

# Pure

## Scotland's Rural College

### Not all risks are equal

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# 1 Not all risks are equal

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## 9 **Abstract**

10 Analysis of a survey of Scottish farmers (162) confirmed that they do not perceive all types of  
11 risk to be equal. Choices with potential negative ethical or health & safety consequences  
12 were perceived to be riskier than those that might have negative financial and social  
13 outcomes. A negative relationship was found between perceived riskiness and stated  
14 likelihood of taking a risky course of action with one exception - where a health & safety  
15 harm might arise. The findings could assist the development of behavioural models with  
16 greater predictive powers. In addition, the study suggests that risk awareness is not the  
17 most limiting factor for improving health & safety in the Scottish farming industry.

18

19 **Key words:** decision, choice, risk preferences, risk perceptions, ordinal mixed-effects model.

## 20 **1. Introduction**

21 Risk and uncertainty are well known and widely researched characteristics of agricultural  
22 activity that are fundamental to the choice made in many farm management decisions.

23 Despite the considerable wealth of literature much is still to be learnt and there remain calls  
24 for researchers to undertake more studies to gain a better understanding of the decisions  
25 made by farmers (OECD, 2009; Ohlmer et al., 1998; Webster, 2003). The development of  
26 better farm level decision support and dedicated risk management tools are among the  
27 leading study areas. However, these commonly promote a risk management process that  
28 considers each risk independently such as described by Theuvsen (2013), or focus on a single

29 objective function such as a socially desirable outcome, farm output or farm profit  
30 maximisation (for examples see Paulson et al. (2016), Arribas et al. (2017), Jones et al.  
31 (2017), Mosnier et al. (2017) and Liu et al. (2017). Thus they do not address the common  
32 situations where farm management decisions must balance competing sets of, or multiple,  
33 risks. An alternative approach has been the study of farmer behaviour and their previous  
34 decision choices to identify factors associated with particular actions see for example Mase  
35 et al. (2017) and Hamilton-Webb et al. (2017). Such studies however largely overlook the  
36 available alternatives at the decision point and therefore also miss the influence of  
37 preferences for options with different risk profiles and expected values. (The term 'risk' is  
38 used here to encompass all situations where there is potential for negative consequences.)  
39 Cases where farmers must rely largely on their own judgement and subjective assessment of  
40 the risks are currently poorly understood and rarely studied (Hardaker and Lien, 2010). Yet  
41 there is a long standing recognition that risk perceptions have important impacts on the  
42 choices people make and their likely response to policy interventions (Slovic, 1987; Tversky  
43 and Kahneman, 1974). As noted 30 years ago by Slovic (1987) there is a need to understand  
44 how people think about and respond to risk or 'well intended policies may be ineffective'.  
45 The purpose of this study is to investigate the knowledge gap that exists about the  
46 subjective risk preferences of farmers. The aim is to provide some new insights that can  
47 contribute to the development of better predictive models of farmer decision choices and  
48 thereby enable better policy design. The two main objectives are to determine the relative  
49 preferences of farmers to different types of risk and to investigate the relationship between  
50 the perceived riskiness of an action and the likelihood that they would engage in the action  
51 i.e. take the risk.

52 The study follows a novel approach in the context of farm management and builds on the  
53 approaches of Weber et al. (2002) and Blais and Weber (2006) by exploring the risk  
54 perceptions of and likelihood of risk taking by Scottish farmers. The statistical methodology  
55 used differs from previous studies in that the Likert scale response data is treated as ordinal  
56 rather than numeric, thus importantly for the statistical analysis it assumes a flexible  
57 distance between scale points (Agresti, 2002; Allen and Seaman, 2007). It involved the  
58 development, administration and analysis of data from a survey of Scottish farmers, though  
59 the method could be used with other groups and the findings provide insights that are not  
60 bounded by geographic region.

61 **2. Study methods**

62 The study consisted of primary data collection using a paper questionnaire from a sample of  
63 farmers followed by the development of statistical models to determine whether or not  
64 farmers differentiated between different types (or 'domains') of risk; their relative order;  
65 and any associations with potential explanatory variables.

66 *Domains of risk and risky choices*

67 Many different domains of risk have been identified as affecting agricultural production and  
68 farm households. Among these are the five defined by Weber et al.'s (2002) in their study of  
69 the general population: financial; health & safety; ethical; recreational; and social. In the  
70 business context there are also 'production' risks to be considered and for this study this  
71 gave a total of six risk domains to be explored (see Table 1). The study of farmer risk  
72 preferences Hansson and Lagerkvist (2012) also builds on the work of Weber et al. (2002)  
73 explores four risk domains (financial, production, environmental and social), thus this study  
74 considers a wider range of the risk types known to affect agricultural activity. For each risk  
75 domain an extensive set of risky choices that farmers could encounter were identified then  
76 refined by testing their relevance to a wide range of farming situations and likely level of  
77 choice farmers were likely have. Thus for examples decisions about actions required by law  
78 even if risky were excluded from the study. The final 69 risky choices are given in Appendix  
79 1. As some have the potential for multiple negative consequences they could be allocated to  
80 more than one risk domain and arguably have not been allocated to the correct risk domain.  
81 Completely avoiding misallocation of questions to domains is difficult, given the nature of  
82 decision making by humans (Weber et al., 2002). Mis-allocation of questions to domains is  
83 likely to reduce the strength of separation between domains, and therefore to reduce the  
84 statistical power to detect differences between domains (and so will reduce power to  
85 confirm the existence of distinct domains). It is therefore reasonable to assume that any  
86 significant differences between domains that are detected by the analysis are likely to be  
87 genuine.

**Table 1:** Risk domains and examples of risky choices.

Domain	Number of risky choice questions	Examples of risky choice questions
Financial	18	Borrowing a large sum of money to invest in an existing enterprise. Buying land to increase scale if it was available. Selecting to receive subsidy payments in Euros.
Production	12	Not adjusting crop protection plans in response to weather conditions. Changing your production method significantly.
Health & safety	11	Undertaking potentially dangerous farm activities without someone knowing where you are. Entering a pen with a bull or recently calved cow without a stick or taking other protective measures.
Ethical	12	Knowingly undertake an action that could damage a valuable/protected habitat. Not always notify households neighbouring your fields when you are going to spray crops.
Recreational	4	Pilot your own small plane, if you could. Try out bungee jumping at least once.
Social	12	Disagree with your family peers about how the farm is run. Lend a friend/neighbour valuable equipment.

89

90 The two questions posed to study participants with respect to these risky choices were:

- 91 • How risky do you consider the following, given your current situation and assuming  
92 they are possible?
- 93 • How likely are you to do any of the following, assuming they are possible?

94 Question one directly investigates respondent's subjective perceptions of the risk and the  
95 second their behaviour given the risk, both give an indication of attitudes to each risk. The  
96 strength of a respondent's view is captured using rating (Likert) scales, five point scales were  
97 used in this study: 1=not at all risky to 5 = very risky and 1=very unlikely to 5=very likely  
98 respectively. In this study we therefore ask respondents directly about their perceptions of  
99 risk whereas the questions posed by Hansson & Lagerkvist (2012) are directed to the  
100 importance of an action that might reduce or increase the level of risk.

#### 101 *Questionnaire design and survey administration*

102 The questionnaire was developed in three sections: The first section asked about the  
103 respondents background, including factors relevant to risk preferences (Burton, 2006;

104 Edwards-Jones, 2006; Rehman et al., 2008; The Royal Society, 1992; Wilson, 2011; Wilson et  
105 al., 2013). These included farm type; farm size; land tenure; age; education; income  
106 dependency on the farm business; capital security of the farm business and attitudes to the  
107 importance of farming to societal goals such as environmental care and food security. The  
108 second and third sections respectively posed the two questions about perceived risk and  
109 likelihood of engaging in a risky action. Questions in these sections were separately  
110 randomised and the risk domains were not explicitly referred to at any point in the  
111 questionnaire, which was piloted with three farmers prior to final release.

### 112 *Data collection*

113 A convenience sampling method was selected due to the size of the questionnaire and  
114 sensitivity of some of the questions. Trusted brokers from SAC Consultancy (16 regional  
115 offices) distributed questionnaire according to the following framework: any farmer who  
116 they direct contact with during the following 2-3 weeks should be invited to participate in  
117 the study – no farm or farmer attributes should be used in the recruitment process. All  
118 questionnaires were in paper format and completed anonymously.

### 119 *Model development*

120 The statistical methodology used in this paper is closely related to Weber et al. (2002) and  
121 Blais and Weber (2006), but differs in one crucial respect: we treat the two risk related  
122 response variables (five-point Likert scale) as ordinal categorical data, rather than as  
123 continuous data. This is an important difference, because it means that in this paper we  
124 make no assumption that the gaps between points on the Likert scale are equal. The scores  
125 allocated to categories of the Likert scale provide a ranking but the values themselves (1, 2,  
126 3, 4 and 5) are labels rather than measured values and so are essentially arbitrary, as there is  
127 no reason to believe that the gaps between consecutive scores will necessarily be equal on  
128 an absolute scale. The treatment of the response variables as ordinal, rather than numeric,  
129 therefore improves the defensibility of the methodological approach.

130 To establish whether or not farmers differentiated between different risk domains with  
131 respect to both their risk perceptions and likelihood of engaging in a risky choice an ordinal  
132 mixed-effects model was developed. This model also provided estimated values on the  
133 relative perceived riskiness of each domain and how likely respondents were to engage in  
134 those activities. Finally the model was developed further to test for associations with

135 contextual factors (farm or farmer background characteristics). All statistical models were  
136 implemented by using the `lcmm` function in the R 'ordinal' package, which fits mixed-effects  
137 models with one or more random effects for ordinal data. The test of the overall domain  
138 effect and other explanatory variables were carried out by the likelihood ratio test, and  
139 paired Wald tests were then used to further test for differences between specific pairs of  
140 domains.

141 To make interpretation of the result from the models easier a data transformation was  
142 applied prior to analysis. This involved reversing the direction of the five-point Likert scale  
143 relating to the likelihood that respondents would take a risky choice, thus a score of 1  
144 equated to 'very likely' and a score of 5 represented 'very unlikely' and represent the  
145 likelihood of respondents not taking a risky choice. Thus the signs of the coefficients (see  
146 below) from the models would be aligned. (During the piloting phase of the survey it was  
147 established that the scale direction used in the analysis was difficult for respondents and  
148 therefore inappropriate.)

149 Ordinal mixed-effects models were estimated, with unstructured thresholds, using the `clmm`  
150 function in the Ordinal package for R (Christensen, 2015). This type of model is an extension  
151 of linear models, such as ANOVA (Agresti, 2002; McCullagh, 1980; Tutz and Hennevogl, 1996)  
152 and it has two key characteristics:

153 1) Response variables are treated as being an ordinal, rather than a numeric, variable.  
154 This is done by assuming that the values of the ordinal variable  $y$  represent intervals on  
155 a latent continuous variable  $z$  (which can be thought of as representing the underlying  
156 variable that the Likert scale is trying to quantify), and assuming that this latent variable  
157  $z$  - rather than the observed score  $y$  - that is related to the explanatory variable. The  
158 values of  $y$  can be computed deterministically from the values of  $z$  through the equation

$$159 \quad y = I(z < \alpha_2) + 2 I(\alpha_2 < z < \alpha_3) + 3 I(\alpha_3 < z < \alpha_4) + 4 I(\alpha_4 < z < \alpha_5) + 5 I(z > \alpha_5), \quad (1)$$

160 where  $I(x)$  is the indicator function (so that  $I(x) = 1$  if  $x$  is true, and  $I(x) = 0$  otherwise).

161 The unknown cut-points  $\alpha_2$ ,  $\alpha_3$ ,  $\alpha_4$  and  $\alpha_5$  are estimated as part of the model fitting  
162 algorithm.

163 2) Random effects as well as explanatory variables (or "fixed effects") are included in the  
164 model to capture unexplained sources of variation within the model, including that  
165 which could arise from a lack of variable independence.

166 Thus the final form of the model was

167 
$$Z_{ij} = \beta_{D(i)} + U_i + V_j + W_{jD(i)} + \varepsilon_{ij}, \quad (2)$$

168 where  $z_{ij}$  denotes the response to question  $i$  by farmer  $j$  and  $\beta_{D(i)}$  denotes the domain effect  
169 (fixed-effect) associated with question  $i$ . Three random effects are included here to deal  
170 with the multilevel structure in the design of this study. 1)  $U_i$  is the question-specific  
171 random effect; 2)  $V_j$  is the farmer-specific random effect; 3)  $W_{jD(i)}$  is the random effect  
172 capturing the interaction between domain and farmer. Finally,  $\varepsilon_{ij}$  is the unexplained  
173 random error associated with question  $i$  and farmer  $j$ . All these three random effects and  
174 the random error are assumed to be normally distributed with a mean of zero and an  
175 unknown variance (estimated from the data as part of the model fitting).

176 To confirm whether farmers do (or do not) differentiate between the risk domains the  
177 model was run twice, first for 'risk perception' and second for 'the likelihood of not taking a  
178 risky choice'. A likelihood ratio test, using a single  $p$ -value (Equation 2) then determines  
179 whether the model that allows for differences between risk domains is better supported by  
180 the data than the simpler 'base' model which does not (and hence assumes all risk domains  
181 are equivalent). If a statistically significant association is found, it is then meaningful to  
182 further test for differences (paired Wald test) between pairs of risk domains and establish  
183 their relative ordering. This is achieved by comparing the  $\beta_{D(i)}$  coefficients of a 'base' and a  
184 'comparator', testing whether  $\beta_{\text{comparator}} - \beta_{\text{base}}$  is significantly different from zero, and, if so,  
185 the magnitude and sign of this difference. A positive coefficient indicates that scores for the  
186 comparator group are higher than those for the base group; a negative value indicates that  
187 scores for the comparator group are lower than those for the base group.

188 Contextual factors such as age, education, farm size as well as general attitudes may provide  
189 some explanation of either risk perception or the likelihood of not taking risks. To test for  
190 any associations the model was developed by replacing the domain variable by each of the  
191 contextual factors in sequence and including domain as a random effect. The model was run  
192 for associations with both risk perception and the likelihood of not taking a risk. As  
193 respondents' opinions about the importance of agriculture to societal goals were ordinal in  
194 nature (on a 5-point Likert scale: score 1-not at all important to score 5-very important) it  
195 would be possible to treat these contextual factors as either continuous or categorical. Both  
196 were tested and models which treat them as continuous were found to have a better  
197 empirical goodness of fit - as determined by the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC; (Akaike,



198 1973)) and the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC; (Schwarz, 1978)) – and we therefore  
199 treated these variables as continuous within all analyses.

200 The coefficients (estimated mean score difference) generated by these models are  
201 interpreted in the same way as other regression analysis: a positive coefficient indicates a  
202 positive relationship between the two variables and a negative coefficient indicates that as  
203 one increases the other decreases.

### 204 **3. Results**

205 A total of 162 completed questionnaires were returned from across Scotland of which three  
206 were excluded from the analysis due to large amounts of missing data.

#### 207 ***Descriptive statistics***

208 The respondents (159), while not a statistically representative sample of Scottish farms,  
209 encompassed a wide range of situations as shown from the descriptive summary below.

- 210 • Farm type: Upland livestock (36%) farms were the commonest type and hill farms the  
211 least common (11%). Dairy, lowground livestock and predominantly arable farms  
212 each represented approximately 15% of the sample.
- 213 • Farm size: the majority (62%) of farms had 81-120 hectares, 4% (6 farms) were less  
214 than 40ha, and 12% had 41-80ha.
- 215 • Land tenure: almost half (47%) of participants owned all the land they farmed, about  
216 one quarter (25%) owned 50 -100% of the land, 11% of them owned 1-50% and 17%  
217 seasonally rented or were tenants on all the land farmed.
- 218 • Age: 72% of participants were over 40 (52% aged between 41-60 and 20% were over  
219 61). Six respondents (4%) were under the age of 25 and the remaining 24% were  
220 aged 25-40.
- 221 • Qualifications: Overall just over half (51%) of the total sample had post-school  
222 qualifications in agricultural related subject. 40% had either school or college (e.g.)  
223 qualifications, 12% had gained a university undergraduate qualification, and a further  
224 7% had a post-graduate award.

- 225 • Income dependency on the farm business: around half (51%) of respondents were  
226 entirely dependent on the farm business for family income. Most of the remainder  
227 (43%) were partly dependent, and nine (6%) of respondents did not draw any income  
228 from the farm business.
- 229 • Capital security of the farm business: 30% of respondents were in a very secure  
230 capital position (they held savings in the bank or equivalent) and a similar proportion  
231 were in a secure capital position (little/no savings but has no long term borrowings).  
232 One quarter had a small amount of long term borrowed capital and about 13% had a  
233 large amount of long term borrowed capital (i.e. were capitally insecure).
- 234 • The importance of farming to societal goals: over 80% of the study sample felt that  
235 farming had an 'important' or 'very important' role to play with respect to all the  
236 societal goals investigated bar one. For this, 'Providing the public with space for  
237 recreation', only 23% of respondents felt it was important.

## 238 **Model results**

### 239 *Confirmation of presence of domains*

240 Likelihood ratio tests comparing a model that allows for differences between risk domains  
241 against one that does not confirmed that study participants did not perceive all domains of  
242 risks as equal ( $p < 0.01$ ) (perceived riskiness) and their likelihood of not engaging in risky  
243 activities varied with domain ( $p < 0.01$ ).

### 244 *Relative ordering of domains*

245 Following this confirmation pairwise comparisons of risk domains tests are appropriate and  
246 the results are shown in Table 2. For ease of interpretation the estimates of the mean score  
247 differences are sorted in ascending order by their perceived riskiness within each domain.  
248 Significant differences between a number of the domains are found. Specifically, ethical risks  
249 were perceived to be a significantly greater risk than production-related risks (coef 1.51, and  
250  $p$ -value  $< 0.01$ ), financial risks (coef = 2.08, and  $p$ -value  $< 0.01$ ) and social risks (coef = 2.18,  
251 and  $p$ -value  $< 0.01$ ). Health & safety risks were similarly perceived to be a greater risk than  
252 production risks (1.56, and  $p$ -value = 0.01), financial (coef = 2.14, and  $p$ -value  $< 0.01$ ) and  
253 social risks (coef = 2.24, and  $p$ -value  $< 0.01$ ).

254 Overall, the perceived 'riskiness' of actions with potential negative ethical, health & safety,  
255 and recreational consequences were similar, as coefficients estimated by the model are  
256 small and non-significant (see table 2 the final three rows). Similarly, the perceived  
257 'riskiness' of the production, financial and social domains are on a par. Thus the model  
258 indicates that perceptions of the risk domains form two clusters.

259 With regards to the stated likelihood of not following a risky course of action, the model  
260 found differences between domains broadly similar to those for perceived riskiness (above).  
261 Respondents indicated that they were significantly more likely to avoid ethical risks than  
262 those associated with financial (coef = 2.68, and p-value < 0.01), social risks (coef = 1.86, and  
263 p-value < 0.01), or production (coef = 1.94, and p-value < 0.01). The stated likelihood of not  
264 taking a risky choice for decisions within the ethical and recreational domains were similar,  
265 with only a small and non-significant estimate for the differences between these domains  
266 (0.25, and p-value > 0.05). One interesting result is that respondents indicated that they  
267 were significantly more likely to avoid ethical risks than to avoid those associated with  
268 health and safety (coef = 1.42, and p-value = 0.01), even though the perceived levels of risk  
269 for these two domains were very similar. The results from Table 2 are illustrated in Figure 1.

270 **Table 2:** Risk domain coefficients (estimated mean scores difference) and standard errors

Base domain	Comparator domain	Perceived risk Coefficient (SE)	Stated likelihood of not taking a risky choice. Coefficient (SE)
Financial	Social	-0.10 (0.51)	0.81 (0.50)
	Production	0.57 (0.51)	0.74 (0.50)
	Recreation	<b>1.71*</b> (0.74)	<b>2.42*</b> (0.73)
	Ethical	<b>2.08**</b> (0.51)	<b>2.68**</b> (0.50)
	Health & Safety	<b>2.14**</b> (0.52)	<b>1.25*</b> (0.51)
Social	Production	0.67 (0.55)	-0.07 (0.55)
	Recreation	<b>1.81*</b> (0.77)	<b>1.61*</b> (0.76)
	Ethical	<b>2.18**</b> (0.55)	<b>1.86**</b> (0.55)
	Health & Safety	<b>2.24**</b> (0.56)	0.44 (0.56)
Production	Recreation	1.14 (0.77)	<b>1.69*</b> (0.76)
	Ethical	<b>1.51**</b> (0.55)	<b>1.94**</b> (0.55)
	Health & Safety	<b>1.56**</b> (0.56)	0.51 (0.56)
Recreation	Ethical	0.37 (0.77)	0.25 (0.76)
	Health & Safety	0.43 (0.78)	-1.17 (0.77)
Health & Safety	Ethical	-0.06 (0.56)	<b>1.42*</b> (0.56)

\* Significant at 0.05; \*\*significant at 0.01 level.

271

272 To investigate potential relationships between risk perceptions and the likelihood of not

273 taking a risky choice the model estimates can be compared graphically. The Financial

274 domain was selected as the reference domain for this comparison, which can be seen in

275 figure 1. On the x axis are the two response variable – perceived riskiness and likelihood of

276 not taking a risky choice. The y axis represents the estimated mean score coefficients for

277 each domain as given in Table 2 (first five rows). The positive slopes indicate domains where

278 risk aversion is relatively high, and negative slopes indicate domains where risk aversion is

279 relatively low. (As separate models were constructed for risk perception and risk not taking,

280 the significance of the slopes of the lines shown in Figure 1 have not been formally tested, so

281 these results should be interpreted cautiously.) As can be seen from the drawn relationships

282 the highest levels of risk aversion are for the social, recreational and ethical domains, and

283 the lowest levels of risk aversion are for the health and safety domain. The level of risk

284 aversion appears to be substantially lower for health and safety than for any other domain,

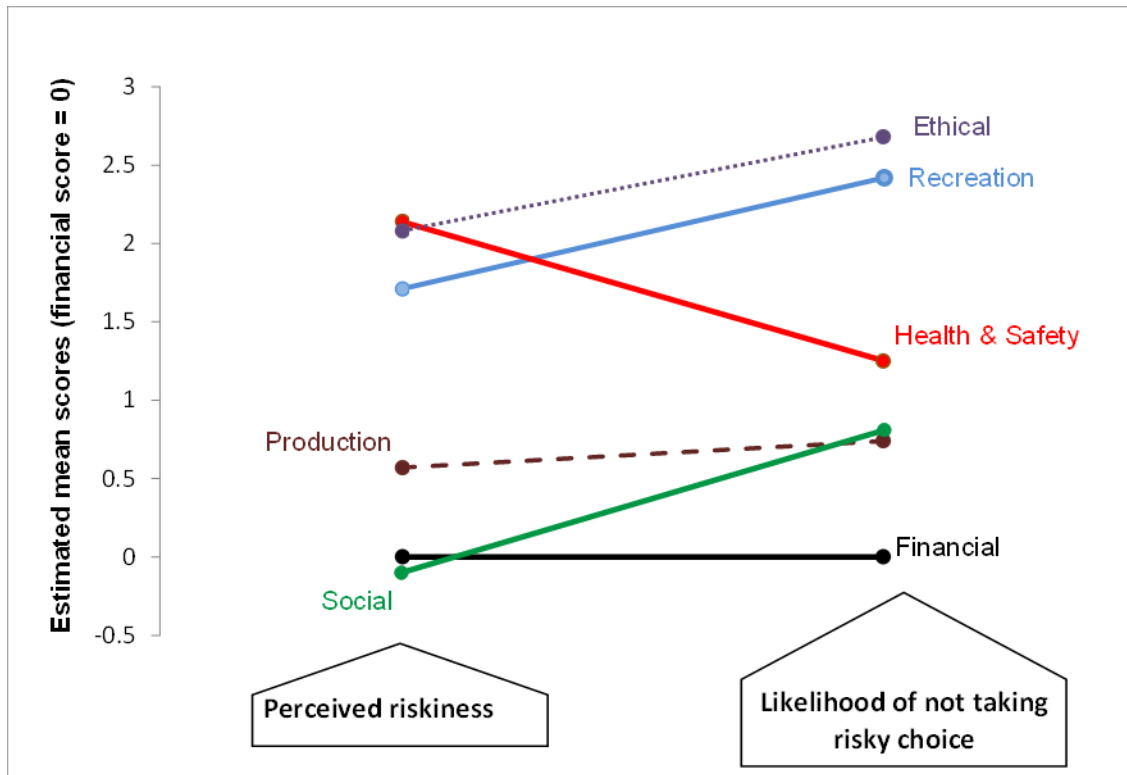
285 suggesting three difference types of domain are present:

286 1) domains with low risk perception and a low likelihood of risk avoidance (production,

287 social, financial)

288 2) domains with high risk perception and a high likelihood of risk avoidance (ethical,  
 289 recreational)  
 290 3) domains with high risk perception but a low likelihood of risk avoidance (health & safety).

291 **Figure 1:** Model estimated mean scores by domains relative to the financial domain (as given  
 292 in the first five rows of Table 2).



293

294 *Contextual effects*

295 Although none of the farm and farmer context variables were found to have a significant  
 296 relationship with risk perceptions two farmer related variables (age and agriculture-related  
 297 education) were found to have an association with the likelihood of not taking a risk choice  
 298 (see Table 3). On further examination (see Table 4) respondents over 40 years of age were  
 299 found to be significantly less likely to take risks than those in younger age categories (p-  
 300 values < 0.05) and respondents with agriculturally related qualifications were more willing to  
 301 take a risky choice than respondents with other educational backgrounds (coef = 0.55 and p-  
 302 value = 0.01).

303 **Table 3:** Categorical farm-related variables significance using likelihood ratio tests.

Variable	Number of categories	Risk perception (p-value)	Stated likelihood of not taking a risky choice (p-value)
<b>Farm business related factors</b>			
Farm type	5	0.08	0.35
Farm size	4	0.26	0.48
Proportion of farmed land owned	4	0.89	0.35
Income dependency on farm business	3	0.81	0.76
Capital security of farm business	4	0.18	0.15
<b>Farm household related factors</b>			
Age	4	0.13	<b>0.01**</b>
Education level	4	0.52	0.58
Agriculture-related education	2	0.07	<b>0.01**</b>

\* Significant at 0.05; \*\*significant at 0.01 level.

304

305 **Table 4:** Details of significant farm household relationships.

	Stated likelihood of not taking a risky choice		
	Base group	Comparator group	Coefficient (SE)
Age group	<25	26 to 40	0.36 (0.43)
		41 to 60	<b>0.82*</b> (0.42)
		61 over	<b>1.10*</b> (0.44)
	26-40	41 to 60	<b>0.46*</b> (0.19)
		61 over	<b>0.73**</b> (0.24)
	41-60	61 over	0.27 (0.21)
Qualification in agriculture related subjects	Yes	No	<b>0.55**</b> (0.19)

\* Significant at 0.05; \*\*at 0.01 significant level.

306

307 A significant positive relationship was found between risk perceptions and the importance of  
 308 farming to all six societal goals (Table 5). In addition, for three of the societal goals a positive  
 309 relationship was found with the stated likelihood of not taking risky choices. Thus the more  
 310 important respondents felt farming was to the achievement of societal goals the higher their  
 311 perceived riskiness scores and lower their stated likelihood of taking risky choices.

312

**Table 5:** Effect on opinions about the role of farming

<b>How important is farming to: (1= not at all important; 5= very important)</b>	<b>Risk perception</b>	<b>Stated likelihood of not taking a risky choice</b>
	Coef. (SE)	Coef. (SE)
Looking after the environment	<b>0.47**</b> (0.09)	<b>0.42**</b> (0.09)
Keeping a rural community alive	<b>0.26**</b> (0.08)	<b>0.26**</b> (0.08)
Maintaining the local landscape	<b>0.51**</b> (0.09)	<b>0.47**</b> (0.10)
Food security	<b>0.30**</b> (0.10)	0.10 (0.11)
Maintaining the land for future generations	<b>0.26*</b> (0.11)	0.08 (0.11)
Providing the public with space for recreation	<b>0.14*</b> (0.07)	0.09 (0.07)

313

\* Significant at 0.05; \*\*at 0.01 significant level.

314 **4. Discussion and conclusions**

315 This study confirms what is a commonly accepted but largely disregarded assumption in  
316 models of farmer decision choice - that not all risks are equal. While a larger and stratified  
317 sample would provide greater confidence that the results of the statistical analyses are  
318 robust, particularly the relative ordering, the background information on respondents  
319 indicates that they are not an atypical sample. The strength of difference between the  
320 domains may be greater than that detected here, since the effect may have been reduced as  
321 a consequence of the inclusion of risky choices that were not exclusive to a single risk  
322 domain.

323 Decision choices with an ethical component were perceived to be particularly risky and  
324 participants were more averse to taking these as compared to other risks. Many of the  
325 ethical decision choices investigated were subject to regulations, with the potential for  
326 prosecution and fines if an unacceptable outcome arose. Damage to a site of special  
327 scientific interest (SSI) or a scheduled ancient monuments for instance can incur fines of up  
328 to £40,000 or £50,000 respectively in Scotland (Scottish Parliament, 2011, 2004). It was not  
329 possible in this study to distinguishing the extent to which legislation or true ethical values  
330 drove respondents' views, but the relatively high level of risk aversion to taking these risks  
331 should be reassuring to interested parties whether government, Non-Governmental  
332 Organisation or individual member of society.

333 The financial risk domain was perceived to be one of the least risky and contained choices  
334 that participants were least likely to avoid. This finding is consistent with previous studies

335 flowing from the sentinel work of Gasson (1973) highlighting that profit generation is not the  
336 only and is often not the primary goal of farmers. Furthermore, it accentuates the call made  
337 by OECD (2009) for holistic studies of farmer behaviour that go beyond financial  
338 optimisation if better models are to be developed.

339 With most respondents considering that farming has an important role to play in wider  
340 societal goals and their preference to particularly avoid ethical and health & safety risks the  
341 results indicate a positive attitude to issues that in other business environments might be  
342 termed 'corporate social responsibility'. However, there is anecdotal evidence that this does  
343 not translate into practice in all cases. The study findings therefore suggest that barriers  
344 may be preventing farmers acting in line with their risk preferences in many situations. For  
345 instance where legislation or markets require farmers to engage in hazardous activities such  
346 as tagging calves and clipping cattle which resulted in injuries to 24% of respondents in a  
347 survey of Scottish farmers (Lindsay et al., 2004). This supports the viewpoint that there has  
348 been too great a focus on farmer attitudes, behaviour and choice in recent years (Burton,  
349 2004; Shove, 2010). Defining these barriers and finding solutions that are effective in  
350 commercial conditions could lead to greater consistency between attitudes and behaviours  
351 as well as greater progress towards the desired goals of both farmers and society. One  
352 hypothesis worthy of investigation would be that the level of perceived or actual control  
353 plays a key role. This might also explain why the three types of risk domain emerged from  
354 the statistical model as there can be greater opportunities to implement mitigating actions  
355 with respect to production, financial and social risks as compared to the ethical and  
356 recreational risks explored in the study (domain types 1 and 2). Furthermore, anecdotal  
357 evidence suggests that farmers feel they are unable to avoid some health & safety risks. For  
358 example, many farmers are sole workers and consequently it was difficult for them to ensure  
359 they were not 'Undertaking potentially dangerous farm activities without someone knowing  
360 where you are'. Similarly farmers commonly must operate in close vicinity of recently calved  
361 cows in order to comply with regulations requiring calves to be tagged within a few days of  
362 birth. The apparent acceptance of such risks (type 3 domains of risk) is a concern but since  
363 decisions that presented health & safety risks were perceived amongst the riskiest choices  
364 the results indicate there is a good level of health & safety awareness. Consequently, while  
365 education remains essential, this study suggests that other approaches are likely to be  
366 required if the annual level of agriculture related fatalities, which has changed little in more



367 than ten years, is to be improved (the average rate of fatality per 100,000 workers was 9.2  
368 for the five years to 2002/3 and averaged 9.9 for the five year period to 2012/13 (HSC, 2001;  
369 HSE, 2014, 2004, 2003, 2002).

370 A mixture modelling approach of the data collected is currently being undertaken to explore  
371 the domains and associated risky choices in greater depth, including issues associated with  
372 the fact that many risky choices cannot readily be assigned to a single domain. A key  
373 question in this work is whether the assumed domain structure accurately describes that  
374 perceived by farmers. In addition, further investigation of relationships between farm-farm  
375 household factors and risk preferences is planned since, arguably, more may have been  
376 expected than were found in this analysis.

377 Confirmation that farmers hold heterogeneous, as compared to constant, risk preferences  
378 opens new research pathways for those interested in improving policy effectiveness and  
379 potential responses of farmer managers to changes in their operating environment.

380 Specifically, where decision choices are holistically being examined the inclusion of  
381 heterogeneous risk preferences may improve the explanatory and/or predictive power of  
382 models, particularly in cases where balancing multiple and competing goals strongly feature.

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485

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492

493 **Appendix 1 Risky choices investigated in the study**

Risk domain	Risky choice
Financial	Continuing to employ someone you don't have enough work for
	Using an overdraft rather than a loan to fund a capital purchase
	Selling livestock at auction
	Continuing to employ someone that you can't really afford
	Investing a large amount of your own capital in a new enterprise
	Investing a large amount of your own capital in an existing enterprise
	Buying land to increase scale if it was available
	Selecting to receive subsidy payments in Euros
	Renting land to increase scale if it was available
	Forward selling produce
	Borrowing a large sum of money to invest in a new enterprise
	Borrowing a small sum of money to invest in a new enterprise
	Investing in a significant new farm building
	Borrowing a large sum of money to invest in an existing enterprise
	Trading Single Farm Payment entitlements
	Forward buying inputs
	Not having spare capacity in machinery/equipment in case working windows are shorter than average
	Borrowing a small sum of money to invest in an existing enterprise
Ethical	Disposing of a chemical/chemical container in a way that is not recommended
	Not calling the vet immediately to treat a sick animal when you cannot identify the cause
	Not always notifying households neighbouring your fields when you are going to spray crops
	Not acting to make safe an animal straying on the road that belongs to neighbour who is out
	Spraying crops or grassland when there is a risk of wind drift
	Applying fertiliser including FYM/slurry at a time that could lead to pollution
	Leaving a lambing/calving/farrowing animal unsupervised to attend a family event
	Not checking breeding animals regularly during lambing/calving/farrowing
	Knowingly undertake an action that could harm a protected species
	Not treating an injured animal immediately it was identified
	Knowingly undertake an action that could damage a scheduled monument
	Knowingly undertake an action that could damage a valuable/protected habitat
Production	Buying inputs from a known new supplier
	Buying inputs from an unknown supplier.
	Not adjusting crop protection plans in response to weather conditions
	Buying replacement females at auction from a known source
	Buying replacement stock at auction from an UNKNOWN source
	Employing someone who you are not entirely comfortable can do the job/fit in to your business
	Not responding immediately to an unusual livestock health problem
	Starting an entirely new enterprise on the farm
	Selling produce into a new market
	Changing your production method significantly e.g. finishing cattle off grass instead of a housed system.
	Significantly changing the scale of one or more enterprise on your farm
	Not adjusting stocking & grazing fertiliser rates from year to year
Health & safety	Not wearing full protective clothing whilst working with chemicals
	Working with machinery that does not have all its safety guards
	Driving when you know or think you might be over the legal alcohol limit
	Not wearing a seat belt when being a passenger in the front seat and on a public road
	Undertaking potentially dangerous farm activities without someone knowing where

	you are
	Enter a pen with a bull or recently calved cow without a stick or taking other protective measures
	Not providing workers with the full protective clothing recommended for a task
	Consuming five or more alcoholic drinks in a single evening
	Not wearing a helmet when riding the farm quad bike
	Not wearing a helmet when riding a motorcycle
	Driving a quad bike or tractor over terrain which has a slope which might be dangerous
Recreational	Occasionally engaging in dangerous sports e.g. sky diving
	Going down a ski run that is beyond your ability or closed
	Trying out bungee jumping at least once
	Piloting your own small plane, if you could
Social	Arguing with family peers about a major issue not relating to the farm
	Disagreeing with your family peers about how the farm is run
	Telling a friend that you don't agree with their behaviour
	Defending an unpopular issue that you believe in at a social event
	Admitting that your tastes are different from those of your friends
	Not assisting a farming friend/neighbour when they ask for help
	Taking time off during harvest to go to a family event
	Arguing with a friend
	Not informing a neighbour immediately if his/her animals were straying
	Selling something to a friend/neighbour without accurately stating any quality problems it might have/has
	Selling something to an unknown person without accurately stating any quality problems it might have/has
	Lending a friend/neighbour valuable equipment