricole du Québec, 1020, route de l'Eglise à Sainte-Foy, en faisant parvenir le bon de transport et la formule qui lui sont remis à cet effet.

2- Subvention au déménagement

La subvention, calculée selon les normes établies à l'article 1-b est versée sur production de pièces justificatives.

3- Subvention pour repas et couchés

La subvention, calculée selon les normes établies aux articles 1-c et 11-c, est payée sur présentation de pièces justificatives.

4- Nolisement d'autobus

Le paiement est effectué directement à la compagnie transporteuse sur présentation de la copie originale du bon de nolisement et de la facture quotidienne émise par celle-ci pour chaque autobus. Cette facture doit indiquer entre autres le point de départ, la destination, le millage parcouru de même que le nombre de passagers transportés. La facturation doit être faite au plus tard 15 jours après que le transport a été effectué.

Le sous-ministre de l'Agriculture.



FERDINAND OUELLET

QUÉBEC, 1978 04 01

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Brewis, T. N. Regional Economic Policies in Canada. Toronto: MacMillan of Canada Ltd., 1969.
- Bronson, H. E. "Continentalism and Canadian Agriculture", an article in Capitalism and the National Question. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- Chatillon, C. L'Histoire de l'Agriculture au Québec. Montréal: Editions l'Étincelle, 1976.
- Chorney, H. "Regional Development and Cultural Decay" in Imperialism, Nationalism and Canada edited by J. Saul & C. Heron. Kitchener: Toronto New Haytown Press, 1977.
- Culyer, A. J. The Economics of Social Policy. London: Martin Robertson, 1973.
- De Tocqueville, A. Democracy in America Volume 2. New York: Random House Inc., 1945.
- Drache, D. "Stapleization: A Theory of Canadian Capitalist Development" in Imperialism, Nationalism and Canada edited by J. Saul & C. Heron. Kitchener: Toronto New Haytown Press, 1977.
- Frank, A. G. Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967.
- Frank, A. G. Dependence and Underdevelopment. Garden City New York: Anchor Books, 1972.
- Gasson, R. Mobility of Farm Workers. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Dept. of Land Economy, Occasional Paper No. 2, 1974.
- Harris, R. C. The Seigneurial System in Early Canada. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1966.
- Haythorne, G. V. Labor in Canadian Agriculture. Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Kautsky, K. La Question Agraire. Paris: V. Giard & E. Brière, 1900.

- Lenin, V. I. "New Data on the Law of the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture", Selected Works Vol. 12. New York: International Publishers, 1943.
- Lessard, D. L'Agriculture et le Capitalisme au Québec. Montréal: Editions l'Étincelle, 1976.
- Levitt, K. Silent Surrender. Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1970.
- Marx, K. Capital Volume 1. London: Everyman, 1972.
- Marx, K. Capital Volume 1. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1974.
- Marx, K. The German Ideology. New York: International Publishers, 1970.
- McGaw, D. & G. Watson Political and Social Inquiry. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1976.
- Mitchell, D. The Politics of Food. Toronto: James & Co., 1975.
- Ouellet, F. Histoire Economique et Sociale du Québec 1760-1815. Montréal: Fides, 1966.
- Porter, J. The Vertical Mosaic. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.
- Sjoberg, G. and R. Nett A Methodology for Social Research. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.
- Smith, A. Wealth of Nations. New York: Penguin Books, 1977.
- Stavenhagen, R. Social Classes in Agrarian Societies. Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, 1975.
- Zeitlin, I. M. Ideology and the Development of Social Theory. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1968.

Periodicals

- Bernier, B. "The Penetration of Capitalism in Québec Agriculture", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 13 (4) 1976.
- Breton, G. "La Place des Producteurs Agricoles dans les Rapports de Production Capitaliste", Anthropologie et Sociétés, 1 (2) 1977.

- Centre for the Study of Inflation and Productivity, "The Dairy Industry: a case study of Economic Inefficiency", The Monitor, 1 (2) 1979.
- Fowke, V. C. "The Myth of the Self-Sufficient Canadian Pioneer", Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. LVI Series III, June 1962.
- Galtung, J. "A Structural Theory of Imperialism", Journal of Peace Research, 1971.
- Hedley, M. J. "Independent Commodity Production and the Dynamics of Tradition", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 13 (4) 1976.
- Jones, W. D. and F. Tung "A Regional Comparison of Structural Changes and Resource Use in the Canadian Farm Industry, 1961 to 1971", Canadian Farm Economics, 12 (5) 1977.
- Lohar, J. S. "Canada's Agricultural Trade - Recent Developments and Export Prospects", Canadian Farm Economics, 13 (4) 1978.
- Mingione, E. "Territorial Division of Labour and Capitalist Development", Current Sociology, 22 1974.
- Piot, M. "Agriculture et Capitalisme au Québec: l'Agro-Industrie et l'Etat", Anthropologie et Sociétés, 1 (2) 1977.
- Rust, R. S. and W. D. Jones "Farm Labour", Canadian Farm Economics, 11 (6) 1976.
- Rust, R. S. "Farm Finance", Canadian Farm Economics, 11 (6) 1976
- Shute, D. "Agricultural Productivity in Eastern Canada", Canadian Farm Economics, 11 (5) 1976.
- Steeves, A. D. "Proletarianization and Class Identification", Rural Sociology, 37 (1) 1972.
- "The New American Farmer", Time Magazine, Nov. 1978.
- Warnock, J. "The Political Economy of the Food Industry in Canada - Oligopoly and American Domination", Our Generation, 11 (4) 1976.

Miscellaneous

- Bergeron, L. L'Intervention Etatique et l'Agriculture: Le Cas du Québec Monograph paper. Montréal: Université de Montréal, 1977.
- Bernier, B. Bidonville, P.Q.: Analyse de Classe d'un Groupe de Sous-Prolétaires Québécois Dept. of Anthropology, Université de Montréal, Unpublished Manuscript, 1976.
- Bollman, R. D. Off Farm Work by Farmers: a Study with a Kinked Demand for Labour Curve. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Unpublished Manuscript, 1978.
- Chatillon, C. Le Développement de l'Agriculture au Québec M.A. Thesis, Montréal: Université de Montréal, 1976.
- Cunningham, G. The Political Economy of Agriculture in Ontario Mimeographed paper. Toronto: Dept. of Social Science, Atkinson College, York University, June 1978.
- Mitchell, D. Oligopoly and the Cost-Price Squeeze: Assessing the Causes and Effects of Rural Decline Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Regina: University of Saskatchewan, 1973.
- Reimer, W., P. Illich & J. Zawilski Toward a Theory of Dependency Mimeographed paper. Montreal: Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, Concordia University, 1978.
- Smith, P. Comments on the Analysis of the Political Economy of Canadian Agriculture (Sample Survey and Data Bank Unit - Un. of Regina) Mimeographed paper presented to the Political Economy Section at the Learned Societies Meetings. London, Ontario May 1978.
- Steeves, A. D. The Flows of Canadian Farm Operators into and out of Agriculture a paper delivered to the Annual Meeting of the C.A.A. in London, Ont. Ottawa: Carleton University, Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, 1978.

Government Documents

- Agriculture-Québec, Coup d'Oeil sur l'Agro-Alimentaire au Québec 1978. Service des Etudes Economiques, Min. de l'Agriculture du Québec, Sept. 1978.
- Commission on the Planification of Canadian Agriculture, Canadian Agriculture in the 70's. A report, Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1970.

Drummond, K. La Conjoncture de l'Economie Agricole au Québec en 1975. Ministère de l'Agriculture, Québec, Février 1976.

Economics and Research Branch, Dept. of Labor, Trends in the Agricultural Labour Force in Canada from 1921 to 1959. Ottawa, 1960.

Selected Agricultural Statistics for Canada. Agriculture Canada, June 1977.

Statistics Canada, Farm Input Price Index. Catalogue 62.004.

Statistics Canada, Farm Product Price Index. Catalogue 62.003.

Statistics Canada, Census of Canada Agriculture - Ontario. Catalogues: 96-536, Vol. V, Part 2, Bul. 512-2 (1961), 96-707, Vol. IV, Part 2, Bul. 4.2-2 (1971), 96-806, Bul. 12-2 (1976).

Statistics Canada, Census of Canada Agriculture - Québec. Catalogues: 96-535, Vol. V, Part 2, Bul. 5.2-1 (1961), 96-706, Vol. IV, Part 2, Bul. 4.2-1 (1971), 96-805, Bul. 12-1 (1976).