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STAKE AND GENERATIONS IN ALBERTA FARMING FAMILIES

BY

XIUMEI ZHANG

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of **Master of Science.**

DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY STUDIES

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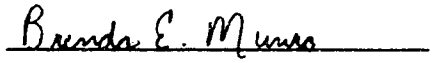

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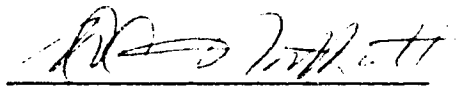

Dr. Herb Northcott

Nov. 26, 1992

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my husband Fengyou, our daughter Yin, and my parents in China. My family provided a constant source of support, love, and encouragement during the writing or this thesis.

Abstract

The notion of generational stake was not previously tested in farming families. This study discussed some of the limitations of the original generational stake perspective with regard to the study of intergenerational relationships in farm families. In response to the limitations discussed, suggestions for theory expansion were made and a measure of family and farm stake (Family and Farm Stake Scale - FFSS) was developed for use in farm families. Described in this study were the development, validity, and reliability of the FFSS. Using the newly developed measure, stake levels across generations as well as among family members were tested in a sample of Alberta two-generation farm families (n=262). Results indicate that daughters-in-law and sons-in-law account for generational differences in stake levels.

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I. Introduction

In North America, farm families play an important role in agriculture (Duncan & Devereux, 1977; Hutson, 1987; Keating & Munro, 1991; Weigel & Weigel, 1988). In fact, farming has always been dominated by family enterprises which persist through intergenerational transfer of the farm business and occupation (Hutson, 1987; Salamon, Genenbacher, & Penas, 1986). Studies show that intergenerational cooperation is critical to the success of these family owned businesses and to continuation of the family land (Salamon et al., 1986; Salamon & Markan, 1984). Yet, generational relationships are often strained during the transfer period as families attempt to resolve the different needs of parents and children while maintaining a viable business (Rosenblatt & Anderson, 1981).

Many factors may influence intergenerational relationships in farming families (Rosenblatt & Anderson, Weigel & Weigel, 1988). One factor that may be determinative is the "stake" (commitment and investment) levels held by family members (Salamon et al., 1986). It has been suggested that family members' commitment to and investment in family relationship and farm continuity relate to reduced stress, intergenerational cooperation, and successful transfer of the family farm (Salamon et al., 1986). This is in agreement with the generational stake

perspective which suggests that parent-child interactions are a function of their generational stake (Bengtson & Kuypers, 1971; Knipscheer & Bevers, 1985).

The notion of generational stake is that over the life cycle, parents and children have differential investment in the relationship (Bengtson & Kuypers, 1971; Bengtson & Cutler, 1976; Knipscheer & Bevers, 1985; Thompson, Clark, & Gunn, JR., 1985). After years of investment in their children, older parents are presumed to have more at stake in maintaining the relationship than do children (Hagestad, 1981). Because their investments also entail a certain degree of dependency (Tawney, 1964), parents are also presumed to be emotionally more dependent on their adult children than vice versa (Knipscheer, 1984).

The presumption that parents have greater stake than children has not received empirical support from farming populations. Yet, two-generation farming families may provide an interesting forum to test the notion of generational stake. Unlike parent-adult child relationships in non-farming families which may be characterized by greater emotional dependency of the parents on children (Knipscheer, 1984), parent-adult child relationships in farm families are characterized by mutual dependency due to the business aspect of the relationship (Kohl, 1976). Parents who wish to see the continuity of the family business must maintain good working relationships with the adult children

who are farming with them in order to secure the family business with successors (Kohl, 1976; Keating & Munro, 1991). Similarly, children who wish to be established in farming rely heavily upon their parents for financial support (Gasson, Crow, Errington, Hutson, Marsden, & Winter, 1988; Kohl, 1976). This mutual dependence between farming parents and their adult children due to the business involvement suggests that farming generations may be equally concerned about the maintenance of their relationship and therefore have similar levels of stake. The importance of the business in shaping intergenerational relationships in farming families suggests that there may be more than one type of stake which is relevant to this special group of families.

Although members' commitment and investment in family relationships and land continuity have been shown to be related to intergenerational cooperation and successful farm operation (Salamon et al., 1986), actual levels of stake among family members have not yet been adequately researched. This may be partially due to the fact that there are no instruments that could be used to measure stake levels among members in farm families. Since most farms are passed on from generation to generation, developing a valid stake measure to identify levels of stake will help to better understand intergenerational relationships in these families. Thus, the purpose of this study is (a) to broaden

the original conception of generational stake to suit farming families, (b) to develop a measure of family and farm stake for use with farm families, and (c) to examine levels of stake among parents and their adult children in a sample of Alberta farming families.

II. Generational Stake: The Original Conceptual Framework

Generational Stake

The generational stake perspective was first introduced by Bengtson and Kuypers (1971). In their study of intergenerational relationships between adolescents and their middle-aged parents, Bengtson and Kuypers observed that parents and children had different perceptions of their common interaction. Parents were more likely than children to perceive closeness in the parent-child relationship. Parents also perceived more agreement in opinion than did children (Bengtson & Kuypers, 1971). To understand these generational differences, Bengtson and Kuypers introduced the concept of developmental stake. The concept was later applied to the relationships between adult children and their older parents and was referred to as generational stake (Bengtson & Cutler, 1976; Roberts & Bengtson, 1990; Roberts, Richards, and Bengtson, 1991).

Basic Assumptions. One of the basic assumptions of the generational stake perspective is that over the life cycle, parents and their children are not equally invested in their relationship (Bengtson & Kuypers, 1971; Knipscheer & Bevers, 1985; Thompson et al., 1985). Through investment in their children, parents become more concerned with the maintenance of the parent-child relationship than are their children.

Following this assumption, it is logical that parents tend to perceive more closeness in the intergenerational relationship than do their adult children. Cast in generational stake terminology, parents tend to have greater stake in maintaining the parent-child relationship than do their children.

A second assumption of the theory is that unequal stakes between generations are developmental in nature. The relationship holds different meanings for each generational partner because of different personal goals and life stages (Bengtson & Kuypers, 1971; Rosenthal, 1987). According to the theory, the greater stake of the parent generation in maintaining the generational relationship is the function of their developmental concerns. "Middle generation adults need to orient, socialize, and direct youth, to guarantee generational continuity through influence on youth, to extend one's personal history into the future" (Bengtson & Kuypers, 1971, p255). Therefore, the developmental concerns for ensuring intergenerational continuity and for perpetuating valued belief systems would result in the parent generation having a greater stake in maintaining the relationship than their children (Bengtson & Kuypers, 1971).

In contrast, youth are believed to perceive greater social distance because their developmental concerns are skewed toward emancipation. "They have high investment in establishing their personal lifestyles, in forming their

attitudes toward major issues and institutions;.... Such issues imply freedom to experience and develop" (Bengtson & Kuypers, 1971, p257). Because their developmental concerns are in establishment and freedom, youth would attempt to be distinct from the parent generation. Cast in the generational stake terminology, youth are expected to try to "throw off the stake" (Bengtson & Kuypers, 1971, p257) of their parents.

The idea of developmental differences in stake was adapted from Erikson's (1959) conceptualization of ego development. According to Erikson, the intimacy concerns of a young adult are quite different from the generative concerns of middle-aged men and women. These concerns for the young person are likely to lead to a primary interest in the establishment of personally meaningful relationships with peers, the development and establishment of personal philosophies and value systems on which to base action (Bengtson & Kuypers, 1971). In contrast, the parent generation has generative concerns (Erikson, 1959). Erikson defined the term generativity as the interest in guiding and establishing the next generation.

The notion of differential stake between generations is also an application of Waller and Hill's (1951) "principle of least interest". According to this principle, the actor with the least commitment to maintaining the relationship will be in the best position to bargain for influence, for

he/ she has the least to lose if the relationship is broken. By contrast, the actor with the greatest commitment must often make concessions to the will of the other in order to maintain the relationship. In parent-adult child relationships, therefore, those who have greater stake in the relationship would be in a less powerful position.

Existing Definitions of Stake. The concept of stake has been defined somewhat differently by different authors (Bengtson & Cutler, 1976; Knipscheer & Bevers, 1985; Moss & Abraowitz, 1982). Bengtson and Cutler (1976) defined the developmental stake as personal investments in the relationship which are a function of developmental concerns and which colour the assessment of the relationship. Moss and Abramowitz (1982), however, described developmental stake as the whole generations' reciprocal investments. They argue that the older generation seeks an extension into the future via an affinity with the younger generation. Conversely, the younger generation pursues the freedom to stake out its social territory.

Knipscheer and Bevers (1985) see stake as differential generational interests. They argue that differential perceptions between generations lie in their different interests in the relationship. Parents perceive continuity in the intergenerational relationship because they have greater interest in the stability of the relationship than their children.

Although different in the way they define stake, these authors seem to agree on a central theme: investment (or emotional involvement) as constituting stake. Therefore, it can be summarized that generational stake is the investment each generation has in parent-child relationships.

Review of Literature on Generational Stake

Little research has been done to assess levels of stake between generations. Rather, inferences of differential stake levels between generations have been drawn from studies that measure generational differences in perceptions of their relationship. Thus, this review of literature is focused on studies of generational difference in perceptions of parent-child relationships that provide indirect information on stake levels between generations.

Differential Stakes across Generations. Since its development, the concept of stake has been used in several studies (Bengtson & Cutler, 1976; Bengtson, Olander, & Haddad, 1976; Bengtson & Schrader, 1982; Bond, JR. & Harvey, 1991; Knipscheer, 1984; Knipscheer & Bevers, 1985; Richards, Bengtson, & Miller, 1989; Rosenthal, 1987; Thompson et al, 1985). Findings from these studies support the notion of the generational stake that parents and children have different "stakes" in their relationship which in turn influence their perceptions of the intergenerational relationship. Parents' likely higher stake levels in the

relationship leads them to perceive positive intergenerational relationships (Bengtson & Cutler, 1976; Knipscheer & Bevers, 1985; Thompson et al, 1985). A pattern of parents perceiving greater affection in the family has been shown to be consistent over time (Richards et al., 1989).

In their study of intergenerational relationships between older parents and their middle-aged children, Knipscheer and Bevers (1985) found that there was a high amount of objective disagreement between older parents and their adult children with regard to their common interaction. The analysis of their study was based on interviews with a sample of 74 middle-aged children and one of their parents who were living independently. Interviews were focused on ten selected topics relevant to parent-adult child relationships, including opinions on education, politics, spending money, preferences regarding direction of mutual visiting, the relationship itself and ways of handling interactional situations.

From these interviews, Knipscheer and Bevers found that in many cases middle aged children and older parents did not agree in their perceptions of their relationship. While most of the parents in their study said the relationship had remained the same, changing neither for better or worse, almost half of the adult children said the relationship had become better. Parents in their study also reported far

fewer disagreements than their middle aged children.

Knipscheer and Bevers explained these generational differences from the perspective of generational stake. They believed that it was parents' greater interest in the stability of the relationship that lead them say the relationship with their children had always been good. On the other hand, more children than parents said the relationship had become better because they were no longer dependent on their parents but instead on equal terms with them. These findings of parents seeing more agreement and continuity in the intergenerational relationship suggest that parents have greater stake in the relationship than their adult children.

In another article from the same data set, Knipscheer (1984) found that there was an asymmetry in the emotional involvement between elderly parents and their adult children. While children in his sample emphasized the ability to maintain emotional distance, parents emphasized their emotional dependency and need for contact. Knipscheer also found that although parents in his sample were usually more positive about the visits than their children, they sometimes wondered if their visits were still appreciated. Such thought, according to Knipscheer's observation, occurred with none of the middle-aged children in his sample. Based on his findings, Knipscheer concluded that in the parent-adult child relationship, parents are in a less

powerful position because they feel dependent on their children in a emotional way. These findings also suggest that parents have more stake in the maintenance of the relationship than their adult children.

Other studies (Bond & Harvey, 1991; Thompson, et al., 1985) done on generational stake have also supported the notion that in parent-adult child relationships, parents have greater stake than do children. Data used in Bond and Harvey's study were based on a sample of middle-aged rural Manitobans and one of their older parents. They found in their study that parents perceived more affection, more agreement, and more contact in intergenerational interactions than did adult children.

The study done by Thompson et al. (1985) was focused on differential perceptions of college students and their parents. In addition to examining generational differences in perceptions of the intergenerational relationship, they also examined the relationship between differences of perception and individual developmental stages. Measurement used in their study on generational differences were existing scales testing attitudes and opinions of the respondents (see Thompson, et al., 1985). Results from their analysis show that parents perceived more continuity in the relationship than did children. However, Thompson et al. found that differential perceptions between parents and their college children did not relate to individual

developmental stages. Their results lead them to question the developmental explanations of generational differences proposed in the developmental stake theory. They offered some alternative explanations for generational differences in perception. They suggest that generational differences in perceptions may lie in the different lineage positions parents and children hold in families. They also suggest that it may be the differential commitment between generations that makes them perceive differently about their relationship. "Parental commitment may be greater than filial commitment; hence the tendency for parents to view greater continuity than their children" (Thompson et al., 1985: p917). Based on their findings, Thompson and associates called for an expanded and more direct approach to the exploration of generational stake.

Critique on Previous Work of Generational Stake

Through the review of previous work on generational stake, two issues become apparent. One issue concerns the way stake is conceptualized. The other issue concerns the methodology employed in previous studies.

Generational Stake: Beyond Emotional Involvement. Empirical tests of generational stake theory as well as the theory itself have been focused primarily on the dimension of emotional involvement (affection) of the two generations as constituting "stake" in the parent-child relationship

(Bengtson & Kuypers, 1971; Bengtson & Cutler, 1976; Knipscheer, 1984). Yet, focusing primarily on the emotional variable as constituting "stake" may limit our understanding of intergenerational relationships between adult children and their parents. Evidence from research on gerontology suggests that intergenerational relationships between older parents and their adult children are functions of multiple factors (Cicirelli, 1981; Roberts & Bengtson, 1990). More than emotional ties, feelings of obligation or a sense of duty also underlie interactions between adult children and their parents (Cicirelli, 1981).

One important aspect of intergenerational relationships is mutual aid such as the exchange of money, goods, and services. Studies show elderly parents and their adult children exchange a variety of services (babysitting, gardening, shopping) as well as money and other resources (Cheal, 1983; Stroller, 1985). These exchanges have been found to be symmetrical with both generations giving and receiving assistance (Cheal, 1983; Stroller, 1985).

The above discussion is supported by Bengtson and Schrader's (1982) multi-dimensional conceptualization of intergenerational interaction. Bengtson and Schrader argue that parent-child interaction occurs in various dimensions, including physical contact, exchange behaviours, emotional involvement, normative commitment, and geographic proximity. Of these dimensions, normative commitment is seen as an

important dimension and has been hypothesized to be predictive of levels of association, exchange, and affection (Roberts & Bengtson, 1990; Roberts, Richards, & Bengtson, 1991). Their belief in the importance of normative commitment is based on the assumption that perceptions are determinative of action between generations (Bengtson & Kuypers, 1971). In other words, the more parents and children believe they should love, visit, and help one another, the more they will actually do so. Given higher levels of normative commitment, parents and children will develop strategies for overcoming patterns of attitude or value dissensus over their adult lifetime, in order to facilitate association, exchange, and affection. This indicates that commitment is central in parent-child interaction.

The conceptualization of generational stake as multi-dimensional may be of particular relevance to farming families. Historically, families have played a major economic role in the lives of individuals. Although economic cooperation among family members is no longer the vital element in individual survival in many families, it still plays an important role in self-employed families (Davis, 1983). This may be especially true in two-generation farm families where successful farming depends heavily upon both emotional and economical cooperation of both generations (Rosenblatt & Anderson, 1981). When the

lives of two generations within the family setting are structured by economic interdependency and cooperation, the nature of their relationship may become very complicated (Mercier, Paulson, & Morris, 1988). This high economic interdependence indicates that, apart from stake in the family relationship, parent-adult child interaction in farm families may also be shaped by stakes in business.

Methodological Issues in Previous Research. Through the literature review of previous studies on generational stake, two major methodological issues emerge: sampling and measurement.

Many studies on intergenerational relationships (e.g. Bengtson & Kuypers, 1971; Thompson, et al., 1985) are based on samples of college students and their parents. As Acock (1984) commented, what happens in an age homogeneous, liberal college environment may be quite different than the dynamics of an age heterogeneous factory. Results from such homogeneous samples can not be generalized to the general population (Acock, 1984).

Another sampling problem is using one parent instead of both. As the review of literature shows, findings from Knipscheer (1984), Knipscheer and Bevers (1985), and Bond and Harvey (1991) were based on data from middle-aged children and one of their parents. Results from their studies might have been different had the samples contained both parents. Early research using one parent to represent

parent generation assumes that parents represent a single, united front (Acock, 1984). However, there may be intra-generational (father and mother) differences as well as inter-generational differences (Koller, 1974). Koller found that for many issues the correlations between the views of mothers and fathers are not substantially greater than the correlations between them and their children. Given that parents are two different persons holding different views, both parents should be included.

Measurement constitutes another methodological problem. As Bengtson and Schrader (1982) noted, most of the instrumentation in research on intergenerational relationships has used single-item indicators. Relatively few actual scales have been reported in literature. Very few studies report any information concerning the reliability and validity of the measures employed. The review of literature on generational stake reveals similar patterns with exception of the study done by Thompson et al. (1985). Although single-item indicators can yield useful information, using different indicators in different studies may result in inconsistent results and cause confusion (Bengtson, et al., 1976).

Of particular relevance to the present study is that there were no existing instruments that were designed to measure the concept of generational stake. Previous studies primarily used indirect measures such as measurements of

closeness (Bengtson, 1971), value similarity (Thompson et al., 1985), and agreement (Knipscheer & Bevers, 1985) to get inference of stake levels across generations. While inferences of generational stake based on indirect measures may be insightful, empirical tests of stake levels using a valid, direct stake measure are needed to confirm these inferences.

Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the original conception of generational stake and related studies. Generational stake perspective argues that because of their possible greater emotional involvement in and developmental concerns for maintaining the intergenerational relationship, parents tend to have more positive perceptions about the relationship than their children. Findings from previous studies support thi notion of generational stake. These findings all seem to suggest that parents have greater stake levels in the intergenerational relationship than do their children. However, none of the previous studies measured stake directly as the present study intends to.

Previous efforts on generational stake seemed to be focused primarily on emotional involvement of parents and children. Yet, the multi-dimensional nature of intergenerational interaction (Bengtson & Schrader, 1982) suggests that generational stake may be a multi-dimensional

concept. The importance of commitment in parent-child relationships indicates that commitment is a central element in stake conception. Thus, it is necessary to elaborate the original conception of stake to include commitment. The mutual dependence between farming generations due to the business aspect of the relationship suggests parent-adult child interaction in farm families may also be shaped by stakes in the business (the farm). Thus, the business variable needs to be added to the stake concept if the generational stake perspective is to be used in the study of farming generations. The lack of measures of stake calls for the development of a stake scale for use with farm families. The next chapter describes the rationale for theory expansion, defines farm and family stakes, and states theoretical propositions to provide a basis for scale development.

III. Family and Farm Stake: Elaboration of the Original Conceptual Framework

Generational Stake and Farm Families

The conceptual framework for the present study is based on the perspective of developmental stake (Bengtson & Kuypers, 1971; Knipscheer & Bevers, 1985; Thompson et al., 1985). This notion of stake which states, in the parent-child relationship, higher stake level leads to higher intention of maintaining the relationship has interesting applications for generations in farm families. If both generations in these families have high stake levels, intergenerational cooperation which leads to successful farm operation will also be high.

The original concept of stake does not encompass the business facets of relationships among farming generations (Keating & Munro, 1991). Because a family farm is a production and kinship unit, intergenerational relationships also reflect aspects of the family business (Salamon & Lockhart, 1980). This business aspect added to the kinship relationship makes generational relationships in farm families unique. Thus, the author believes that the conception of generational stake needs to be expanded to incorporate families with more than one type of stake such as farming families. The argument for theory expansion lies in the following discussion of the unique features that

characterize relationships between farming generations.

Land Ownership. One factor that may influence intergenerational relationships in farm families is the land ownership by the older generation. In contrast to their urban counterparts who may not possess large family assets, most people in the older farming generation have a large capital invested in land. Research suggests when land is owned by the older generation, adult children who wish to inherit the family land may have high stake in maintaining good relationship with their parents (Kohl, 1976; Salamon & Keim, 1979).

In their study of land ownership and women's power in a Midwestern farming community in U.S.A., Salamon and Keim (1979) found that because land was viewed as the key to family welfare and security, ownership gave the person status in the community and power in family relationships. Adult children who wished to inherit the land were highly conscious of their relationships with the older generation who owned the land. They would avoid any possible conflict in order to maintain the relationship (Salamon & Keim, 1979).

In her study of farm generations who are working together, Kohl (1976) found that in farm and ranch families in which there were several sons who might be incorporated into the enterprise, the son who got along best with his father was most likely to be recruited into the enterprise.

This may indicate that the desire to inherit the family land motivated the younger generation to invest time and energy in the relationships with their parents. The fact that land ownership of the older farming generation influence the nature of parent-child relationship in farm families may evidence another facet of generational stake than that proposed in the original generational stake theory.

Asymmetrical Business Status. When two generations are working together, there is usually an asymmetry in status (primary operator vs secondary operator) within the family business (Coughenour & Kowalski, 1977; Kohl, 1976). At the beginning of the partnership, parents control most aspects of the operation (Coughenour & Kowalski, 1977; Kohl, 1976; Keating & Munro, 1991). Coughenour and Kowalski (1977) found in their study of father-son partnership farms that most of the principal operators were the older generation. Their study revealed that a father-son operation usually began with the father taking his son into the farming operation as the secondary operator. Eventually, if the arrangement continued, the son became the principal operator. However, the son might stay in his secondary operator position for a long time before he became the principal operator (usually not until he was in his early forties). Even in the case where the son became the principal operator, the father still tended to be involved in policy and management decision making.

Similar findings were also obtained in Kohl's (1976) study. Kohl found that in ranch families, the process of succession to a father's enterprise was a long and arduous process of apprenticeship for a son in which he earned "shares" for his work. The son was, in effect, a hired hand who gradually acquired an investment in the enterprise. He had to be willing to wait till the time that his father was ready to transfer the operation. Till then, he had to accept the control placed upon him by his father and be content with his hired hand position (Kohl, 1976).

A more recent study by Keating and Munro (1991) also indicates that the majority of the primary operators in their sample of Alberta two-generation farm families were the men in the older generation. Keating and Munro found that at the early stage of the transfer, fathers made most of the management decisions. Their findings indicate that, on average, fathers do not relinquish management control until in their late 60's.

Such asymmetry in business arrangement which favours the older generation may evidence a different stake/ power pattern than that suggested in the original generational stake conception. In farm families, the older generation is assumed to have invested most in the family and business and has the most decision making power. This suggest that the business aspect in intergenerational relationships in farm families is important in understanding generational stake in

these families.

Mutual Dependence. Despite the actual asymmetry in business status, generational relationships in farm families are characterized by mutual dependence. As indicated in several studies (Coughenour & Kowalski, 1977; Kohl, 1976; Rosenblatt & Anderson, 1981), adult children who wish to become established in farming usually have to start by working on the same farm with their parents. When two generations are working on the same farm, the most common business arrangement is a partnership (Heffring, 1983; Keating & Munro, 1991) although this partnership is often characterized by father being the primary operator and son as secondary operator. Keating and Munro's (1991) study of Alberta two-generation farm families showed that the majority of the families in their sample work under partnership arrangements.

Working together as partners adds a business relationship to the already established kinship relationship to farming generations. It is the business that makes farming generations mutually dependent on each other.

The concept "mutual dependency" had been employed by Rosenblatt and Anderson (1981) in their study of farm families. According to Rosenblatt and Anderson, mutual dependency works as a constraint that makes it hard for generations in farm families to end their relationship because each generation needs the work of the other.

Kohl's (1976) study on farm families also revealed the mutually dependent nature in generational relationships in farm families. Kohl's study indicates that the increasing land price makes it very difficult for the younger generation to enter farming without aid from the older generation. Few young men in her sample had been able to accumulate the necessary capital for land purchase and all looked to the older generation for financial aid. Such economic dependence of the younger generation on the older generation places them in a subordinate position.

On the other hand, because acceptable labour is difficult to get, the older generation is as dependent upon adult children to continue the operation as the adult children are dependent upon the parents to establish in farming (Kohl, 1976). According to Keating and Munro's (1991) work on Alberta farming generations, although parents have control over a large asset, they are still dependent upon the next generation to continue the family business and the family name. Where adult children desire to enter farming and parents desire to see the continuity of the family farm, this complementarity of needs works to the advantage of both generations (Kohl, 1976). Such mutual dependency between older farming parents and their adult children due to the business aspect in the relationship suggests both generations may have similar levels of stake.

Stake and Intergenerational Continuity. According to the original conception of generational stake, the younger generation is at a stage of wishing to break away from their parents or "throw off the stake of their parents". Based on this, the developmental concerns for freedom and distinction of the younger generation in farm families may motivate them to look for different lifestyles other than farming. Yet, the high rate of occupational following in farming (Carlson & Dillman, 1983; Gasson et al, 1988) seems to suggest that farm children are less likely to throw off the parental stake. In fact, intergenerational continuity has been a common form of transferring the family farm since the days of early settlers (Bratton, 1976). Keating and Munro's (1991) study on Alberta two-generation farm families indicates that almost all respondents in the younger generation from their sample wish to remain in farming.

Why is there such a high rate of generational continuity of occupation among farming generations? Could it be the commitment to and investment in family land and farming that have motivated this generational continuity? Those who work within a family enterprise with the older generation possess such personal traits as loyalty, willingness to work hard, and ability to defer gratification (Kohl, 1976). Kohl says that these traits are opposite to those of independence and individualism. She argues that the younger generation who pleases the older generation has

learned that farming is hard work and that its rewards are sufficient to make it worthwhile. He/she is willing to settle for a long period in a dependent role. Those unwilling to do so would leave the family farm for alternatives. This indicates that those who choose to stay are highly committed to and invested in the family farm and farming.

To sum up, the unique features in farm families discussed above indicate that the business aspect is a very important variable in understanding stake between farming generations. For generations who are working closely together, parent-adult child interaction is shaped not only by stake in family relationships but also by stake in the business. Therefore, it is necessary to elaborate the original conception of stake to include business aspect to suit farm generations who are working together. The elaboration of the generational stake perspective starts with the redefinition of stake.

Stake Redefined

The review of literature on definitions of stake indicates that researchers of generational stake defined of stake somewhat differently. According to De Vellis (1991), definition of a construct of interest is a major basis for measurement. Thus, different definitions of stake may lead to different measurement of stake. Consequently, inferences

of stake from different measures based on different definitions can make comparisons of different studies very difficult. Therefore, it is necessary for researchers of generational stake to have a consistent definition of stake.

Although different in their emphasis, one major theme emerges from the existing definitions of stake: investment. Yet, the importance of commitment in parent-adult child relationships discussed earlier indicates that commitment may be as central as investment in the conception of stake.

The interrelated nature of commitment and investment is clearly demonstrated in Lund's (1985) work on interpersonal relationships. According to Lund, commitment is an attitude about continuing a relationship that is strengthened by a person's own acts of investing time, effort and resources in that relationship. The choice to invest behaviourialy in a relationship precedes the person's realization of commitment. Thus, investment results in irretrievable resources spent on a relationship and consequently strong expectations for continuing it. Subsequent behaviour is tipped toward more investment. Investment and commitment interact to strengthen a relationship and insure its continuance. Based on the existing definition of stake as well as Lund's argument about commitment and investment, stake can be defined as commitment and investment both generations have in their relationship.

Farm and Family Stakes

The above discussion provides a basis for defining stake in farm families. The review of literature on farm families indicates that parent-adult child interaction occurs not only in the family sphere, but also in business sphere. Interaction within the family sphere is affected by that of the business sphere, and vice versa (Weigel & Ballard-Reisch, 1991). Because of this interrelated nature of the family and the farm (Loeb & Dvorak, 1987; Weigel & Weigel, 1988), understanding stakes in both family and business are critical in understanding generational relationships in farm families. Therefore, stake in farm families is seen in this study as consisted of two inter-related aspects: family stake and farm stake. Stake is defined in this study as the commitment and investment both generations have to the family and to the farm.

Investment is defined in this study as members' devotion of time, energy, and resources to family relationship and to the family farm. This definition is based on the argument that family members' efforts on communication of needs, desires, and future possibilities are critical to both family relationship and the family farm (Weigel & Weigel, 1990).

Similarly, commitment is defined here as members' desire to invest time, energy, and resources to maintain the generational relationship and the family farm. So defined,

commitment in this study differs from normative commitment proposed by Roberts and associates (1991). While normative commitment (referred to as norms and expectations) is closer to what Stanley and Markman (1992) called constraint commitment, commitment in this study refers to personal dedication. According to Stanley and Markman, personal dedication refers to the desire of an individual to maintain or improve the quality of his or her relationship for the joint benefit of the participants. It is evidenced by a desire (and associated behaviours) not only to continue in the relationship, but also to improve it, to sacrifice for it, to invest in it, to link personal goals to it, and to seek the partner's welfare, not simply one's own. In contrast, constraint commitment refers to forces that constrain individuals to maintain relationships regardless of their personal dedication to them. Stanley and Markman believe that personal dedication is a better predictor of relationship satisfaction than constraint commitment.

Family Stake: Based on the definition of commitment and investment, "Family Stake" is defined as family members' desire and effort to devote time, energy, and other resources to family relationship. Family stake is the expansion of the original stake conception in that it is conceived in this study as both commitment and investment each generation has in the relationship.

Farm Stake: "Farm Stake" is defined as members'

effort to devote time, energy, and other resources in the farm business, its continuity, and the farming occupation. Farm stake is added to the stake conception to suit farming families.

Propositions on Dependence and Stake

The mutually dependent nature of the relationship between farming generations indicates that dependence is a very important concept in understanding generational stake in these families. According to Knipscheer and Bevers (1985), the essential feature of an asymmetrical relationship lies in a difference in power between the parties which is based on the greater dependence of one upon the other. As Tawney (1964) has contended, investment and commitment also entail a certain degree of dependency. Thus, it could be stated that the greater the stake a person has in a given relationship, the more dependent he or she is on that relationship. Conversely, one can argue that stake level is the function of dependence: the more a person is dependent on a given relationship, the greater the stake he or she is likely to develop in that relationship.

In the case of farm families, the degree to which family members have stake in the continuity of the family business determines the extent of their dependence on one another. The family business offers convenient entry into farming for the younger generation. This makes them

dependent on their parents. Likewise, the stake of the older generation in ensuring the continuity of the business makes them dependent on the younger generation (Weigel & Ballard-Reisch, 1991). According to Emerson and associates (Cook & Emerson, 1978; Emerson, 1962; Emerson, 1972), power in a relationship is said to be balanced when individuals involved are mutually dependent upon each other for valued outcomes (Emerson, 1972). The mutually dependent nature in generational relationships in farm families suggests that both generations may have high yet similar levels of stakes in maintaining the relationship.

Based on the literature review on farm families and the above argument on stake and dependence, it is proposed in this study that stake in farm families is a function of the interdependence between generations. Therefore:

PROPOSITION:

For parents and adult children who are working together, high levels of mutual dependence will lead to high yet similar levels of stake.

Following this proposition, it is anticipated that farming generations will have similar levels of family and farm stake. The objectives for the empirical part of this study were to find out if generations in farm families have similar levels of stake. Specifically, the study was

designed to find out (a) if generations in Alberta farm families had similar levels of family stake; and (b) if generations in Alberta farm families had similar levels of farm stake.

IV. Methodology

Study Design

The present study is based on Keating and Munro's (1991) research on generational relationships in Alberta farming families. It employs a secondary data analysis. Data used for analysis in this study were collected by Keating and Munro for their study, "Generations in Alberta Farming Families".

Description of the Original Study

The original study done by Keating and Munro (1990) was funded by the Seniors Advisory Council for Alberta and Alberta Agriculture. The purpose of their study was to broaden the understanding of retirement and of generational relationships in Alberta farm families. Specifically, their study was designed to (a) examine the process whereby farm families retire and transfer the business; (b) to examine generational perspectives on movement out of the business by the older generation and into the business by the younger generation; and (c) to identify factors that contribute to retirement and transfer decisions and behaviours. Factors examined include farm variables such as size and type of operation; demographic variables such as age, number of children involved in farming; generational issues such as attitudes toward generational succession; personal issues

such as attitude toward retirement and personal satisfaction.

The original data collection was conducted through a survey in 1990. Data were collected through purposive sampling in six regions of the province (see Keating & Munro, 1991). A two-generation farm family was defined as the older generation consisting of a father and/or mother actively involved in the farm business, with the younger generation consisting of the "most involved child" and his or her spouse. The "most involved child" was the child who in the opinion of the parents was most actively engaged in working with them on the farm.

The families were selected by the District Home Economics from the six farming regions throughout the Province of Alberta. The ideal family group included parents, their most involved child and his/ her spouse. In the majority of families, this group consisted of an older couple, their son and his wife. In a few families, the younger generation consisted of an unmarried son or a daughter and her husband. The final sample consisted of 74 older generation males, 74 older generation females, 72 younger generation males, and 62 younger generation females for a total of 262 individuals.

The age in the families ranged from 42-71 for parents and 20-45 for children. All people in the older generation were married. Of the 72 men in the younger generation, 62

were married, 8 single, 1 was divorced and 1 was separated. There were 6 daughters in the younger generation. Five of them were married and 1 was single.

Length of residence in the communities differed by generation and gender in the sample. Older men have lived the longest in the communities in which they now reside. The highest proportion of older men had lived in the communities for 51 to 60 years, whereas most of the older women had lived in the communities 10 to 20 years less than their husbands. Part of the difference is accounted for by the fact that women are younger than their husbands and that some women did not come from farming background but moved to the communities when they married. The same pattern was seen in the younger generation. The majority of the men in the younger generation had lived in the community for 21 to 30 years, whereas only a few of the women in this generation had lived in the community that long. Almost all of the men in the younger generation (92%) were raised on a farm, compared to 56% of the same generation women.

Most families in the sample lived in close proximity. In 68% of the families, the younger generation lived on the same farm as the older generation. Twenty-three percent lived 1 to 10 km away from the older generation and the remaining 9% lived 11 to 30 km away. No members of the receiving generation lived more than 30 km away from the older generation. On average, this sample was considered to

be economically well-off with high income and low debt compared to the general Alberta farming population.

Data were collected through face-to-face interviews. A maximum of 4 interviews was conducted: with each of the parents, the most involved child and his or her spouse. The research instrument was a questionnaire which had four parallel forms: two for the parent generation (male and female) and two for the child generation (male and female).

The questionnaire had several sections. Some sections were designed for demographic variables including personal data on the respondents (age, education, off-farm employment and income), data on the farm business (size, type, debt load, assets) and family structure (age, number and marital status of children; number of children involved in the joint farm operation). In other sections, respondents were asked the questions about their farm history. These sections of the questionnaire were designed specifically to assess the change in the amount of work, management participation and ownership over the work-life of the older and younger generations. The rest of the sections were developed to assess the nature of transfer and retirement, the individual "stake" levels, and the family relationship. The present study draws from the section that yielded information on members' stake levels.

Measure: The Development of the Family and Farm Stake Scale (FFSS)

In order to identify levels of stake between farming generations, one needs an instrument to measure stake, both in the family and in the farm. The review of literature on previous studies on generational stake indicated there lacks a direct, valid measure of stake. Inferences about family stake were primarily based on indirect measures such as measurement on consensus, value attitude, and life style.

According to De Vellis' (1991) guidelines in measurement development, a valid measure for a given concept should be embedded in the theoretical framework of which the concept is a part and should be based on the definition of that concept. However, none of the existing measures used in previous studies on generational stake meet this criterion. This and the lack of measure for farm stake called for the development of a valid measure of family and farm stake that can be used to assess levels of stake between farming generations. One of the purposes of this study, therefore, was to develop such a measure

Description of the Initial Stake Scale. The concept of generational stake was used by Keating and Munro (1991) in their study of generational relationships in Alberta farming families. In order to identify levels of stake between farming generations, Keating and Munro developed a 30-item stake scale.

The definition of stake they used for scale development was similar to the one used in this study (see Keating & Munro, 1991). Aware of the limitations of the stake concept proposed in the developmental stake theory with regard to situations in generational relationships in farm families, Keating and Munro made an effort to include items that could capture both family and business aspects of stake (including commitment and investment in the farm business, in farm continuity, and in farming as an occupation) that might be present among generations in farm families.

The 30 items were scored on a Likert-like format ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). Questions were focused on aspects of stakes, including commitment and investment in the family relationship, in farming as an occupation, in the farm as a family heritage, and in the farm business. Each item was a short statement upon which respondents were asked to choose from the five response categories the one that best reflected their situation.

The 30-item questionnaire had four parallel forms: parent male, parent female, child male, and child female. At the beginning of each parallel form, a general statement was provided as an overall instruction. The instructions for the parent generation read "Thinking about the children you farm with, please circle the response that is closest to your experience". Instructions for the younger generation

read: "Thinking about the parents you farm with, please circle the response that is closest to your experience". Examples of an item from the parallel forms for each generation are listed below.

A sample item for the older generation:

"It is important to me to pass the farm to my children."

A parallel form of the same question for the children:

"It is important to me to take over the farm from my parents."

The content validity of the 30 items was checked by asking a panel of experts in the areas of both generational stake and farm families to review and comment on the questions. Only minimal changes in wording of the questions were suggested by this group and these changes were made. The face validity of these items was achieved through pilot testing with two farm families (eight individuals). Again some wording changes were suggested and these changes were made (see Keating & Munro, 1991).

The construct validity of the initial scale was checked through factor analysis using data described earlier. Five factors resulted. They were labelled as stake in family, stake in the farm, stake in the business, stake in farming with the family, and throwing off the stake. A copy of the

five factors is attached (Appendix)

The Revision of the Initial Stake Scale. The work of the present study in development of the FFSS started from the evaluation of Keating and Munro's initial stake scale. In a discussion of the five factors with Drs. Keating & Munro (1992), it was agreed that one of the factors was testing constructs other than stake. This is factor 3, which is a cluster of three questionnaire items (see Appendix). Reliability tests of the remaining four sub-scales indicated that one of the sub-scales (throwing off the stake) was not reliable. These checks on the construct validity and reliability suggested that the initial scale needed further development to be a reliable and valid measure of family and farm stake.

The revision procedures included selecting items that best tested the constructs of interest: stake in the farm and stake in the family. Item selection was based on the performance of the initial 30 items on tests of item-scale correlation and factor analysis. Based on the inter-related nature of family and business relationships in farm families (Weigel & Ballard-Reisch, 1991), it was anticipated that the FFSS would consist of two inter-related sub-scales: Stake in the Family and Stake in the Farm. Results of scale development are reported in chapter V.

Measures of Stake Levels

Family members' stake levels were measured by the two sub-scales, Stake in the Farm and Stake in the Family, of the newly developed FFSS. In accordance with the measures chosen, two operational hypotheses were developed to test whether generations in Alberta farming families have similar levels of stake.

Operational Ho 1:

There will be no significant difference between the two generations in their mean scores on the family stake sub-scale.

Operational Ho 2:

There will be no significant difference between the two generations in their mean scores on the farm stake sub-scale.

Analysis

Statistical Procedures in the Development of FFSS.

Based on De Vellis' (1991) guidelines in scale development, item-scale correlation coefficients, communality scores, and factor loadings were chosen as criteria for inclusion of items in the FFSS. Based on the criteria chosen, the corrected item-scale correlations and factor analysis were run on the SPSSx program to examine the performance of the

items.

To test the construct validity of the newly developed FFSS, a factor analysis was conducted using the principal components method with varimax rotation. Internal consistencies of items within the FFSS as well as items within each sub-scale were examined using Cronbach's alpha.

Because the Family and Farm Stake Scale is intended to measure stake levels of all the four farm family members investigated (i.e., father, mother, most involved child, and his or her spouse), aggregate data were used in the statistical procedures (i.e., factor analysis and reliability tests) in the scale development. Rationale for such a method lies partially in the fact that the questionnaire the scale was based on addresses each respondent's own experiences. Thus, the reports from each of the four respondents are equally valid in assessing the scale under development. In addition, using aggregate data which combine the four possibly interrelated independent variables into a summary variable had been documented as a basic method of handling multicollinearity problems (Larzelere & Klein, 1987).

Tests of Stake Levels. To test stake levels of farming generations, two sets of ONEWAY analysis of variance were conducted to examine response differences to the dependent variables of stake in the family and stake in the farm. One set of ONEWAY ANOVAs was run to examine if generations in

farm families had similar levels of family and farm stakes. In this set of ANOVAs, generations were the unit of analysis. Generation scores were obtained by combining father and mother responses into an older generation score and the "most involved child" and his or her spouse responses into a younger generation score.

The second set of ONEWAY ANOVAs was run as post hoc analysis to determine if significant differences in stake levels existed among the four family members investigated. Specifically, I was interested in finding out which of the four family sub-groups: fathers, mothers, most involved children (sons and daughters), and spouses (daughters-in-law and sons-in-law) had different stake levels. In this analysis, Tukey comparisons were run to determine which of the four family members had significantly different stake levels than the others.

V. Results

The Revised FFSS

A major purpose of this study was to develop a valid measure of family and farm stake for use with farm families. Based on the evaluations of Keating and Munro's (1991) original stake scale through statistical procedures, a 12-item Farm and Family Stake Scale was resulted. Table 1 presents the results of the tests which were chosen as criteria for inclusion of items in the revised FFSS. AS shown in Table 1, the top 12 items loaded high on all the three scores (item-scale correlation coefficients, factor loadings, and communality scores).

In addition to their higher scores, the decision to include only the top 12 items in the revised FFSS was also based on the clean factor structures the 12 items demonstrated. In the process of making decisions about the cut-off point, a number of factor analysis (not presented in this study) were conducted for different combinations of those items with item-scale correlation coefficients above .30. These factor analysis indicated that the top 12 items listed on Table 1 had factor structures that best represented the theoretical constructs of interest, namely, stake in the farm and stake in the family. Thus, the cut-off point was set at the 12th item.

Table 2 presents the revised 12-item FFSS. Items

reflect family members' commitment to and investment in the family farm and its continuity as well as family communication and shared decision making.

Construct Validity. The construct validity of the revised FFSS was demonstrated through factor analysis. As shown in Table 3, two distinct factors resulted from the factor analysis of the 12-item FFSS. The two factors represent the two theoretically anticipated aspects of stake that might be present in farm families. Therefore, the labels of "stake in the farm" and "stake in the family" were retained. The two aspects of stake, stake in the family and the stake in the farm, were represented by 4 and 8 items respectively. Table 3 presents the factor loadings and factor structure of the revised FFSS. The two factors resulted accounted for 51.1% of the total variance of the factor solution.

As shown in Table 3, Factor I, labelled "Stake in the Farm" is a more prevalent cluster with 35.4% of the explained variance. The factor captures farming generations' commitment and investment in the farm business, farm continuity, and farming occupation.

Factor II, labelled "Stake in the Family" account for 15.7% of the explained variance. This factor captures farming generations' commitment and investment in the family relationships.

Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges. Farming generations are believed to be highly committed to and invested in family relationships, in the farm and its continuity, and farming as an occupation (Keating & Munro, 1991; Kohl, 1976). Thus, it was anticipated that farming generations would have high levels of stake. Table 4 presents the means, standard deviations, and ranges for the two sub-scales and for the total score of the FFSS. As shown in Table 4, the mean score was 3.94 (range= 3.00; standard deviation= .55) for the FFSS; 3.84 (range= 3.25; standard deviation= .67) for Family Stake sub-scale; and 4.00 (range= 3.13; standard deviation= .62) for Farm Stake sub-scale. These mean scores indicate that respondents in this sample of two-generation farm families generally have high stake in both the family and the farm. This confirms the general belief that farming generations are highly committed to and invested in both the family relationships and the farm.

Reliability. Reliability of the revised FFSS was checked through reliability tests using Cronbach's alpha. Alpha coefficients showed a high degree of internal consistency. The overall stake scale had a reliability score of .82. The reliability scores for the two sub-scales, stake in the farm and stake in the family, were .80 and .74 respectively. These scores were based on reliability tests using aggregated data (aggregated data of

the four family members investigated) of the sample.

Levels of Stakes in the Family and the Farm

One of the purposes of this study was to identify levels of stake between generations in a sample of Alberta farming families. Based on the mutually dependent nature of intergenerational relationships in farm families, it was anticipated in this study that farming generations would have similar stake levels.

The first objective for the empirical part of this study was to find out if generations in Alberta farming families had similar family stake levels. Table 5 presents the results of the first set of ANOVAs which were run to examine levels of stakes across generations in Alberta two-generation farming families. As shown in Table 5, the older generation's mean score on the family stake sub-scale was significantly higher than that of the younger generation. Similarly, the older generation's mean score on the farm stake sub-scale was significantly higher than that of the younger generation. These results indicate that the anticipations made in this study that farming generations would have similar levels of stake were not confirmed by the data. These results were surprising given the theoretical prediction that the mutual dependency which is characteristic of intergenerational relationships in farm families would lead to similar levels of stake between

generations. It was these surprising results that led to the decision of conducting the post hoc analysis which examined stake levels among the four family members investigated.

Table 6 presents the results of the second set of ANOVAs run as post hoc analyses to examine stake levels among family members. Results of this set of ANOVAs using family members as the unit of analysis provided explanations for the generational differences in stake levels found in this study. As shown in Table 6, the spouse (daughters-in-law and sons-in-law) group scored significantly lower on both farm and family stakes than the rest of the family sub-groups. As indicated in Table 6, farming parents and their most involved children had similar levels of family and farm stake. This suggests that the anticipations for this study were partially confirmed by the data. These finding also suggest that stake levels in farm families may not be a generational issue as was proposed in the developmental stake theory because daughters-in-law and sons-in-law group had lower stake levels not only than their parents-in-law but also than their same generation spouses. Rather, as indicated in the data for this study, it may well be issues of different levels of commitment to and investment in the family relationship and in the farm held by daughters-in-law and sons-in-law as opposed to the rest of the family. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

VI. Summary and Discussion

A major goal of this study was to expand the original conception of generational stake to be incorporated in the study of intergenerational relationships in farm families. Generational stake, conceptualized in this study as commitment and investment both generations have in the intergenerational relationship, is a very useful concept in understanding parent-adult child relationships in farm families. The review of literature revealed that the stake concept needed to be expanded to suit farm families. Due to the interrelated nature of family and business relationships involved in generational relationships in farm families, the author undertook in this study the expansion of the original generational stake concept to include both family and business aspects of stake. Findings from this study support the argument made in this study that stake in the farm is an important aspect of the stake concept when it comes to understanding intergenerational relationships in farm families.

It has been suggested that family members' stake levels in the family and farm determine intergenerational interactions in farm families. However, actual stake levels in the family and farm by farm generations had not been previously assessed. Thus, one of the major purposes of this study was to identify levels of stake among farming generations. Because there were no existing measures that

could be used to assess stake levels held by farming generations, the author undertook to develop a 12-item Family and Farm Stake Scale (FFSS). The two sub-scales which resulted from the factor analysis supported the theoretical anticipation that interactions between farming generations are shaped by not only stake in the family relationship but also by stake in the business (the farm).

Using secondary data analysis from a sample of Alberta two-generation farm families, levels of stakes between generations and among family members were examined through ONEWAY analysis of variance. Results show that generations in this sample of Alberta farm families had significantly different stake levels, with the older generation scored higher on both family and farm sub-scales than the younger generation. However, results of the post hoc analysis using family members as the unit of analysis indicate that farm children's spouses, namely, daughters-in-law and sons-in-law, accounted for generational difference in stake levels in these farm families.

Implications of the FFSS

The development of FFSS has filled a void between theory and empirical studies by providing a measure to assess both stake in the family and the stake in the farm. Taking the business aspect that is involved in generational relationships in farm families into consideration, the 12-

item FFSS is focused on measurement of farming generations' commitment and investment in the family relationship, in the farm business and its continuity, and in farming as an occupation. As such, the FFSS is a potentially useful instrument for researchers who are interested in studying intergenerational relationships in farm families.

The scale could be used by adding up all the scores from the 12 item to assess the overall stake levels among generations in farm families. Potential scores for FFSS range from 12 to 60. Alternatively, one could use the two sub-scales to measure stake levels in the family and in the farm separately. The sub-scale "Stake in the Family" which assesses respondents commitment and investment in family relationship could be used by summing up its four items. Potential scores for this sub-scale range from 4 to 20. The sub-scale "Stake in the Farm" which assesses farming generations' commitment and investment in the farm business, farm continuity, and farming occupation could be used by summing up its eight items. Potential scores for this sub-scale range from 8 to 40.

The FFSS can be mailed as a questionnaire, or used as part of interview. The instrument is economical and efficient in that it needs minimal time to administer. The Likert-like response categories will facilitate data coding and data entry.

Interpretations of the Empirical Results

As shown in the results from this study, daughters-in-law and sons-in-law group had significantly lower stake levels in both family and farm stakes than the rest of the family sub-groups investigated (i.e., fathers, mothers, and most involved children).

Many factors may have contributed to these results. Daughters-in-law and sons-in-law are the newcomers to both the family and the farm, compared to the rest of the family members. As a result, they do not have the long history of investment and commitment of other family members. Compare with the rest family sub-groups, they also have the shortest history in living in the community where they now reside. As described in the sample description, most of the parents had lived in the community for 30 to 60 years. The majority of the most involved children had lived in the community for 20 to 30 years. Yet, only a few daughters-in-law and sons-in-law lived in the community as long as their spouses. Given the above factors, it is not surprising that daughters-in-law and sons-in-law group scored lower on both family and farm stakes.

Another possible reason for the spouse group to score lower on the farm stake sub-scale is that daughters-in-law and sons-in-law may not be as keen as the rest of the family members on family farm continuity. They may not be as attached to the family land as the rest of the family

members investigated. Because they are newcomers to the family business who probably have not yet earned their share, daughters-in-law and sons-in-law may feel that they are still outsiders of the family business. This feeling of outsiders may make daughters-in-law and sons-in-law indifferent about family farm continuity. And since most of the questionnaire items in the farm stake sub-scale were about commitment to and investment in family farm continuity, it would be not surprising that daughters-in-law and sons-in-law group scored lower than their same generation spouses.

The interpretation that daughters-in-law and sons-in-law may feel they are outsiders of the family farm is consistent with Keating and Little's (1991) work on farm families. Keating and Little's work on New Zealand farm families indicates that many of the daughters-in-law do not feel part of the business until all members of the older generation have left and they become the senior partners in the business with their husbands.

Because of the emphasis on commitment to and investment in communication in the family stake sub-scale, the fact that the spouse group scored lower on the family stake scale suggests that daughters-in-law and sons-in-law perceive more communication problems than the rest of the family members investigated. This interpretation is consistent with findings from Loeb and Dvorak's (1987) work on farm

families. Results from their study show that young farm women (daughters-in-law) perceive some communication problems in their families while fathers and sons tend to deny or to be unaware of any communication problems. Daughters-in-law in their study expressed desire to have more input in decision making. They remarked that always having to answer to someone else is a problem. They resented the fact that there were communication problems in the family and yet parents-in-law were not aware of them.

The lower stake levels of daughters-in-law and sons-in-law also suggest that they have not been fully integrated into the families they married into. According to Marotz-Baden and Cowan (1987), some serious problems do exist in some farm families in which daughters-in-law do not become integrated. Marotz-Baden and Cowan believe these problems can lead to a breakup of the two-generation farm family. Compared to daughters-in-law, little research has been done on sons-in-law in farm families. Because the small number of sons-in-law in the sample for this study (only 5 of them), the results of this study needs to be confirmed by future studies in this area. Further studies are needed to understand the roles of daughters-in-law and sons-in-law in the family relationship and family farm continuity in farming families.

Results of this study indicate that generational stake is more complex than has been previously demonstrated. In

the case of farming families, intergenerational interactions are influenced not only by stake in the family relationship but also by stake in the farm. Similar stake levels between farm parents and their adult children found in this study supported our theoretical prediction that stake between farming generations is a function of their high interdependence. Because they are highly interdependent, farming parents and their children have similar levels of stake. This is a special group of parents and children who had chosen to farm together. Each generation depends on the other to fulfil its needs. The older generation depends on the younger generation for emotional support, for labour, and for family farm continuity. The younger generation depends on the older generation for financial and emotional support to get established in farming.

The results that daughters-in-law and sons-in-law have lower stake levels than their same generation spouses and that farming children have similar levels of stake with their different generation parents confirm Thompson et al's (1985) conclusion that stake is not developmental in nature. For generations who are working closely together, the degree of their interdependence may be a better predictor than their developmental concerns. However, it should be noted that data for this study were based on a sample of two-generation farm families who are more affluent than the average farm families (see Keating & Munro, 1991). Research

on effect of economic factors on family relationships in farm families indicate economic stress contributes to negative perceptions of family relationships in these families (Marotz-Baden, 1988). Thus, it is possible that in economically stressed farm families, members would perceive more problems in family communication (thus contributing to lower stake scores) than those from economically more affluent farm families. Further studies using a more representative sample of two-generation farm families are needed to confirm the results of this study.

Results of this study also call for further research to explore other factors that may underlie generational stake. Apart from dependence, stake involved in intergenerational relationships between older parents and their adult children may also be influenced by cultural factors. Honigmann and Honigmann (1970) believe that cultural norms are very important in understanding a person's stake in society. What about stake levels between generations who live under cultural norms different from that of North America? In a society where reciprocity is strongly valued, parents who are actually dependent on their adult children in later years may not feel as dependent and powerless as their North American counterparts do. Further studies should be aimed at populations with different cultural norms in order to get a better understanding of generational stake.

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Table 1

Item-Scale Correlation, Communality Scores and Factor Loadings of the 30 Items

Items		Corr. Coef.	Factor Loadings	Comm. Scores
1)	Farming is extremely important to me.	.64	.70	.49
2)	It is important to me to pass (take over) the farm to my children (from my parents).	.58	.64	.41
3)	This farm is important to me.	.56	.62	.38
4)	I'd like my children (parents) to stay in farming.	.52	.60	.36
5)	I would rather not sell the farm to someone who was not part of the family.	.55	.60	.36
6)	I usually make decisions after talking to my children (parents).	.46	.56	.32
7)	I make a point of talking to my parents (children) every day.	.45	.56	.31
8)	This farm is the only farm I'd want to live on.	.51	.55	.31
9)	I work hard in order to make the farm successful.	.46	.53	.28
10)	My children (parents) and I usually agree on important things.	.42	.52	.27
11)	I am usually happy about things my children (parents) do.	.41	.52	.27
12)	Farming is the only occupation I really enjoy.	.49	.52	.27
13)	The way my children (parents) farm is similar to the way I farm.	.42	.51	.26
14)	I encourage my children (parents) to stay in farming.	.40	.48	.23
15)	I don't know what I would do if I was not farming.	.44	.47	.22
16)	I think my children (parents) respect me.	.35	.43	.19
17)	My children are extremely important to me.	.32	.42	.18
18)	If my children (parents) were not around I do not know what I would do.	.36	.41	.18

Table 1 (continued)

19)	I believe my children (parents) pull their own weight on the farm.	.30	.41	.17
20)	I'd rather (my children) farmed on my (their) own farm.	.29	.34	.12
21)	Being able to make farm decisions is important to me.	.30	.34	.11
22)	I am often concerned about he farm business.	.27	.32	.10
23)	I'd like (my children) to remain in farming in order to carry on the family name.	.25	.29	.08
24)	I plan to remain in farming indefinitely.	.25	.28	.08
25)	I'd like to do something other than farming.	.24	.27	.07
26)	My children (parents) often make decisions I disagree with.	.13	.21	.04
27)	I give my children the freedom to make their own decisions about running the farm.	.15	.20	.04
28)	My children's (parents') future dreams are different from mine.	.12	.18	.03
29)	I want (my children) to farm the way I (they)'d like to farm.	.08	.13	.02
30)	I tend to be more responsible than my children (parents) for the farming operation.	-.05	-.02	.00

Note. Scores are based on factor analysis (criteria factor = 1) and the corrected item scale correlations of the original 30 items (n = 262).

Table 2

Family and Farm Stake Scale (FFSS)

Thinking about the children (parents) you farm with, please circle the response that is closest to your experience.

		Strongly Disagree	Dis-agree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1)	I usually make decisions after talking to my children (parents).	1	2	3	4	5
2)	I make a point of talking to my children (parents) every day.	1	2	3	4	5
3)	I am usually happy with the things my children (parents) do.	1	2	3	4	5
4)	We usually agree on important issues.	1	2	3	4	5
5)	This farm is important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
6)	This farm is the only farm I would want to live on.	1	2	3	4	5
7)	I work hard in order to make the farm successful.	1	2	3	4	5
8)	It is important to me to pass (to take over) the farm.	1	2	3	4	5
9)	I would rather not sell the farm to a non-family member.	1	2	3	4	5
10)	I'd like (my children) to remain in farming to carry on the family name.	1	2	3	4	5
11)	Farming is the only occupation I really enjoy.	1	2	3	4	5
12)	Farming is extremely important to me.	1	2	3	4	5

Table 3

Loadings and Factor Structure of Items in the Revised FFSS

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2
Factor 1: Stake in the Farm		
I'd rather not sell the farm to a non-family member.	.77	
It is important to me to pass (to take over) the farm.	.76	
This farm is the only farm I would want to live on.	.75	
This farm is important to me.	.69	
I would like (my children) to remain in farming.	.61	
Farming is extremely important to me.	.60	
Farming is the only occupation I really enjoy.	.53	
I work hard in order to make the farm successful.	.51	
Factor 2: Stake in the Family		
I am usually happy with the things my children do.		.84
I usually make decisions after talking to my children.		.79
My children and I usually agree on important issues.		.72
I make a point of talking to my children every day.		.60

	Eigenvalue	Percentage of Explained variance
Factor 1	4.27	35.4
Factor 2	1.89	15.7

Note. n = 74 (Aggregated data of the four family members investigated).

Table 4

Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges of the Sample on the Revised FFSS

Stake	Mean	Standard Deviation	Range
Family Stake	3.84	.67	3.25
Farm Stake	4.00	.62	3.13
Total FFSS	3.94	.55	3.00

Note. n = 269.

Table 5

Oneway Analysis of Variance of Generations by Types of Stake

Type of Stake	Mean		F
	Older Generation	Younger Generation	
Overall Stake[a]	49.06	45.45	21.36**
Stake in the Farm[b]	33.01	30.85	13.16**
Stake in the Family[c]	16.06	14.59	22.48**

Note: The older generation's mean scores in family and farm stakes were significantly higher than that of the younger generation.

$n^a = 268$; $n^b = 269$; $n^c = 274$. $^{**}p < .01$.

Table 6

Oneway Analysis of Variance of Family Members by Types of Stake

Type of Stake	Mean				F
	Father	Mother	Child	Spouse	
Overall Stake[a]	49.73	48.41	47.03	41.70	19.00*
Stake in the Farm[b]	33.63	32.40	32.29	28.50	12.23*
Stake in the Family[c]	16.16	15.97	15.60	13.20	17.07*

Note: Child = "most involved child", including sons and daughters. Spouse = Daughters-in-law and sons-in-law. The spouse group had significantly lower stake levels than the rest of the family members investigated.

$n^a = 259$; $n^b = 260$; $n^c = 264$. $^*p < .05$.

Appendix:

The Original Five Factors from Keating and Munro's Initial 30 Items

FACTOR1 - Stake in This Farm	Factor Loadings
This farm is important to me.	.47
This farm is the only farm I'd want to live on.	.66
It is important this farm stay in the family.	.65
I do not want to sell the farm to a non-family member.	.79
I encourage my children/parents to stay in farming.	.50
I would like my children/parents to stay in farming.	.53
It is important for children to stay in farming to carry on the family name.	.50
Farming is extremely important to me.	.44
FACTOR2 - Stake in the Family	
My children/parents are extremely important to me.	.49
I usually make decisions after talking to my children /parents.	.56
I make a point of talking to my children/parents every day.	.58
I think my parents/children respect me.	.63
The way my parents/children farm is similar to how I farm.	.43
I am usually happy with the things my parents/children do.	.65
We usually agree on important decisions.	.70
My parents/children pull their own wight on the farm.	.41
FACTOR3 -Stake in Farming with the Family	
If my parents/children weren't around, I don't know what I'd do.	.70
Farming is the only occupation I really enjoy.	.59
I don't know what I would do if I was not farming.	.72
FACTOR4 -Stake in the Business	
I am often concerned about the business.	.71
I work hard in order to make the farm successful.	.73
FACTOR5 - Throwing off the Stake	
I want (my children to have) to have the freedom to make decisions.	.54
I want to farm the way I like (the way my children like).	.70
My parents/children often make decisions I disagree with.	.57
My parents/children's future dreams for the farm are different from mine.	.51