

Care farming in Swiss farm households – Gender aspects in pluriactivity

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Abstract: *In Switzerland, at least 551 family farms provide care services and 202 of them completed a written questionnaire (response rate = 37%). Within the theoretical concept of pluriactivity it is examined how care farming (CF) affects family, household and the farm from a gender-related point of view. By providing CF services, aspects of a traditional distribution of role-concepts are found, like a higher investment of time and responsibility by women and female emphasis on family integration. But aspects of change in role-concepts are also found. The participation of men in CF is remarkable, both sexes share the values and targets concerning CF and they are also both highly involved in the relationship with the service-user. For a positive evaluation of CF the perceived farm-related pressure for adaptation is an important factor in both sexes. But there are other relevant factors as well. In men, the relationship to the service-user is in fact the most important factor for a positive evaluation of care farming, while in women, different factors are important. These include infrastructural or time resources as well as the support from network organisations (NWOs). Furthermore, both sexes regard family integration as an important factor, but in different directions: CF is a more positive experience for men, if the integration of the service-user into the family isn't too close, while for women good family integration is positively associated with a positive appraisal of the effects of CF.*

Keywords: *Care farming, pluriactivity, gender, farm-household, green care*

Theory

Gender Issues in Agriculture

Within rural studies, masculinity is often defined by men's physical strength and their ability to endure and finally dominate the forces of nature. Furthermore, men's identity as farmers is defined by the land they own and the corresponding income and social status as well as by their position as head of the farm and family. In contrast, rural femininity is traditionally defined as being a mother and caretaker of the community. Since women in farming have no independent status, their occupational identity is weak and hardly recognised. Within those traditional concepts, 'real' work is often equated with hard, physical work and the mastery of machinery, and because of that many women seem to have severe difficulties in describing their roles and identifying their occupation in the household and on the farm. In fact, they often are unable to describe their work as an occupation at all (Brandth, 2002).

But with modernisation and globalisation, the economic position and social status of traditional rural role-concepts weaken. Due to shifting market orientation and diversification of farm activities the masculine identity now leans more on managing and entrepreneurship instead of hard work. Also, the female identity changes towards a stronger recognition of women's contribution as a professional co-worker, since women are increasingly responsible for sustaining the farm economically (Bock, 2006).

Recent studies acknowledge that concepts of femininity and masculinity are less traditionally defined in a diversifying agriculture. Research has shown that housewives and women working off the farm often describe themselves as 'uninvolved' in the farm, whereas pluriactive women to a greater extent describe themselves as 'partners' (Brandth, 2002).

Pluriactivity is here defined as a state, in which there are varied income-generating activities for one household. Thus, not only production of food but also diversification and off-farm activities is

economically important. In general, diversification means a reallocation and recombination of resources, which are not already tied to the farm (Gasson and Winter, 1992, Wydler and Flury, 2009)

Many researchers argue that the changes occurring in farming do lead to a reversal of feminine and masculine identities, since pluriactivity and involvement in the labour market play important parts in breaking the traditional role-concept of 'farmer's wife'. Other studies, however, state that women continue to be seen primarily as mothers and caretakers, which is augmented by the fact that their business activities are generally represented as extensions of their 'natural' domestic roles (Bock, 2006).

So, while the identity of farm women may change within pluriactivity, traditional masculine and feminine role-concepts of the rural society in general might not be reconstructed as rapidly. Still many examples show the great persistence of these dominant role-concepts, even if shifting gender-identities due to the diversification of farm activities challenge their hegemony. This existing asymmetry in change processes has already been pointed out in that changes at the symbolic, individual and structural levels may not happen at the same time (Harding, 1986. Cf. Brandth, 2002).

A study analysing Dutch farmwomen's strategies in rural entrepreneurship illustrates this asymmetry in change processes. Here, farm women who initiated new income generating activities, like processing farm products and selling them at the farm gate, agrotourism or childcare, in general all stated that obtaining extra income and developing a personal career were goals of primary and nearly equal importance. Many women wanted to create a professional domain of their own and an independent professional career and only few women worked primarily for social contacts or self-fulfilment. It is, however, also stated that nearly all women worried at the start of their business that the new activities might disrupt and harm their family, especially the children. Although the pursuit of income-generating activities on the farm offered an ideal opportunity to combine paid labour, childcare and farm work, many women were afraid of criticism and disapproval from relatives, friends and neighbours. They wished to comply with the behaviour expected of 'good' mothers and 'good' farmers' wives, which means always being there for the children and readily assisting the husband with the farm work. To avoid criticism, women tried to keep the organisation of labour unchanged and to do the new work in between other tasks, thus having to manage an increased workload, which resulted in more stress and less time for a private life. They also started their businesses on a very small economical scale, so they would always be able to quit when needed by the family or the farm. Nevertheless, half of the women surveyed in this study were reproached by neighbours, friends and family for being bad mothers.

But after experiencing that their new business is financially as well as emotionally rewarding, the women became more self-confident and ready to invest into their business and their career, thus being able to combine work and care for the family more successfully.

By developing their activities so very cautiously the women - at the start of their businesses - very much seemed to want to act in accordance with internalised traditional female role-concepts. But these traditional role-concepts lost importance when women grew in self-confidence as a result of their success as businesswomen. And while the outside world might continue to see these women primarily as mothers and caretakers and their businesses as extensions of their 'natural' domestic roles, they themselves reconstructed their gender-identity within this process of entrepreneurial experience, which is mirrored in their redefinition of goals, growing independence from traditional norms and their choice for more masculine modes of behaviour (Bock, 2004).

In Switzerland a similar development of feminine and masculine identities might be found. First of all traditional rural role-concepts are still widely accepted and lived. Men are responsible for everything concerning farming and animal husbandry. Women spend most of their time in and around the house cooking and doing housework, taking care of the children and looking after the garden. When they assist the men in doing farm work, they often are responsible for keeping accounts, feeding the animals or doing lighter fieldwork like making hay or picking fruit. In addition, nearly half of all farmers' wives specialise in one specific domain beyond housework. This can be direct selling of products, independent farming of special plants, agrotourism or looking after a person with special

needs within the framework of CF (Stucki, 2002). But although women usually manage this extra work without any help from their partner or other family members they still see themselves primarily as housewife and mother and not as a businesswoman or a farmer (Stucki, 2002).

These findings seem to imply that many women in Switzerland, even though they do contribute to sustaining the farm economically, still construct their female identity by referring to internalised traditional role-concepts. But especially the younger generation of farmers' wives (age 1-35) begins to question these traditional role-concepts. Since many of the young farmers' wives today come from a non-agricultural background, they seem to be generally more able to live by new partnership models and many of them are interested in pursuing a career of their own (Stucki, 2002). While some of them want to continue working at least part-time in their former jobs to help the farm economically, others might see the development of new income-generating activities as an opportunity to combine their personal career with their family, which is augmented by the fact that in most of the cases it is the woman who initiates new and non-agricultural farm activities like participating in a CF project. This may imply that younger women increasingly contest the unequal structure of gender relations. These women might see themselves more as a professional and independent co-worker than former generations of farmers' wives did, being unwilling to accept the limited opportunities of a traditional farmer's wife and thus trying to reconstruct their gender-identity by finding a balance between their roles as housewives and mothers on the one hand and businesswomen on the other.

Gender-related effects of CF

Recent empirical studies show that CF causes a variety of positive effects (Hine et al., 2008): while the service-users are often able to greatly improve their psychological health, CF also provides a way to generate some extra income for the farm, which in most cases is needed dearly. However, until now very little research has been done concerning the question whether the farmer and his family also benefit emotionally from their work with the people sent on their farm.

Current studies describe care-work as women's work. Paid or unpaid, located at home, it is "often invisible, usually accorded little value and only sometimes recognised as skilled" (Armstrong and Armstrong, 2004, O'Connor and McGloin, 2006). Many examples show that throughout Europe, the majority of people working in the sector of CF are women. In Italy, e.g., women account for approximately 70% of the workforce, with the typical worker in agricultural social cooperatives being described as "young, female and qualified". Also, in Slovenia, on approximately 70% of the care farms, it is women who take the responsibility for the service-users (O'Connor and McGloin, 2006).

Besides, women in farming already spend a lot of their time doing housework, looking after the family and assisting their husbands with the farm-work. Studies have shown that in Switzerland, women in farming on average work 70 hours per week. But since this number accounts only for the rather quiet winter-months, it should be assumed that the average amount of working hours over the whole year is much higher (Stucki, 2002). Out of this, women spend nearly 41 hours per week doing housework and caring for the family, thus being almost entirely responsible for both areas (Rossier, 1996).

Assuming that in Switzerland women are, like in most parts of Europe, primarily responsible for providing CF services and that they also try to fit this extra work in between the workload they already have, a variety of problems as well as benefits might arise. On the one hand, women might suffer from higher stress levels, which could lead to a general feeling of discontentment. They might also suffer from criticism of other family members or neighbours for building up a new 'business' and thereby neglecting their other tasks at home. Furthermore, since other people might not value their work like they value it themselves, the women might also suffer from a feeling of invisibility.

On the other hand, they might regard their new position as professional care-givers as an opportunity to pursue a career of their own, thus gaining self-confidence as well as a more equal position in their partnership. Because women will then earn at least a little money themselves,

negotiations about how the entire income of the farm household should be spent might change in their structure. Women might want to play a more active part in deciding about investments or savings.

Besides, the decision for participating in CF usually affects the whole household, even if the initial idea comes from the woman. While the woman will be responsible for caring for the service-user while he or she is in the house, her husband will also be responsible for him/her while he/she is with him doing farm-work. And since the service-user will steadily live on the farm for a certain time, other household-members like children or grandparents will be affected as well. So, there might not only be a change in the self-perception of the women, but also in the whole relationship of the family members, especially between husband and wife.

This study, therefore, aims to provide some insights concerning the question whether the care-givers in general and the women in particular benefit emotionally from their work with people with special needs, thereby trying to identify certain circumstances in which the emotional benefit or suffering is especially high. It will also be examined whether women do regard their position as care-givers as a means to pursue a professional career of their own, which can be seen as a relevant factor in the process of reconstructing gender-identity. Furthermore, some emphasis will also be laid on the question of how much time men spend providing CF services and how the need to collaborate might affect the relationship between husband and wife. Also, the factors, which are crucial for men concerning the evaluation of positive effects of CF will be examined.

Some special features of CF in Switzerland

Most service-users in Switzerland are placed on farms by a network organisation (NWO) (Wydler and Picard, 2010). The NWO supports the care farmers e.g. by offering further training, week-end relieves and quality assurances. As a rule NWOs only place one person on a farm out of quality reasons. This rule is also designed to prevent farms from becoming financially dependent on care services and from having to take on individuals out of economic pressure. Most service-users generally live and work on a farm for a longer period of time, therefore being constant members of the household.

Questions posed by the study and study hypotheses

The study investigates the conditions under which CF is carried out in Switzerland. Gender-specific aspects are of special interest in this paper. The literature would lead one to expect that it is mainly women who invest in CF, primarily out of vocational motives. This situation can lead to multiple responsibilities and to satisfying and/or frustrating situations for women. It is important for women's satisfaction that the work is recognised, shared and also that the motives are supported by the whole household. Subjects of interest are therefore the conditions on the farm, the strategies, objectives and motives associated with CF.

Questions posed by the study

What situational conditions in household and farm play a role when embarking on CF?

What personal or educational features play a role in CF?

Who takes the main initiative and responsibility for providing care services?

How is time allocated when providing care services?

How do men and women differ with regard to social motives and the relationship with the service-user?

What factors are linked to a positive experience of CF?

How important are egalitarian models of responsibility and time allocation for a satisfying activity?

What role is played by the network organisations in supporting farms?

Hypotheses

1. *Women tend to take the initiative for CF and invest more time in CF.*

Care and support services are clearly interpreted as being part of the female role model. Women are expected to assume the major role in it.

2. *For women the realisation of their own vocational ideas, and particularly the compatibility of family and vocation, are important motives associated with CF.*

Women are responsible primarily for child rearing and household work. On the one hand women are expected to aspire to professional self-realisation, and on the other are required to fulfil their traditional role expectations as housewives and mothers. The expectation is that CF meets these needs by allowing the fulfilment of both requirements to a certain degree.

3. *The aspect of the financial recognition of CF is more important for women than for men.*

By providing their services women gain a certain independence and greater recognition of their work. Often their other work on the farm has not been linked to a direct income or salary. CF facilitates the acknowledgement of female activity in economic terms. One would therefore expect these aspects to be weighted more heavily.

4. *The social gains from CF are more important to women than to men.*

Due to role socialisation it is generally expected that women place more weight on social and altruistic motives. Women are expected to respond more clearly than men to this non-monetary acknowledgement of work (doing good to service-users, having more social contact).

5. *Women have a better relationship to the service-user than men and consequently see the service-user as being better integrated in the family.*

Gender-theory suggests that women are particularly well placed to build up a close relationship with the service-user and assume a care and support role. This means that increased investment and effort is expected from women in creating and maintaining a good relationship. Integration in the household brings great social closeness. Women endeavour to bring this about and are expected to rate the results of these efforts more positively than men.

6. *Men place greater emphasis on the goals of farm optimisation and the use of existing infrastructure than women do.*

The farm is the man's domain. He will be particularly amenable to CF if CF fits in well with farm conditions and also if a profit can be anticipated from this perspective.

7. *The services provided by NWOs are more important for women than for men.*

The better the professional support from NWOs, the more satisfying the work experience. These services are more important to women, because they take primary responsibility for CF.

Methods

The hypotheses are tested in the data set of a written survey. The first working step was to identify farms in Switzerland which provide care services. A farm is described as the unit of family, household and farm. The farms in the sample are earning an income from agricultural production on the one hand and from the provision of social services on the other. Voluntary work and unpaid neighbourly help were not covered. Conversely, the idea was not to include any institutions providing large scale care for people. However, the empirical spread extended from CF of very low economic significance to a situation in which almost 100% of the household income came from service provision. However, such small institutions cropped up only in single cases in the study sample.

The farms were identified in various ways:

- An Internet search identified network organisations working with farms
- Individual farms were known to us from media reports.
- The farms written to were asked to suggest other farms

551 farms were identified in this way. 536 farms in the sample work with an NWO, in 15 farms this is not the case, i.e. they provide their services without an NWO and make their contracts directly with the competent local authorities. There are around 60,000 agricultural farms in Switzerland, so at least just under one percent of farms provide care services.

A written questionnaire was sent to the 551 farms identified. The person who spends the most time on care services was asked to complete the questionnaire 202 of the 551 questionnaires sent out were returned to us (response rate of nearly 37%). In two thirds of the cases the farmer's wife completed the questionnaire (66%), in one third it was the farmer himself (34%).

Results

Service-users were given a lot of attention (relationship, family integration and time)

The quality of the relationship is recorded in six items (Table 1): "I find it easy to relate", "I know what is bothering him/her", "I manage to have personal conversations with him/her", "I have a good relationship with him/her", "I find the relationship with him/her enriching", "I get a lot of affection back from him/her". Both men and women report a good relationship with service-users. They achieve a mean score of 2.7 and 2.8 on a scale from 0 to 4, 0 meaning "not true at all", to 4 "perfectly true". The average appraisal of the relationship of men and women to the service-user thus correspond to a "predominantly good" relationship.

On the same scale from 0 to 4, both men and women state that family integration of the service-user is "predominantly" good (mean score M = 2.7 and 2.8). Four items are used to assess the family integration: Being well integrated, participating in the housework and, at the other extreme, frequent withdrawal and conflict over house rules. Men and women report a predominantly good to very good integration.

Also, both men and women report investing a great deal of time on care services. Men report spending around 20 hours per week, women just under 31 hours per week (difference significant).

Table 1. Relationship with service-user, family integration, time spent on care

	Men mean (SD)	Women mean (SD)	Total mean (SD)	t-Test: t-value; df; P-value
Relationship to service-user (N=196)	2.7(0.57)	2.8 (0.61)	2.8 (0.60)	t=-1.28; df=194; P<0.20
Family integration (N=189)	2.8(0.65)	2.8 (0.66)	2.8 (0.65)	t=-1.29; df=187; P<0.20
Time spent on CF by all household members (h/week) (N=155)	41.0 h. (42.7)	51.9 h. (44.6)	47.7 h. (44.1)	t=-1.49; df=152; P<0.14
of which: time spent on CF by respondent (h/week) (N=155)	19.9 h. (21.8)	30.9 h. (26.5)	26.7 h. (25.3)	t=-2.8; df=143; P<0.006

Positive appraisal of CF and experience of workload and conflicts

The quality of CF work depends on work-satisfaction and work-quality for both sexes. The dimensions of work-satisfaction and work-burden are measured in two different scales. The scale of positive appraisal of CF includes the aspects of work on the farm having become more interesting, of family and work being more compatible, of work yielding more satisfaction, and of better use being made of working hours. The negative appraisal includes the items of workload, emotional strain and of conflict within the family having increased. The construction of these two scales is the result of a factor analysis, allocating the items to this two dimensions.

Male and female respondents report on experiences in a very similar manner (Table 2). Although positive experience predominated in both sexes, the average ratings are at fairly moderate agreement ("sometimes" applicable). The negative effects therefore also find really high agreement. This negative experience is based in particular on the experience of both workload and emotional strain having increased. Women especially perceive a significant increase in workload. There are less frequent reports of increased conflict within the family.

Table 2. Positive appraisal and work burden/conflicts of CF

Positive appraisal and work burden/conflicts	Men mean (SD)		Women mean (SD)		Total mean (SD)		t-Test: - t-value; df; P-value
Positive appraisal of CF (N=193)	2.0	(0.81)	2.2	(0.85)	2.1	(0.84)	t=-1.29; df=191; P<0.20
Work burden/conflicts CF (N=197)	1.9	(0.87)	1.9	(0.93)	1.9	(0.91)	t=-0.51; df=195; P<0.61

Good care farmer resources with regard to vocational training courses and further training

Different characteristics of the household are important for providing care. Since almost all farmers in Switzerland are living in a steady relationship and have completed at least some kind of professional training, we assume that special social resources like training in a social profession or further training courses in that area help to provide care services (Table 3). Additionally, the financial proceeds are given, represented by the gross revenue (since the cost of care services provided by farms is recorded with varying degrees of accuracy).

Table 3. Age, partnership, vocational training, further training, gross revenue

Characteristics of the farmers	Men mean (SD) or percentage	Women mean (SD) or percentage	Total mean (SD) or percentage	t-Test: t-value, df, and P-value Ch2-Test: Contingence coefficients CC; df; P-value
Living together with partner (N=196)	95.5%	96.1%	95.9	CC=0.01; df=1; P<0.84
Individuals in the farm household (N=201)	4.9 (2.2)	5.0 (1.8)	5.0 (2.0)	t=-0.39; df=199; P<0.70
Professional training (three stages) (N=200)				
Basic apprenticeship, shorter vocational training	[11.6%] [§]	[9.2%] [§]	10.0	
Apprenticeship, vocational school	40.6%	62.6%	55.0	
Advanced training	47.8%	28.2%	35.0	CC=0.21; df=2; P<0.01
Primary or secondary vocational training in a social profession (respondent or partner) (N=202)				
Yes, training in a social profession	36.2%	33.1%	34.2%	CC=0.03; df=1; P<0.66
Further vocational training (respondent) (N=188 and N=183)				
In the last 5 years	68.8%	77.4%	74.5%	CC=0.09; df=1; P<0.20
Since the last training qualification	77.8%	81.7%	80.3%	CC=0.05; df=1; P<0.53
Further social services training (respondent) (N=)				
Further training courses run by NWO	84.1%	85.8%	85.2%	CC=0.02; df=1; P<0.74
Other further training courses on care provision	30.3%	37.6%	35.1%	CC=0.07; df=1; P<0.32
Estimated gross revenue from social services (N=160)	€ 18,887.- (€ 26,711.-)	€ 17,618.- (€ 14,696.-)	€ 20,092.- (€ 29,847)	t=0.39; df=160; P<0.70

[§] less than 20 cases

The initiative for CF is taken by both partners, but women invest more time without this being perceived

Around two thirds of women and men state that the initiative for CF had come from both partners equally. This finding was not expected in this way. The high percentage of statements that both have taken the initiative (Table 4) can probably be explained by the fact that CF is an activity on which both parties must agree. CF impinges greatly on everyday family life, so both men and women probably fall back increasingly on consensual response behaviour.

Table 4. Taking the initiative and investing time in CF

	Men mean (SD) or percentage	Women mean (SD) or percentage	Total mean (SD) or percentage	t-Test: t-value; df; P-value Ch2-Test: Contingence coefficients CC; df; P-value
Initiative for social service provision (N=200)				
chiefly from me	[23.5%]	31.8%	29.0%	
from both partners	73.5%	65.9%	68.5%	
equally				
chiefly from the other person	[2.9%] [§]	[2.3%] [§]	[2.5%] [§]	CC=0.09; df=2; P<0.47
Time investment of the male partner (N=160)	19.9 (21.8) (h/week)	16.9 (19.8) (h/week)	–	t=0.92, df=158, P<0.36
Time investment of the female partner (N=155)	17.7 (21.6) (h/week)	30.8 (26.6) (h/week)	–	t=–3.35; df=144, P<0.001

[§] less than 20 cases

An interesting divergence is revealed by the estimation of time invested by the respondent him/herself and by the other partner. The information given for the male section coincides relatively well between men and women. Conversely, estimations of time invested by the female partner vary significantly from the men's and women's perspective: women estimate their own time investment as being much higher (about 31 hours a week) than men estimate the time invested by their female partners (about 18 hours a week). This comparison relates to differing farms, though always with the stipulation that on each farm the questionnaire should be answered by the person investing the most time. The discrepancy in the response might therefore point in the direction that female work is generally characterised by invisibility, underevaluation and low recognition.

Situation, goals and motives associated with CF

A series of questions relate to the motives and situations pertaining at the start of CF. We assume, that there are gender-specific motives and perceptions for starting CF and that these motives and perceptions are important for a positive or negative evaluation of the activities. The carers are shown a list of items and asked what prompted them to offer social services at the time. Three dimensions are identified by factor analysis and established as sum scales (Table 5).

Table 5. Motives, goals and situations for CF

	Men mean (SD)		Women mean (SD)		Total mean (SD)		t-Test: t-value; df; P-value
Social goals (contacts, doing good (N=189))	2.8	(0.74)	2.9	(0.75)	2.8	(0.75)	t=–0.91; df=187; P<0.37
Farm-optimising goals (N=195)	2.0	(1.0)	2.1	(1.1)	2.1	(1.1)	t=–0.88; df=193; P<0.39
Self-related goals (N=187)	1.5	(1.0)	1.8	(1.1)	1.7	(1.1)	t=–1.8; df=185; P<0.08
Infrastructural or time-resources (N=188)	2.1	(1.1)	2.2	(1.0)	2.2	(1.1)	t=–0.76; df=186; P<0.45
Pressure for adaptation (N=189)	0.68	(0.64)	0.85	(0.99)	0.79	(0.88)	t=–1.4; df=183; P<0.16

“Social goals” combines two aspects which put emphasis on social aspects: firstly doing good to someone, and secondly, increasing one's own social contacts. Agreement on these aspects is decidedly high, particularly agreement on the first item.

The scale **“farm-optimising goals”** comprises the aspects of improving the income situation, expanding the farm, the desire to be able to give up an unprofitable or unsatisfactory activity and the desire to build up a new branch of the business.

The scale **“self-related goals”** covers both the goals of making work more interesting and of being/remaining self-employed on the farm/in the household.

The situation of the farm at the start of CF is comprehended in two scales:

The scale **“infrastructural or time-resources”** combines the two circumstances of unused space and free labour resources being available on a farm.

The scale **“pressure for adaptation”** covers the adaptation pressure on a farm: it includes an inadequate household income, the desire for giving up an off-farm activity, and the farm changes which necessitate a realignment.

There are no differences between men and women in the assessment of all this five aspects. Women and men pursue similar motives and assess the farm situation in a similar way. Social objectives are clearly a priority for men and women. Motives resulting from the farm are less important. The “pressure for adaptation” seems to be rated as unimportant.

Good support from the NWO

Support from the NWO may be perceived as a resource for good and satisfying care work. Both men and women feel that the NWOs provide outstanding support. The services of the NWO are positively perceived, the quality of the professionals is assessed as excellent and both sexes generally feel themselves well supported by the NWO (Table 6).

Table 6. Network organisation’s services

	Men mean (SD)	Women mean (SD)	Total mean (SD)	t-Test: t-value; df; P-value
Felt supported by NWO (N=194)	3.7 (0.54)	3.7 (0.56)	3.7 (0.55)	t=0.04; df=192; P<0.97
perceived delivered services of the NWOs (out of a list of 10 items) (N=202)	5.2 (1.7)	4.7 (2.1)	4.9 (2.0)	t=1.92; df=200; P<0.06
Quality of NWO’s professional (N=186)	3.2 (0.63)	3.1 (0.69)	3.1 (0.67)	t=1.38; df=184; P<0.17

Examination of the correlative relationships between the constructs

Table 7 shows the bivariate relationships between the interesting variables. The top half of the table gives the correlations ascertained in women, the bottom half relates to men.

Positive assessment of CF: In women there is a positive correlation between positive assessment of CF and family integration ($r=0.20^*$). In men, there is no significant correlation.

In women there is a positive correlation between perception of pressure for adaptation ($r=0.38^{***}$), in men there is no correlation.

In women a positive correlation between the gross profit of social services and the positive assessment of CF was shown ($r=0.33^{**}$). In men no correlation was shown.

In women the number of perceived NWO services is slightly positively pronounced with the positive assessment of CF ($r=0.22^*$). In men there is no such association.

In both sexes, the high correlations between self-related goals and the positive experience of CF indicates that to a great extent it was possible to realise the motives and goals aspired by CF.

Positive assessment of the relationship to the service-user: In men the pressure for adaptation is negatively associated with the relationship to the service-user ($r=-0.25^*$). In women there is no correlation.

Family integration and higher education: In men family integration turns out to be negatively associated with gross profit ($r=-0.27^*$). In women there is no such correlation.

Also, in men higher education (their own or their partner’s) is associated with a negative appraisal of family integration ($r=-0.29^*$), while in women the relationship shown with regard to family integration is positive ($r=0.20^*$).

In men higher education is furthermore negatively associated with the existence of self-related goals, negatively with farm-related goals and negatively with pressure for adaptation. In women higher education is negatively associated with only pressure for adaptation.

Table 7. Correlative patterns for men and women

	Positive effects	Positive relationship to SU	Family inte-gration	Self-related goals	Social goals	Farm optimising goals	Infrastructural resources	Pressure for adaptation	Higher pro-fession	Social professions	Gross profits	NWOs suppor-tive services	NWO profess-ionals' work quality
Positive effects of CF		.20*	.20*	.47***	.29**	.39***	.43***	.38***	-.00	-.06	.33**	.22*	.14
Positive relationship to SU	.34**		.48***	.01	.23*	-.13	.13	-.05	.05	.11	.18	.09	.10
Family integration	-.21	.35**		.05	.16	-.20*	.08	-.13	.20*	-.14	-.01	.06	.03
Self-related goals	.53***	.18	.00		.11	.41***	.23*	.24*	-.06	-.14	.15	.12	.03
Social goals	.28*	.20	-.13	.20		.19*	.24**	.13	-.05	-.15	.01	.00	.14
Farm optimising goals	.24	-.03	-.18	.29*	-.02		.27**	.62***	-.16	-.02	.19	.06	-.03
Infrastructural or time resources	.28*	.11	-.13	.32*	.22	.26*		.18*	-.07	-.01	.12	-.06	.23*
Pressure for adaptation	.07	-.25*	-.12	.26*	-.08	.42***	.07		-.21*	-.08	.17	.01	-.04
Higher profession	-.07	-.12	-.29*	-.26*	.03	-.25*	.03	-.44***		.14	-.01	.28**	-.12
Vocational training in social professions	-.01	-.03	-.05	.11	-.21	-.04	-.06	.01	.08		.11	.10	-.16
Gross profits	.17	.12	-.27*	.16	.02	.21	.14	.07	.23	-.02		.21*	-.07
NWOs supportive services	-.23	-.13	.00	-.22	.16	-.05	-.03	.11	-.01	-.14	-.03		.19*
NWOs work quality	.00	.15	.09	.21	.18	.17	-.01	.11	-.34**	.01	.17	.34**	

Pearson’s Correlation Coefficients; * $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$; *** $p \leq 0.001$ top half of the table: women; the bottom half: men

Family situation

Various items are related to the compatibility of family and profession, to the presence of small children, to aspects of independence as well as to the use of professional experience. The hypothesis is formulated that these concerns are particularly important to women (Table 8) and that they were therefore associated with the positive assessment of CF (Table 9).

Table 8. Compatibility of family and profession, use of professional experience

	Men mean rank	Women mean ranks	Mann-Whitney U-test P-value
Make family and profession more compatible (N=190)	79	104	P<0.002
Gain more independence (N=192)	86	102	P<0.054
Use professional experience (N=192)	85	103	P<0.034
Small children were present (N=190)	86	101	P<0.053

Goals in the sphere of family and professional compatibility as well as the use of existing professional experience in the CF entry situation are more important for women than for men.

Table 9. Correlative patterns with regard to the compatibility of family and profession and use of professional experience

	Positive effects of CF	Make family and profession more compatible	Gain more independence	Use professional experience	Small children were present
Positive effects of CF		0.50***	0.47***	0.29**	0.17
Make family and profession more compatible	0.41**		0.55***	0.36***	0.21*
Gain more independence	0.43***	.75***		0.31***	0.17
Use professional experience	0.29*	0.26*	0.16		-0.03
Small children were present	0.20	0.23	0.13	0.13	

Spearman's Rho; * $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$; *** $p \leq 0.001$
 Top half: women; bottom half: men

The motives for satisfaction with CF are associated with the aspects of family and professional compatibility as well as with the use of professional experience; this applies in a similar degree to men and women.

Significance of the influencing factors considered in a multivariate examination

Finally, the contributions of various variables to the appraisal of the positive effects of CF were investigated. Variables from four levels are incorporated in the regression analysis:

a) Level of service-user:

The quality of the relationship as well as family integration is of interest with regard to the service-user.

b) Farm level:

b1) Motives and situations: Four scales are included in the analysis: the pursuit of “social goals”, the goals of “farm optimisation”, the situational influencing factors (space, time), the perceived “pressure for adaptation”. The “self-related goals” variable is not incorporated in the model due to high collinearity.

b2) Education, profession, profit: Three scales are included to record educational resources: possession of advanced higher training (by the respondent or his/her partner), possession of vocational training in the field of social professions (again respondent or partner), also gross profit was included in the model as a correlate of the financial recognition of CF.

c) NWO level:

Two scales were included: the perceived support services of the NWO and the NWO professional's quality of work:

Table 10. Relevant factors for the appraisal of positive effects of CF, multiple linear regression, stepwise method)

	Men (n=69) Beta coeff. (95% CI); P-value	Women (n=133) Beta coeff. (95% CI); P-value	All (N=202) Beta coeff. (95% CI); P-value
a) Features with regard to Service-user			
Relationship to service-user	0.70 (0.65; 1.41); P<0.000	excluded ^ε	0.30 (0.20; 0.62); P<0.000
Family integration	-0.45 (-0.91; -0.27); P<0.001	0.21 (.02; .54); P<0.036	excluded
b1) Situations and motives for Social services			
Social goals	excluded	excluded	excluded
Farm-optimising goals	excluded	excluded	excluded
Infrastructural or time resources	excluded	0.28 (0.06; 0.34); P<0.005	0.27 (0.09; 0.32); P<0.001
Pressure for adaptation	0.26 (0.03; 0.67); P<0.03	0.35 (0.12; 0.41); P<0.001	0.30 (0.13; 0.42); P<0.000
b2) Education and profession, profit			
Profession (recoded in two stages)	excluded	excluded	excluded
Primary or secondary training in social profession	excluded	excluded	excluded
Estimated gross profits	excluded	excluded	excluded
c) Features of the NWO			
Perception of NWO services	excluded	0.28 (0.04; 0.21); P<0.005	excluded
NWO professional's work quality	excluded	excluded	excluded
Adjusted R²	0.39	0.27	0.23

^ε In the regression model the indicated variable is excluded due to lacking of explaining power

For **men** special emphasis is placed on the relationship with the service-user (beta coefficient of 0.70) in evaluating the positive effects of CF: if there is a positive relationship with the service-user, CF is also felt to be positive. Surprisingly, for men family integration is negatively associated with a positive CF rating. Pressure for adaptation is the third scale which made CF appear positive: the feeling that the farm must be adapted to changed circumstances made CF seem associated with more positive effects. The proportion of explained variance reaches 39% in the men's model.

For **women** pressure for adaptation takes precedence in the positive rating of CF. It was also important for the women's positive experience that the service-user is perceived as being integrated in the family. For the women situational factors (availability of time and space resources) and the NWO's support services contribute to a positive appraisal as well. The explained variance is 27%.

Good professional training like vocational training in a social profession are unimportant in appraising the positive effects of CF. Nor does financial reward (amount of net profit) have any influence (on either sex).

Multivariate analysis therefore produces some interesting changes by comparison with the bivariate examination. It seems particularly interesting that pressure for adaptation can make a significant contribution towards explaining the appraisal of the positive effects of CF in both sexes.

Discussion relating to the hypotheses formulated

1. Women tend to take the initiative for CF and invest more time in CF.

It was predominantly reported that the initiative comes from both men and women. But: since more women than men answered the questionnaire, in the whole sample of care farmers, the tendency for women taking the initiative must be more pronounced. The situation as regards the investment of time is clearly expressed: women invest significantly more time than men do .

2. For women the realisation of their own professional ideas and in particular the compatibility of family and profession are important motives in the context of CF.

Women rate compatibility and the use of professional experience as more important than men do.

3. The financial recognition aspect of CF is more important for women than it is for men.

Bivariate examination actually shows that only for women gross profit is significantly associated with

the positive assessment of CF. In a multivariate examination, however, the financial aspect does not achieve explanatory power with either women or men. The perception of pressure for adaptation achieves explanatory power for the appraisal of positive effects in men and women.

4. The social goals of CF are more important for women than for men.

This hypothesis is disproved: Social goals are equally important for both men and women. Social goals are not significant for the appraisal of positive effects, although it gets the highest agreement, both in women and men.

5. Women have a better relationship to the service-user than men and consequently see the service-user as being better integrated in the family.

This hypothesis is disproved. Men and women state equally that they foster a good relationship with service-users. For men the relationship with the service-user was of the greatest importance in assessing the positive effects of CF. For women this correlation is not shown in the multivariate examination.

Also, in the appraisal of family integration there is no difference between men and women. In the multivariate approach in men the appraisal of family integration is negatively associated with the appraisal of the positive effects of CF. Thus men tend to rate good family integration negatively in the sense that CF was more positively appraised when family integration was less close. So it is not the assessment of integration which differs, but rather the quality associated with family integration.

6. Men place greater emphasis on goals of farm optimisation or the use of existing infrastructure than women.

This hypothesis is disproved in the bivariate approach. None of the appraisals examined relative to the farm and to farm objectives differ between the sexes. In multivariate analysis the use of existing infrastructure is – in effect – significant for women in explaining the positive effects of CF. This argues for rejection of the hypothesis.

7. The services of NWOs are more important for women than for men.

This hypothesis is tentatively confirmed.

Summary and conclusions

The purpose of this study was to gain an overview of the services and conditions of CF in Switzerland. The services of CF were investigated in the context of gender theory. The assumption was that CF belonged particularly to the woman's sphere of responsibility, being a mean to realise vocational goals. At the same time the way in which men made a contribution to CF was examined. The hypotheses formulated attribute a higher investment (of time, initiative, commitment) to women; it was anticipated that women would gain more from these services than men. Both monetary and non-monetary profit was taken into consideration here.

Traditional gender-identities and role-concepts are still widely accepted within the agricultural community of Switzerland. Our results show that the provision of CF services is also characterised by these role models and stereotypes, although a range of unexpected correlations appear, which might point towards a change within gender-identities. In Switzerland, household and social matters are traditionally still the woman's domain, while the man's domain is farm work. Women therefore spend a lot more of their time providing CF services. But, contrary to traditional role-concepts, male partners are involved considerably in providing those services. Unlike in the traditional domains of household and field, where every agent is solely responsible for his/her specific domain, CF is provided by active collaboration and coordination of both partners on the farm. So, it might be assumed that, at least with regard to CF, traditional role-concepts are changing towards a more balanced relationship between both sexes.

Furthermore, our results show, that in women factors like the compatibility of family and professional work or the independence that can be gained out of pursuing a professional career of one's own in fact do contribute considerably to a positive evaluation of CF. This shows that women

participate in CF projects not only out of economic reasons, but are also pursuing self-related goals, which might also be seen as a step towards a changing recognition of the women's gender-identity.

Further results are that although in a comparative examination there is not much difference between men and women as regards the motives and appraisal of farm situations, the multivariate models show special female features: in women the perception of positive family integration is associated with a positive assessment of the effects of CF. The reverse applies to men: they assess the positive effects of CF higher if family integration is less intense. For men a positive relationship with the service-user takes priority for a positive assessment of the effects of CF. These differing perceptions are possibly associated with the typical gender-specific separation of household and farm. Also, the feature of perceived pressure for adaptation is significant for both sexes. This is at a certain variance with assessments that other motives for CF take precedence (e.g. social motives). Although on the whole the item pressure for adaptation saw little agreement, it is still a relatively significant factor for the positive appraisal of CF.

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