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Title

Exploring the link between farmers' entrepreneurial identities and work wellbeing

Abstract

Pressure on farmers to behave more 'entrepreneurial' is increasing. Psychological and social science research therefore has examined what characterises farmers identifying as entrepreneurs. A previous study in Finland suggested that farmers' self-identities may conflict with the public paradigm describing farmers as entrepreneurs instead of food providers. Different expectations towards farming may cause identity issues and decrease work wellbeing. The present study examines the relationship of work wellbeing and entrepreneurial identification. Utilizing the *Maslach Burnout Inventory* and the theory of *Entrepreneurial Identity*, the results show that work wellbeing is higher for diversified farmers and rural business owners than for conventional farmers in Finland. Conventional farmers on the other hand experience higher rates of loss of personal control and self-efficacy, indicating that the political strategies for entrepreneurs, diversification and innovativeness, are not applicable to all farmer groups. Entrepreneurs aim for autonomy and personal control which generally may be limited in specialised, subsidy-dependent agricultural production systems. Identity formation processes and how farmers can gain more control over their businesses as well as the limitations of entrepreneurship in the momentary agricultural policy system, should be considered in upcoming policy strategies.

Keywords

Entrepreneurial identity; farmers; work wellbeing; personal control; agricultural policy

Introduction

During the last decades, agricultural policies in Europe have frequently emphasised the need to strengthen their global agricultural market position (Erjavec et al., 2009; Pindado and Sánchez, 2017; Zschache, 2015). While the main objective of European Union's (EU)

common agricultural policy (CAP) remains securing the incomes of farmers, competitiveness of agriculture is stressed in recent policy documents such as the agricultural policy, CAP 2014-2020 (EU, 2013), and is listed second among the official priorities in EU budgeting (Pe'er et al., 2019). Knowledge, innovation and digitisation are identified as critical pathways for farmers to become more 'entrepreneurial' and hence more competitive (EU, 2019a). The 'entrepreneurship' concept experiences increasing importance both on the political agenda and in agricultural sciences. However, the meaning of entrepreneurship and the concept's implementation as entrepreneurship policy are interpreted diversely and charged ideologically, as a Finnish case study showed (Pyysiäinen and Vesala, 2013). Particularly for farming, conflicting values and ideals are reproduced (Niska et al., 2012). Burton and Wilson (2006, p. 95f.) reason that these value conflicts origin from policy changes which have induced new narratives of agriculture: "While the productivist era placed great emphasis on maximum food production and the predominant role of the countryside as a site for production of food and fibre, the post-productivist era has been characterised by a reduced emphasis on food production and an increased emphasis on the countryside as a place of 'consumption' with high environmental sustainability". So while farmers in the past were expected to accept political power over decisions and receive financial rewards in return, they should now aim towards becoming environmental stewards and smart business owners capable of competing in the global food market (Stenholm and Hytti, 2014). Contrarily, a recent publication shows that farmers remain highly subsidised in Europe. For example, on average, Finnish farmers' income in 2015 has depended to almost one third on agricultural subsidies (Niemi and Väre, 2018). As a consequence, contradicting role expectations exist towards agricultural actors: on the one hand, a more traditional role understanding of farmers as food and therefore common goods providers who receive payments for this service (Morgan et al., 2010, Vesala and Vesala, 2010) and on the other hand the smart entrepreneur who aims at being financially independent and competitive (Bryant and Garnham, 2014).

In parallel to the entrepreneurial research, psychological and sociological studies on wellbeing and burnout in agriculture (Kallioniemi et al., 2016; Reissig et al., 2019; Saarni et al., 2008; Truchot and Andela, 2018) show that the perceived unpredictability of agricultural policy and its financial and bureaucratic constraints as well as fatigue and overtime are major stressors in farmer's lives. Financial constraints might even be a reason for farmers to leave the agricultural sector (Peel et al., 2016). Highly important for farmers' wellbeing is also social recognition, as Källstrom and Ljung (2005) demonstrated in a Swedish study. However, it is unclear whether the expectations of society are in line with the perceptions farmers have for qualities of farm life – especially with the paradigms changing in the agricultural policy debate. In Finland, particularly the media has presented farmers in a negative light, thus affecting farmers' reputations and causing conflicts with their self-perceptions (Kallioniemi et al., 2016, Saarni et al., 2008). A potential solution is proposed by Saarni et al. (2008, p. 102) who argue that "having control over one's job (decision latitude) decreases stress, especially if the job is highly demanding". Entrepreneurship is typically associated with more control over one's business and less dependency on agricultural subsidies, as entrepreneurs are more active, dynamic and competitive for economic purposes (Bairwa et al., 2014; Vesala et al., 2007). This implies that stronger entrepreneurial identities could enhance farmers' wellbeing and equally support societal recognition. The present research origins from this idea: The aim is to explore how strongly Finnish farmers identify as entrepreneurs and whether this identity has a positive or negative influence on their wellbeing. While scientific literature exists on entrepreneurial identity and on wellbeing in agriculture, none was found that connects both research areas. Exploring this research gap is therefore the central objective of the study: in particular, the concepts of entrepreneurial identity (Stryker and Burke, 2000), adapted to agriculture (Vesala et al., 2007; Vesala and Vesala, 2010), and the Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach et al., 1996; Maslach et al., 2001) are extended by an additional item to become a comprehensive measure of work wellbeing. This approach is novel and highly relevant as it examines the link between the policy goal of enhanced competitiveness (entrepreneurship) and the effect of

this policy goal on farmers' realities (wellbeing). The article proceeds as follows: After a short literature overview on determinants of farmer wellbeing and farmers' entrepreneurial identities, the article outlines the data and the methodical approach. This study's results on work wellbeing of farmer entrepreneurs and other types of producers are shown subsequently, followed by a critical discussion by means of current literature and a conclusion deriving potential policy implications.

Theory

Farmer wellbeing

Over the last 50 years, many farmers, particularly small farmers, have left agriculture and the number of small farms is further decreasing (EU, 2019b; Hennis, 2005). Despite high subsidies for farmers in the European Union, a weighted income gap of approximately 43 per cent compared to employees in non-agricultural professions (including subsidies) still existed in 2015, according to a recent study (Guth et al., 2020). While agriculture, according to the EU policy discourse, should move towards more liberalized and competitive structures (Zschache, 2015), supporting farmers' incomes also remains a major political goal (EU, 2019a), in order to counteract the decreasing number of (small) farmers. In this context, rural social scientists in Europe have examined life and work satisfaction beyond the simple farm income. The scope of their research included the satisfaction of people in Germany's rural areas with their working conditions (Jantsch et al., 2018), the determinants of work and life quality of farm employees in Italy (Gosetti, 2017), the relation of farmer wellbeing and political participation in Great Britain (Saxby et al., 2018) and whether farmers' values and entrepreneurship politics in Finland match or not (Niska et al., 2012). Also, farmers' and value chain actors' perspectives on local food systems in Finland (Nousiainen et al., 2009), farming motivations and entrepreneurship in Finland and Norway (Vesala and Peura, 2005, Vik and McElwee, 2011), farmers' exit motivations and their emotional wellbeing in Finland (Laitalainen et al., 2008), stresses of farm spouses in Norway (Melberg, 2003), social

learning and self-perception of farmers in Sweden (Källstrom and Ljung, 2005), burnout factors in Swiss agriculture (Reissig et al., 2019) and overall life satisfaction of Swedish dairy farmers (Röös et al., 2019) have been examined, just to name some recent examples. Rural studies show that besides financial constraints (Röös et al., 2019; Peel et al., 2016) particularly changing/increasing national and European agricultural policy requirements and guidelines tend to be a stress factor for farmers because these are often considered as external forces farmers cannot influence (Kallioniemi et al., 2016; Laitalainen et al., 2008; Reissig et al., 2019; Röös et al., 2019). Meeting the requirements, or even actively participating in voluntary schemes, however, can lead to increased farmer wellbeing, potentially resulting from higher identification with the chosen measures (Saxby et al., 2018). A negative image of farming and conflicting self- versus public perceptions on the other hand create distress for farmers (Källstrom and Ljung, 2005; Laitalainen et al., 2008; Niska et al., 2012). Although these studies show a variety of factors motivating or hindering farmers' wellbeing, both in work and private life contexts, they hardly relate wellbeing to entrepreneurial behaviour or traits of farmers. With the policy discourse promising (competitive) advantages for entrepreneurial behaviour (EU, 2019a; Pyysiäinen and Vesala, 2013), such as higher incomes and more autonomous work, the present article explores whether farmers who consider themselves to be more entrepreneurial, actually feel more in control and therefore feel more satisfied with their work.

Farmer identities and entrepreneurship

Farmer identities have been examined recently because they represent the precondition for role-specific behaviour and decision-making, such as entrepreneurial behaviour. Reciprocally, identities are an expression of socialisation processes and therefore represent dominant values of specific societal embeddings (Burton, 2004; Stryker, 1968). In more practical terms, a farmer may identify for example, as environmental steward because he / she has learned (socialisation) that this is a positively connoted way of farming. In turn, he / she will behave in a way to fulfil the expectations attributed by oneself and society in order to

receive recognition (Burton, 2004). Identity is hence a product of individual decision-making and societal norms and values. For the farmer identity literature, Burton and Wilson's (2006) study in Britain has been influential. Their research identifies four types of farmer identities: (1) Traditional farmers, who have a more conservative attitude towards farming, (2) Agribusiness persons, who focus mainly on profit, (3) Conservationists, who have a more environmentally conscious life-style and (4) Entrepreneurs, who diversify their incomes with non-agricultural activities. However, Burton (2004) and Burton and Wilson (2006) agree that these ideal types do not always correspond to the self-perceptions of farmers, which often comprise of multiple identities. For self-ascribed identities, they find that only three types exist: traditional, conservationist and entrepreneur farmer identities. And these do not necessarily correspond to what society or politics expect from farmers, causing a 'structure–agency inconsistency' (Burton and Wilson, 2006, p. 111). Naylo and colleagues (2018) support the discrepancy of self-identity and societal image for livestock farmers in the United Kingdom. They add that even within one sector, a farmer can have multiple identities and these can conflict due to diverging societal expectations. Contrarily, matching one's identity to societal expectations has been identified as determining factor of self-fulfilment in and beyond agriculture (Källstrom and Ljung, 2005). For the study at hand, this implies that farmers may identify with one or more identity types, among them entrepreneurship. But these do not necessarily correspond to societal expectations, although alignment of expectation and self-identitication are important factors for farmer wellbeing.

But what does entrepreneurship actually mean? In the economic literature, one central aspect of entrepreneurial identity is a certain 'freedom' which "provides a great deal of control" over the entrepreneurs' life (Shepherd, 2018, p. 140). Hence, control and self-efficiency are often considered as central motivation for entrepreneurial behaviour. Control and self-efficacy also seem to play a crucial role for farmers' and farm workers' identities, as a study in New Zealand and Switzerland (Stock and Forney, 2014) affirms: Autonomy was identified as a core motivation for farming, in both countries and beyond several production

systems. Entrepreneurs are further characterised as more risk-taking, innovative, and growth-oriented (Lumpkin and Dess, 1996; Vesala et al., 2007). There are studies indicating that farmer entrepreneurs have higher learning capacities (Seuneke et al., 2013), and that new entrants to the farming sector are more likely to be entrepreneurs (Pindado and Sánchez, 2017). While not as distinct as for non-entrepreneurs, a sense of belonging also exists for entrepreneurs, and "is often left unmet, thus ultimately diminishing psychological health" (Shepherd, 2018, p. 143). This corresponds to the farmer wellbeing literature that describes that societal recognition is an important factor for wellbeing and that identities can be strengthened in exchange with non-agricultural persons such as tourists (Brandth and Haugen, 2011). For the present study this means that motivations like autonomy,control, and societal affirmation of the identities are important for both, entrepreneurial identification and farmer wellbeing.

While this may imply that entrepreneurial identity and farmer wellbeing could be connected, Vesala and Rantanen (1999) have argued that it might also be problematic for farmers to identify as entrepreneurs. Farming, and hence also entrepreneurial farming is embedded in specific structures manifested since World War II. Farmers often experience disadvantages in the market, are highly depending on retailers and their demands, and have to adapt to on changing agricultural policies. These structures (e.g. bureaucracy and regulations) may limit risk-taking and innovative ideas and therefore may restrict entrepreneurial behaviour (Martinho 2020). Even more so, the restrictions can conflict with the desire for autonomy or control and thus impede stronger entrepreneurial identification (Vesala et al., 2007; Vesala and Vesala, 2010). In order to achieve the major goal of European agriculture policy (EU, 2019a) to support farmers with becoming more entrepreneurial and competitive, research on the relationship of entrepreneurial identity and work wellbeing is needed. The present study therefore tests whether there is a (positive) relationship between entrepreneurial identity and work wellbeing, as indicated by the literature.

Methodical approach

188 The methodical approach consists of two parts: (1) The Maslach burnout inventory is used to
189 explore how *satisfied different types of farmers* and non-agricultural entrepreneurs are with
190 their work and (2) to explain differences in regards to *entrepreneurial identity* theory as
191 adapted to Finnish agriculture by Vesala and Vesala (2010).

192 Identity and wellbeing measures

193 The identity framework by Stryker and Burke (2000) serves as the foundation in this
194 research. It is one of the first approaches to synthesise identity theory both from a
195 sociological and psychological perspective. On the one hand, the theory describes structural
196 identity or identity "composed of the meanings that persons attach to the multiple roles they
197 typically play in highly differentiated contemporary societies" (Stryker and Burke, 2000, p.
198 285). On the other hand, the framework integrates the cognitive identity of one person, as
199 emotions demonstrate how well the self-identity matches the structural identity (Stryker and
200 Burke, 2000). This means that identity consists of self-perception, decision-making
201 (cognitive) and of one's understanding of societal expectation according to his/her
202 socialisation (structural identity). These two identity components can conflict. In this context,
203 entrepreneurial identity conceptions particularly problematise the pronounced sense of
204 distinctiveness that overshadows the need for belonging (Shepherd, 2018). This finding
205 corresponds to the stresses of farmers who aim for autonomy and control (Stock and Forney,
206 2014; Vesala and Peura, 2005; Vesala and Vesala, 2010) – entrepreneurial characteristics –
207 but equally identify with tradition and foresight (Burton, 2004) – traditional producer traits,
208 which are both reproduced by societal discourses. Vesala and Vesala (2010, p. 22) affirm
209 and refine these findings in their study on identities in Finnish agriculture: They find
210 conventional farmers who identify more as producers than entrepreneurs (feel less
211 autonomous and entrepreneurial), whereas diversified farmers tend to identify more as
212 entrepreneurs than producers; small rural businesses in comparison identify as
213 entrepreneurs and reject producer identities. However, multiple identities can exist that can
214 contradict one another and the diverging expectations that may arise within one identity.

Clear distinctions between these types of farmers are not possible and they represent tendencies rather than absolutes. The present study aims to integrate these issues by not only examining whether diversified farmers and rural business owners identify themselves as entrepreneurs, but also whether they show entrepreneurial attributes and capacities. Also, a previous study by Vesala & Vesala (2010) finds that some farmers do identify more strongly as entrepreneurs than others. We measure self-ascribed identity of farmers with the statement 'I am an entrepreneur' (***entrepreneurial self-identity***). We further examine attributes for entrepreneurs found in the literature, such as perceived personal control (similar to autonomy) and of self-efficacy as the capability to act entrepreneurial (***entrepreneurial attributes***). "Self-efficacy [thereby] refers to a person's belief in his/her capability of performing those actions and activities that are needed for achieving the desired outcomes and goals" (Vesala et al., 2007, p. 52). Personal control refers to the feeling of being in charge of one's life or business and decision-making, both preconditions of acting effectively as entrepreneur (Shepherd, 2018). Finally, we also measure the determination to actually behave entrepreneurial (***entrepreneurial attitude***), which is described as risk-taking, innovative, and growth-oriented (Lumpkin and Dess, 1996; Vesala et al., 2007). Integrating the three measures allows us to explore whether farmers feel as entrepreneurs, whether they feel they are capable to act entrepreneurial, and whether they actually aim at entrepreneurial behaviour. As a consequence, the study can indicate discrepancies between self-identity ('I am an entrepreneur'), entrepreneurial capabilities ('I am in control') and behaviour ('I take risks' etc.), and how these measures relate to work wellbeing.

The Maslach Burnout Inventory General Survey (MBI-GS) (Maslach et al., 1996; Maslach et al., 2001) is used as the measure of ***work wellbeing***. Saarni and colleagues (2008) found in 2008 that farmers in Finland had poorer work ability, quality of life, and health-related issues compared to non-agricultural business owners. Utilizing a burnout measure in combination with measures of entrepreneurial (self-)identity allows us to test the relation between entrepreneurial identity and the wellbeing of farmers. A measure on stress and burnout was

chosen as a suitable proxy to test work wellbeing of entrepreneurial farmers and businesses, with the overall change in working life, and pressure on farmers to be more entrepreneurial. The MBI-GS is further one of the most recognised quantitative burnout measures, which makes statistical comparison beyond farms and beyond countries possible. Additionally, burnout in the MBI-GS is defined as "individual stress experience embedded in a context of complex social relationships and (…) involves the person's conception of both self and others" (Maslach et al., 1996, p. 204). The measure is thus in line with the identity theory perspective which distinguishes farmers as more or less happy, depending on both their self-ascribed identity and external recognition. Although a study on burnout and depression in the Finnish farming sector was carried out before (Kallioniemi et al., 2016), the study solely focused on dairy farms and did not consider the relation among burnout and entrepreneurial identities. In addition to the Maslach survey, work wellbeing is measured with one item, a general question asking how satisfied one is with one's work.

The questionnaire finally consists of the (1) personal variables gender, marital status, education, and the personal variable age. The (2) business variables turnover, net profit, debt capital and paid workers represent the second section of the questionnaire. Distributions of responses can be found in table 1 below.

Table 1. Personal and business variables: Distributions of responses in the main groups

	Conventional farmers (n= 179)	Diversified farmers (n= 273)	Rural business owners (n= 108)
Personal variables			
Gender			
Female	21 (12.4 %)	34 (12.7 %)	30 (27.8 %)
Male	149 (87.6 %)	233 (87.3 %)	78 (72.2 %)
Age (in years) Mean (Std)	54.2 (9.8)	53.6 (10.0)	55.0 (10.6)
Marital status			
0 = Not in a relationship	31 (17.5 %)	32 (11.8 %)	13 (12.0 %)
1 = In a relationship	146 (82.5 %)	239 (88.2 %)	95 (88.0 %)
Basic education			

0 = Elementary school	101 (56.4 %)	153 (56.0 %)	48 (45.3 %)
1 = Middle or high school	78 (43.6 %)	120 (44.0 %)	58 (54.7 %)
Working experience as an entrepreneur (in years) Mean (Std)	25.6 (10.2)	24.8 (10.9)	22.3 (11.4)
Net Profit			
1 = Considerable loss	4 (2.3 %)	7 (2.6 %)	4 (3.8 %)
2 = Minor loss	15 (8.8 %)	15 (5.7 %)	13 (12.4 %)
3 = Plus / minus zero	24 (14.0 %)	20 (7.5 %)	16 (15.2 %)
4 = Positive, but I'm not satisfied	77 (45.0 %)	116 (43.8 %)	30 (28.6 %)
5 = Positive for me	51 (29.8 %)	107 (40.4 %)	42 (40.0 %)
Debt capital			
1 = Firm has no debt	64 (37.4 %)	89 (33.6 %)	60 (57.1 %)
2 = Less debt than 1/3 of turnover	36 (21.1 %)	55 (20.8 %)	24 (22.9 %)
3 = Debt 1/3 - 2/3 of turnover	25 (14.6 %)	64 (24.2 %)	13 (12.4 %)
4 = Debt more than 2/3 of turnover	18 (10.5 %)	21 (7.9 %)	5 (4.8 %)
5 = More debt than turnover	28 (16.4 %)	36 (13.6 %)	3 (2.9 %)
Paid workers			
0 = No paid workers	141 (78.8 %)	182 (66.7 %)	51 (47.2 %)
1 = One or more paid workers	38 (21.2 %)	91 (33.3 %)	57 (52.7 %)
Structure of the clientele (number of customers)			
1 = 1-3 customers	64 (62.1 %)	34 (15.6 %)	5 (5.7 %)
2 = 4-9 customers	44 (31.2 %)	39 (17.9 %)	12 (13.6 %)
3 = 10 or more customers	33 (23.4 %)	145 (66.5 %)	71 (80.7 %)

For (3) work wellbeing, the MBI-GS (Maslach et al. 1996) integrates the three dimensions exhaustion, cynicism and lowered professional esteem. For the MBI1 Exhaustion, five statements could be answered on a 7-point-scale (never / few times a year / once in a month / few times in a month / once a week / few times a week / daily). The Cronbach's Alpha for the MBI1 Exhaustion was .92. The MBI2 Cynicism contained of 5 statements, with equal response scale and a Cronbach's Alpha of .84. The MBI3 Lowered professional self-esteem consisted of 6 statements, with a Cronbach's Alpha of .87). The items on lowered professional self-esteem were inverted in the measurement. The MBI Tot represents the total score of the burnout syndrome. For the MBI-GS, cynicism is expected to correlate positively

with exhaustion and negatively with professional self-esteem. A question on work wellbeing was added to the MBI to also measure the overall contentment of farmers – 'How satisfied you are with your work?' – which the respondents could answer on 5-point scale (1 – not at all satisfied, 2 – somewhat dissatisfied, 3 – neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 4 – fairly satisfied, 5 – very satisfied).

For the (4) measure of entrepreneurial identity, one question was provided: 'How do you define yourself? - How relevant the following thoughts are to you' with the answer provided 'I am an entrepreneur', and a rating scale from 1-5 (1 – not relevant at all, 2 – relevant to some extent, 3 – don't know, 4 – quite relevant, 5 – very relevant). Because the distribution of responses was skewed (only small minority had chosen to answer options 1, 2 or 3; see also figure 3), the scale was later reduced into a 3-point scale (1 – not relevant at all / relevant to some extent / don't know, 2 – quite relevant, 3 – very relevant) by combining the options 1-3 into one.

The (5) measure of entrepreneurial attributes contained 8 statements on self-efficacy and 4 statements on personal control. The attributes were raised with the question 'How well do these (statements) describe you?'. A Likert type scale from 1 to 5 was provided (1 – totally disagree, 2 – partially disagree, 3 – neither disagree nor agree; 4 – partially agree, 5 – totally agree). Personal control was measured with four statements: 'I am able to affect the success of my firm through decisions concerning products and through production', 'My personal chances to influence the success of my business are practically rather low' (inverted), 'I am able to affect the success of my firm through marketing and customer connections', and 'To a great extent I can personally control the success of my firm'. The Cronbach's alpha for the sum-variable of personal control was 0.725.

Self-efficacy was measured with eight statements. Following Drnovsek et al (2010), the valence dimension of self-efficacy beliefs was taken into account so that some of the items measured positive expectations. The statements were 'My skills are quite sufficient for

working as an entrepreneur', 'I am more competent than an average entrepreneur', 'My character is not of entrepreneurial type' (inverted), 'My personal characteristics suit well for entrepreneurship', 'I will succeed as an entrepreneur', 'Not even major setbacks can make me give up my entrepreneurship', 'I believe that my success in the future will outrun entrepreneurs on average', and 'My success as an entrepreneur is uncertain' (inverted). A sum-variable of self-efficacy was formed with the Cronbach's alpha .826.

It should be mentioned that the questions about self-efficacy and personal control were situation-specific and concerned explicitly the work context. This is relevant because the study aims to explore how the respondents estimated their entrepreneurial capabilities and motivations and not their beliefs of life in general.

The statements measuring (6) entrepreneurial attitude focused on the work context as well. The measure of entrepreneurial attitude consisted of 12 statements about risk-taking, growth-orientation and innovativeness (with a Likert scale). 'I am more cautious with risk-taking compared to other entrepreneurs that I know' (inverted), 'I do not avoid taking risks', 'I take risks only when compelled to do so' (inverted), 'I do not believe in success without risk-taking', 'Increasing the turnover of my firm is a self-evident goal for me', 'Compared to other entrepreneurs whom I know, I am more reluctant in expanding my business' (inverted), 'I prefer not to hire employees in my firm' (inverted), 'I am trying to expand my business activities', 'I aim for constant renewal in my business activities', 'I enjoy developing new products and marketing ideas', 'If needed, I will make major changes in my business', and 'I prefer to keep doing things the way I am familiar with' (inverted). The Cronbach's alpha for the sum variable of entrepreneurial attitude was .836.

Data acquisition and analysis

The data in the study originates from a Finland-wide follow-up study called "Muuttuva maaseutuyrittäjyys" ("Changing rural entrepreneurship"), which was conducted in the years 2001, 2006 and 2012. The 2012 questionnaire was sent by postal mail to all who answered

the survey in year 2006 (n= 805). An additional sample (n= 2967) was drawn from the Business Register of the Statistics Finland (rural businesses) and the Farm Register from the Information Centre of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (conventional and diversified farms). In total, 3772 questionnaires were sent in 2012, from which 892 (23.9 per cent) were returned. The return percentage was much higher in the follow-up group (55.9 per cent) than in the additional sample (15.1 per cent). The analysis of loss revealed no significant bias caused by the loss (BLINDED FOR PEER REVIEW). The distribution of participants, according to the three types of respondents described above (Vesala and Vesala, 2010) was: conventional farmers focusing on primary agricultural production ('conventional farmers') represented 31 per cent, diversified farmers who operated a business besides the agricultural production ('diversified farmers') 34 per cent and, and rural non-agricultural small-scale business owners ('rural business owners') approximately 35 per cent. The categorization is not based on the groups' connections with entrepreneurial identification, attributes or attitudes, which we will test accordingly. The information on the personal and business variables is presented in Table 1. Only Finnish speaking respondents were included.

Table 2. Samples: Follow-up group (answered in 2006) & additional sample (2012). The numbers of respondents in this study is presented in the column 'all'

	All	**Follow-up sample**		**Additional sample**		**Total**	
Main group	n	n	%	n	%	n	%
Conventional farmers	179	271	33.7	893	30.1	1164	30.9
Diversified farmers	273	399	49.6	887	29.9	1286	34.1
Rural business owners	108	135	16.8	1187	40.0	1322	35.0
Total	560	805	100.0	2967	100.0	3772	100.0

The questionnaire consisted of one part on work wellbeing, one part on entrepreneurship, variables related to the demographics of the entrepreneur and a part on the business variables, as described in the section before.

342 In order to explore the group differences in work wellbeing, initial analyses were conducted:
343 In the analysis, group differences in each variable were detected and tested. Then
344 correlations between variables with statistically significant group differences were analysed.
345 Finally, regression analyses were conducted, where each measure of work wellbeing was
346 included as dependent variable, and all entrepreneurship and farm business variables, which
347 either had significant group differences or significant correlations to work wellbeing, were
348 included as independent variables. The detailed regression analyses can be found in Table
349 8. The analyses were conducted by using IBM SPSS Statistics Version 26.

350 **Results**

351 The results section first introduces the characteristics and distributions of the respondent
352 groups before presenting their satisfaction level at work. The results on the three measures
353 of entrepreneurship, and eventually the correlations of work wellbeing with the
354 entrepreneurial measures, are shown.

355 Personal and business variables

356 Among the personal variables, only one statistically significant difference between the groups
357 appeared: The proportion of men was higher in conventional (87 per cent) and diversified
358 farmer (88 per cent) groups than in the rural business owner group (72 per cent) (Chi square:
359 15.65, $p<.001$). Related to the business variables, the most notable difference between the
360 three groups was found in the structure of the clientele. While most of the rural business
361 owners and diversified farmers (80 per cent) had more than ten customers, the situation was
362 almost opposite in the conventional farmer group. Almost half of the conventional farmers
363 had only one to three customers, and only less than one fourth (23 per cent) had more than
364 ten customers, implying that conventional farmers may have less or less diversified
365 distribution options, such as processors and retail. Also, paid workers were less common in
366 the conventional farmer group and more debt capital existed for diversified and conventional

367 farmer groups, indicating a higher investment need or a lower refinancing potential in
368 agriculture (Table 3).

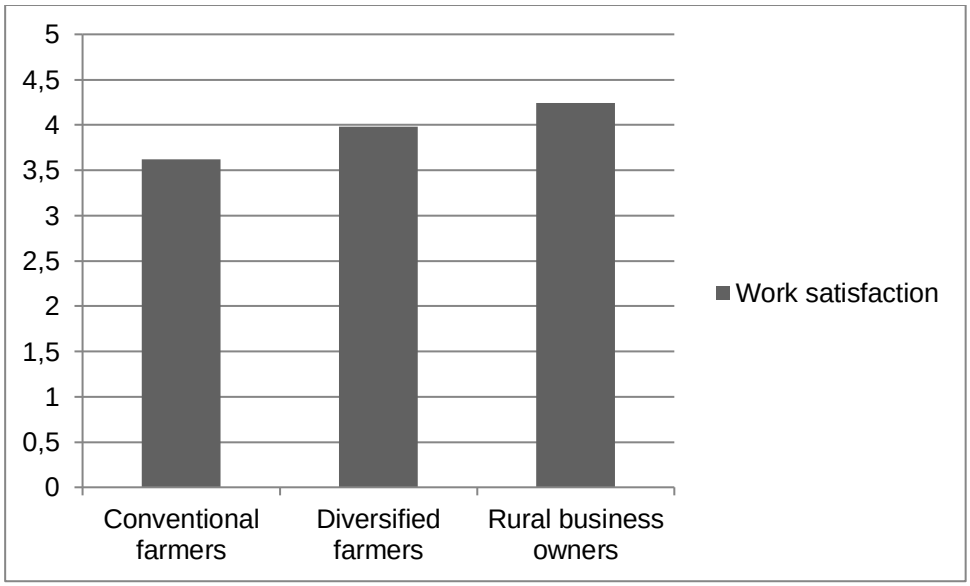
369 Table 3. Group differences in variables related to the business. Means, standard deviations and
370 results of one-way anova presented

	Conventional farmers (n = 179)	**Diversified farmers** (n = 273)	**Rural business owners** (n = 108)	**F (p<)**
Turnover (1000 €)	263 (1180.8)	203 (359.5)	360 (804.1)	1.31
Net profit	3.94 (0.94)	4.23 (0.90)	4.09 (0.98)	5.08 **
Debt capital	2.30 (1.36)	2.36 (1.36)	1.71 (1.00)	10.04 ***
Paid workers	0.22 (0.42)	0.34 (0.47)	0.53 (0.50)	15.20 ***
Structure of clientele	1.78 (0.80)	2.50 (0.73)	2.75 (0.57)	60.47 ***

*) p<.05; **) p<.01; ***) p<.001

371 Work wellbeing

372 Overall, work satisfaction in the sample was rather positive, with all three groups being more
373 content than discontent. However, there were differences between farmers and rural
374 businesses, with farmers being less satisfied (3,6 and 3,9 of 5) with their work, particularly
375 conventional farmers: Only 16 per cent of conventional farmers were very satisfied with their
376 work whereas for rural businesses outside of agriculture more than one third (37 per cent)
377 ranked their work satisfaction 5 out of 5 (Figure 1).



378

379 Figure 1. Group means in satisfaction to work

The group differences were statistically significant. Corresponding to this finding, conventional farmers had the highest scores in overall burnout symptoms, and beyond all three burnout categories (F= 10.89, p<.001). Compared to the Finnish working age population at large (Kalimo et al. 2006), only exhaustion was lower for the three examined groups, and relatively similar between the three groups (Figure 2).

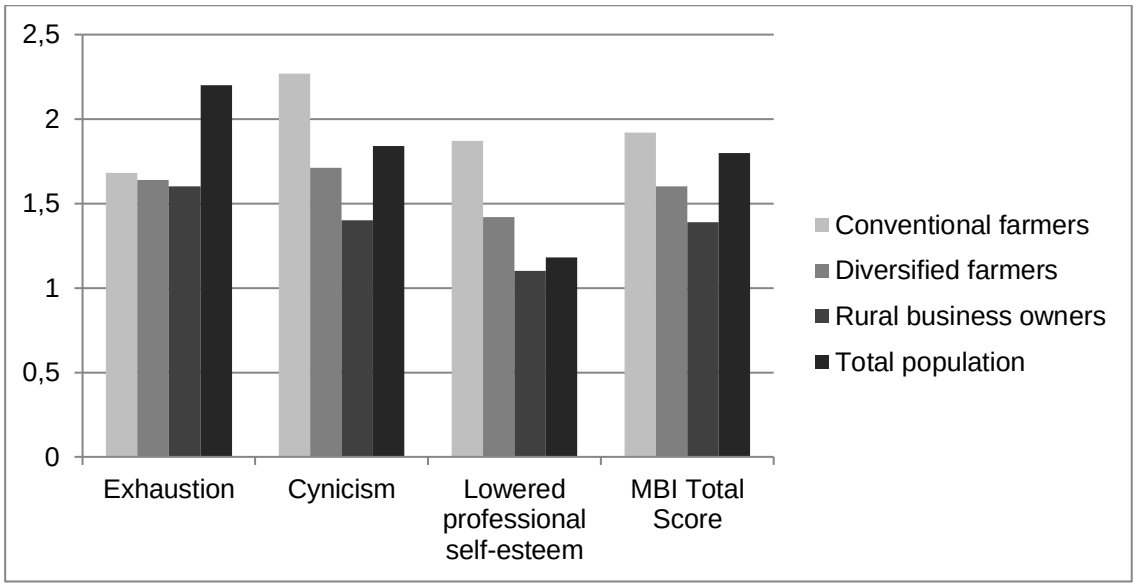


Figure 2. Group means in burnout scores

However, there were no statistically significant differences between the groups (F=0.17, ns.). Cynicism was higher for farmers, for conventional farmers in particular, and professional self-esteem was much lower, with statistical significances of F=16.36, p<.001 for cynicism, and F=19.45, p<.001 for lowered self-esteem. Comparing the three respondent groups, the conventional farmers seemed to have the least confidence in their professional life and were most cynic about it, whereas all three groups were exhausted to a similar extent (Table 4).

Table 4. Burnout and work wellbeing in study groups: group differences. Means and standard deviations and results of the one-way anova presented (F-value, p<)

	Conventional farmers	**Diversified farmers**	**Rural business owners**	**F (p<)**	**Total population** (Kalimo et al. 2006)
Exhaustion	1.68 (1.31)	1.64 (1.21)	1.60 (1.18)	0.17	2.20 (1.44)

Lowered professional self-esteem	1.87 (1.22)	1.42 (1.01)	1.10 (0.80)	19.45 ***	1.18 (1.13)
Cynicism	2.27 (1.52)	1.71 (1.27)	1.40 (1.08)	16.36 ***	1.84 (1.40)
MBI Total score	1.92 (1.06)	1.60 (0.94)	1.39 (0.85)	10.89 ***	1.80 (1.03)
Satisfaction to work	3.62 (0.92)	3.98 (0.79)	4.24 (0.69)	20.19 ***	-

*) p<.05; **) p<.01; ***) p<.001

According to these results, burnout seems more common among conventional farmers than for diversified farmers and rural businesses. Validity of the burnout measurement was supported by the MBI subscales which showed positive and statistically significant correlations to each other and to the total score. Also, all MBI scales correlated negatively and statistically significant to the satisfaction to work (Table 5). This means that higher burnout risk (MBI Total Score) relates to lower work satisfaction.

Table 5. Correlations between MBI scores and work wellbeing.

	Lowered professional self-esteem	**Cynicism**	**MBI Total score**	**Satisfaction to work**
Exhaustion	.652 ***	.233 **	.855 ***	-.432 **
Lowered professional self-esteem		.381 **	.874 **	-.571 **
Cynicism			.610 *	-.503 **
MBI Total score				-.625 **

*) p<.05; **) p<.01; ***) p<.001

Entrepreneurial identity

With conventional farmers being the least satisfied group and having the highest burnout risk, the relation with farmers' perceived entrepreneurial identity was examined. To begin with, this study's results show that group differences existed for the self-identity as entrepreneurs, that entrepreneurial capabilities differed between the groups and that the groups had entrepreneurial attitudes to a different extent (Table 6):

Table 6. Group differences in entrepreneurial identity. Means and standard deviations & results of the one-way anova presented (F-value, p<)

	Conventional farmers (n=179)	**Diversified farmers** (n=273**)**	**Rural business owners** (n=108)	F (p<)
Entrepreneurial self-identity	1.95 (0.74)	2.35 (0.71)	2.54 (0.62)	27.19 ***
Entrepreneurial attitude	2.83 (0.67)	3.06 (0.51)	3.09 (0.59)	10.76 ***
Self-efficacy	3.48 (0.81)	3.77 (0.61)	3.82 (0.58)	12.24 ***
Personal control	3.34 (0.89)	3.83 (0.77)	4.09 (0.62)	35.93 ***

*) p<.05; **) p<.01; ***) p<.001

As presented in the scholarly literature, conventional farmers identified less as entrepreneurs compared to diversified farmers and rural businesses (means of 1.95 compared to 2.35 and 2.54, respectively). The majority of the respondents in all three main groups identified themselves as entrepreneurs by answering either ”Quite relevant” or ”Very relevant”. However, there were respondents in each group (notably also among rural business owners) who did not identify themselves as entrepreneur or who were uncertain about whether they should define themselves as entrepreneurs (see figure 3). This demonstrates that self-identification as entrepreneur is indeed a psychological variable of its own and cannot be simply reduced to firm or farm ownership, which should be kept in mind for the result interpretation.

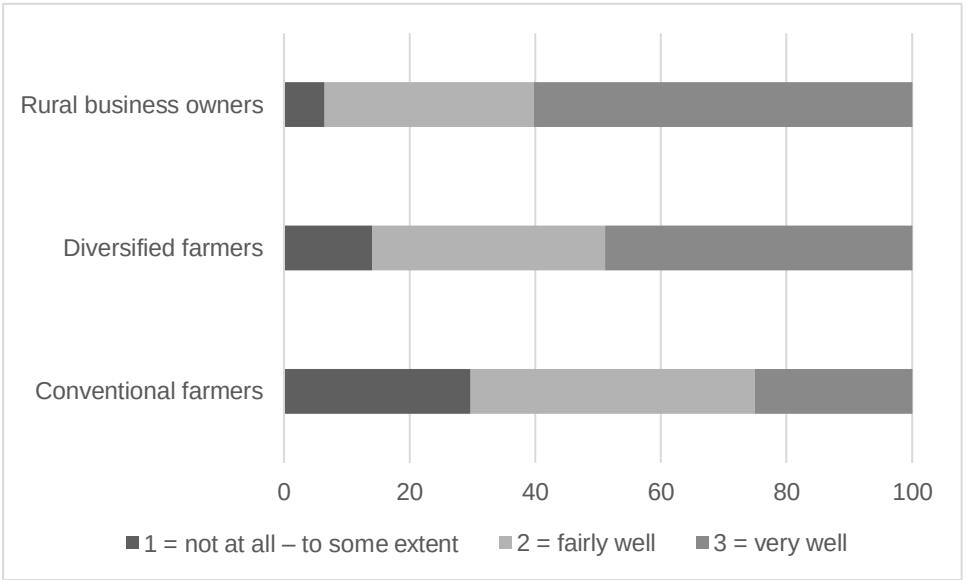


Figure 3. Self-Identity – ‘How well do the following describe you: I am an entrepreneur’ (in %)