# GRASS CEILING

# D2.1

## Report on existing knowledge of rural women-led innovation

This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon Europe research and innovation programme under grant agreement No.101083408

# Deliverable D2.1

# Title: Report on existing knowledge of rural women-led innovation

**Due date:** April 2023

**Submission date:** April 2023

**Approved by Leader of Work Package:** Wageningen University

**Type:** R – Document, report

**Author List:** Tihana Kovačićek, Nataša Bokan, Ramona Franić (UNIZG FAZ)

**With contributions from:** Muireann Prendergast, Sally Shortall, Leana Reinl (SETU)
Bettina Bock, Valentina Cristiana Materia, Sophie Hopkins (WU)
Sophia Caiati, Katharina Wiese (EEB)
Sabrina Arcuri, Pedro Navarro Gambín (UNIPI)
Dalia Štreimikienė, Tomas Baležentis, Indrė Šikšnelytė-Butkienė, Vida Dabkienė, Vaida Šapolaitė (LCSS)
Maja Farstad, Rita M. Sivertsvik (RURALIS)
Margarita Rico Gonzales, Camino Vázquez (UVA)
Katarina Pettersson, Ildikó Asztalos Morell, Flora Hajdu (SLU)
Nicole Ercoli, Branwen Miles (COPA-COGECA)
Melanie Thompson-Glen, Hannah Budge, Lucy Beattie, Margaret Adesugba (UNEW)

**Dissemination Level**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ☒ | **PU:** | Public |
| ☐ | **CO:** | Confidential, only for members of the consortium (including the Commission Services) |

*Funded by the European Union. Views and opinions expressed are, however those of the author(s) only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or the European Research Executive Agency (REA). Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them.*

# Abstract

Rural areas make up about 83% of the land area in Europe. Rural areas are home to 25,2% of Europe's population. Rural women across Europe are a heterogeneous group, with differences and inequalities due to age, income level, family responsibilities, ethnicity, and social class etc. However, despite these differences, they face similar difficulties and barriers. The aim of this report was to identify both the barriers and drivers that rural women face and their experiences with gender norms that prevent their recognition and support by policy makers, rural residents, and the agricultural and rural development innovation support system. This report is based on the literature review of each partner country (Croatia, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Scotland, Spain, and Sweden). The research period is 2014 – 2023, however older and relevant literature for the context was also considered when necessary.

The literature review revealed that despite all efforts in EU legislation, gender inequalities still exist in the EU. Rural women's work is mostly invisible, not seen as important to the success of a farm, not valued, not paid, and not statistically recognized, which translates into lower incomes and a gender pay gap (consequently a pension gap too). Rural women have limited access to services, low digital skills, and are seen as caregiver for the family. Social and environmental innovations are increasingly driven by women, with the need and goal to maintain the sustainability of the family farm as the main driving force. Women are involved in diversifying farm emphasizing on sustainability and environmentally friendly practices. However, public enterprise managers believe that it is less profitable to invest in or financially support women than men. The Common Agricultural Policy does not include measures or support designed for women. Despite all this, women in rural areas play an important role as agents of change in the ecological transition and in the fight against depopulation. Women are engaged in farm diversification (with a focus on sustainability and environmentally friendly practices), greener approaches and shorter supply chains, social and community development, collaboration and networking with other businesses and organizations, and multifunctional agriculture. Women-led business initiatives are critical to bringing innovation to the rural community and thus play an important role as agents of change in environmental transformation and in the fight against rural depopulation.

# Contents

**Abstract** ..... **1**

**Contents** ..... **2**

**Preface** ..... **4**

**Introduction** ..... **6**

2.1. Key findings ..... 6

2.2. General context ..... 6

2.3. Specific context ..... 9

**General context on rural areas, rural women and their experiences in agriculture** ..... **10**

3.1. Key findings ..... 10

3.2. Socio-economic characteristics or rural areas with a focus on women ..... 11

3.3. Rural women as farmers and gender issues ..... 18

3.4. Rural women as entrepreneurs ..... 34

3.5. The role of women in rural innovation ..... 41

3.6. The role of policies and institutions ..... 43

3.7. Other issues (gendered forestry, gender among indigenous Sámi people and crofting) ..... 50

3.7.1. Gendered forestry ..... 50

3.7.2. The indigenous Sámi people and gender ..... 53

3.7.3. Crofting ..... 54

**Specific context** ..... **56**

4.1. Key findings ..... 56

4.2. Rural women as innovators ..... 57

4.3. What women do differently? ..... 58

4.3.1. Prone to innovate ..... 58

4.3.2. Incline to network ..... 59

4.3.3. No growth intentions and work-love balance ..... 59

4.3.4. Environmental awareness ..... 60

4.3.5. Strive to multifunctional agriculture ..... 60

4.4. Constraints and obstacles ..... 62

4.4.1. General rural reality and societal norms ..... 62

4.4.2. Informal and unpaid family work ..... 64
4.4.3. Property ownership and inheritance ..... 64
4.4.4. Mentoring, training, networking ..... 65
4.4.5. Lack of state and institutional support ..... 66
4.4.6. Multiple minorities ..... 68
4.5. Seeds of women empowerment ..... 69
4.6. Research deficits and future directions ..... 71

**Conclusions ..... 72**
5.1. Key Findings ..... 72

**References ..... 76**

# 01 Preface

This report has been written within the GRASS Ceiling project (Task 2.1), led by South East Technological University (SETU-Ireland).

The aim of this report is to provide a literature review of previous research by highlighting what is known so far about rural women and their social position, especially in the field of introducing socio-ecological innovations in partner countries as well as in the EU level. The aim of the GRASS Ceiling project is to develop a context where women can drive socio-ecological transitions, i.e., innovate in response to socio-environmental challenges and build rural resilience. GRASS Ceiling will increase women-led socio-ecological innovations in agriculture, rural economies, and rural communities through the co-development of tools that ensure women's full participation. The first step in doing so is to improve understanding of gender norms, drivers, and barriers to women-led innovation in agriculture, rural economies, and rural communities. That goal is to be achieved by this rapid review of existing studies on the gender specificity of women's innovations and experiences with gender norms in agricultural and rural context. The goal of the Deliverable 2.1 Report on existing knowledge of rural women-led innovation is to provide inventory of what we already know about the gender specificities of women-led innovation in terms of processes, drivers, and barriers, and in particular their experiences with gender norms that hinder recognition and support from policy makers, rural citizens, and the agricultural and rural development innovation support system. Based on the findings of academic research and relevant non-academic literature, Deliverable 2.1 points to barriers that women face in rural areas that can help create an environment where women can drive socio-environmental change. Through a rapid review of existing literature, Deliverable 2.1 contributes to other work packages and tasks, such as WP1 (Women's role in the future of agriculture, rural economies and communities across Europe), WP3 (Rural women Innovator Living Labs), WP4 (Benchmarking farming and rural development policies and legal frameworks for land transfer regarding EU Gender Equality Strategy & Social Rights Policy), WP5 (Co-creating of recommendations and tools for policy and knowledge and innovation systems that boosts women's role in the sustainable development of agriculture and rural areas) and WP6 (Communication, Dissemination and Exploitation).

Partners from all 9 countries involved in the project have contributed with their input to the preparation of this report. However, the report is organised thematically rather than by country. We have based this report on the literature reviews for each partner country as well as on documents on EU level. The first part deals with the general context of the position of rural women and their role in the adoption of innovations, and the second part with the specific context of rural women, the characteristics of their innovations and the obstacles that reduce their chances to innovate and become entrepreneurs.

We would like to express our sincere gratitude to all partners who contributed to this report.

*  *  *

*We find important to emphasise that rural women are not a homogeneous group between or within individual EU or European countries, and that there are significant differences and inequalities based on age, ethnicity, social class, occupation, income level, family responsibilities, and many other contextual factors that shape women's lived experiences. As a result, any attempt to provide a complete overview risks being oversimplified, and we are aware that many issues important to specific groups of women across Europe have not been considered. Therefore, we view this report as a work in progress for the entire project period and for years to come. However, there are many key findings that we draw upon in this report, and it presents a valuable and important insight into the set of circumstances and barriers that affect many rural women throughout European countries.*

# 02 Introduction

## 2.1. Key findings

- The number of women leaving rural areas exceeds that of men, as women out-migrate to urban areas to find better working and studying conditions.
- Despite efforts in EU legislation, gender inequalities still exist in the EU.
- Invisible work is still widespread in the EU, especially in rural areas: certain tasks are undervalued and not seen as important to the success of a farm.
- Unpaid work and responsibilities are not captured in employment data.
- Women's contributions to agriculture and farms are undervalued and underappreciated, as they are often not recognised as official partners.
- Agency is seen as part of empowering women farmers by helping women develop and expand new business initiatives.
- Managers of public enterprise funds believe that it is less profitable to invest in or financially support women than men.
- The role of women in forestry as owners and students is increasing.
- Sámi women face double victimisation.
- Women are more likely to be crofters due to the land size of crofts to be smaller and therefore less expensive compared to commercial farms.
- A key driver for women innovators across the studies is the necessity and the aim of maintaining the sustainability of the family farm.
- Women-led social and ecological innovations are increasingly emerging.
- Women are involved in diversifying farm business, focusing on sustainability and environmentally friendly practices.
- Women have relevant role in rural areas as agents of change in the ecological transition and in the fight against depopulation.

## 2.2. General context

This report analyses the general and specific context of rural areas, rural women, their experiences in agriculture, the characteristics of women-led innovation in rural areas, rural women's experiences in leading socio-ecological innovation in terms of processes, drivers, and barriers, and their experiences with gender norms that prevent their recognition and support by policy makers, rural residents, and the agricultural and rural development innovation support system in the United Kingdom, Norway, and seven EU Member States: Croatia, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Spain, and Sweden. Common to all selected states are the characteristics of rural areas and the challenges that rural women are exposed to. Five main themes emerge from this rapid literature review: (i) socio-economic characteristics of rural areas with a focus on women, (ii) rural women as farmers and gender issues, (iii) rural women as entrepreneurs, the role of women in rural

innovation, (iv) the role of policies and institutions in rural women innovations, and (v) other issues (gendered forestry, gender among indigenous peoples, and crofting). The results of academic and non-academic research are discussed in the following sections.

In Europe, rural areas represent 83% of the total land area and 25.2% of the European population (Eurostat, 2022). Despite its large size, these regions are among the least favoured in the EU, with significantly lower GDP and high unemployment rates, especially among women, limited access to services, demographic decline, weak network signals, and low digital skills (Shortall and Bock, 2015; Rossi, 2022).

Although gender equality is considered a priority value in European countries, women in rural areas suffer from double discrimination (García Díaz, 2020): The first stems from the gender gap and the second from the urban-rural gap. In more peripheral rural areas of Europe and in Central and Eastern European Member States, women face more problems because these areas are gender insensitive and do not take into account women's specific needs and experiences, especially in terms of employment and services (Shortall and Bock, 2015). Women living in rural areas have worse access to services, rural organizations, infrastructure, or technology (Šikić Mićanović, 2014; Vidović et al., 2015; Franić and Kovačićek, 2019; Copa Cogeca, 2020; Relja et al., 2021; Eurostat, 2023c). Compared to men, women in rural areas have achieved higher levels of education, but this has not translated into better employment outcomes for women. Women are more likely to be unemployed, to have part-time employment, to participate in the labour force through unpaid and invisible activities, to be paid less than men, to own fewer farms (only 30% of total farm managers in the EU), and to be the most vulnerable (Franić, 2015; Franić and Kovačićek, 2019). In terms of employment, according to Eurostat data from 2018, the gender pay gap in agriculture, forestry and fishing in the EU was 21.8% which was higher than the overall gender pay gap for all sectors of the economy (16.2%). One of the reasons for the gender pay gap is the lack of childcare and elderly care facilities in rural areas, as well as inadequate infrastructure and services. Closing this gender gap should also increase productivity in agriculture, but more support is needed to ensure equal opportunities for women, including from an entrepreneurship perspective (Copa Cogeca, 2020). Moreover, women in rural areas are more vulnerable to poverty and exclusion and have limited access to finance.

Women have undeniably played a fundamental role in the structure and development of rural areas over the centuries, because when a woman settles in the countryside, her entire family stays there (Andújar, 2019; Martínez Arroyo, 2019; Hernández et al., 2020). However, women often leave rural areas.

One of the most important sectors contributing to the rural economy is agriculture. The role of women in agricultural development is crucial but not always officially recognized (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2016). The role of women in agriculture has always been subordinate (Baylina and García-Ramón, 2017). In general, the man was the owner of the family farm, even if the woman worked on the farm to the same extent and also took care of the house and the education of the children (Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, 2021). Comparing their involvement in diversification activities, men in the Netherlands tended to be more often involved in agricultural diversification activities (e.g., nature and landscape conservation). In contrast, women were more likely to be involved in agritourism, recreational activities, and direct sales of

agricultural products (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2018). Following problems in access to finance, women also face problems in access to land. Women own smaller farms compared to men. Women's opportunities to engage in agriculture and other rural activities depend on the type of responsibility men assume for household reproductive work, which otherwise often takes up much of women's time. Dunne et al. (2021) identified three main barriers to women contributing economically to agriculture and their invisibility within the agricultural community in the United Kingdom. These were: access to land, education, and agricultural organizations.

Teagasc's (The Agriculture and Food Development Authority) (2019) report concludes that the role of women in rural initiatives was traditional and predominantly "integrative" (p. 32), meaning they were forced to conform to social and patriarchal norms and perform unpaid agricultural work, and "substitutive", meaning they performed work of little or no interest to men, such as poultry keeping.

Seuneke and Bock's (2015) research identifies several issues related to women's role in entrepreneurship, such as the importance of (non)agricultural networks and social capital, work-life balance, and the use of learning and innovation strategies. Research shows that managers of public enterprise funds believe that it is less profitable to invest in or financially support women than men (Grünfeld et al., 2020). The economic understanding of entrepreneurship as a male domain has been internalised to the point that it is a path-dependent phenomenon that influences rural economic development policies (Nordbø, 2022). The Innovation Norway report provides four specific suggestions for actions that can be considered to encourage an increase in female entrepreneurship with potential for scalability and growth: (1) establishing more comprehensive mentoring programmes for women, (2) establishing a government-supported investment fund for women, (3) eliminating competitive disadvantages in industries where women are often entrepreneurs, and (4) establishing a programme for commercialization exemptions at universities and colleges (Innovation Norway, 2019). One of the ways to empower women in rural areas is through social entrepreneurship. Social entrepreneurship not only facilitates the process of empowering the current generation of women, but also holds the potential for long-term change.

While the European Union has multiple approaches, including hard laws and soft measures, aimed at addressing gender inequalities in the labour market, Common Agricultural Policy's (CAP) support is focused on "standard" farms, which receive support tailored to the majority of farms run by men (La Vía Campesina, 2021). CAP does not take into account the gender perspective, which would mean that the majority of farms owned by women have a different model than those owned by men. Gender equality efforts in agricultural and forestry institutions in Sweden and beyond are limited to integrating the category of women into existing agricultural projects and programmes (Arora-Jonsson and Leder, 2020). For agricultural organisations, low participation of women not only risks overlooking the views and issues of a portion of the workforce, but also perpetuates gender stereotypes. The literature also suggests redefining the terms "rural" and "rural employment," clarifying the term "rural women", and systematically collecting relevant data. Improving women's participation in all local community activities, promoting and supporting women's activities through various forms of associations and activities, and promoting women's entrepreneurship (guaranteed support for small businesses and family farms) will lead to an improvement in the economic position of rural women. The principle of gender equality must be incorporated into all policies, especially at

the local and regional levels.

Forestry has often been viewed as a male-dominated field (Johansson and Ringblom, 2017; Östlund et al., 2020), but the role of women in forestry as owners and students is increasing (Nordic Forest Research – SNS, 2020). While the proportion of women in forestry education has increased at the university level, this has not translated into a parallel increase in forestry jobs (Larasatie et al., 2020).

Among the Sámi, practices that reinforce the preference for male succession and the weakness of women's economic participation despite equal inheritance rights persist (Asztalos Morell, 2021). The double victimisation of Sami and indigenous women was evident not only in cases of gender-based violence, but also in their subordinate position within reindeer herding communities, which prevents them from participating in reindeer herding on an equal basis with men.

Most crofters tend to pursue other employment, such as fishing, as men did in the past, or more recently, any job may be pursued in combination with running a farm (Scottish Crofting Federation, 2023). Although women are more likely to be crofters, Shortall et al. (2017) have suggested that this is because crofts are smaller and therefore less expensive compared to commercial farms.

## 2.3. Specific context

The role of women as innovators in rural areas is a topic that is underexplored in literature in the context of all GRASS Ceiling partner countries. However, there are substantial findings and indications from all partner countries suggesting the family farm and rural life in general has undergone significant changes and challenges in previous decades, a result of which women are required to pursue alternative but supplementary income streams. Women-led social and ecological innovations are increasingly emerging as potential responses to the disparities, with the aim of fostering changes towards social equity and an increased women empowerment in rural areas. A key driver for women innovators across the studies is the necessity and the aim of maintaining the sustainability of the family farm when its own income stream is limited or declining. Therefore, women are involved in diversifying farm business, focusing on sustainability and environmentally friendly practices, such as organic farming and renewable energy, using more environmentally conscious approaches and shorter supply chains, social and community development and collaboration and networking with other businesses and organizations and multifunctional agriculture. Business initiatives led by women are significant when it comes to generating innovation in the rural community (Hervás, 2014; Alario and Morales, 2016; Pérez et al., 2017; Pallarés-Blanch et al., 2018; Porto Castro et al., 2022; Observatorio del Emprendimiento de España, 2022). Moreover, partner countries point out the relevant role of rural women as agents of change in the ecological transition and in the fight against depopulation.

# 03 General context on rural areas, rural women and their experiences in agriculture

## 3.1. Key findings

- The gender gap is very pronounced in rural areas, with precarious employment, higher unemployment rates, temporary contracts, and lower wages.
- Rural women have less access to services, rural organizations, infrastructure, or technology and suffer from double discrimination: the gender gap and the rural-urban gap.
- The gender pay gap in agriculture, forestry and fishing in the EU was 21.8%, which was higher than the overall gender pay gap in all sectors of the economy (16.2%). One of the reasons for the gender pay gap is the lack of childcare and elderly care facilities in rural areas.
- Poor infrastructure (communications), a gender-segregated labour market with limited career opportunities for women, and inadequate provision of general services (e.g., education and care for the elderly), as well as a lack of recreational and cultural activities, are factors that lead to out-migration and discourage women from returning to the region.
- International migration can contribute to repopulation and dynamic and globalized rural areas.
- The role of women in agricultural development is critical, but not always officially recognized. Women remain invisible and behind the scenes and continue to be victims of traditional schemes about the role of women and men in society.
- In the EU, the percentage of farm owners who are women is only 30%, and their activities are less remunerative than those of men in the agricultural sector.
- There is a strong material link between gender and the activities performed by men and women in agriculture.
- Differences in parental leave arrangements make it difficult for farmers (and other entrepreneurs) to take full advantage of them as intended.
- Women face higher screening and information requirements than men in raising capital. Managers of public enterprise funds believe it is less profitable to invest in or financially support women than men.
- Women farmers who embark on new ventures, such as care management, might be considered 'innovators,' visionaries, or leaders, but they need 'comrades-in-arms," people who believe in their idea, to ensure that their vision is successful.
- While the European Union has several approaches, including hard laws and soft measures, aimed at addressing gender inequalities in the labour market, the support provided by CAP is intended for "standard" businesses, which receive support tailored to the majority of male-owned businesses.

This report analyses the general and specific context of rural areas, rural women, their experiences in agriculture, the characteristics of women-led innovation in rural areas, rural women's experiences in leading socio-ecological innovation in terms of processes, drivers, and barriers, and their experiences with gender norms that prevent their recognition and support by policy makers, rural residents, and the agricultural and rural development innovation support system in the United Kingdom, Norway, and seven Member States: Croatia, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Spain, and Sweden. Common to all selected states are the characteristics of rural areas and the characteristics and problems of rural women. Five main themes emerge from this rapid literature review: (i) socio-economic characteristics of rural areas with a focus on women, (ii) rural women as farmers and gender issues, (iii) rural women as entrepreneurs, the role of women in rural innovation, (iv) the role of policies and institutions, and (v) other issues (gendered forestry, gender among indigenous peoples, and crofting). The results of academic and non-academic research are discussed in the following sections.

## 3.2. Socio-economic characteristics or rural areas with a focus on women

In Europe, rural areas represent 83% of the total land area and are home to 25.2% of the European population (Eurostat, 2022). Despite their large size, these regions are among the least favoured in the EU, with significantly lower GDP and high unemployment rates, especially among women, limited access to services, demographic decline, weak network signals, and low digital literacy (Shortall and Bock, 2015; Rossi, 2022). These challenges are underpinned by Eurostat data on social inclusion, which shows that in 2018, 22.4% of people at risk of poverty and social exclusion were from rural areas, the highest percentage compared to urban and suburban areas. According to Eurostat (2018), GDP per capita in 2018 was three-quarters of the EU-27 average and significantly lower than urban regions (75 in rural regions and 125 in urban regions).

The gender gap is very pronounced in rural areas, with precarious employment, higher unemployment rates, temporary contracts, and lower wages (Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Agricultores y Ganaderos, 2022). The urban-rural divide shows large differences between urban and rural areas. Small villages have fewer employment opportunities, a lack of digitalization and telecommunications, and a lack of basic services (Genillo, 2019; Fornieles, 2022). The work-life balance, double discrimination, and little or no recognition they receive mean that the role of rural women goes unnoticed in the eyes of society. As Bock and Shortall (2015) mention in their article, counter-urbanisation and modernization have improved the quality of life, services, and employment opportunities in accessible rural areas. However, women face more problems in more peripheral rural areas of Europe and in Central and Eastern European Member States because these areas are gender insensitive and do not take into account the specific needs and experiences of women, especially in terms of employment and services (Šikić Mićanović, 2014; Shortall and Bock, 2015). Women living in rural areas have worse access to services, rural organisations, infrastructure or technology (Šikić Mićanović, 2014; Vidović et al., 2015; Franić and Kovačićek, 2019; Copa Cogeca, 2020; Relja et al., 2021; Eurostat, 2023c). Women, with their "invisible work" (Fernández Álvarez, 2016; Baylina, 2019), represented a free labour force for the family business, thanks to which it was not necessary to hire temporary workers, which led to economic savings (Baylina and García-Ramón, 2017; Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, 2021). In addition, women have traditionally

been responsible for household accounting, controlling the family economy, and distributing income and expenses (Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, 2021). Moreover, in the social life of the village, women often participate more than men in various activities, belong to associations, take care of their children's activities, etc. (Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, 2020, 2021).

The literature also highlights the crucial role of women in rural development. EU CAP Network Workshop agenda highlights, "Women play a critical role in the development and economic growth of rural communities in the EU. Yet their key role is too often 'invisible' and unrecognised, and rural women continue to face greater difficulties in finding and maintaining stable employment and participating in decision-making processes compared to men. Traditional gender roles often reinforce gender inequalities" (EU CAP Network, 2022). The reason that women have undeniably played a fundamental role in the structure and development of rural areas over the centuries is that when a woman settles in the countryside, her entire family stays there (Andújar, 2019; Martínez Arroyo, 2019; Gramm et al., 2020; Hernández et al., 2020; Sarkki et al., 2021). Women are currently a fundamental asset to contribute to the revitalization of rural areas that tend to be depressed, but in many cases have sufficient potential to revitalise the economic fabric (Navarro, 2018). Women are a guarantor of sustainability and progress, wealth creation and population retention. They are characterised by their adaptability and entrepreneurial spirit and are determined to integrate into the rural environment (Crespo, 2019). However, rural women suffer from a double discrimination (García Díaz, 2020). The first results from the gender gap, which is very pronounced in rural areas, with precarious employment, higher unemployment rates, temporary contracts, and lower wages (Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Agricultores y Ganaderos, 2022). The second discrimination stems from the urban-rural divide, with large differences between urban and rural areas. Small villages have fewer employment opportunities, a lack of digitalization and telecommunications, and a lack of basic services (Genillo, 2019; Fornieles, 2022). The reconciliation of family and professional life, the double discrimination, and the little or no recognition they receive mean that the role of rural women goes unnoticed in the eyes of society.

Women are important to any rural development strategy because they represent a labour force that historically has not been integrated into the formal labour market. This labour force, which in many cases is skilled, has a clear potential to fill skilled jobs and also to create new businesses that diversify traditional rural activities through different types of enterprises, such as business services, services to the population, handicrafts, high quality agricultural food, new orientations in agriculture and livestock, rural tourism, sports and environmental activities, etc. (Alario and Morales, 2016; Baylina, 2019;). In addition, the family's decision to remain in a rural place often depends on the woman's decision, with her desire to remain in the countryside often guaranteeing the continuity of the entire family and the associated demographic recovery in rural areas (Fernández Álvarez, 2016; Navarro, 2018; Hernández et al., 2020).

Despite the progress made in improving living conditions in villages and the important role of women in rural areas, women often leave rural areas due to the problems mentioned above. One of the issues most discussed in the literature and supported by data is the out-migration of women from rural areas. The number of women who do so is much higher than that of men, leading to

serious demographic imbalances (Franić and Kovačićek, 2019). This process has started since 2005 (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2016). In the case of Lithuania, the gender gap is mainly due to migration and higher mortality rates among men. More women than men live in rural areas, mirroring the ratio at the national level. This disparity is particularly pronounced in the population of family-building age and above retirement age (Lietuvos Agrarines Ekonomikos Institutas, 2020). In Spain, 60% of rural women have migrated to urban centres in search of more employment opportunities, services, and a more equal place for professional and personal development (Cátedra agricultura sostenible campo de Cartagena, 2018). This means that the rural population is ageing, masculinized, and most of them are at high risk of depopulation (Molina, 2022). In Spain, the rural population has decreased by about 45% in the last forty years. In some areas, this decline has been even greater, and some villages have even been abandoned altogether. The main reason for this is the development of the agricultural sector, which, due to its mechanisation, is no longer able to absorb the labour force of the past (Camarero, 2017b). As a result, the rural population migrated to large cities in search of work in industry or the service sector. In addition, the decline in fertility and birth rates affecting the Spanish population as a whole had a greater impact in rural areas (Molinero, 2017). All this has led to the fact that many rural areas in Spain today have a large demographic vacuum, undercapitalization of production, narrow markets, lack of basic services (especially social) and, in short, a great economic and social decline in a large part of the territory (Camarero and Oliva, 2019; Rico, 2020). According to Gramm et al. (2020), women migrate from rural areas because of employment opportunities, educational opportunities, housing, etc.

In 2021 (Eurostat, 2021a), a higher percentage of young men aged 25-34 living in rural areas of the EU had an educational level defined by ISCED levels 0 to 2 (lower secondary education) than young women, with the gender gap in educational attainment present in most EU Member States (except Ireland and Malta). In Estonia, Cyprus and Spain, the gender gap in educational attainment was more than 10.0 percentage points. On the other hand, in five mainly eastern Member States, including Hungary, Austria and Slovakia, a higher percentage of young women than men had at most a lower-secondary education. Gender gaps in educational attainment were relatively small in these countries, with the highest difference being 7.5 points in Romania and 3.7 points in Bulgaria. In terms of tertiary education, the share of 25- to 34-year-old females with a tertiary education increased from 30.5% to 36.3% in rural areas of the EU between 2012 and 2021. The proportion of young men with a tertiary education also increased during this period, from 19.2% to 23.3%, but at a slower rate than for women (Eurostat, 2021a).

The areas with declining populations have labour market, social and infrastructural characteristics that are not conducive to their economic sustainability. The percentage of inactive people is higher in rural areas than the national average, and this fact is exacerbated among women, where labour market integration is lower than in other more populated areas (Baylina and García-Ramón, 2017; Rico, 2019; Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, 2021). Although the proportion of university-educated women in rural areas is higher than that of men, this has not translated into better employment outcomes for women, both in terms of quantity and quality of employment, in part due to slow progress in changing social expectations that create barriers to participation. Women are more likely to be unemployed, to have part-time employment, to participate in the

labour force through unpaid and invisible work, to be paid less than men, to own fewer farms (only 30% of all farm managers in the EU), and to be the most vulnerable (Franić, 2015; Franić and Kovačićek, 2019). In 2021, the employment rate of working-age women (20-64 years) living in rural areas of the EU was just over two-thirds (67.3%), significantly lower than the employment rate of men living in rural areas (79.6%) (Eurostat, 2021b). This results in a gender gap of 12.3 percentage points in rural areas is significantly higher than the gap for the total population, which is 10.8 points. This suggests that women living in rural areas have greater difficulty finding a job or lack the necessary conditions to encourage some women to enter or re-enter the labour force (Eurostat, 2023a). Although the number of employed rural women has increased in recent years, there is still a long way to go to catch up with male rates (Serrano and Pitarch-Garrido, 2023). Possibly, the differences between men and women in the labour market are the greatest, especially in rural areas (Suárez-Ortega, 2016; Rico, 2019; Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, 2020; Closingap, 2022). These dysfunctional facts manifest negatively for women in their lower labour market integration, higher unemployment rates, lower wages, and lower participation in positions of leadership, control, and political responsibility (Casellas et al., 2013; Closingap, 2022). In addition, the division of labour between men and women and women's greater participation in reproductive work continue to be barriers to achieving equal employment opportunities in rural areas (Wojciechowska, 2022).

Another interesting research topic is the attractiveness of rural areas to young, educated people, particularly their intention to return to rural areas after graduation. Bjerke and Mellander (2017) examine the location decisions of university graduates in Sweden. Using a quantitative analysis of microdata on the entire Swedish population, in which they identify all university graduates and analyse whether they live in a rural or urban area before graduation and where they live after graduation, Bjerke and Mellander (2017) find that one of the most influential factors for moving back home after graduation is the birth of children.

Rauhut and Littke (2016) argue that many rural areas in Sweden experience out-migration of young adults, especially young women, who move to the large cities in southern Sweden and the capital city of Stockholm. The gendered pattern of migration has persisted for more than 40 years. Rauhut and Littke focus on explaining the out-migration and return-migration of women aged 18-34 to and from a specific region in northern Sweden (Vaesternorrland). Based on 'expert surveys' and interviews with young women leaving and returning to the region or moving there without a prior connection, Rauhut and Littke (2016) find that poor infrastructure (communication), a gender-segregated labour market with limited career opportunities for women, and inadequate provision of general services (e.g., education and care for the elderly), as well as a lack of recreational and cultural opportunities, are factors that lead to out-migration and discourage women from returning to the region. In addition, the 'macho culture' in the region appears to be a push factor. Women with weak social networks in Vaesternorrland also seem more likely to migrate.

The attractiveness of rural areas for young, well-educated women was analysed in the case of Lithuania in the study by Vidickiene (2017). The author conducted a survey among students studying in fields such as food science, agriculture, bioenergy, sustainable use of natural resources, etc. The results of the study show that the motivation of young, well-educated women to live in rural areas

is quite high (67%), and a large proportion of them (39%) are willing to live on a remote homestead or in a small village. According to the author, this trend is due to the attitude that there are many opportunities for self-realisation in a rural environment.

Salary is another significant difference between women and men, both in urban and rural areas. According to 2018 Eurostat data, the gender pay gap in the agriculture, forestry and fisheries sector in the EU was 21.8%, which was higher than the overall gender pay gap for all sectors of the economy (16.2%). It is important to note that the gender pay gap can vary by country and specific subsectors within agriculture. However, when looking at rural areas and cities, Eurostat data from 2021 show that the gender pay gap in the EU is larger for those living in cities (4.8%) than for those living in rural areas (4%) (Eurostat, 2023a 2023b). However, as also mentioned by Shortall and Bock (2015), the proper definition of rural and urban is difficult because nowadays people can work in urban areas but still live in rural areas, which complicates the analysis of the data and is difficult to interpret.

One of the reasons for the gender pay gap is the lack of childcare and elderly care facilities in rural areas, as well as inadequate infrastructure and services. The lack of kindergartens is a major problem, as the cost of transportation to kindergartens in urban areas and from the kindergarten to rural area often exceeds the household budget. As a result, women often need to fill this gap, leading to unpaid and unrecognised work and lower opportunities for women to participate in the labour market compared to men (Šikić Mićanović, 2014; Copa Cogeca, 2020; Alonso, 2021; Relja et al., 2021). Copa Cogeca (2020) cites data from Eurofound (2017) showing that women spend an average of 22 hours per week doing invisible work, leaving them less time to look for jobs or receive recognition for their contribution to the success of the farm. This problem has a negative impact on household income, leading to more poverty and a negative impact on economic, social and territorial cohesion. Overcoming this gender gap should also increase agricultural productivity, but more support is needed to ensure equal opportunities for women, including from an entrepreneurship perspective (Copa Cogeca, 2020).

Another important challenge is women's limited access to finance, which makes it difficult for them to obtain credit and funding to start a business compared to men. One way to address this issue is through the European Innovation Council's Horizon Europe programme, which aims to address this problem and support women and their business ideas. This is especially important in rural areas. Women also face significant barriers to accessing the Internet, as well as a lack of technological and digital skills. Therefore, there is a high demand for education, advisory services, and lifelong professional training to improve rural value chains (Copa Cogeca, 2020).

Augére-Granier (2017) provides evidence on poverty and exclusion in rural areas, noting that "this risk is generally higher for women than for men." (p. 6). According to the authors, one of the factors contributing to poverty is the decline in agricultural jobs, the shrinking of farms themselves, as people who would have worked in agriculture have encountered great difficulties in the labour market (Augére-Granier, 2017).

Rural areas in Central European and Eastern European countries such as Croatia are characterized by the influence of patriarchy, traditional relationships, and religiosity that are passed on to children

(Šikić Mićanović, 2014; Jakšić, 2015; Miličević, 2016). Rural areas are characterized by multigenerational families. After marriage, women often experience a break with their former lives. A woman (daughter-in-law) who comes into her husband's home is expected to be of service to the other family members, the mother-in-law decides on the household and consumption, and the men do no housework. It is not common for a woman to stay in her hometown after marriage or the arrival of her husband, and it is typical for men who work most of the year in another part of the country or abroad (Šikić Mićanović, 2014).

The literature dealing with the situation of rural women in Croatia points to numerous obstacles they face in everyday life, from the lack of kindergartens to gender inequality. The ideal rural woman is first and foremost a housewife: content, responsible, self-sacrificing, modest, honest, religious, and committed to the family. Rural women have the multiple burdens of running the household, caring for children and elderly household members, working in agriculture, and being involved in tourism. The work overload and unfavourable financial situation of rural women prevents further education. Permanent employment is usually not possible for rural women due to their age and the lack of social facilities in rural areas (kindergartens, homes for the elderly and hospitals), poor public transportation and the absence of a driver's license. Above all, they are offered low-paid seasonal jobs. However, a higher level of education includes employment. Rural women notice a decrease in discrimination, but they themselves continue to (in)consciously support traditional male and female roles and raise girls to one day take care of the household (Ministarstvo poljoprivrede, ribarstva i ruralnog razvoja, 2011; Šikić Mićanović, 2014; Relja et al., 2021). In recent years, women are expected to be employed, as one salary is not enough to cover all household expenses. In addition to seasonal work, women often engage in informal work (work in the informal economy). Unemployment leaves negative effects that are felt through social exclusion. The traditional gender division of labour is still present, even though younger women see the division of labour and childcare as equal. Since there are no kindergartens, grandmothers take care of the children, which gives women the opportunity to work outside the home. Seasonal work is more attractive to rural women because they are only employed for a certain part of the year, and it is easier for them to work only a few months a year than every day. Working women give up their continuing education because of the motherhood, while having a feeling of being torn between their work and being a good mother. They often feel that the children suffer the most from the balancing act (Ćurlin, 2022).

Recent research also shows the difference between rural areas in northwestern Croatia and Dalmatia. While traditional roles are still present in Dalmatia, younger generations in northwestern Croatia have moved away from the traditional understanding of the village as a place of constant work. They perceive life in the city as one with fewer obligations and tasks related to the maintenance of the house and yard, and they want to become independent and move to the city as soon as possible. If they intend to stay in the countryside, they want to become independent without extended family. The middle generation of women, their mothers, are employed outside of agriculture, and gainful employment is seen as a sign of financial independence, an additional contribution to the overall household, and a necessity, since agriculture is not a reliable source of income. Nevertheless, women accept the traditional division of roles, but show a tendency toward egalitarian attitudes. Middle-generation men sometimes take on "women's" chores, while the

oldest men do household chores (garbage collection) when called upon to do so. Second-generation women are the most industrious, taking on the tasks of their mothers-in-law after marriage. The changes are reflected in the possibility of choosing between education and work or between education and the traditional role of mother in the family. The younger generations' desire to become independent as early as possible is expressed in seasonal jobs between school and college years. The older generations are noticing changes in the priorities of the younger ones - in the past, the focus was on the woman as the breadwinner of the family and her gainful employment as an economic support for the whole family, while today this focus is shifting to the woman's education and career. For this very reason, the youngest members of the family are encouraged to get the best education possible to ensure a better and more secure future (Sreček, 2022).

The problem of population decline in rural areas and repopulation by international populations is examined in Hedberg and Haandrikman (2014), Hedberg (2016), and Asztalos Morell (2023). Hedberg and Haandrikman (2014) discuss population decline as a threat to many rural areas. They argue that international migration can contribute to repopulation and dynamic and globalised rural areas. Using a quantitative perspective and an analysis of complete Swedish population registry data, international migration flows are presented, and Hedberg and Haandrikman (2014) find that international migration to rural areas represents great diversity in terms of ethnicity and age. According to their findings, middle-aged and elderly Nordic and European migrants are most likely to live in rural areas, while Southeast Asian women are a new group. Rural migrants are more likely to be female, have a Swedish partner, have lower levels of education, live in border areas, and are more likely to be short-term migrants. Rural female migrants also have higher employment rates than their urban counterparts. The authors argue that this indicates different migration motives, including the desire for quality of life, known as marriage migration.

Carlbaum (2022) focuses on a specific group of rural immigrants and examines the opportunities and obstacles refugee women face in settling in rural areas. Using ethnographic material from three rural communities in northern Sweden (including interviews with refugee women and employers), Carlbaum (2022) concludes that while refugee women can draw on the embodied cultural capital of female and ethnic caregiving, they have limited opportunities and often end up in low-paying jobs in elder care or early childhood education and other caregiving fields. In an article on the settlement of refugee children in rural areas, Asztalos Morell (2023) highlights that the participation of unaccompanied refugee children in local civil society initiatives makes an important positive contribution to their integration. Sports clubs that offer activities such as football or boxing tend to attract boys. In contrast, there is a lack of activities for unaccompanied refugee girls.

In an article, Hedberg (2016) explores how gendered and racialized hierarchies emerge through everyday practices and political and economic contexts in the rural wild berry industry in Sweden. Hedberg concludes that gender and racial structures have changed as the industry has transformed from small-scale production to regulated large-scale production. In particular, the position of Thai women has changed. They are no longer entrepreneurs and workers but work for Swedish men or are recipients of remittances from men.

Some of the mentioned problems are addressed by different European projects, such as ATHENA project, Wegate, GENDER + SMART project. The ATHENA project (ATHENA Project, 2019) was

funded by the European Commission (Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund of the EU) and its main focus was to support migrant women with the aim of integrating them socially and economically by improving entrepreneurship support services and creating a specific entrepreneurial pathway for them. The project's final report identifies the main challenges faced by migrant women during the integration process, and some of these are also evident for EU women. For example, there is a lack of networks for women entrepreneurs at local, regional, national and EU levels, especially for women in rural areas. There is also a lack of financial support and credit, skills to create a business plan, or digital literacy.

Another important EU Horizon 2020 project for female entrepreneurship is Wegate (Wegate, 2020), which aims to help women build their businesses and provide growth and networking opportunities, sector-specific expertise and insights, and encourage the exchange of new ideas. One of their most recent publications is the 2022 Web Barometer, which identifies critical steps that need to be taken to improve access to finance for women entrepreneurs (Wegate, 2022). For example, the financial sectors need to be addressed and pushed to increase the representation of women in decision-making positions for venture capital, and the European Commission needs to create a comprehensive framework to support women entrepreneurs.

The GENDER + SMART project (Gender SMART Project, 2021) is another EU project that highlights the importance of gender equality, particularly in research and innovation programmes. The project aims to strengthen and consolidate gender equality in all procedures, policies and practices to support equal careers, integrate equality in research, teaching and funding, and strengthen and consolidate a culture of equality.

## 3.3. Rural women as farmers and gender issues

When it comes to the rural economy, agriculture is the most important sector that contributes to it. Women have a large share in this sector. In the EU in 2016 (Eurostat, 2021c), 45% of the total population was employed and about 35% of those employed in the agricultural sector were women. These calculations do not include the self-employed and unpaid family workers, one of the forms in which women continue to play an important role. Although the role of women in agricultural development is crucial, their role is not always formally recognised (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2016). Women remain invisible and behind the scenes and continue to be victims of traditional schemas about the roles of women and men in society. One of the most important examples, along with informal employment, is the percentage of farmers who are women, which is only 30% in the EU.

Women still have many unpaid tasks and work that is usually not reported as employment (Franić and Kovačićek, 2019). According to the authors, women are more likely than men to work in the informal economy overall, although there is no consistent pattern across Member States. Sweden leads in the share of women employed in the informal economy, followed by Spain, Germany, and France. As for informal employment in agriculture, the share of women is highest in Romania, Slovenia, Lithuania, and Croatia, while it is lowest in Sweden, Malta, the Czech Republic, and Germany. Informal employment according to Hussmanns (2004:2), "informal sector employment includes all jobs in informal sector enterprises or all persons who were employed in at least one

informal sector enterprise during a given reference period, regardless of their employment status and whether it was their main or secondary job".

Brunori et al. (2021) have recently pointed out that the entire Italian agricultural sector is characterised by problems such as "grey labour" (in which the employer does not record the actual days worked by the employee), illegal work (in which irregular and poorly paid workers are employed), and labour exploitation-including the phenomenon of "caporalato" an Italian term denoting the illegal mediation of farm labour demand, the illegal hiring of labour, and the exploitation of labour by corporals, in Italian "caporali'" (Brunori et al., 2021:25). In such a context, female agricultural workers are even more vulnerable than men, as they are exposed to gender-based violence.

Women were and are the first to leave rural areas because they have more difficult access to the labour market than men in these areas (Molinero, 2017; Baylina, 2019). The role of women in agriculture has always been subordinate (Baylina et. al., 2017). Usually, the man was the owner of the family farm, although the woman equally worked on the farm and also took care of the house and the education of the children (Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, 2021). Therefore, emigration from the village was the only way out for rural women in search of greater recognition and a better social position (Camarero and Sampedro, 2016).

Fanelli (2022) studied the differences between farms owned by women and men in European Union countries. Descriptive statistical analysis, principal component analysis, and multivariate regression models were applied to identify gender differences in the agricultural sector. The results show that both genders can play an important role in the agricultural sector. However, women's activities in the agricultural sector are less remunerative than men's. Lithuania is the country with the highest proportion of farms managed by women, as is Latvia. In both countries, the share of farms managed by women is about 45%, while the EU average is 29% in 2016. One of the reasons for these results is the high participation of Lithuanian women in the labour market. The diversity of women employed in agriculture in the EU was analysed in the study by Matuszewska-Janica (2018). The author analysed 2016 labour force survey data from the Eurostat database in a group of women aged 20-64. The large differences between countries in terms of the labour market for women in agriculture were identified. All countries were divided into ten categories according to their performance. Lithuania was placed in one category along with four other countries, namely: Croatia, Finland, Latvia and Portugal. In these countries, the average female employment rate in agriculture is the same and is 4%. Moreover, these countries are characterised by a high percentage of self-employed women, which is 49% on average, and by a rather low percentage of self-employed women who have employees (10% on average). The results also show that the countries with a higher level of economic development have a higher percentage of self-employed women with employees than countries with a worse economic situation.

Comparing engagement in diversification activities, men in the Netherlands tended to be more often involved in agricultural diversification activities (e.g., nature and landscape conservation). In contrast, women were more likely to be involved in agritourism, recreational activities, and direct sales of agricultural products (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2018). In Lithuania, there is still a significant gender gap in the willingness of men and women to be involved in agriculture. A

significantly lower proportion of female farm managers have completed basic or full agricultural education. In 2013 and 2016, almost half as many women as men completed basic or full agricultural training, but a higher proportion of women had practical experience in agriculture (Lietuvos Agrarines Ekonomikos Institutas, 2020). In Italy, Adinolfi et al. (2020) note a confirmed propensity for women to seek diversification in both agricultural and non-agricultural activities. Reproductive strategies are part of sustainable agricultural development and seem to confirm a transition from a productivist to a multifunctional paradigm.

Women's participation in agriculture and livestock is still low in practically all autonomous communities in Spain, although the numbers are gradually increasing (Langreo and García Azcárate, 2022). According to the 2020 agricultural census data, women represent 28.6% of all farm managers in Spain, a figure that has increased by 22% compared to the 2009 census. Women's occupations in agriculture and livestock are gradually increasing, but there is still a long way to go to increase women's employment in this sector, which can generate jobs and income and is one of the mainstays of the economy of many Spanish regions. It should be noted, however, that many of the women who appear in the statistics as farm owners do so for administrative and tax reasons, but do not formally practise the profession, so it is not easy to determine with certainty the number of women actually working in the primary sector (Patino-Alonso et al., 2015).

It is necessary to highlight the role of women in the agricultural sector, as they contribute in a very active way to the structuring and maintenance of rural areas (Bayer, 2023). Women have more rights to permanent crops and tend to manage small farms, while most dry farms are held by men and cover larger areas. Small farms owned by women tend to be more sustainable, require more labour, and make spatial expansion more difficult (Revista agricultura, 2021).

One of the factors that affects the business performance of women-owned farms is access to education. According to Adinolfi et al. (2020), this is a discriminatory factor in accessing important resources for agricultural development. Women farmers face difficulties in accessing education and training. The lack of socialisation spaces proves to be a key variable in the economic performance of female farms. Education, networking, and collective action emerge as drivers of female farmers' performance.

Within the different agricultural subsectors, despite the fact that livestock is a very male-dominated sector, about one-third of livestock farms in Spain are owned by women, and their presence in the sector is increasing year after year (Alcampo, 2020). In the farms that are at the top of the sector and in the organisations that structure it, more and more women are entrepreneurs and managers. Women farmers have always worked in livestock, meat, and dairy production, as well as many other areas, but as in most rural situations, they have been associated with support roles and considered family help. This situation is slowly changing as more and more young women want to run their own farms (Agronews, 2017). The livestock sector requires modernization factors and the creation of social and economic value. Therefore, the creation of equal opportunities and the pursuit of parity in women's responsibilities and employment has become an essential challenge that all livestock sectors in the country are working on together (Portal Veterinaria, 2023).

The following are data on the presence and role of rural women in the four subsectors with the

greatest weight in Spain: 42% of direct employment in the pig sector is held by women (Portal Veterinaria, 2023). Women are found in different links of the pig production chain, and in many of them the presence of women is already higher than that of men, gradually eliminating the gender gap in the sector (Interporc, 2022). In the beef sector, the overall percentage of women as farm owners is close to 40%, with women more often found as owners in small or medium-sized farms (Interempresas, 2022; Provacuno, 2018). The sheep and goat sector needs to invest in professionalisation, innovation and modernization of the sector, with the help of women who are increasingly entering the industry, increasing the number of women who want to run their lambing operations and enter the meat industry, or the processing of raw materials derived from sheep (Canal de cabrito y cordero, 2019). The poultry sector, along with the pig sector, is one of the livestock sectors with the highest number of women working at different stages of the production chain. The inclusion of women in the livestock sector sets in motion highly valuable and innovative entrepreneurial initiatives that facilitate progress in the development and innovation of the sector and increase recognition of the essential role of rural women in the sector.

Although Sweden is often considered a pioneer in gender equality, gender inequalities persist in agriculture. Andersson (2014) examines how gender inequalities are reproduced in Swedish family farming by analysing how the 'doing' of family farming relates to gendered access to farmland and farming conditions, the Swedish agricultural structure and gendered organisation of the labour process (on this aspect, see also Andersson and Lundqvist, 2014), the trivialization of health and safety in agriculture, and the temporal realities of Swedish family farming. In particular, unequal access to land contributes to the gendering of farm management, farm diversification, and the ability to sustain household income. Andersson (2014) also found larger gender gaps in the more productive agricultural areas of Sweden. Based on the findings, the paper argues for gender mainstreaming in agricultural policy, education, and risk prevention.

In a paper critical of gendered ownership, Andersson and Lidestav (2014) argue that there is a strong material relationship between gender and the activities performed by men and women in agriculture, respectively. Their study shows that limited access to land is a major barrier for women farmers, which reproduces the exclusion of women farmers in rural development policies and programmes. Their descriptive analysis also shows that men dominate farm management. Andersson and Lidestav (2014) also find that the farm sectors where the proportion of women farm managers was highest had the smallest acreages. Changing the gender division of labour on farms through women's adoption of off-farm activities and increased participation in agriculture is the focus of Andersson and Lundqvist (2014). They argue that women's occupational risks on farms are largely invisible, while the spatial division between farm, off-farm, and domestic work is a contributing factor. Using a literature review, they aim to create a comprehensive understanding of health and safety in agriculture by improving and refining methods. They highlight the need for gender research and qualitative methods to advance an understanding of gendered relationships, bodies, and situated knowledge of agricultural spaces.

Gender inequalities in agriculture are examined in a study from Lithuania (Balezentis et al., 2021). The study focused on young farmers (up to 40 years old) with the aim of identifying patterns of gender equality among farmers of future generations. The authors compared demand for advisory

services and participation in Common Agricultural Policy measures based on a survey of 473 young farmers by gender. The results show that there are no significant differences, and the Lithuanian agricultural sector is equally beneficial for both men and women. However, it should be mentioned that the share of female farmers in the studied sample was only 19%. The analysis of residence between the sexes did not reveal any significant differences between men and women, suggesting that Lithuania's rural infrastructure is suitable for women's needs. As in many other sectors, significant educational differences were found among young female and young male farmers, with 76% of female respondents and only 56% of male respondents having higher education.

In a diachronic study incorporating four datasets collected from 1987 to 2012, Shortall (2017) examined the evolution of gender roles and identities on farms in Ireland through the lens of farm households as social units. Four examples of gender relations were highlighted to trace potential changes over time. These include the construction of gender identities within farm families, women's employment in "off-farm" work, gendered inheritance and land transfer practices, and the extent of women's participation in farm institutions and organisations. Shortall (2017) examines how women negotiated their identities in farm families within the broader context of significant socio-political and economic change over two decades. This context includes increased reproductive and labour rights for women in conjunction with current farm challenges due to decreased social status associated with farm ownership, lower incomes from agricultural activities, and a reduced rural labour force. This study traces how the importance of women's "off-farm" work has changed over time, first in the context of women's financial independence, which later was often critical to the survival and sustainability of family farms. The issue of gender roles and gender identities in farm families in Ireland has received further attention in the literature. For example, Cassidy and McGrath (2015) examined the gendered roles of young rural residents growing up on the farm and the impact of these roles on their relationships with their local community and later on their sense of identity in the urban environment as university students. Findings show the long-term effects of gender roles assigned in farm families and how young people may internalise and maintain these roles in adulthood, even when living off the farm and in urban settings (Cassidy and McGrath, 2015). Shortall (2014) notes that gender identities are changing more slowly despite the evolving broader social and economic context in which women's work outside the family farm is increasing. Rather than undermining or challenging established discourses of "man as breadwinner," women were found to be reinforcing male dominance in the broader identity of the farm household as a social unit. This was done by downplaying the importance of their "off-farm" work in maintaining the farm and referring to themselves as "helpers" (p. 77) to male family members. Reasons given for this were generally cultural and a desire not to destabilise established gender identity norms.

Women's opportunities to engage in agriculture and other rural activities depend on the type of responsibility men assume for reproductive work in the household, which otherwise often takes up much of women's time. This depends on both social norms and policy choices. Recent research on fatherhood and masculinity as part of farm life also seems relevant to the situation of farm women in Norway. Although rural masculinity in Norway has been researched before, existing research has mainly been limited to men's economic activities without further investigating men's caring and reproductive roles (Gustavsson and Farstad, 2022). In 2013, Brandth and Overrein (2013) published

their study on men's paternity practices in two generations of farmers. They found that fathers of the older generation accompanied their children at work, while fathers of the younger generation were more focused on the children and engaged in the children's leisure time and activities regardless of the work and duties on the farm. Similar points were highlighted by Brandth (2017). However, research has yet to examine how men's changing fathering practices led to changes in rural women's experiences and potential liberation (Gustavsson and Farstad, 2022).

In their report on a research study of Swedish farm households in three different Swedish farming regions, following up on the households studied in 1992, Hajdu et al. (2020) find that attitudes toward parenthood and fatherhood are one of the major social changes that have affected farm families in the 25 years between the two studies. Farmers describe a trend that increases with each generation in which fathers take on more responsibility for their children. In 1995, a first month for each parent (commonly referred to as “paternity leave") was introduced, which was expanded to two months in 2002 and three months in 2016. The varying design of parental leave makes it difficult for farmers (and other entrepreneurs) to take full advantage of it as intended. Societal norms for engaged parenting and a good childhood also mean that parenting takes more time today than it did 25 years ago. Together with high economic risks and long work days, this contributes to discouraging young people - and especially women - from entering agriculture and combining it with starting a family. Although Sweden's 480 days of paid parental leave are comparatively generous by EU standards, with 90 days reserved for each parent, fathers still take less parental leave on average, and in farming families, the take-up is even lower than the national average. The study shows that farm fathers, like the rest of society, are following the shift in norms toward engaged fatherhood, where fathers are expected to be emotionally present in their children's daily lives and actively parent them. The main barrier to taking extended parental leave is the difficulty in finding competent substitutes for farm work during paternity leave (in cases where women cannot take over farm work while men are on leave). However, larger farms that are run as businesses, as well as smaller farms with a high degree of flexibility in arranging daily and annual work schedules, offer the opportunity to take more paternity leave (Eriksson and Hajdu, 2021).

In the report The holy family, holy cows, or the holy gender equality? A Study of the Share of Parental Leave among Entrepreneurs in Rural Areas (Lantbrukarnas Riksförbund, 2014), thirty people living and running businesses in rural areas were interviewed about the proportion of parental leave among entrepreneurs in rural Sweden. Follow-up interviews were conducted with eight of the respondents. The results showed that 60 percent of the respondents shared parental leave and that, in their own experience, the main reason for this was attitude and willingness to share more equally. The remaining 40 percent of respondents did not share parenting time, and the main reason for this decision is that families experienced that they would have lost financially by sharing. The couples who have shared parental leave are distinguished by the fact that they agreed on the split before the child was born and planned how to make the desired split possible. Respondents identified attitudes and traditions as the main reason why more couples in rural areas do not share parental leave and believe that a change in attitudes is needed above all else to achieve more equal coverage. The Social Security Agency and the parental insurance system are perceived as complicated and difficult by many of the respondents.

The Federation of Swedish Farmers: Gender Equality Academy also identified issues to work on further: (i) create a parental leave handbook for entrepreneurs, (ii) work to influence especially men's attitudes towards parental leave, (iii) participate in the media discussion on shared parental leave, (iv) select some municipalities and try to start a trend towards shared parental leave; (v) work with the Swedish Social Insurance Agency to make it easier for self-employed people; (vi) explore the possibility of using deputies as an alternative to financial compensation during parental leave.

In the report of The Federation of Swedish Farmers, Gender Equality Academy (Lantbrukarnas Riksförbund – LRF, 2014) discusses how parenthood and entrepreneurship can be combined so that both women and men have the opportunity to be with their children while running a business. Sharing responsibility for children and family between parents gives both parents the opportunity to be entrepreneurs and grow professionally. For the children, having close relationships with both parents is a great advantage. The Equality Academy wants to highlight role models to encourage more people to discuss how to share parenting time between women and men. It features parents who share their experiences of how they have made space for both parenting and business. One important factor seems to be sufficiently careful planning of parental leave. Another factor is changing traditions and attitudes - something the Academy says can sometimes be easier said than done.

Teagasc (Agriculture and Food Development Authority) (2021) in its National Farm Survey looked at the viability and sustainability of Irish farms and the significance of farm spouses' "off farm" income to the overall farm economy. Based on a sample of economic data collected from 800 farms over the course of a year, these figures were analysed for different regions and types of farming activities. The study found that in 56% of farms, either the farm owner or his or her spouse is engaged in an “off-farm" activity. Another key finding is that 31% of Irish farms are considered sustainable or rely on "off-farm" activities to continue. Regional variations were noted, with the highest proportion of farms relying on these “off-farm” income sources found in the West, Southwest and Border counties. Cattle (53%) and sheep (36%) farms relied most heavily on "off-farm" income in these regions. The number of sustainable farms relying on this additional support from "off-farm" labour decreased from the previous year, although only slightly (2%).

A recent systematic review by Dunne et al. (2021) of the international English-language literature regarding women in agriculture, spanning five decades from the 1970s to 2020, identified three key barriers to women contributing economically to agriculture and their invisibility within the agricultural community in the United Kingdom. These were: access to land, education, and agricultural organisations. These three main factors recur in the literature and represent the main issues facing women in agriculture. This shows how embedded patriarchal structures in agriculture prevent women from realising their full potential in the industry, thus preventing them from making a full economic contribution to the industry.

The persistence of these problems can be attributed to gender identity (Shortall, 2016). This observation builds on Becker's (1963) labelling theory that rural male farmers embody the masculine traits associated with labour-intensive rural work (Shortall, 2014). This may be due to their identity being entwined with the land and the traditional belief that men are the head of the household, whereas this is no longer the case in many farm households, with many women being

the main breadwinner for the family. This change of economic power in the relationship is seen as a threat to the male farmer's identity, which has become increasingly fragile due to farmers' lower standing in their communities (Shortall, 2016). In addition, mechanisation has led to a reduction in the number of farm workers on smaller holdings, resulting in farmers suffering from loneliness and isolation as they spend much of the day alone (Shortall, 2014; Holton et al., 2022). To combat this, women unconsciously put themselves down and promote the traditional identities of 'farmer and his wife' to save their husbands' identity and psychological well-being (Shortall, 2014). However, this comes at the cost of preventing progress and breaking down barriers for women in agriculture, even as equality advances in society at large (Shortall, 2014). Furthermore, these pressures could also impact on farming women's mental wellbeing, a recent report, found that 58% suffer from mild, moderate, or severe anxiety (Royal Agriculture Benevolent Institutional, 2021). The mental well-being of women farmers has also been affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, due to a regression of gender expectations in households and therefore an increase of invisible housework for women (Budge and Shortall, 2022a; 2022b). In the Scottish context, research has highlighted the recent impact of COVID-19 for women in agriculture (McKee and Sutherland, 2021; Budge and Shortall, 2022a; 2022b). This includes a decline in women's position in the home, as women are generally expected to take on roles in the home and assume more domestic responsibilities.

In the case of Ireland, poultry and egg production were highlighted specifically as examples of traditionally female-dominated activities (Teagasc, 2019). However, problems faced by women include a historical lack of access to land ownership for women (Shortall, 2017) and internal and external barriers to accessing training opportunities to develop business networks (Fhlatharta and Farrell, 2017). The implications of these barriers have been analysed for these women-led farming sectors and includes limiting their enterprises to small farms and forcing them to conduct their activities on male-owned farms. As a result of these obstacles, combined with national policies unfavourable to these women, a "masculinisation" of these activities was observed, with predominantly men managing the farms and women being employed as labourers. Women had less favourable labour conditions and were forced to end their working lives when they married due to the marriage ban in Ireland (which was abolished relatively late in the 1970s).

Overall, the Teagasc (The Agriculture and Food Development Authority) (2019) report concludes that the role of women in rural initiatives was traditional and predominantly "integrative" (p. 32), where they were forced to adapt to social and patriarchal norms and engage in unpaid farm work, and "substitutive," performing work of little or no interest to men, such as poultry keeping. However, this study also found that women could be "progressive" and "competitive" (p. 32) in their agricultural approaches. Despite their harsh and often forbidding circumstances, the data show that they were influential teachers and leading innovators in the poultry sector throughout the 20th century in areas such as breeding, packing, and marketing (p. 32).

The employment situation of women in the agricultural and livestock sector in Spain is characterised mainly by their advanced age, the low percentage of female farm owners, the high percentage of family support, and the more temporary and precarious nature of their employment compared to men. Although women have always made a significant contribution to maintaining the family farm, they rarely exercise control over the farm, and the activities they perform are marginal, poorly paid,

and not socially or professionally recognised (Langreo and García Azcárate, 2022). Nevertheless, in recent years there have been signs of modernization of the sector and professionalisation of women through the reorientation of the sector towards more dynamic activities such as the production of quality food products, inputs for the agri-food industry, or organic agriculture and livestock (De Pablo et al., 2021). These productions can represent alternatives to the traditional agricultural sector and provide an opportunity for employment for women in rural areas. The association of producers in associations and cooperatives is also currently a strength for women's involvement in the agriculture and livestock sector (Esteban Salvador et al., 2018).

Women need to adapt to the new functions of agriculture and take advantage of the new opportunities offered by the sector as a way to integrate labour in rural areas (De Pablo et al., 2021; Arce et al., 2022). Several pioneering studies on women's participation in agriculture in Spain agree that the labour contribution of this group has traditionally been undervalued (Fernández Álvarez, 2016; Navarro, 2018; Baylina, 2019). The nature of the work performed by the majority of rural women of previous generations (and still today, although to an increasingly lesser extent) in the family farm, which consists of marginal and seasonal activities and goes hand in hand with domestic work, has meant that it is not taken into account, or is insufficiently taken into account, in traditional economic statistics. However, in recent decades, this trend has changed slightly, and statistics show that women are increasingly working in agriculture and livestock as an occupational choice (Fernández-Giménez et al., 2021, 2022; Fernández Álvarez, 2022).

The Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) studied women's participation in agriculture in the Netherlands. It highlighted the diversity and extent of women's participation in agricultural activities, as well as the emotional attachment many women have to the family farm and the potential impact of changing social values on the continuation of family farming traditions. In addition, the study explored the financial challenges many farms face, including low returns on investment and limited access to funding and subsidies, as well as women's differing perspectives on these issues depending on their level of involvement in the farm (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2018).

Starting with the observation that agriculture must be seen as intertwined with the rural environment and rural development in general, Stenbacka (2017) examines the values - quality of life, financial goals, and social-ecological aspirations - of Swedish women farmers and how the values support their development of occupational strategies. She finds that women farmers have a mix of values, including a more individual-oriented value such as achieving a 'balance between love and work" and a more community-oriented socio-ecological value. For the women, farming is embedded in both the local rural context and a broader community context with other producers and consumers. As a result, the women employ communicative strategies that involve customers, neighbours, and residents in their entrepreneurship. The women also value the financial benefits that a farm business can bring, including maximising profits, being frugal, and ensuring that nothing is wasted. However, Stenbacka (2017) notes that financial values are not synonymous with approval of policies that seek to restructure agriculture into larger units and higher profits.

Van der Meulen et al. (2014) conducted a study on the role of women on Dutch farms, examining their participation in decision making, their satisfaction with the farm, and their activities on and off

the farm. The research, which used a combination of qualitative and quantitative data, shows that women play an important role in the day-to-day management of farms and have multiple responsibilities. However, their involvement in the agricultural sector is often underestimated and overlooked because they are not officially recognised as business partners or co-owners of agricultural capital (such as land). Women in agriculture face challenges such as balancing work and family, physical and mental strain, and limited access to training and development opportunities. The key findings of Van der Meulen et al. (2014) are that more than two-thirds of women believe they are involved in strategic decision-making on the farm. Nevertheless, many perceive the existing division of household tasks as less than ideal. In addition, the authors noted a significant shift in women's position on farms since the 1980s from a supportive role to a more responsible and outward-looking role. Farm management in formal partnerships was more common on farms where women worked more than 10 hours per week on the farm. In a partnership, all partners are formally recognised as entrepreneurs and have formal decision-making authority in farm management. The partners are entitled to a salary from the farm income. However, they often do not include joint ownership of the farm capital. Women working on arable farms are more likely to work outside the home than women on other types of farms. Age and education level also play a role: the younger and more educated the woman, the more likely she is to work outside the home. In addition to on-farm and off-farm work, about 60% of women volunteer (Van der Meulen et al., 2014).

Many women indicated that they do not find the current division of housework and childcare ideal and that their partners could do more. This desire is more pronounced among women who work outside the home. More than 70% of women feel they are involved in important strategic decisions but are less likely to be involved in day-to-day decisions. Women who spend more time doing farm work are more involved in decision making than women who work off-farm. Active work on the farm promotes identification and emotional attachment to the farm. Nevertheless, women do not consider it necessary for the farm to be taken over by one of their children. Overall, Van der Meulen et al. (2014) conclude that women's involvement in farms remains significant, even if they work mainly off-farm.

In terms of decision making, the role of women in agriculture and farm families is gradually becoming more visible and recognized. Dunne et al. (2021) show clear economic and social differences between men and women in agriculture in the United Kingdom, which are also related to the different identities of women in agriculture, which in turn determine their decision-making power and economic visibility. Riley (2009) finds that despite the clear traditional gender division of labour in farm families, women have been active decision-makers, though in some cases invisible, decision makers. Aside from their role in household decision making, they play a critical role in ensuring that finances, paperwork, new regulations and programs such as the agri-environmental programs, and on-farm practices are followed in a timely manner. However, for the majority of farm families, agricultural decisions remain gendered, and as Shortall (2014. p. 78) argues, some women portray men as the primary decision makers, “reinforcing their masculinity and identity as primary farmers". Apart from their support roles and diversification efforts, an increasing proportion of women are also taking on managerial roles in agriculture, but they tend to work on smaller farms or in situations where there are no sons to inherit the family farm (Busby and Rendle, 2000;

McElwee, 2006; Sharpley and Vass, 2006).

A survey conducted by the Dutch agricultural magazine Nieuwe Oogst among its readers examined the changing role of women in agriculture (Bloemberg et al., 2020). Due to the demographic characteristics of the respondents, the results are likely biased because the sample is not representative: the majority of respondents were male (77%), 62% of respondents were between 51 and 60 years old, and most respondents had an arable or dairy farm (Nieuwe Oogst, 2020). While the authors aimed to explore female successors in agriculture, non-female owners and successors were mainly represented among the respondents. Despite these limitations, the survey results provide insight into how this group views the role of women in agriculture. The authors argue that women have traditionally played a supporting role on farms, while they are now taking on more leadership roles. They emphasize that women's contributions to agriculture and rural communities are increasingly being recognized. Challenges women face in taking on leadership roles include cultural attitudes and structural barriers such as lack of access to funding and training. The survey results provide an overview of the sample group's perceptions of the changing role of women in Dutch agriculture (Bloemberg et al., 2020).

In addition, the issue of women's occupational closure in farm households highlighted existing gender barriers where the embedded structures of the farming community and the expectation that men will inherit the farm prevent women from gaining access to land, thus preventing them from either entering or advancing in agriculture (Shortall et al., 2020).

Heggem (2014a) investigated why the proportion of female farmers in Norway remains in the minority (about 14 percent in 2014), even though inheritance laws were fundamentally changed more than 40 years ago, giving first-born girls and boys equal rights to inherit and take over farms. To explore this question, she sought to understand how gendered assumptions about boys and girls affect their farming abilities and how these assumptions influence farm succession in Norway. Heggem (2014a) found that many parents attributed different innate gender characteristics to boys and girls (machine competence or a "tractor gene" and concern for animals), which were associated with children's ability to become farmers. However, farmers differed in the importance they attached to these male and female competencies for continued farm succession. While the apparent absence of a tractor gene could be used to justify the exclusion of daughters from farming, alternative conceptions of competence as something that can be learned and/or the appreciation of more feminine competencies in farming could, on the contrary, include daughters as relevant successors. In another study on gender and succession on Norwegian farms, Heggem (2014b) examined the potential impact of different types of on-farm diversification on farmers' views of their daughters as suitable successors, i.e., whether increased diversification could lead to increased recruitment of young rural women. Using a quantitative methodology, she found that farmers engaged in agritourism/green care were more likely to say their daughters would take over the farm than farmers not engaged in such activities. Other types of diversified activities had no significant influence on parents' thoughts about succession, while being exclusively involved in conventional farming significantly reduced the perceived likelihood of female succession. Thus, tourism and green care as diversified activities were found to be significantly positively related to farm parents' willingness to accept female succession. Heggem (2014b) suggested that the results may be due to

the fact that these activities are part of a long-term farm strategy aimed at attracting a successor. Pointing to previous studies that have shown that women are more likely than men to participate in agritourism and green care, Heggem pointed to the possibility that the increasing number of such diversifications in Norway will keep more young women on farms.

According to the Netherlends survey conducted by Nieuwe Oogst (2020) among its Dutch readers, more and more daughters are choosing to take over family farms or horticultural businesses, and the number of female students in agricultural education is increasing. While most respondents felt that women and men have equal opportunities in the agricultural sector, some women felt that they have fewer economic opportunities. Most respondents felt that opportunities for women entrepreneurs in agriculture are better today than twenty years ago because more women are highly educated. Men were more likely to think that women entrepreneurs are fully accepted in agriculture, while women themselves saw it differently. Women were more likely than men to recommend that other women take over a farm. Respondents felt that taking over a farm has become easier for women because farms have become larger and employ more people, allowing them to delegate tasks. However, some women felt undervalued and disrespected by stakeholders such as banks. Respondents indicated that women can take over a business, but preferably with a supportive partner by their side (Bloemberg et al., 2020). As explained earlier, these results are not fully reliable and are biased due to the non-representative characteristics of the sample.

Shortall's (2017) study also examined gendered land transfer and inheritance practices in Ireland over a two-decade period. The issue of intergenerational land transfer has also been explored by Cassidy and McGrath (2014) in terms of the role and influence of "gendered cultural scripts" in processes of land inheritance in Ireland. This study analyses the attitudes of family members who are not heirs toward the farm and their relationships with family members who are expected to inherit the land. A study by Cush et al. (2018) looks at the impact of women's participation in joint farming ventures (JFVs), where women can become co-managers, though not necessarily co-owners, of farms, as a form of women's empowerment as an alternative to patriarchal land tenure practices. Similar is found in Croatia, ownership of family property is exclusively in the hands of men; women acquire their property through their own labour or inheritance (Alić, 2016).

Curtin (2021; 2023) examines why predominantly patriarchal land transfers and inheritance practices persisted and suggests how changes in this patriarchal land transfer process might be stimulated. Curtin acknowledges that the barriers to women's land ownership in Ireland consist of a complex combination of legal, social, and cultural factors, and notes that it could take generations for these "traditions" to change (Curtin, 2021). However, she identifies areas where change is possible (Curtin, 2023). Key to this is promoting a sense of partnership, for example, by putting women's names on farm bank accounts and herd numbers, thereby recognising women's work on family farms. She also notes that women can be named "secretary" or "director" of the farm, increasing their visibility. Curtin (2023) also believes it is important that more and more women graduate from agricultural colleges across the country, that they show an interest and ability to manage farms, and that succession decisions must be made on that basis, not gender, and that male-female education is critical to that. Beyond tradition, however, she notes that other barriers need to be addressed for women to achieve parity in land ownership in Ireland, including the

portrayal of women farmers in the media, which needs to be more frequent, positive, and equality-oriented, and taxation, which currently places a significant tax burden on spouses and often prevents daughters-in-law from being named in legal titles on the land.

Shortall's (2017) study highlights that women are more likely to access land ownership through marriage than through inheritance. In this study, patriarchal transmission from father to son was found to remain prevalent by and large according to traditional norms, adjusting over time based on data collected in the interviews with a rationale primarily based on gender. However, due to contemporary challenges for farmers and declining farm incomes, inheriting land is fraught with difficulties and is no longer seen as the "privilege" it once was (p. 183). This study notes the specificity of the Irish (and British) legal context where, unlike in EU countries, it is illegal to disinherit children and the impact this has on maintaining agriculture as a male-dominated domain (p. 182). As a recent development, this study notes a growing interest in premarital contracts in rural families and identifies this as a complicated issue that requires further study to assess the extent to which this legal framework perpetuates male dominance in land ownership (p. 183). Cassidy and McGrath (2014) found that women often accept the predominantly male line of inheritance due to "emotional attachments" (p. 408) to the land and a desire to preserve paternal inheritance. The study by Cush et al. (2018) notes that women farmers are aware of the patriarchal structures and ideologies that dominate farm ownership in Ireland, and that joint farming ventures (JVFs) provide opportunities for women to use their agency and education to become farm leaders. However, the study acknowledges that their scope is small and suggests that this topic should be researched further to assess the extent to which it represents a shift away from patriarchal dominance in farm ownership in Ireland (p. 64). Thus, an interesting research topic is rural women's experiences of divorce and family separation given the rising divorce rates in Norway. Haugen and Brandth (2015) found that men and women seem to react differently to separation. While many men suffered from severe depression and had difficulty managing their farms, women responded to moral norms of "country womanhood" and acted according to internalised expectations to be caring and considerate of the family. This included prioritising the preservation of the farm in divorce settlements. In cases where women were the only person remaining on the farm, they experienced no loss of self-esteem when they asked others for help, whereas men were stigmatised when they asked for help. In contrast, women who left the farm after a divorce experienced limited help from the local community, perhaps because their decision challenged the norms of "rural womanhood," according to Haugen and Brandth (2015). Another article from the same study (Haugen et al., 2015) confirms women's reluctance to pursue their own interests at the expense of farm viability. Haugen et al. (2015) noted that a negative reputation could later reflect poorly on women if they remain in the local community and suggested that this may be the reason that divorcing farm women accept patriarchal values even if they give up something financially.

Because young female farmers are better educated and more environmentally aware (Huyer and Partey, 2020), they are better able to adopt innovative agricultural practices and climate-smart agriculture and contribute to the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals. In addition, women are more flexible in changing agricultural activities, which is very important in the context of uncertainties due to climate change or other global issues.

In the case of the United Kingdom, from an environmental sustainability perspective, although women are not the majority or the most important farmers in organic farming, as originally claimed (Padel, 2001), organic farming is attracting younger women and new entrants in the United Kingdom (Lobley et al., 2005). Thus, organic farming is arguably a precursor to greater farm family diversification, which is more likely to be driven by women, especially on small farms. Research has shown that farm families already practicing organic farming in the United Kingdom are also more likely to have diversified ventures both on and off the farm (Turner et al., 2003; Lobley et al., 2005). However, the need to understand the role and experiences of women in organic agriculture in the United Kingdom is gradually gaining momentum, especially among farm families, because of their important role in both the adoption and sustainability of organic and other agri-environmental practices (Padel, 2001). However, most research on agri-environmental programs or practices is quantitative and still ignores gender issues, with women in particular being less represented (Morris and Evans, 2004; Schroeder et al., 2013). In addition, there is very little in-depth analysis on women entrepreneurs in organic agriculture. It has been argued that gender relations, the division of labour, and rural masculinity are not significantly different compared to conventional agriculture. In cases where women have taken non-traditional productivist roles with several business decision-making as a result of organic farming, this does not necessarily lead to transformative changes in the women involved (Trauger et al., 2010). There is some evidence that gender influences and choices, which depend on various sociocultural and economic motivations, are important for long-term agri-environmental practices such as organic farming (Burton et al., 2003; Burton, 2014). Burton et al.'s (2003) study of the determinants of adoption of organic horticulture technologies in the United Kingdom found that women were more likely to adopt them than men. Their study also showed that environmental consideration, farmers' source of information, and the establishment of the Organic Advisory Service (OAS) were important for adoption. The decision to adopt organic farming is also an economic one in most cases, but the social factors that influence women's participation in environmentally friendly practices are critical for sustainability. It has also been found that women producers on small horticultural farms in the United Kingdom are more likely to return to conventional farming, especially if it does not reduce costs (Rigby and Young, 2000), cited in (Rigby et al., 2001). Duruiheoma et al. (2015) find that men are more likely than women to be knowledgeable about the technologies required for organic farming, but that education level and affordability of the technology are important determinants of adoption.

The diversification of farming towards more service-intensive businesses enables innovation and competitiveness within the farming sector. However, running a hospitality and tourism business significantly differs from farming and requires different competencies according to Cassel and Pettersson (2015). It entails face-to-face customer relationships and creating experiences based on the identity of the place and the entrepreneurs. By inviting in guests/customers, the farm is transformed from primarily an agricultural production place to one that produces experiences and services. Cassel and Pettersson (2015) analyse and discuss how women engaged in farm tourism perform rural and gender identities by producing experiences and services based on interviews with women in the two Swedish regions Dalarna and Uppland. The interviews show that the entrepreneurs must cope with tensions and conflicts between agricultural production and tourism at the farms in terms of not only practical work and duties, but also in how gendered farming

identities are performed. In another paper, Pettersson and Heldt Cassel (2014) focus on how gender is "done" on farms in Sweden vis-à-vis women's farm tourism entrepreneurship. The authors suggest that the gendered divisions of labour are not changed through the women starting businesses. The authors also conclude that the women build their entrepreneurship and develop some of their products on an image of rural domesticity, including a representation of themselves as "traditional farm women". At the same time, they are changing how gender is done through identifying as entrepreneurs and changing the use of the farms.

Regarding farm succession, Cavicchioli et al. (2015) find that women who are adult children of farmers are about 20 percent less likely than men to be willing to take over the farm when their parents retire. Female farmers in Italy are more likely than male farmers to pass on their farms to family members.

Pettersson and Tillmar (2022) examine why and how women and men farmers engage in "care farming", paying attention to the fact that farming is gendered. The authors draw on geographic research on feminist care ethics to understand care farming by considering the relationships between people and place that are cared for. They draw on poststructuralist feminist understandings of gendered farming subjectivities to explore the emergence of new gendered subjectivities. The paper fills research gaps on farmers who care and the gendered nature of care farming. Empirically, the study draws on farm visits and 20 semi-structured interviews with women and men engaged in caregiving on 12 farms in rural Sweden. Pettersson and Tillmar (2022) conclude that care farmers cultivate a feminist care ethic as an ontology of connections by working from the heart. This has led farmers to develop connections between people and places and between people and people. Feminist care ethics is both an expression of critique of current social trends, such as productivist agriculture and efficiency-oriented welfare, and a way to make a difference. Feminist care ethics also involves the development of new gender subjectivities for farmers. The authors suggest that care farming implies a different agriculture that makes farms places of care rather than food production. Overall, we argue that care farmers who cultivate a feminist care ethic challenge the very conceptualization of agriculture-from cultivating animals and plants to cultivating connections.

Hassink et al. (2018) focus on care farming in the Netherlands and explore how it bridges the gap between agriculture and health care. The authors describe the challenges that arise from the interaction of these two systems and the importance of imagination and agency in addressing these challenges. The study is not about women as such. It does, however, focus on (majority) female caregivers in the Netherlands and how they have managed the complexities of working in both the agricultural and health care systems. The authors argue that understanding agency, which refers to the ability of individuals or groups to act and make decisions, is critical to successfully navigating interactions between different systems. Hassink et al. (2018) show that most care farmers in the Netherlands need to learn to collaborate with the health sector as they build a multifunctional farm. Their findings suggest that men were often apprehensive about letting go of farming traditions. In contrast, women were generally more willing to embrace new opportunities for income diversification. This finding is supported by Seuneke and Bock (2015), who argue that women are often the initiators of new business ventures that can be critical to the economic stability of family

farms. Female agency was essential for recognition and legitimacy, especially if “she” worked in the health sector and understands how the system works and what is needed. This paper also argues that women farmers bring a new culture and different perspectives to agricultural practice. They are generally less tied to day-to-day farm duties and can bring their off-farm education and experience to the farm by placing themselves at the centre of activities rather than on the side-lines (Hassink et al., 2018). This challenges a farmer's identity and the skills required for the profession (Seuneke and Bock, 2015).

In the case of Spain, data show that despite the increasing presence of women in cooperatives, there is still a large gender gap in agricultural cooperatives. Less than 3.5% of board members in first-degree cooperatives are women, and less than 2.2% in second-degree cooperatives. Of the approximately one million members of these cooperatives, only 25% are women (Genillo, 2019). The future of cooperatives depends on a balanced presence of women members, employees, and board members (Asociacón de Familias y Mujeres del Medio Rural, 2022). Equally important is the presence of women in management, decision-making bodies and positions of responsibility. Only 9% of board members are women (Carvajal, 2022). The idea is that the inclusion of women should not be perceived as a constraint, but as an opportunity to broaden and improve the perspectives of organisations.

Considering that only 11% of farmers in the EU were under 40 years old in 2016, it is important to attract as many young people as possible to agriculture. The research conducted by Girdziute et al. (2022) found that the willingness of Lithuanian youth to work in agriculture is influenced by gender, place of residence, and the belief that working in agriculture does not provide opportunities for self-fulfilment. The research confirmed that young women in Lithuania are less interested in working in agriculture. Also, the willingness to work in agriculture is lower among people living in urban areas and higher among young people whose parents work in agriculture and who have sympathy for nature and animals.

The discussion of generational change was evident in the report “The Changing Role of Women in Farming, Crofting and the Agriculture Industry: 2016-2021”, which examined some of the implications of the Women in Agriculture Task Force recommendations. This included generational change, where it was noted that young men in particular do not see the barriers women face in the industry because they are believed to be associated with “uncomfortable attitudes” that will disappear over time as generations renew (McKee and Sutherland, 2021; Scottish Government, 2022). This highlights the shift in perspective in younger generations and how important it is for younger generations to foster these attitudes so that future women in agriculture feel confident to take on roles and do not suffer from similar obstacles as their predecessors. However, this lack of understanding of the obstacles women have faced in the recent past and continue to face may also cause concern among younger men. In particular, the denial of existing patriarchal structures is problematic and is a method that has been used in the past to justify the exclusion of women from organisations and leadership positions, resulting in the occupational ban of women in agriculture (Shortall et al., 2020). While young men's intention to deny the existence of barriers for women could be taken as a progressive comment, it may further hinder women's advancement in agriculture by denying the existing patriarchal barriers for women in the industry.

In a paper on the future generation of farmers, a group that has been relatively neglected in previous research, Grubbström et al. (2014) shed light on Swedish agriculture students' gendered strategies for creating a successful farming business in the future, as well as the opportunities and barriers they see in generational succession and their future farming activities. According to the authors, students emphasise the importance of balancing emotional ties to family and traditions with entrepreneurial goals. Their renewal strategies are intertwined with social values, and the solitary farmer is being replaced by a network farmer. The view of how a partner contributes is traditional on the one hand, but also shows signs of gender change. Grubbström et al. (2014) argue that a functioning 'work-love balance' strengthens resilience processes in agriculture.

One of the most recent research topics is the #metoo movement. In a report, Ganetz et al. (2020) examined activism against sexual harassment in agriculture (#skiljagnarnafrånvetet) and in the construction industry in Sweden. The authors used an interdisciplinary approach and asked, "What happened then, October-December 2017, and what has happened since?" by collecting data from social and traditional media and conducting interviews with initiators and participants of #metoo calls. They find that the calls were organized to highlight the extent of sexual harassment in both industries and to put an end to it. Two gender equality activists organized the #metoo call in agriculture via Facebook. The metoo movement has created a critical mass, a large group of people speaking out against sexual harassment; a safe space to talk about sexual harassment in the workplace; and it has allowed activists to see and connect with each other. Ganetz et al. (2020) also note that their informants see the following dangers: Polarization and simplistic juxtaposition of women and men; that the right to report sexual harassment may be overused; that vulnerable individuals may be singled out as victims and weak; and that the entire #metoo movement will disappear. The authors note that some respondents explain sexual harassment in their industry in terms of sexism, a masculine norm, and/or a “macho culture” that emerged long before women entered their respective industries, as well as an exercise of power rooted in sexism. Ganetz et al. (2020) list six strategies to counter sexual harassment and sexism.

The situation is similar in green industries. The report #meeto in the green industries (2018) [#metoo i det groena naeringslivet] is a study in which The Federation of Swedish Farmers: Gender Equality Academy collected stories from the three #metoo-related calls in the forestry, agriculture and horse industries (#slutavverkat, #skiljagnarnafrånvetet and #visparkarbakut). The reports show that many women in these industries face abuse, discrimination, degrading treatment and harassment.

Finally, the interim findings of the report articulated the need to develop a strategic training framework to enable equal access to the sector (Scottish Government, 2019, p. 10). Following grant applications, training gaps in livestock and animal health were identified as priorities. It is proposed to assess the learning and development needs of women in agriculture to enable a gap analysis in relation to policy, market demand, and current supply (Scottish Government, 2019, p. 16). Shortall et al. (2017) note that there is a clear difference between the skills of women new to farming, those born into farming, and those who marry farmers.

## 3.4. Rural women as entrepreneurs

Female entrepreneurship can be understood as an emancipatory act of empowerment, not

necessarily limited to the adoption of multifunctionality, but linked to the growth of a business and the development of different business models (De Rosa et al., 2020).

Women-owned businesses are characterized by elements of authenticity, experience, and innovation, and that women entrepreneurs tend to form and maintain local stakeholder networks (direct and/or indirect) associated with their own businesses. The main motivations that led these women to start their businesses are related to their passion and self-actualization, i.e., the dimensions described in the literature as pull factors. Work-life balance and family management remain key issues for all women entrepreneurs. Interest in building a network of actors - in areas without existing networks - and a desire to join existing networks. Networking is therefore seen as a strength for these businesses in mountain areas, as not all necessary resources are always available and networks can be a valuable means of sharing the benefits, services, resources - and challenges - of the market. Relationship between businesswomen's actions and their attitudes toward innovation and sustainability. The women surveyed showed a strong interest in environmental protection, and all indicated that they adopt sustainable practices to preserve the natural world around them. The most frequently adopted innovations are related to the physical dimension (especially products and structures) and a smaller number to communication. We see that innovations are not only related to products and processes (although these are the most widespread), but also to information, knowledge, leadership, collaboration, and relational aspects (Martini et al., 2020).

Seuneke and Bock (2015) studied the role of women in the development of multifunctional entrepreneurship on family farms. Traditionally, women have been marginalized in agriculture and seen as “wives” or “mothers” rather than business partners. Their study is based on interviews with 29 women entrepreneurs in the Netherlands, Sweden, and Finland who run diversified businesses in addition to their farming activities. The research highlights several themes related to women's role in entrepreneurship, such as the importance of (non)agricultural networks and social capital, work-life balance, and the use of learning and innovation strategies. The authors argue that women play a critical role in the development of multifunctional entrepreneurship because they are less tied to the productivity of a traditional farm. They often bring new ideas and perspectives and have a strong entrepreneurial drive. Multifunctional agriculture allows women to become central to the farm business by developing profitable new income activities. The study also highlights the importance of formal and informal entrepreneurial learning to acquire the necessary skills and knowledge to successfully manage a multifunctional farm (Seuneke and Bock, 2015).

Jackova et al. (2016) studied the entrepreneurial activities of rural women in the agricultural sector in European Union countries. The authors emphasized the importance of increasing women's entrepreneurial activities and self-confidence. As Lithuanian women are well educated, there is a potential for expansion of climate-smart agriculture with government support and dissemination of appropriate and necessary information. Lithuania pays special attention to and strongly supports women's business start-ups. Lithuania also differs significantly from other countries in terms of the culture of the business environment: Nature and the environment are considered more important than business profitability and the growth rate of the business sector. The Young Women Green Entrepreneurs project (Young Women Green Entrepreneurs, 2022) on mapping and compiling good

practices for sustainable development presents good local practices of rural initiatives related to young women empowerment (employability, educational development, personal development). In the case of Lithuania, the report presents four good practices (a dairy farm, an enterprise building a local herb-gathering community, a horticulture enterprise, and a modern greenhouse enterprise) that promote sustainable entrepreneurship models, socio-economic development, and women's empowerment in different regions of Lithuania (Table 1). These case studies show good practices of farms being taken over by the younger generation by helping young women farmers to settle down, setting up their farms in a modern way, and by being supported by other innovators or advisors in the field. These examples show that women can also manage farms of different sizes and types. It should be noted, however, that farms are often run by the whole family. When looking at the results of competitions (e.g. "Farm of the Year"), it is usually stated that it is a family farm. The Local Action Group (LAG) project demonstrates the willingness of women living in rural areas to engage in complementary activities that not only generate income, but also demonstrate their ability to manage such projects and the processes involved.

**Table 1. Good practice examples in Lithuania**

| Farm and farm owner | Dairy farm | Farm and farm owner | Dairy farm | Farm and farm owner |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Actors and stakeholders** | International business partner for developing facilities (Germany); Local and national dairy product producer. | Local action group from Vilkaviškis; Aleksandras Stulginskis University; Tourism offices; Pharmacies; Small sellers of naturally produced goods. | A farmer‘s husband; Lithuanian vegetable growers association. | A farmer's father; greenhouse installation company (Poland); Greenhouse manufacturing company (Holland); Lithuanian agricultural advisory service. |
| **Support** | Rural Development Programme:<br>Setting up of young farmers;<br>Investments in agricultural holdings. | Rural Development Programme: LEADER (Support fo local projects). | Rural Development Programme:<br>Setting up of young farmers;<br>Agricultural and food product quality systems. | Rural Development Programme:<br>Setting up of young farmers; Investment in agricultural holdings. |
| **Areas of investment** | Facilities for milking, milk freezing and other needs of the farm, a cold free stall barn, heated water troughs are installed, and a 16- | Local project | A tractor; the implements for land cultivation, a plough, a cultivator, a waste grinder, and a furrower. | A tractor, a sewing-machine, a sprayer, a fertilizer spreader, a frontal loader, a boiler-house. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | place milking platform. | | | |

*Source: Young Women Green Entrepreneurs (2022)*

There is not much information about Norwegian rural women entrepreneurs, but there is some about women entrepreneurs in general and the context in which they operate. The typical female entrepreneur is found in sectors or industries such as education, health and care, and personal services, where women make up more than 50% of the workforce (Innovation Norway, 2019). There are fewer growth companies in these industries (Grünfeld et al., 2019). However, within these industries, women systematically perform equally well or better than men in terms of growth and sales. An important feature of these industries is that they compete to a large extent with publicly owned actors, who can often operate under different and better conditions. These are conditions that make it more difficult for women to start businesses. To a large extent, they affect the industries in which women are most active as entrepreneurs (Grünfeld et al., 2019). In Norway, a larger proportion of women entrepreneurs are part-time entrepreneurs than among male entrepreneurs. Among the self-employed, part-time entrepreneurs account for 48 percent of female entrepreneurs and 35 percent of male entrepreneurs (Innovation Norway, 2019).

Benedetto and Corinto (2015) find that women have greater leadership roles in the wine industry and are more likely to be entrepreneurs. Women working in the Italian wine industry show a more "transformational" type of leadership (i.e., focused on employee engagement and creativity) than men, who generally act as "transactional leaders" (i.e., correcting/rewarding/punishing employees in relation to goals achieved). Formal and informal training is essential to the adoption of technical innovations, including the decision to process, bottle, and distribute wine on the farm.

Women face greater screening and information needs than men in raising capital. The difference in language and male dominance in finance may also affect the likelihood of good projects by women entrepreneurs gaining access to finance (Grünfeld et al., 2019). Interviews with three women who play a central role in the Norwegian system for investing in start-ups with large scaling potential show that the capital market is dominated by male characteristics (Innovation Norway, 2019). The larger the investments or loans, the more men dominate. The language used is also typically male, and it is argued that many women shy away from the spaces where investors are most easily found and potentially matched. The different language and unnatural expectations can hinder the efficiency of the market and make it difficult to access capital for good projects with female founders. One of the interviewees pointed out the need to find other types of spaces where entrepreneurs and investors can come together without these factors affecting market activity. Crowdfunding is one such type of space where women feel more secure and may be able to raise capital more easily in the market (Innovation Norway, 2019).

Research suggests that managers of public enterprise funds believe it is less profitable to invest in or financially support women than men (Grünfeld et al., 2020). Grünfeld et al. (2020) refer to Alsos and Ljunggren (2017), who studied a Norwegian investment fund. The study showed that they attached less importance to the experience background of female entrepreneurs than male entrepreneurs. Moreover, they argue that women who receive support seem to have recognised

their own weakness and therefore align themselves with male business partners.

In addition to problems accessing capital, Norwegian female entrepreneurs seem to report challenges related to inadequate sick leave rights to a greater extent than men (Grünfeld et al., 2019).

Social networks are a driver of entrepreneurship. In a recent study from Norway, Markussen and Røed (2015) show that women's entrepreneurship is influenced by the extent of entrepreneurship in the neighbourhood, in the family, and among individuals who attended the same school and grade level. Based on extensive statistical tests of the population of all entrepreneurs in Norway, they show that men are more influenced by the fact that men in their neighbourhood are entrepreneurs, while women are more influenced by the presence of other women entrepreneurs (Innovation Norway, 2019). The anthropological discussion of women's place in startup environments shows that women rarely perceive gender as a relevant factor, but that such environments facilitate the creation of startups because access to networks is improved (Innovation Norway, 2019). Therefore, it is not necessarily important for women to create such networks in large numbers. The effect is gender neutral.

The Innovation Norway (2019) report provides four specific suggestions for measures that can be considered to encourage an increase in female entrepreneurship with potential for scalability and growth: (1) establishing more comprehensive mentoring programmes for women, (2) establishing a government-supported investment fund for women, (3) eliminating competitive disadvantages in industries where women are often entrepreneurs, and (4) establishing a programme for marketing exemptions at universities and colleges (Innovation Norway, 2019).

In addition to the research literature on the status of women on farms and in farming communities, other studies contribute with knowledge about the broader context of rural women and entrepreneurship in Norway. Kolvereid and Åmo's (2019) quantitative study of incorporated entrepreneurship in Norway showed that men are more likely to become entrepreneurs than women and that men's persistence as entrepreneurs is higher than women's persistence. In addition, the results showed that residents of the largest city, Oslo, are more likely to become entrepreneurs than residents of the rest of the country, while residence in/outside Oslo has no effect on persistence as an entrepreneur.

A 2015 edited volume on gender in business (Alsos et al., 2015) illustrates various aspects of the broader context of women innovators in rural Norway. Solheim (2015) presents capital as a gendered cultural phenomenon and argues that this gendering has occurred over a long period of time. Using historical references, Solheim (2015) showed that economic entrepreneurship and capital management have been and continue to be a male domain and field of action. In her qualitative study, Hauge (2015) identified three different "ideal types" of identities among women entrepreneurs. the "learning entrepreneur" gains experience and develops over time, which affects how she views her business and herself as an entrepreneur. the "family entrepreneur" tries to balance work and family, which leads to a second form of identity, while "the established entrepreneur," who is influenced by her involvement in the business and her entrepreneurship, represents a third form. She concluded that support for these entrepreneurs should take into

account how the entrepreneurs understand themselves and their own project in a larger life context.

Nordbø (2022) compared Norway and Chile with regard to women entrepreneurs in rural tourism. She highlighted that Norway is generally recognised as a just society where equality is an important value, and that there has been a focus on female entrepreneurship as a rural development tool over the years. Nevertheless, Nordbø (2022) argued that in both Norway and Chile, the classical, economic understanding of entrepreneurship as a masculine domain has been internalised to the point that it is a path-dependent phenomenon that influences rural economic development policies. Nordbø (2022) also showed that the choices and preferences of women entrepreneurs do not conform to this classical understanding of entrepreneurship, which imposes various internal and external constraints on women entrepreneurs in both countries. Another qualitative, cross-national study (Solesvik et al., 2019) compared the motivations of women entrepreneurs in Russia, Ukraine, and Norway. The results suggest that the desire to contribute to outcomes of societal value is stronger among female innovators in Norway than among their counterparts in Russia and Ukraine. Solesvik et al. (2019) suggest that this difference is due to the cultural and social context in developed countries, which likely provides more opportunities for women entrepreneurs and also better allows for the opportunity to focus on societal issues in business than the context in emerging countries. In many cases, Norwegian informants reported a type of lifestyle business, often without growth intentions. In Innovation Norway's report (2019) on Investing in Women and Diversity (2009-2019), a rural entrepreneur explains that it is important to promote social entrepreneurship whose goal is to create a better everyday life and a sustainable future, not just to make money. She believes this will lead to more women-led start-ups and initiatives (Innovation Norway, 2019).

The theme of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship features heavily in the literature on women, gender, and rural Sweden. Tillmar et al. (2022) examine and discuss the extent to which and why women's entrepreneurship contributes to rural economic viability and gender equality in rural Sweden. Analysis of registry data finds that rural women's entrepreneurship is important to rural viability because women's businesses provide a wide range of necessary services, such as bookkeeping, hairdressing, restaurants, physical therapy, and personal services. Business ownership has been shown to be important to livelihoods in rural Sweden. About 30% of businesses in rural and urban areas are owned by women. The most common business sector for both women and men is forestry. For women, agriculture-related forestry, mixed farming, administrative support, and care work are also common industries. In contrast, men's businesses are in forestry, agriculture, construction, and manufacturing. Women's businesses are not significantly smaller than men's, but their incomes are lower and more dependent on business and industry variables. Entrepreneurship does not give women (at the group level) a better economic position than men, nor as wage earners, as rural women entrepreneurs have lower disposable income than their male counterparts and as wage earners, both men and women. This is largely due to the gender order in society. For men, marriage has a positive effect on income, but for women it has a negative effect, according to Tillmar et al. (2022).

The invisible entrepreneur: gender and entrepreneurship in the green industries (Jämställdhetsakademien, 2009) is an extensive literature review in which women, men and gender

in relation to the green industries are addressed and which emphasizes that entrepreneurship in agriculture and forestry must be understood in the context of its gendering, as there are strong interconnections between gender, family, work and agriculture and forestry. Important issues where gender plays a role are: ownership and inheritance, division of labour, invisibility of women as farmers and foresters, agency, and identities.

In a study of the female entrepreneurial network in a Swedish rural community, Roos (2019) (see also Elkafrawi et al., 2022; Roos, 2021) argues that the women's network is able to challenge gender structures through its "embeddedness in context." Based on ethnographic data, three processes were identified in the women's entrepreneurship network: becoming real entrepreneurs, building relationships, and advocating for change. Roos (2019) notes that the women challenged gender structures by challenging the male discourse on entrepreneurship, which in turn occurred through being embedded in the local community. Roos (2019) argues that policy should focus on connecting women entrepreneurs rather than developing their businesses. It is the social aspects that enable women to challenge gender structures.

Roos and Gaddefors (2022) examine spatial aspects of the interconnected processes between entrepreneurship, gender, empowerment, and emancipation. Through ethnographic fieldwork in an ironworks converted into a garden for tourists, Roos and Gaddefors (2022) discuss how place shapes and changes the entrepreneurial process and how entrepreneurship shapes and changes place. They note that entrepreneurship brings about social change for both individual women and society, but that change is slow.

One of the ways to empower rural women is through social entrepreneurship. It enables solidarity and mutual support, as well as risk and responsibility sharing, enabling rural women to start and sustain entrepreneurial activities. Women's involvement in economic activities is critical to strengthening their self-esteem and recognition as equal members of their families and society as a whole. Research from 2015 on two social enterprises from two different Croatian regions shows that there are several positive changes in women's lives: increased mobility, increased visibility and status in local communities, and increased awareness of local policies and programs. Respondents noted the importance of education and committed to encouraging their daughters to pursue education and employment. This suggests that social entrepreneurship not only empowers the current generation of women but holds the potential for long-term change. However, the research shows that not all dimensions of empowerment are experiencing the same changes-the economic and political spheres pose the greatest challenge. Access to stable employment and source of income as well as participation in local political life are still underdeveloped (Vidović et al., 2015).

Gramm et al. (2020) shows the social entrepreneurship and social farming as an example in the wave of diversification strategies in European family farms and a relation between social farming (i.e., providing on-farm childcare services) as a form of social entrepreneurship and women's empowerment (three types of power: power to, power with, power within). Social entrepreneurship is empowering women in various ways: economic, personal, social, and cultural.

Based on 32 in-depth interviews with women entrepreneurs in rural Sweden, Berglund et al. (2023) interpreted women's expressions of resistance based on philosopher Jonna Bornemark's concepts

of ratio and intellectus. They posit that feminist resistance unfolds as an interactive and iterative learning process. The conceptualization of resistance as a learning process stands in sharp contrast to the notion that resistance is exercised by an autonomous self. The authors argue that the study helps researchers understand that what they may have viewed as a sign of women's weakness is instead a sign of strength: it is a first step toward learning resistance that can help women create lives that are different from those prescribed by postfeminist discourse. In this way, researchers can avoid reproducing women as 'weak and inadequate." By reformulating feminist resistance, the male entrepreneurial discourse, including the notion of the autonomous self, is challenged and a counter-narrative to the postfeminist entrepreneur is developed. Theorising resistance as a learning practice allows for a more shifting research agenda that enables women to be seen as resisting postfeminist expectations of endless competition with self and others.

Finally, some research has been conducted among migrant women entrepreneurs in rural Norway. Based on a qualitative analysis of interviews with this type of women entrepreneurs, Munkejord (2017a) identified different ways of entering entrepreneurship: as a way out of unemployment or to avoid underemployment, as a way to live in a desired region, and as a preferred choice for migrant women when wage employment is satisfactory. The study also reveals the importance of family support and spatial embeddedness for such women entrepreneurs in a rural context. Another article from the same study (Munkejord, 2017b) particularly highlighted the important role of the Norwegian male spouse, who often provides a network of resources that can compensate for migrants' disadvantages.

## 3.5. The role of women in rural innovation

De Rosa et al. (2020) examines patterns of innovation adoption in Italian farms run by women by assessing the effects of innovation support services and entrepreneurial orientation on innovation adoption. They examine both the entrepreneurial identity of women farmers and the role of innovation support services in promoting innovation. Socio-structural variables influence innovation adoption. The type of innovations adopted is related to the age of the farm manager (the younger, the more innovations). While the effectiveness of innovation support systems (extension, training, information) affects women farmers' ability to innovate, their entrepreneurial characteristics are equally important antecedents of their innovation behaviour. It can be argued that innovation adoption is the result of a successful combination of farmers' entrepreneurial orientation fostered by accessible and effective support services. Innovation processes are accompanied by a socio-technical transition to different forms of sustainable agriculture. Entrepreneurial learning is a key factor in promoting innovation related to the development of multifunctional agriculture. The innovation process refers to a combination of product and process innovation. Conversion to organic agriculture or sustainable production methods changes both the practices used by women farmers and the products they sell.

De Rosa et al. (2021) identified two recognisable groups of women farmers in terms of the different dimensions of innovation and perspectives on decision making. The first group exhibits high levels of entrepreneurial orientation, innovation adoption (new practices, knowledge, organisation, etc.) and co-entrepreneurship. Diversification strategies that they rely on is the availability of internal

resources on the family farm. The second group of women farmers has a more individual approach. They are predominantly mature women, and their strategy is maintaining status quo rather than developing new innovation paths, which authors interpret through the shortened life horizon which may affect willingness to innovate.

Reguliauskiene (2022) assessed the opportunities for promoting innovation in the Lithuanian agricultural sector. Interviews with experts (representatives of Lithuanian agricultural associations) revealed that although the number of farms introducing innovations is increasing, in the EU context innovation in Lithuanian farms is lagging behind. Experts believe that there is sufficient access to innovation support, training, and seminars. However, there are also problematic aspects of innovation support: lack of available funding, difficulties in accessing funding as funding systems are too complex for many farmers and farmers get lost in the abundance of information, and a lack of information about innovation in Lithuanian. Experts believe that innovation in agriculture could be promoted through targeted one-on-one consultations on farms, as well as by strengthening the farming community where farmers can share their experiences. The low participation of farmers in innovation activity is also reflected in the number of employees in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries engaged in research and development (Statistics Lithuania, 2023). To promote innovation for sustainable farm development, the Agricultural Sustainability Scorecard (Vitunskienė et al., 2022) proposes to measure the use of innovation on farms as one of the indicators. The application of innovations on the farm leads to a higher score.

Dalla Torre et al. (2020) examine the power of agency in relation to rural innovation in the context of social agriculture, analysing two cases of social agriculture in Italy and the Netherlands. Although the authors do not focus specifically on women, the study nevertheless offers insightful lessons about the role of women in rural innovation. The authors emphasise the importance of agency in the development of social farming initiatives. They argue that social innovation is a complex and dynamic process shaped by the agency of different actors. They also discuss the role of policy in facilitating the emergence and expansion of social innovation in rural areas. The authors examine how women farmers in the Netherlands often bring caregiving skills and networks to their caregiving business through off-farm work and off-farm (higher) education, bridging the gap between agriculture and health care. They argue that inclusive rural development can respond to external factors at all levels and that vulnerable groups such as women feel rural marginalisation or discrimination more acutely. The authors believe that women farmers are empowered through social agriculture by being more recognised. They focus on the role of action in a transformation process and thus as something that can change systems at multiple levels. They argue that empowering women opens new avenues for relationship building at the local, regional, and national levels, providing new opportunities for entrepreneurs to follow in their footsteps. Seuneke and Bock (2015) go further, arguing that women's reintegration into agriculture is "critical to the emergence of multifunctionality, as women play a predominant role in the learning process that underlies the development of multifunctional entrepreneurship" (Seuneke and Bock, 2015, p. 43). Women are more flexible to change because they are less tied to agricultural traditions; this provides more space to explore a new identity.

According to Dalla Torre et al. (2020), women farmers who embark on new ventures such as care

management could be considered 'innovators,' visionaries, or leaders, but they need 'followers," or people who believe in their idea, to ensure that their vision is successful. Without representation, an idea is just an idea. This lends great importance to the (support) network that women farmers need to realise their entrepreneurial ventures, such as colleagues and family. The study examined a farm that was expanded into a care business in the Netherlands due to social integration, motivation, and a desire to diversify more. The social impact of the farm was felt primarily at the local level, yet social farming in the Netherlands contributed to network building at all levels. At the national level, it led to greater recognition of farmers providing all types of services. The results of the study by Dalla Torre et al. (2020) showed that social innovation and resilience were the most important factors for the care farm. Leadership was ranked as least important because clients often came to the farm through social referrals rather than because of farmers-although they note that leadership is often critical at the beginning of any new initiative. Action skills are seen as a component of empowering women farmers by enabling them to turn their social innovations into something that creates new opportunities and whose benefits often extend beyond the original context, which is also associated with entrepreneurship.

## 3.6. The role of policies and institutions

Regarding gender balance, Europe is truly committed to recognising gender balance in all different sectors and promoting equality through legislation such as:

- Council Directive 79/7/EEC of 19 December 1978 on the progressive implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women in matters of social security;
- Council Directive 92/85/EEC of 19 October 1991 on the introduction of measures to encourage improvements in the safety and health at work of pregnant workers and workers who have recently given birth or are breastfeeding (tenth individual Directive within the meaning of Article 16 (1) of Directive 89/391/EEC);
- Council Directive 97/81/ EC of 15 December 1997 concerning the Framework Agreement on part-time work concluded by UNICE, CEEP and the ETUC - Annex : Framework agreement on part-time work;
- Directive 2000/78/ EC of 27 November 2000 establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation;
- Directive 2004/113/ EC of 13 December 2004 implementing the principle of equal treatment between men and women in the access to and supply of goods and services;
- Directive 2006/54/ EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 July 2006 on the implementation of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation (recast);
- Council Directive 2010/18/EU of 8 March 2010 implementing the revised Framework Agreement on parental leave concluded by BUSINESSEUROPE, UEAPME, CEEP and ETUC and repealing Directive 96/34/EC (Text with EEA relevance);
- Directive 2010/41/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 7 July 2010 on the application of the principle of equal treatment between men and women engaged in an activity in a self-employed capacity and repealing Council Directive 86/613/EEC.

While the European Union has multiple approaches, including hard laws and soft measures, aimed at addressing gender inequalities in the labour market, CAP support is intended for "standard"

farms, which receive support tailored to the majority of male-owned farms (La Vía Campesina, 2021). The gender perspective is not taken into account, which means that the majority of farms owned by women have a different model than those owned by men. These farms are smaller and in many cases are alternative crops that do not qualify for support (CAP), which does not mean that they are not viable or productive, but only that they are not taken into account when granting aid (Revista agricultura, 2021). Moreover, the precarious situation in rural areas is exacerbated from a gender perspective, since the temporary nature (duration of the contract) and the part-time nature (full or part-time) of the contracts are higher for women than for men. It is therefore clear that there has been little and slow progress in the recognition of rural women, although the precariousness of the work they face and the different opportunities they have to be considered farmers are very striking.

The inadequacy of CAP's measures to improve the situation of women in the agricultural sector throughout the European Union has been studied by Shortall and Marangudakis (2022). According to the authors, agriculture is less attractive to women because European legislation considers agriculture as a sector rather than a profession. This study addresses the perception of agriculture as a sector rather than an occupation at the EU level, where the land and its production are the focus of policy rather than the people who work there, and the impact this has on creating and perpetuating gender inequalities. The dominance of DG AGRI over policy rather than DG EMPLOYMENT, SOCIAL AFFAIRS AND INCLUSION, over the experience of monitoring and improving women's experiences in the labour market is traced, while the ineffectiveness of gender mainstreaming approaches resulting in gender-blind CAP payments that mainly benefit men as the larger farm owners is also analysed in this study. This is further elaborated in Shortall and Marangudakis (forthcoming), where Ireland's national-level commitment to gender equality, gender mainstreaming, and gender budgeting is analysed alongside Sweden, Spain, and Romania as examples for countries in the north, south, east, and west of the European Union.

Shortall and Marangudakis (2022) examine how EU policy has failed to meet the requirements of the EU Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025 through ineffective processes (e.g., gender mainstreaming) and misaligned attitudes (e.g., viewing agriculture as a sector rather than an occupation), and the actual impact this has on policy at the national level and the realities of life for women working in agriculture in Ireland. This study, citing figures from the Irish Farming Association (IFA), notes that due to the distribution of CAP payments (particularly The European agricultural guarantee fund-EAGF) according to gender-neutral procedures, 92% of income support in Ireland is paid to men because they own the more frequent and larger farms (p. 794). This study also notes that the documentation used to process payments promotes the false assumption that farms are more likely to be individually owned than family owned. Shortall and Marangudakis (2022) point to other failures in EU policy in addressing key factors that foster gender inequalities, such as male dominance in farm ownership, farm size, and farm income. This, in turn, limits women's access to important agricultural education and training opportunities, reinforcing gender inequalities and further distancing, rather than achieving, the goals set out in the Gender Equality Strategy Paper.

In Shortall and Marangudakis (forthcoming), Ireland is selected for analysis as the westernmost country in the European Union and is cited (along with Romania) as an example of a country with

highly centralised administration of CAP payments. Like Romania, and in sharp contrast to Spain and Scotland, Ireland is also notable for its lower commitment to gender equality in agricultural policy at the national level. An important finding is that gender mainstreaming cannot be introduced in Ireland until it is enshrined in EU regulation. However, this study notes that due to the recent introduction of a diversity strategy for agriculture (Shortall and Marangudakis, 2022, p. 794), it is positive that gender disaggregated data on the distribution of CAP payments are collected at the national level, as these data have not been collected at the EU level. To address gender inequalities in receiving CAP (EAGF) payments, a key proposal that emerged from this study is the possibility of targeted and tiered payments to farms implementing greening measures. This option to support organic and/or environmentally friendly practices is highlighted as particularly beneficial to women, who are often at the forefront of organic farming practices, generally on smaller farms.

The special report "Gender Mainstreaming in the EU Budget: Time to walk the talk" (European Court of Auditors, 2021) an analysis of gender mainstreaming, assessed whether or not gender mainstreaming has been applied in the EU budget since 2014, whether or not the Commission's framework for implementing gender mainstreaming is adequate, whether or not gender mainstreaming is present in the EU budget cycle, and whether or not gender equality has been taken into account in the distribution of funds for five programmes, including the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) and the European Agricultural Guarantee Fund (EAGF). It noted that the impact of the European Commission's failure to effectively promote, support, and apply gender mainstreaming in the distribution of its agricultural budget can be traced in the Irish context, where women receive only 8% of payments despite owning 10% of the land eligible for those payments (National Women's Council, 2021).

Similarly, the 2021 report on the experiences of women in rural communities, "Paper on Women in Rural Communities: We want to live and work where we are", the National Women's Council-NWCI (2021) analysed the effectiveness of the bottom-up, community-led, approach of the LEADER programme (2014-2020), through which grants are awarded under the European Union's CAP to reduce poverty and social inclusion in rural areas, to examine the extent of women's underrepresentation in the programme, which is one of the main criticisms of the programme. In the national context, NWCI's 2021 Rural Women Report highlights Ireland's commitments to gender equality in the National Strategy for Women and Girls 2017 - 2020 (NSWG) and analyses gender mainstreaming and gender analysis in the Irish Rural Development Action Plan (APRD) 2014-2020. The National Women's Council 2021 report highlights that Local Action Groups (LAGs) and Local Community Development Committees (LCDCs) in Ireland, which are responsible for deciding on and distributing funding from LEADER, have not achieved gender balance in membership. It is highlighted that out of thirty-one LCDCs in the Republic, only eighteen have a gender balance of 40% or more (p. 14). The main reason for this, according to National Women's Council (2021), is that these groups only have a non-binding and voluntary commitment to achieve gender balance, and no legal requirements to comply with. As a result, the realities of rural women's lives, with their complex responsibilities and time commitments, are not taken into account, which prevents their participation in these grassroots organisations. As a result, gender inequalities are perpetuated rather than reduced, which is one of the stated goals of the programme.

Efforts to achieve gender equality in agricultural and forestry institutions in Sweden and beyond are limited to integrating the category of women into existing agricultural projects and programmes (Arora-Jonsson and Leder, 2020). Only 16% of applications to the Swedish Rural Development Programme in 2007-2013 were from women (Wigren-Kristoferson, 2013). In addition, funding applications submitted by men, most of which were for agricultural modernization, tended to be successful. One study found that a 'new project class,' consisting of white, educated, middle-aged men, is emerging in the context of new rural governance, and old elites are re-emerging in new forms in local action groups (LEADER). However, Arora-Jonsson (2017) found that women had gained influence through informal networks and in some places had risen to become high-ranking officials. This suggests that gender and class-based power hierarchies enable some women to benefit from existing power structures.

In the Irish context, the National Women's Council (2021) report explores the implications of the lack of gender disaggregated data and the failure to use gender expertise and gender analysis in rural and agricultural policy development. Reiterating the issues facing rural women raised in the academic literature, this report notes that women continue to be subjected to "hidden employment" (p. 10), as the valuable work they perform on family farms is unpaid and not captured by official statistics. The study asserts that because of their weak position in family farms, women can become victims of financial abuse if the resources of the family farm are not distributed equally, and as a result, end up in a situation of poverty. The National Women's Council (2021) therefore concludes that there is a need to promote and provide funding for gender equality in rural social and economic development in conjunction with agricultural initiatives. It underscores the importance of monitoring the impact of national policy documents on rural women's lived experiences, including the distribution of resources. If this is not done, the report says, men will continue to be the primary beneficiaries of funding programmes and training opportunities (p. 14).

Many scholars agree that due to the specificities of the agricultural sector, stakeholder involvement in decision-making processes is extremely important (Raisiene and Skulskis, 2018; Zagata et al., 2021; Clerino et al., 2023). However, the effectiveness of participation depends on many aspects. One of the most important is the willingness of stakeholders to participate and collaborate in such processes. Raisiene et al. (2018) examined the potential for stakeholder engagement in decision-making processes in Lithuania. The authors analysed data from 1108 farmers and found that only half of them (53.8%) were willing to participate in agricultural policy-making processes to represent farmers' interests. The position expressed by women regarding participation in decision-making processes to represent farmers' interests showed that the willingness to participate is lower among women than among men. The research results show that only one out of ten farmers (9.7%) is a member of an agricultural organisation. The research conducted made a significant contribution to the field and provided important insights into the typical farmer who is interested in agricultural policy development and willing to participate in decision-making processes to represent the various concerns of farmers. Four aspects are important in describing the typical farmer who wants to contribute: age, gender, education, and farm size. The typical farmer is a male and belongs to the middle-aged group (35-65), is better educated, and has a larger landholding (Raisiene et al., 2018). Although women in Lithuania have a higher level of education than men, their engagement and

willingness to participate in decision-making processes in the agricultural sector is significantly lower than men.

The low participation of Irish women in agricultural organisations and the weak representation of women on industry boards, which is in line with the European trend, has been the subject of several studies. The reasons for this were analysed by Shortall (2017) in Ireland over two decades. Shortall's (2017) study found that women's involvement in agricultural organisations has not changed significantly over the two decades of data collection and remains low. This research found that women have traditionally been uncomfortable in these fields, aware that it is a male domain. An important consequence of women's lack of engagement in these organisations is that they often miss out on important agricultural education and training opportunities. Instead, this study finds that women are more likely to participate in female-led training opportunities (Shortall (2017, p. 181).

In terms of the role of government and its investment in addressing gender inequality in agriculture, Scotland is an example of an exceptional country. In Scotland, political attention has focused on the role of women in agriculture in Scotland following the publication of the Scottish Government's report Women in Farming and the Agriculture Sector (Shortall et al., 2017). This was unique, and Scotland is the first country to conduct this type of research and subsequently invest in implementing the proposed findings of the research report. Following extensive qualitative research, it was found that women in Scottish agriculture, even those employed in the sector, found training events to be discouraging and male-oriented. As a result, the Scottish Government's "Women in Agriculture Final Report" produced by the Scottish Government Women in Agriculture Taskforce in November 2019, which highlights the barriers faced by women in agriculture (Scottish Government, 2019). In terms of leadership roles, there are few women in elected positions in agricultural organisations. The Scottish National Farmers Union currently has "no women in its national office holders, regional board chairmen or committee chairmen" with a belief among some farmers of both genders that men would refuse to vote for female candidates (Shortall et al., 2017, p. 4). In addition, there are examples in the UK of exclusionary practices such as men-only dinners or asking women to leave meetings once the social component is over. This was demonstrated at the 2018 Dartmouth Fatstock Show in Devon, United Kingdom, where awards are presented in the afternoon, after which women are asked to leave before a men-only dinner is held (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2018).

Since the report and the Women in Agriculture Taskforce, £400,000 has been invested annually in the report's findings to ensure that recommendations are implemented, and an annual update report has been published detailing the progress and outcomes of each programme implemented (Scottish Government, 2022). Investment also includes implementation of policy outcomes. The Women in Agriculture Task Force was established to advise the government on how to implement the report's recommendations. One of the overarching recommendations was that the Scottish government should develop a Women in Agriculture Development Programme. This programme should: "deliver training and mentoring to support women in agriculture to build their confidence, enhance their business skills, and develop their leadership skills" (Scottish Government, 2021, p. 21).

The government decided on three different training programmes: (i) “Be Your Best Self” is designed to help women build more confidence, explore new possibilities and opportunities, and make new connections; (ii) “Knowing Your Business” is designed to help women in agriculture improve their knowledge, skills, tools, and confidence to increase business performance; (iii) the “Women in Agriculture Leadership Development Programme” is designed to enable and empower more women who live or work in agriculture to develop their skills and take on leadership positions in their communities and across the industry.

All of these programmes have been piloted in Scotland with success and positive outcomes and continue to be offered to women in Scottish agriculture. Another policy outcome was a pilot of the Equality Charter, which aims to improve equality at a structural level in agricultural organisations. This aims to ensure that all farmworkers, regardless of gender, have equal access to training, resources, and professional development (Scottish Government, 2019).

As agriculture has arguably become more entrepreneurial, research on women on farm boards has become more important. Brandth and Bjørkhaug (2015) examined how gender was constructed and practised on agricultural boards following the recent introduction of gender quotas. First, they found that female board members generally had a university education, while many of the male board members had primarily agricultural experience. Although they found examples where some men appeared to view women's knowledge as less valuable than men's, women's skills were often valued as well. The researchers were surprised to find, in general, very little evidence of discriminatory understandings of gender among board members. In particular, participants emphasised differences among individuals in general, regardless of gender. In light of these fairly positive findings, it is worth noting the study by Bertrand et al. (2019) on the impact of the law requiring 40 percent representation of each gender on the boards of public companies in Norway. This study compared gender differences in the labour outcomes of four cohorts of men and women (two cohorts before the reform, a third cohort during the reform period, and a fourth cohort after the reform) at the same level of entrepreneurial skill. Seven years after the full entry into force of the quota system for supervisory boards, they concluded that while the law had a direct impact on women on supervisory boards, it had little tangible effect on the situation of women in business as such.

The implications of this poor engagement for women in agriculture, as well as for the effectiveness of these boards and organisations in not including women's voices and expertise, have been explored by Shortall and Marangudakis (forthcoming). For agricultural organisations, the low participation of women not only risks overlooking the views and issues of a segment of the workforce, but also perpetuates gender stereotypes. Shortall and Marangudakis (forthcoming) note that the Irish Farming Association, Ireland's oldest agricultural organisation, for example, has made efforts to increase women's participation through its 2019 Equality and Diversity Strategy, but that this has not yet been successful. For example, women's representation on that organisation's national board was still only 13% in 2019. However, the study noted that women are becoming more involved in newer organisations such as the Irish Organics Association, which is consistent with higher levels of women's involvement in organic agriculture overall. This study also found that women are more likely to be involved in regional than national agricultural organisations, but that

these organisations do not have a voice at the national or EU level.

Pettersson et al. (2017) analysed the feminist approaches taken in policies to promote women's entrepreneurship in Scandinavian countries (2005-2015). In analysing Norwegian policy, they concluded that the government's action plan (More Entrepreneurship for Women, launched in 2008) has shifted from a broad range of initiatives relevant to women's innovation and entrepreneurship, based on liberal feminist perspectives, to less diverse initiatives that focus only on promoting equal access to finance, and then in turn mainly evaluate the "quality" of entrepreneurial projects when deciding on potential support. Based on this trend, Pettersson et al. (2017) argued that Norwegian support for women entrepreneurs seems to have more or less abandoned the liberal feminist approach to focus exclusively on economic growth. A similar tendency has been noted in Scandinavian policy as such.

It is important to highlight the essential role of government policies, gender equality policies, and support for rural women. Local governments have the arduous task of developing public policies and budgets aimed at improving women's quality of life, and effective and real equality is a challenge that governments must address. The intervention of all stakeholders is needed to design and promote policies and strategies to overcome the gender gap.

There are many associations led by rural women that work for gender equality, women's empowerment and their active participation in society. They strive to minimise the gender gap and support rural areas with tools such as courses and training that enable them to improve the development and learning of women who wish to pursue professional training.

Other measures are designed to help make the role of women in agriculture more visible. One of these is the Law on Joint Ownership of Farms and Livestock Holdings, approved in 2011, with the aim of promoting and benefiting the equality of women in rural areas through the economic recognition of their participation in agricultural activity (Del Valle, 2022). This law on farms was passed because there are many women who share farm and livestock tasks with their husbands without recognition of their rights arising from their work (Agronews, 2022). However, expectations have not been met and only 2.5% of farms have benefited from this law (Moreno, 2021).

Regarding innovative activities led by women (Ríos, 2022), they chose to innovate to create a niche in the agri-food sector by locating and engaging in rural areas, with 54% of rural businesses led by women (Merino, 2016; Cocampo noticias, 2022). Despite the fact that women and rural areas have not always gone hand in hand, there are currently many agricultural innovation projects associated with rural women (Desafío mujer rural, 2022; Red rural nacional, 2022). Administrations are trying to give visibility to this type of activity and support it through different actions, such as training on how to develop a rural business plan, meetings and working groups to create networks of contacts, and offering prizes for innovative initiatives led by women (Federación de Mujeres y Familias del Ámbito Rural, 2023).

The literature also suggests redefining the terms "rural" and "rural employment", clarifying the term "rural women," and systematically collecting relevant data. Policies aimed at changing and improving the situation of unemployed rural women must take into account the structural, local, and personal levels of women's experiences. It is important to empower women and increase their

self-confidence in order to promote entrepreneurship, economic activities, and independence of rural women. It is necessary to include women in the rural development programme and provide them with professional support, advice, education, and training, continuously monitor the status and role of women by conducting research and making recommendations to improve the status of women (Barada et al., 2011).

Cesar and Broz (2014) point out that the percentage of women in all decision-making bodies at the Croatian local level has increased. The role of local self-government needs to be strengthened so that the needs and interests of rural women are adequately represented in decision making in the process of improving living standards in rural areas. Improving women's participation in all local community activities, promoting, and supporting women's activities through various forms of associations and activities, and promoting women's entrepreneurship (guaranteed support for small businesses and family farms) will lead to an improvement in the economic situation of women in rural areas. It is necessary to incorporate the principle of gender equality in all policies, especially at the local and regional levels. It is extremely important to collect relevant data on rural women, focusing on education, (self-)employment and health care. Improving the situation of rural women is not possible without the promotion of social associations and services in rural areas, access to appropriate health facilities, improvement of public transport links with major urban centres, and the availability of lifelong learning.

Rural women distrust institutions and criticize the work of the Croatian Employment Service, pointing to the social, administrative, and economic difficulties they face. Women are not represented in political life; they are mostly excluded from formal male-dominated networks and cannot make or influence decisions. The only places where rural women can build their social capital and make decisions are the Catholic Church and cultural and art associations (Šikić Mićanović, 2014).

## 3.7. Other issues (gendered forestry, gender among indigenous Sámi people and crofting)

Finally, there is literature on country-specific topics and issues, such as gendered forestry and gender among the indigenous Sámi in Sweden and crofting in Scotland.

### 3.7.1. Gendered forestry

Considering that approximately 70% of Sweden's land is covered by forest, forests play a central role in the country's history, culture, and economy. Although Sweden's forestry sector is almost fossil fuel free, it is far from gender equal. According to the report Gender equality in the green industry - A guide from LRF's Equality Academy (Lantbrukarnas Riksförbund – LRF, 2019) there are 319,649 forest owners in Sweden. Of these, 38% are women and 60% are men. There is no gender information for 2%. In the last 10 years, between 2007 and 2017, there has been basically no change in this distribution. The age distribution of forest owners is relatively even between women and men. Women own 27% of Sweden's agricultural land (owned by individuals). This corresponds to 840,000 hectares. The remainder, 73% or 2,297,000 hectares, is owned by men. Men own larger land units to a greater extent than women. The larger the land unit, the greater the proportion of men who own it. The report provides detailed data on the following gender aspects: ownership of

the forest, ownership of farmland, agricultural and forestry workforce, entrepreneurship in agriculture, income and financing, education and research, parental leave and distribution of housework, work environment, boards and management in large companies, parliament politicians, and #metoo calls in the green business community.

The aim is to point out that the green industry in Sweden is still far from gender equality and to contribute to a discussion about gender equality, norms, macho cultures and power imbalances in many places in green business. The report notes that no one can say anymore that "this does not apply to us" or that gender equality work is done. To facilitate constructive and forward-looking conversations, much of this report is about what you can do - in an association, as a leader, and even as an individual. Everyone has a responsibility, but leaders in organisations and businesses, both among employees and elected officials, have a greater responsibility to change structures.

In the report Gender Equality leads to Economic Growth (Lantbrukarnas Riksförbund – LRF, 2017), The Federation of Swedish Farmers: Gender Equality Academy highlights how a number of companies are working with gender equality to inspire others to take a step toward a more equal business, economy, and society. The report aims to provide both facts and practical examples of how companies in the green industry are working to achieve greater equality.

In terms of future research and action points for practitioners, Roos et al. (2021) conduct a literature review: the sectoral focus of the literature they identified is exclusively on forestry. Roos et al.'s (2021) conclusions show that the literature has two main areas of focus: first, the impact of history on today's situation, and second, gender inequality as a women's issue. Roos et al. (2021) suggest four areas for future research: moving beyond the historical perspective, understanding the effectiveness of women-only activities, focusing on the role of men in gender equality work, and developing sustainability. They also derive four action items for practitioners from the literature: female role models, mentorship programmes, networks for young professionals and students, and incorporating a gender perspective into bioeconomy education. The authors emphasise the importance of paying attention to the purpose and structure of women-only activities and engaging men when working on gender-related issues.

Forestry is often seen as a male-dominated field (Johansson and Ringblom 2017; Östlund et al., 2020). However, historical research on pre-industrial times has shown that men and women shared both agricultural and forestry tasks. It was not until increased mechanisation, use of machinery, and technology in forestry work that forestry came to be viewed as masculine (Östlund et al., 2020). Meanwhile, the role of women in forestry as owners and students is increasing (Nordic Forest Research – SNS, 2020), although differences between men and women in ownership, management, and operational tasks remain (Follo et al., 2017). Although forest owners appear to be unaware of how gender affects ownership, forest work continues to be gendered (Bergstén et al., 2020). As men continue to dominate forestry, women have fewer opportunities to learn forestry skills (Roos et al., 2021).

While the proportion of women in forestry education has increased at the university level, this has not translated into a parallel increase in forestry jobs (Larasatie et al., 2020). The majority (up to 84%) of women employed in this field experience discrimination (Bardekjian et al., 2019). Research

has documented discursive resistance to gender equality programmes in the workplace, which conversely leads to a reinforcement of the association of masculinity and competence and the naturalisation of gender inequality (Johansson et al., 2019). Women face obstacles to participating in knowledge networks that create a barrier to their careers and reproduce stereotypes about women's inferior skills in forestry tasks (Andersson and Lidestav, 2014). Sexual harassment is a barrier to women's ability to maintain employment in the sector (Johansson et al. 2018; Grubbström and Powell 2020; Larasatie et al. 2020) and reinforces negative gender stereotypes (Johansson et al. 2018).

The forest sector must address the societal challenges of climate change, biodiversity, and conservation, which requires new skills. Some researchers have seen this as an opportunity for women to enter 'modern forestry' and challenge the "all-male structures" (Johansson et al., 2019). However, women still work in extension or education, administration, environmental protection, and conservation, while male foresters work in production and forest science (Arora-Jonsson and Ågren, 2019; Johansson et al., 2019). As the number of employees in forestry has increased, so has the number of women, but this has not changed the norm that heavy physical work in forestry is considered unsuitable for women (Andersson and Lidestav, 2016; Johansson et al., 2019). Men are still considered “real forestry workers” who represent the embodied experience of manual forestry work (Johansson et al., 2018). Sexualized forms of male harassment and control (as reported in the #metoo call #slutavverkat) suggest that women in the sector are seen as representing their gender rather than as true professionals.

Strategies to reduce gender inequality aim to make workplace cultures more inclusive and create support mechanisms for women in a male-dominated sector (Johansson et al., 2018; Bardekjian et al., 2019). These efforts include "sponsorship, mentoring, confidence building, inclusive communication strategies, improving work-life balance, career planning, and addressing sexism and harassment" (Roos et al. 2021). Other strategies include diversifying leadership by increasing the number of women in leadership positions (Johansson and Ringblom, 2017; Baublyte et al., 2019). Research suggests that introducing women into leadership positions does not contribute to more inclusive organisations because women adapt to male norms and do not view the organisation through a gendered lens (Baublyte et al., 2019), and organisational norms continue to adhere to male norms, such as a masculine “sauna culture” or hunting (Larasatie et al., 2020).

Grubbström and Powell (2020) show that gender inequality persists in Swedish forestry education. Experienced inequality, even documented in #slutavverkat, contrasts sharply with strategic gender equality policies and documents. Female students describe harassment and sexist behaviour by fellow male students. Their study reveals mechanisms such as strong traditions and hierarchical relationships that contribute to the perpetuation of gender inequality. These cultures thrive in hidden spaces such as the student union and social media, often in the form of tolerated sexist jokes. Despite various measures to promote gender equality, university leadership has failed to notice and adequately respond to discrimination. Although awareness has increased thanks to #slutavverkat, additional barriers prevent bystanders from taking action.

Holmgren and Arora-Jonsson (2015) examine the Swedish government's vision for the forest sector, "The Forest Kingdom - with values for the world," launched in 2011. They find that women are

portrayed as potential employees and active forest owners connected to the needs of the sector, rather than as active citizens involved in shaping forest policy. This shifts gender inequality (and climate change) from the political sphere to the economic sphere, and is thus associated with industrial needs, private forest ownership, and profit rather than public and collective decision-making. Holmgren and Arora-Jonsson (2015) conclude that the values behind these representations are economic growth, individualism, and reliance on markets. They also note that the emphasis on production is not dissimilar to earlier forestry policy, which until 1993 focused primarily on timber production.

### 3.7.2. The indigenous Sámi people and gender

Northern Sweden (more specifically, in the area called Sápmi, which spans northern Norway, Sweden, Finland, and parts of Russia) lives an indigenous people called the Sámi, who are one of Sweden's official national minorities. Asztalos Morell (2021) compares gender dimensions in agriculture to those in reindeer herding in terms of ownership and inheritance. Similar to agriculture, Sámi practices persist that reinforce the preference for male succession and the weakness of women's economic citizenship despite equal inheritance rights. With regard to Sámi gender relations, researchers emphasize the importance of postcolonial relations. Gråik (2018), among others, argued that Sami women: "We do not think it's a problem of women and men. We have colonization, a history of oppression, decreasing grazing areas, and that impacts how bad both women and men feel, and that causes friction." Some Sami feminists therefore see (post)colonial policies as the cause of the subordinate position of Sami women.

Reindeer herding, which many Sámi practise, requires extensive use of natural resources. It is practised on an area that accounts for nearly half of Sweden's land mass (Löf, 2014, p. IX). Regarding competing land claims, Löf (2014) argued that weak governance and institutions, lack of arenas, and unclear mandates for reindeer herders have resulted in inadequate governance mechanisms to ensure reindeer herders' access to key land resources essential to traditional reindeer herding practices. This prevents them from taking advantage of their indigenous livelihoods. To extrapolate the impact of the continued intrusion of alternative capital interests supported directly or passively by the state, it is important to say that the hegemonic masculinities of state and capitalist actors threaten the livelihoods of Sami reindeer herders, who are primarily represented by men. Vulnerability related to threats to continued access to land resources is seen as the underlying primary insecurity for reindeer herder communities, creating loyalty conflicts for women fighting for gender equality within communities and reindeer herder households.

However, gender equality is not only emphasized within reindeer herding communities. It is embedded in the legal framework for reindeer herding and is upheld by external forces. Without the title of group leader or head of a company, women cannot act as independent economic actors representing reindeer herding communities. The number of women owning reindeer and their share of reindeer herders has gradually increased since 1995 (Asztalos Morell, 2021). Nevertheless, the proportion of reindeer owned by women has remained about the same since 1995. This is the result of women owning fewer reindeer on average than men. However, the fact that the number of

women owning reindeer has increased is certainly the result of some sort of transition in the terms of passing reindeer from one generation to another. These numbers require further study to understand the significance of this slow transition.

The double victimization of Sami and indigenous women has been evident not only in cases of gender-based violence, but also in their subordinate position within reindeer herding communities, which prevents them from participating in reindeer herding on an equal basis with men. While the focus of gender research has been on inequalities from the perspective of women, more recent research has also shed light on the vulnerabilities of Sámi men. Sámi men have lower levels of education than Sámi women (Olsen, 2015; Arora-Jonsson, 2017). In addition, reindeer herders report the highest levels of discrimination based on ethnicity among young Sámi men, and suicide rates in Sweden are highest among reindeer herders. Some researchers have found that ethnicity is a more important issue than gender (Olsen, 2015).

### 3.7.3. Crofting

When analysing different countries and contexts, country-specific practices can be identified, such as crofting in Scotland. Crofting is defined as a "system of land ownership unique to Scotland and integral to life in the Highlands and Islands" (Crofting Commission, 2023). This is a historic land tenure system using small parcels of land for household livelihoods in the islands and highlands in Scotland, usually leased from the landlord (Scottish Government, 2023). Since the Crofters Holding Act of 1886, crofting has therefore had its own legislation in Scotland. The Crofting Commission was formed following the Crofting Reform (Scotland) Act 2010, which replaced the Crofters Commission in 2012. The purpose of the Crofting Commission is to regulate crofting, reorganise crofting, promote crofting interests, and oversee matters related to crofting (Crofting Commission, 2023). The Scottish Crofting Federation, the practice partner for the Scottish case study, is charged with protecting and promoting the rights, livelihoods, and culture of crofters and their communities (Scottish Crofting Federation, 2023).

Most crofters pursue other employment, such as fishing, as men did in the past, or more recently any work combined with running a farm. Crofting farms are very important in the Scottish islands, as evidenced by the fact that up to 65% of households in Shetland, the Western Isles, and Skye are made up of crofting families (Scottish Crofting Federation, 2023).

A study of crofting economics conducted by Scottish Government (2018) recorded 74% male crofters and 26% female crofters in a sample of 4,000 with a response rate of 18%, suggesting that the proportion of female crofters has doubled in four years (Scottish Government 2018, p. 6). In contrast, the 2018 Crofting Census records 65% of crofters as male and 35% as female, with a sample of 19,211 and a response rate of 62% (Crofting Commission, 2018, p. 28). The crofting census shows little change over four years and is likely a more accurate representation of gender distribution. Crofting census data were not disaggregated by sex until recent reforms that led to the collection of sex-disaggregated statistics by the Crofting Commission in 2015. This is consistent with the findings of Shortall et al. (2017, p. 21), who found that crofting, unlike agriculture, appears to be more egalitarian. In their study, 81% of women on crofts reported that they have a role in the daily work and major decisions on crofts. Although women are more likely to be crofters, Shortall et al.

(2017) emphasised that this is because the land on crofts is smaller and therefore less costly than on commercial farms.

# 04 Specific context

## 4.1. Key findings

- Gender norms at EU, national and family level create challenges to rural women at every stage of the innovation process.
- There is still reticence towards women's work, especially in certain male-dominated sectors, although these negative feelings are less and less prevalent.
- Rural and farm women face many barriers in leading rural innovations, such as limited access to property and financial resources, a lack of access to information, training, mentorship, and professional networks.
- Traditional gender norms restrict women's influence within a farming business.
- Land ownership is almost exclusively in male hands.
- Even the most successful women entrepreneurs do not describe themselves as entrepreneurs.
- Women in agriculture are often burdened with unpaid care and domestic work, these are typically gendered expectation which men in innovation do not have to face.
- Working informally limits women's participation in paid economic activities.
- Permanent employment is usually not possible for rural women because of their age, they have no or no affordable social facilities (kindergartens, homes for the elderly and the sick), they do not have adequate public transport and do not have a driver's license.
- Women are not represented in political life, they are mostly excluded from formal male-dominated networks, and they are unable to make or influence decisions.
- Women do not have adequate access to institutional support.
- Women face greater demands through screening and information requirements than men when raising capital. Public business fund managers believe it is less profitable to invest in or provide financial support to women than to men.
- Women's innovations are often overlooked and unregistered, alienating them from training and funding opportunities at EU and national levels.
- Women tend to be more adventurous in their farming and marketing methods where men are more traditional.
- Where women have accesses to business education and "off farm" work they tend to be more ambitious with the development of innovations.
- Where women do not have access to business education, they can report a low confidence around developing innovations.
- Women are involved in and are initiating organic, greener, and more sustainable and multifunctional farming practices.
- Women strive for innovations that positively impact the food system, improve people's quality of life, reduce food waste, encourage short food supply chains, and create food products that have a neutral or positive impact on the climate.
- The empowerment of rural women through social innovations and entrepreneurship has improved their access to economic resources and their decision-making capacity but is has

not structurally changed the institutions and frames of gender inequity in rural areas.

- Networking and collective action are key factors for rural women to enhance their possibilities as entrepreneurs and innovators.
- The role of local self-government needs to be strengthened so that rural women's needs and interests are adequately considered in decision- making in the process of improving living standards in rural areas.
- Business training and mentorship should be catered to women's specific needs.
- Involving women in social entrepreneurship leads to several positive changes in women's lives: increased mobility, increased visibility and status in local communities, and increased awareness of local policies and programs.
- The role of women as innovators in rural areas is underexplored in literature.
- Rural women remain largely unexplored on national or EU level, academically and statistically.
- There is a lack of research on farm and especially non-farm rural women's experience in leading socio-ecological innovations.

## 4.2. Rural women as innovators

Papaleo (2021) reports on the significant experience of women acting as game-changers in rural areas. As rural economies are diversifying and restructuring towards the tertiary sector, new sources of employment have undoubtedly constituted a way of creating jobs for women in rural areas in the new activities demanded by the market. Women are developing new ways of farming that promote the well-being of animals, the environment, and communities. They are also introducing alternative farming methods, such as agroforestry, that help to diversify farm production and improve ecological resilience, mainly through the production of quality agricultural and livestock products, agri-food products, especially small-scale food production, handicraft, health, or education, often combined in rural tourism (Esparcia, 2014; Pato, 2015; Baylina, 2019; Navarro-Valverde et al., 2022). For women in farm families, agritourism is arguably one of the most common means of diversification that they are involved in. These new sources of employment have led to the creation of innovative initiatives by women. In addition to their focus on sustainability and ecological protection, farm women prioritize social innovation. Women-led innovations in rural areas are often farm-based and involving social entrepreneurship in local contexts (Copa Cogeca, 2023). They are creating new forms of cooperation and collaboration with other farmers, consumers, and local communities. For instance, they are developing new marketing and distribution channels that enable them to connect directly with consumers and sell their products for better prices. They also engage in community-building activities, such as organizing farm tours and events, that help build stronger ties between farmers and the local community (Bloemberg et al., 2020). Literature also pointed out that women are more likely than men to participate in on-farm diversified activities such as farm tourism and program like Green Care (National strategy in Norway).

Van der Meulen et al. (2014) describe rural women-led innovations as having the following characteristics:

- Innovative business models that diversify the farm's activities, such as agritourism, direct sales, and value-added products.
- A focus on sustainability and environmentally friendly practices, such as organic farming and

renewable energy.

- Involvement in social and community development, such as offering on-farm education to schools and training opportunities to local residents.
- Collaboration and networking with other businesses and organizations in the area and engaging with consumers and the broader public.
- An emphasis on family and work-life balance, with many women choosing to work part-time or flexibly in order to accommodate caregiving responsibilities.

The main drivers in women-led innovations are linked to their disadvantage starting position, such as the lack of financial support, traditional role of women expected from the family/community/society (Dalla Torre and Ravazzoli, 2020). Although those conditions can be a big limit for the success of business, especially for women that are not willing or unable to be strong enough to face them, they can be drivers for the implementation of innovations. Those challenges can drive some women to develop a business that can result in one solution also for other people that are in the same situation but did not find a solution to solve it or did not have the possibility to do it, building supporting networks (Dalla Torre and Ravazzoli, 2020).

## 4.3. What women do differently?

*"Solitary farmer is replaced by a networking farmer."*

Large proportion of studies from all partner countries find particularities of rural women entrepreneurships and undertakings. Taken altogether, we may report on several common characteristics of rural women-led innovation and businesses. However, most research in this respect relate to farm women while the issues relevant to non-farm women are particularly underexplored.

With few employment opportunities, women often start businesses in highly saturated sectors, in the informal economy, and in low-productivity, low-return activities where they enjoy little or no social protection. In many cases, discriminatory laws, regulations, and social norms prevent women from starting their own businesses, but once they successfully build their businesses, they typically experience recognition, self-confidence, and self-esteem.

Women-led innovations in rural areas are often characterized by a community-based approach that focuses on the needs of local people. These innovations also emphasize sustainability and collaboration with other stakeholders, innovative use of technology, and empowering other women by providing them with skills and resources to start their own businesses and contribute to the local economy. Another important aspect of women-led innovation in rural areas is inclusion, ensuring that everyone in the community benefits from the innovation and addressing the needs of marginalized groups. These features are important for promoting economic and social development in rural areas and can help create more opportunities for women and other community members.

### 4.3.1. Prone to innovate

Farm women seem to be more open to innovation, whereas men are more bound to conventional farm traditions that are often focused on primary production and productivity (Seuneke and Bock, 2015; Hassink et al., 2018). Studies show that farm women engage in innovations by exploring new

ideas and opportunities, experimenting with new techniques, and networking with other farmers and experts. For example, study from Netherlands finds that farm women are more likely than men to explore alternative revenue streams and diversify the farm, which can lead to economic benefits for traditional farms (Bloemberg et al., 2020). Some women see innovation as means to challenge traditional gender roles and to gain recognition and respect in a male-dominated agricultural sector. Also, women working on smaller farms are often more likely to pursue innovations as they are often less bound by conservative practices which tend to dominate on larger farms following patriarchal legacies and traditions (Shortall and Marangudakis, forthcoming).

In the Irish case study quoted in this analysis the CEO of the Irish Organics Association emphasises that women often lead farm innovations due to their "common sense" mindset and that where men are more inclined to follow traditional methods, women are more adventurous and are more targeted with their markets and marketing.

### 4.3.2. Incline to network

Farm women who work 'off farm' bring new experiences and knowledge to the farming business, which may inspire innovations. Women often bring in an extensive network of contacts from off the farm, making it easier to cross over networks. Due to their non-agricultural and often health-care-related education and experience, farm women support the development of care farm activities and facilitate collaboration with healthcare institutions. Studies show that women highly value mentors and networks, but they often lack access to both. Farm women also contribute to innovation by introducing a different body of knowledge and set of skills (Seuneke and Bock, 2015; Hassink et al., 2018; Dalla Torre et al., 2020). There have been identified two clusters of female farmers regarding the different dimensions of innovation and perspectives of decision-making. First one, with prevailing mature women, are prone to maintain status quo rather than develop new trajectories of innovation, however, the second group showed a high level of entrepreneurial orientation and innovation adoption (new practices, knowledge, organisation, etc.) and co-preneurship (De Rosa et al., 2021).

Hence, farm women play a pivotal role in innovative learning and in crossing boundaries by giving access to other sectors and novel ideas that inspire innovation (Seuneke and Bock, 2015; Hassink et al., 2018).

### 4.3.3. No growth intentions and work-love balance

Most women who start businesses on the farm do not receive training or business support. They tend to start small and expand slowly. Moreover, many female entrepreneurs seem to have some kind of a lifestyle business without significant growth intentions. Key motivating factors for women entrepreneurs include ensuring the business fitted around childcare responsibilities, increasing the farm profit and environmental reasons. For example, Stenbacka (2017) finds that the women farmers in Sweden have a mix of values, including a more individually oriented value such as the achievement a "love–work balance", and more community-oriented socio-ecological values. Women also value the financial gains that a farm business can generate, including maximizing profit, economizing, and ensuring that nothing goes to waste, however, Stenbacka (2017) finds that

financial values are not synonymous with agreeing with policies seeking to restructure agriculture into bigger units and higher profits.

### 4.3.4. Environmental awareness

Values and motivations and actual undertakings in line with sustainable, environmentally and climate-friendly practices are emphasized in almost all partner country reports.

A key driver for women identified in literature is the desire to follow environmentally sensitive and sustainable practices captured in the significant adoption of organic farming practices and innovations (Shortall and Marangudakis, forthcoming). Examples from Lithuania shows that women farmers have higher environmental awareness, and they may act in better adoption of the innovative farming practices, climate-smart agriculture and contribute to the implementation of sustainable development goals. Women's business ideas strive to positively impact the food system, improve people's quality of life, reduce food waste, encourage short food supply chains, and create food products that have a neutral or even positive impact on the climate (AgriFood, 2022). Specific examples from Lithuania show that business ideas presented by the women innovators range from innovative or functional food products, special wax packaging or bumblebees for more efficient harvesting, to the production of a special multifunctional green substrate for hydroponics, the recycling of algae into fertilisers, and the creation of an environmentally friendly and zero-waste biodynamic farm. Therefore, scholars argue that women are more flexible to change agriculture activities, which is very important in the context of uncertainties due to climate change or other global concerns (Vilkė et al., 2018; Huyer and Partey, 2020).

In Ireland 26% of organic licences in the country is held by women, considerably more than 12% of all women farm holders (Shortall and Marangudakis, forthcoming). Most of the women interviewed in England for the EEB (European Environmental Bureau) study (2021) were very favourable toward and committed to, regenerative farming and motivated by the ideological position of environmental welfare.

Even in those countries where men still prevail in all types of farms, like Spain, there has been a significant increase of women-led organic farms in recent years (Pallarés-Blanch et al., 2015). Findings from Spain further contribute to this argument by identifying the related sector in which women are incorporating environmental innovations. The production of quality and sustainable foodstuffs, covered by a quality label, which is leading to the modernisation of certain farms led by women in order to adapt to new demands and consumption (Varela-Candamio et al., 2018; Fernández-Giménez et al., 2021, 2022).

### 4.3.5. Strive to multifunctional agriculture

Entrepreneurs in multifunctional farming are interested in developing a new business activity by responding to novel societal demands, direct marketing, food processing, agritourism, education and care-related activities. Dalla Torre et al. (2020) argue that entrepreneurs in multifunctional farming want to ensure more interaction between agriculture and society at large. Following Hassink et al. (2018), Dalla Torre et al. (2020) and Seuneke and Bock (2015), women play an important role in this regard through their non-agricultural networks, education, and experience.

The latter shows how women's specific backgrounds, position and role are essential to the development of multifunctional entrepreneurship. Moreover, the authors argue:

"By initiating and developing new on-farm business activities, farm women thus 1) facilitate the introduction of new identities and practices onto the farm, 2) provide access to new networks and learning environments, and 3) initiate a negotiation process between production and multifunctionality-orientated thought and action within the family" (Senueke and Bock, 2015, p. 48).

According to the survey done by the agricultural magazine from Netherlands (Bloemberg et al., 2020), rural women-led innovations are characterized by their sustainability through considering the long-term effects of farming practices on the environment and animal welfare. Additionally, some women-led innovations prioritize producing high-quality products, using innovative techniques to improve the quality of their crops and livestock. The authors give examples of rural women who are introducing various kinds of innovations on their farms, such as the use of precision agriculture to reduce waste and increase efficiency, the development of sustainable farming methods to reduce the environmental impact of farming, and the production of value-added products like artisanal cheeses and other dairy products (Bloemberg et al., 2020). Stenbacka (2017) finds that for women, farming is integrated into the local rural context, as well as into a broader community context involving other producers and consumers. Women therefore apply communicative strategies involving customers, neighbours, and local residents into their entrepreneurship. Further examples from Netherlands show the innovations that rural women are introducing include farm shops, educational programs, community-supported agriculture schemes (Van der Meulen et al., 2014), and multifunctional farming and care farming. Hassink et al. (2018) identified care farmers' characteristics, including entrepreneurial skills, off-farm education, and previous work experience in the healthcare sector. Studies from Spain show that in agriculture and livestock farming, women are taking part in more dynamic activities such as organic farming and livestock farming, quality food production or production inputs for the agri-food industry.

Social farming is identified as the wave of diversification strategies in European family farms. In Italy, for example, studies showed that social farming and social services on the farms are one of the farm-diversification strategies (Gramm et al., 2020). It creates opportunities for employment for women farmers to gain personal income and become economically independent. This study also identified the relation between social farming (i. e. offering farm-based childcare services) as a form of social entrepreneurship and empowerment of women thus pointing that social entrepreneurship is empowering women in different ways: economically, personally, socially, and culturally (Gramm et al., 2020).

McFadden and Gorman (2016) found that women involved in farm-related innovations who also had commercial training, or solid "off-farm" work experience often developed two or three innovations simultaneously. Moreover, this study shows that when women access farm ownership through marriage, they can drive the innovations in their husbands' family farm businesses.

Research among non-farm rural women is rather rare. Therefore, those which we do have are of great importance. Fhlatharta and Farrell (2017) conducted an important study of female innovators in the rural Connemara region on the West coast of Ireland outside of the context of agriculture.

Here, 54 women innovators were studied for their pioneering responses to the challenging social and economic realities facing farms in Ireland and rural life more broadly. These women innovators developed small or medium sized enterprises (SMEs) across all sectors from primary to tertiary. In this study, 98% of the women innovators interviewed asserted that their target market was local and regional. The cultural influence of the Connemara area was found to be a key influence on the items produced, including crafts like items of clothing (e.g. Aran sweaters, tweed jackets) and stone products using locally sourced marble. The food industry was also noted among the innovations mentioned in this study, e.g. an artisan baker.

## 4.4. Constraints and obstacles

### 4.4.1. General rural reality and societal norms

The restructuring and the decline of rural areas is one of the main obstacles for rural women to enter the labour market. First, there is a shortage of employment in rural areas, especially in jobs that match certain types of qualifications. Moreover, in many cases women's jobs are temporary and lower paid than men's (Osuna et al., 2015; Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, 2021). Another of the main difficulties is the lack of basic social services in these areas (health, education, leisure...) as well as road and telecommunications infrastructures (poor road conditions, deficient public transport, lack of fast internet connection...). Moreover, this lack of social services is magnified, as it interferes with the compatibility of family and professional life (Baylina et al., 2017; Gilabert and Pla-Julián, 2021).

Women still face several challenges and barriers that are mostly connected to the interplay between traditional gender roles and power relations within farm families as well as their capacity to diversify as entrepreneurs (Whatmore, 1991; Shortall, 1999). A patriarchal thinking, especially in rural regions are still prevailing in all partner countries, and it is especially emphasized in new democracies, Lithuania and Croatia (Barada et al., 2011; Šikić Mićanović, 2014; Balezentis et al., 2021). Women's socio-economic contributions and entrepreneurial potential remain largely unrecognized and untapped for various reasons: a lack of gender analysis, lack of awareness of the issues relating to women, lack of political will which leads to discriminatory practices and gender-blind programmes and policies that perpetuate systemic barriers and fail to respond to women entrepreneurs' needs and impede women's empowerment (Simpson, 2010). Barriers that women face include limited access to resources, as well as traditional gender norms that restrict their participation and limit their influence. Women are also often burdened with unpaid care and domestic work, which can limit their time and energy to pursue innovative activities. Additionally, a lack of access to information, training, and networks can limit their ability to develop and implement innovations effectively (Van der Meulen et al., 2014).

Female entrepreneurs experience various internal and external constraints. There is still social reticence towards women's work, especially in certain male-dominated sectors, such as public authorities, financial or insurance institutions, suppliers, clients, etc. Societal norms and attitudes affect women's opportunities, so they usually face additional obstacles when starting a business (e.g., women's entrepreneurship may not be widely accepted in society), as shown in Šikić

Mićanović, 2014). Although these negative feelings are less and less prevalent, women still do not receive equal treatment. There are patriarchal inheritance and land ownership practices (Shortall, 2017; Curtin, 2021, 2023) which hinder women from starting entrepreneurial venture and when they do decide to start a business, they do not perceive that people have sufficient confidence in their chances of success (Porto Castro et al., 2015). Furthermore, the choices and preferences of female entrepreneurs do not match the classic economic understanding of entrepreneurship very well, which implies various internal constraints (such as low self-confidence; perceived hostile environments) and external constraints (such as the legal system, social norms) on female entrepreneurs. Fhlatharta and Farrell (2017) found that the ongoing fear of the innovation failing or the income stream from the innovation being insufficient to meet the financial needs of the family farm was also an ongoing concern for the women interviewed. Wilson-Youlden and Bosworth (2019) revealed that although there are different complex motives for women involvement in farm diversification, most women did not consider themselves as businesswomen or entrepreneurs, thereby underestimating the influence of their business decision-making capacity. It means diversification does not always imply entrepreneurial capacity and identity-shaping to drive innovativeness, and it requires that women also acquire skills and entrepreneurial orientation to enable them to operate their ventures (Phelan and Sharpley, 2012; Wilson-Youlden and Bosworth, 2019).

Women in general participate to a lesser extent than men in collaborative organisations and even lesser extent in representative and management positions. The reasons are again related to the workload that women weigh in terms of family responsibilities.

Studies from other sectors than agriculture are also finding barriers for women. For example, while the proportion of women in forestry education in Sweden on university level has increased, this has not been reflected in a parallel increase in forestry-related workplaces (Larasatie et al., 2020). The majority (up to 84%) of women employed within the field experienced discrimination (Bardekjian et al., 2019). Research has documented discursive resistance against gender equality programmes in workplaces, conversely leading to reinforcement of the association of masculinity and competence and to naturalising gender inequality (Johansson et al., 2020). Despite women's potential to contribute to social and cultural sustainability of the rural economy in addition to their economic contributions, women in rural enterprises face challenges related to locational isolation, confidence in doing business and access to finance and resources when compared to men who have less or no caring commitment (Warren-Smith and Jackson, 2004). Studies from Sweden also show that sexual harassment forms a specifically hard barrier for women's ability to sustain employment in the sector (Johansson et al. 2018; Grubbström and Powell, 2020; Larasatie et al., 2020) and reinforces negative gender stereotypes (Johansson et al., 2018).

Farm women face many barriers in leading rural innovations, such as limited access to resources, a lack of access to information, training and networks, and traditional gender norms that restrict their influence within a farming business. Farm women especially face challenges in accessing finance, equipment, and other resources necessary to run and expand the farm, likely limiting women-led farms' ability to innovate and compete. In the process of diversifying the farm or some other alternative revenue path, women face numerous gender norms and stereotypes in the agricultural

sector, which are likely limiting opportunities and recognition of their contributions to the farm (Bloemberg et al., 2020).

In a paper critically engaging with gendered property ownership Andersson and Lidestav (2014) argues that there is a strong material relationship between gendering and the business activities performed by farming men and women, respectively. The study indicates that less access to land is a major obstacle for women farmers, which reproduces the exclusion of female farmers seen in rural development policies and programs.

There are findings showing the different scope of barriers for farm and non-farm women. For example, in Scottish Women in Agriculture Research Report (Shortall and Sutherland, 2017) was found that rural businesswomen had varied paths into how they started working in their businesses, some married in, started it themselves and others inherited the business. They were successful and active in the business, however, in comparison to women in agriculture, rural businesswomen did not face the primary challenge of accessing land. Furthermore, compared to women in agriculture farming businesses, rural businesswomen in Scotland were represented well in organisations and hold positions of authority. This is a clear contrast to women in the agriculture industry, who are consistently underrepresented. Furthermore, rural businesswomen have access to training and have no issues accessing Continuing Professional Development. This demonstrates the evident differences between rural women entrepreneurs in Scotland and women entrepreneurs in farming businesses.

### 4.4.2. Informal and unpaid family work

All partner countries report on gender-unsymmetrical burden of domestic and family work, which is unpaid and invisible. Women's ability to participate in income-generating activities is limited by unpaid family work. Women's chances of starting a business are hampered by the lower wages' women are paid in comparison with men. In addition, in countries with lower level of economic development, self-employment is much lower, especially for women in rural areas. For example, in Lithuania, women do most of the childcare and/or house care (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2022; Office of the Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson, 2023) and at the same time, the self-employment of women in agriculture, forestry and fishing was 1.9 times lower than that of men in 2022 (Matuszewska-Janica, 2018). Constraint to change in division of labour within family is a lack of institutional support regarding pre-school education (nurseries, kindergartens). For example, in Croatia in 2018, there was fifth of all rural municipalities without kindergartens or any organized children day-care while share of children in rural areas attending kindergartens did not exceed 30 percent (Bokan, 2020).

### 4.4.3. Property ownership and inheritance

Patriarchal practices of land transfer have traditionally excluded women from larger land ownership (Shortall, 2017) forcing them to work on smaller, even rented land or to pursue employment in related or other sectors. The dominance of gender norms in farm families, even in their micro level interactions (Shortall, 2017) have entailed not only that women's work on farms is often unpaid and unrecognised but that their increasingly important "off farm" work is often minimised, even by the

women themselves so as not to destabilise long held gender roles and patriarchal ideologies (Shortall, 2017).

Lack of access to land ownership (e.g. Shortall, 2017) and the implications of these barriers were analysed for these women-led farming sectors to include limitations on their enterprises to small scale ones and the enforced running of their activities on male owned farms. As a result of these barriers coupled with unfavourable national policy for these women, for example in Ireland, the eventual “masculinisation” of these activities is noted with men predominantly taking the lead in operations and women employed as workers. Women had less favourable labour conditions, and due to the marriage ban in Ireland (abolished comparatively late in the 1970s) were forced to end their working lives when they got married. On the other part of EU, in Croatia, women became officially equal as the workers (for example, in industry) after 1945., however, farm women stayed economically unrecognised and statistically invisible.

The tendency for women’s entrepreneurial efforts to be overshadowed by men in entrepreneurship is high depending on the context within which they operate. As such, the pattern of entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial learning and negotiations achieved to ensure resilience and adaptive capacity are crucial for innovative environmental practices to allow for optimal use of rural resources on farms (Rae, 2006). This is also the case for women in agriculture and farming families. But women entrepreneurship in agriculture has not gotten much attention as entrepreneurship among women in other sectors especially because of the nature of roles that they are perceived to play in farm families. Also, the emphasis on the male farmer in farm family business as a unit of analysis deems the light on women entrepreneurs as individuals within such farming units except in cases where there are clear business partnerships that include women or when women are clear owners. But in most cases, they face greater constraints when they do not have any ownership stake in the farm business even when they are considered in succession planning (Glover, 2014).

### 4.4.4. Mentoring, training, networking

Women face internal and external barriers to engagement with training opportunities for the development of business networks (Fhlatharta and Farrell, 2017). As underlined by Shortall (2017) embarking on an innovative enterprise with no formal business education and low financial resources is a predominant issue. All partner countries report on the need for women to acquire a higher level of specific training in field of agriculture and livestock farming, as well as business education (Alario and Morales, 2016; McFadden and Gorman, 2016; McDonald's, 2023).

The mentoring projects (AgriFood, 2022; Young Women Green Entrepreneurs, 2022) showed that the support women received from other innovators or consultants in the field enable them to set up innovative and modern farms and enhance women’s confidence and strengthened their existing competences and encourage them to make new contacts and establish business partnerships in the process of succession and setting up the innovative and modern farms. However, one of the barriers to on-farm innovation identified relates to mentoring and personal consultation (Reguliauskiene, 2022).

Women face obstacles to participate in networks of knowledge constituting an obstacle in their career, reproducing stereotypes on women’s lesser capabilities to forestry related tasks (Andersson

and Lidestav, 2016). Women have certain obstacles to attending training days, due to their work schedules and also to the double working day that represents the professional and family activity, as it is women who dedicate a greater proportion of their time to housework and caring for dependents (Casas, 2019). Furthermore, Wilson (2007, p. 367) finds that although women had access to trainings to improve their skills and business planning, they had limited access to marketing advise; leaving them mostly to operate their business "through trial and error". Also, while some women involved in on-farm diversification may have the right formal and informal networks to build and sustain their businesses beyond their local economies, others need more capacity to do so successfully especially when the venture is newly formed (Grande, 2011).

Fhlatharta and Farrell (2017) and Shortall (2017) have highlighted that gender stereotypes prohibit women's access to key networks and memberships of professional organisations which would provide them with critical training and dissemination opportunities. Moreover, even when rural women innovators are providing valuable contributions to their communities (Fhlatharta and Farrell, 2017, p. 15) their work is undervalued by their broader rural communities where men hold a dominant position and are more traditionally associated with entrepreneurship.

Underlining the positive impact of "off farm" work, McFadden and Gorman (2016) assert that when women have amassed work experience outside of the family farm, they are more inclined to conceptualise and develop innovative initiatives. Key to this is women innovators having business education and networking experience.

Research in Spain have shown a great impact of women networking. Studies on the cooperative and associative movement have shown it is a fundamental tool to support innovative women and that the synergies generated in cooperative work organisations allow the realisation of innovative ideas, even with low start-up capital and little training in business management among female members (Gómez Carrasco, 2019). Moreover, this type of business has a greater potential for success nowadays, considering the new functionality of rural areas and the growing demand for the goods and services that this area offers, characterised by quality, originality, and an ecological component (Mozas, 2019). In addition, cooperative work allows flexible working hours, facilitates work-life balance, minimises gender inequalities, enables democratic decision-making, and promotes collaboration with other actors and businesses (Villafáñez Perez, 2017).

### 4.4.5. Lack of state and institutional support

Shortall and Marangudakis (2022) have highlighted the inadequacy of policy at European level and its implementation on the national stage, to meet the goals of the EU Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025 and reduce gender inequalities overall. This study highlighted the real implications this has for women in accessing funding and training activities that can hinder their innovation activities from the outset. Moreover, Flatharta and Farrell (2017) emphasise that the innovative work of women can often be unrecognised and not adequately recorded, alienating them even further from funding and training opportunities. Overall, in terms of the experiences of rural women leading socio-ecological innovations, research has concluded that women face significant challenges at every stage of the process.

Contrary to the stated goal of promoting women's entrepreneurship, there appear to be few, if any,

policies, and interventions directly aimed at achieving this goal. The Rural Development Programme frequently identifies the promotion of female entrepreneurship as one of the objectives to be achieved during the programme period. Nevertheless, experts (Madau and Piras, 2018; Di Napoli and Reda, 2021; Zumpano, 2021) are pointing out that there are no measures or interventions in the regional plans that are directly aimed at achieving this objective. The absence of intervention measures specifically aimed at supporting women makes it extremely difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of rural development policies in promoting female entrepreneurship. Most importantly, the absence of interventions explicitly targeting the situation of women and entrepreneurship suggests that policy makers have little interest in these issues. Moreover, there is evidence that attention to improving gender equality within LAGs has been declining in recent years, both among beneficiaries and in leadership positions, as highlighted in the study in Italy (Di Napoli and Reda, 2021).

Many obstacles faced by rural women could be alleviated through appropriate policies at the regional and local levels that are tailored to specific local circumstances. Research show that women who decide to lead an innovative initiative face various obstacles. Some of most significant obstacles relate to access to financing, lack of information, lack of specific support and excessive bureaucracy. In addition, study from Spain showed the whole range of obstacle may intertwine, for example, for women there is a fear of starting their own business, with the financial risk that this entails, increased by the lack of information and public support, especially in rural areas (Hervás, 2014; Alario and Morales, 2016).

Studies in Spain also showed that many women are unaware of the various procedures required to set up a business, the different types of business models that exist and their advantages and disadvantages, and the aid available to them. Likewise, women are unaware of the most emerging and innovative sectors in rural areas, the types of specialisations, distribution channels, etc. (Rico and Vázquez, 2022). It is an indication of insufficient institutional support to women which would secure the access to information and networking to women, especially in rural areas, and thus mitigate the psychological obstacles and provide the needed support to women with aspirations for entrepreneurial undertaking.

Other types of disadvantages are related to the excessive bureaucracy that an entrepreneurial initiative has to face, especially at the moment of its establishing. More public support and promotion is needed through the process of managing the business, particularly in the consolidation phase (Rico and Gómez, 2021).

Further obstacle to the success of women-led innovative initiatives is related to social climate and stereotypes toward women within public and financial sector. Women entrepreneurs, particularly in rural areas, often experience limited access to relevant financial products and services to start and consolidate their innovations or business (Simpson, 2010). Women face greater demands through screening and information requirements than men when raising capital. Research indicates that public business fund managers believe it is less profitable to invest in or provide financial support to women than to men. A study of a small Norwegian investment fund showed that they placed less importance on the experience background of female entrepreneurs than male entrepreneurs (Alsos and Ljunggren, 2017; Grünfeld et al., 2019). Also, a different language and

male dominance in the financial industry can also affect the likelihood that good projects with female entrepreneurs will gain access to funding. The language used is also typical masculine and it is claimed that many women are scared away from the rooms where the investors are easiest to find and possibly match with. Women innovators included in the Fhlatharta and Farrell's study (2017) also mentioned the lack of state support for their activities and difficulties in accessing private funding to support their innovations with banks reluctant to lend money to female applicants without male business leads or partners. Study in the banking sector (Fhlatharta and Farrell, 2017; Shortall, 2017), as women innovators reported, bank was not inclined to give women financial support to develop their initiatives unless they were in partnership with a man. An important exception to this, the ACORNS programme (Accelerating the Creation of Rural Nascent Start-ups), funded in 2014 by the Irish Government, specifically focussed on supporting early-stage female entrepreneurs living in rural Ireland.

However, the issue of low financial resources was also noted as a barrier to accessing childcare, another impediment hindering women's business development. Again, limited finances coupled with a lack of confidence and training was also reported by Fhlatharta and Farrell (2017), in their study in Ireland, preventing women from pursuing the networking opportunities they understand are fundamental to their business development. Their isolated location also presented technological and infrastructural challenges. These included poor broadband and inadequate roads preventing regular access to the nearest city (Galway) for networking and sales purposes.

Some partner states report on almost complete omission of gender equality policy which have an impact on (rural) women lives. In this respect, gender equality policy in Lithuania is mainly related to the development of the theoretical concept of gender equality (Zvinkliene, 2016) and national political documents, reports or development plans do not engage specifically in the encouragement of women's entrepreneurship and the creation of innovations. For example, the Lithuanian innovation development program for 2014–2020 does not have a goal related to the empowerment of women in the labour market or encouragement business innovation opportunities for women (Hozer-Kocmiel et al., 2017). On the other hand, in Croatia there are strategic documents on women empowering for the entrepreneurship, however it is unknown whether the success indicators are measured.

### 4.4.6. Multiple minorities

We have already emphasized that women are not a homogeneous social stratum, which means that different groups of women across European countries face different and intertwined obstacles due various and interrelated social settings sometimes producing growing social inequalities. Some of the partner countries have reported research that addresses some of these issues in relation to those women who have more than one minority identity (in addition to being women).

Regarding property ownership and inheritance, Asztalos Morell (2021) compares the gender dimensions in farming with reindeer herding among Sámi, one of Sweden's official national minorities. Likewise in farming, practices persist among the Sámi that reinforce the preference for male succession and the weakness of women's economic citizenship despite equal inheritance rights (Asztalos Morell, 2021). Considering Sámi gender relations, research emphasize the importance of

postcolonial relations. However, Gråik (2018), among others, argues that Sámi women: "do not believe it is a woman and man problem. We have colonization, history of oppression, declining pastures, and this has consequences on how badly both women and men feel, and this leads to frictions ". Thus, some Sámi feminists identify the (post)colonial policies as the root cause of Sámi women's subordinate situation.

Based on ethnographic material in three rural municipalities in northern Sweden (including interviews with refugee women and employers), Carlbaum (2022) finds that while refugee women can capitalise on embodied cultural capital of feminine and ethnic caregiving, they have limited options and often end up in low-paid jobs in elder care or early childhood education and other care sectors. In an article on refugee youth settlement in rural areas in Sweden, Asztalos Morell (2023) highlights that participation of unaccompanied refugee children in local civil society initiatives give important positive contribution to their integration. Sport clubs with activities, such as football or boxing, typically attract boys. Meanwhile, there is a lack of activities catering to unaccompanied refugee girls.

Among immigrant women entrepreneurs in Norway, the types of innovations are somewhat different than among other women, and include businesses that sell clothing, production of cultural events and concerts, businesses that organise recreational activities for children and adults, and businesses that offer beauty treatments and massage therapies. Further research should be conducted on the obstacles migrant women face in their entrepreneurial ventures.

## 4.5. Seeds of women empowerment

Despite significant challenges, efforts are being made in all EU countries to achieve gender equality. However, the biggest challenge remains how to ensure that the huge targets set in the strategic documents at the high EU level are implemented in the member countries, especially in those rural regions in most need of gender equality enhancement.

This section provides some evidence of positive impacts on women's empowerment.

Fhlatharta and Farrell (2017) highlight the seeds of change in national policy in Ireland that aim to increase opportunities for rural women innovators. These include the establishment of the Commission for the Economic Development of Rural Areas (CEDRA) and the introduction in 2014 of the ACORNS programme (Accelerating the Creation of Rural Nascent Start-ups) funded by the Irish Government through the Rural Innovation and Development Fund, specifically focussed on supporting early-stage female entrepreneurs living in rural Ireland. It involves peer-to-peer learning and interactive round table sessions, led by “Lead Entrepreneurs,” or women innovators who have successfully gone through the process of developing their own businesses in rural Ireland. Fhlatharta and Farrell (2017) highlight women’s innovations on the west coast as important carriers of local culture and the Irish language, important influences on the innovations produced. A core finding of this study is that these women are “agents of positive change” (p. 15) whose work contributes on social, cultural, and economic levels to the local economy.

While there is praise for this initiative from the National Women’s Council (2021), they also highlight further areas where there is potential to develop supports of women rural innovators. This includes

the development of "incubation spaces and innovation hubs" (p. 10) and "digi spaces with onsite childcare" (p. 10) to accommodate the caring responsibilities of women innovators.

References from Spain show that young rural women constitute a new generation characterised by their radical rethinking of what they want and expect from their life in the countryside (Baylina et al., 2017). A certain trend has been detected in Spain based on women's desire to remain in rural areas as a way of life (Baylina and García-Ramón, 2017). In some cases these are women who have always lived in a rural area, in other cases they are rural women who migrated to the city to obtain a better education and who now wish to return to the countryside, and finally, there is another group of urban women who wish to settle in a small municipality for various reasons (Miralles-Guasch et al., 2016; Baylina et al., 2019; Fernández Álvarez, 2022). This is a group of women who are more educated and more familiar with new information and communication technologies (Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, 2020; Observatorio del Emprendimiento de España, 2022). Reports from Spain note that although agri-food industry in rural areas is a low-paid and sometimes highly seasonal job, an increasing number of young, qualified, innovative, and technically skilled women are taking up leadership positions. Context and key points on women-led innovation in rural areas with a focus on socio-ecological innovation. Entrepreneurship has become an effective way of generating employment in rural areas, especially for the most disadvantaged groups such as women and young people (Espín, 2018). Although the participation of women in agricultural sector is still very low compared to men, it should be noted that in recent years in Spain there have been signs of modernisation of the sector and professionalisation by women (Camarero, 2017a; Castelló and Romano, 2021). This is due to the reorientation of the sector towards more dynamic activities such as organic agriculture and livestock farming, quality food production or the production of inputs for the agri-food industry.

In addition, there is a tendency for women to be more environmentally aware (McDonald's, 2023). These processes induced changes in gender relations which have been observed in rural areas, especially among younger women (Rico and Vázquez, 2022). Women's paid and recognised work affects the trend toward more equal roles in partnerships (Fernández Cornejo et al., 2019). At the same time, this work allows women to be valued in effective terms (their social and labour rights are recognised) and also in affective terms, as they feel more valued in their family and social environment.

In Lithuania in 2021, some steps are being taken to address issues of gender equality in the labour market. For example, certain changes to parental leave were adopted, which aim to reduce the gap of women in the labour market and enable them to remain more competitive after parental leave (Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, 2022). The amendment to the law aims to temporarily return women to the labour market, obliging men to take part of the childcare leave.

Also in Italy, '*Donne in campo*' is the national Bonus Scheme aimed at favouring the development and consolidation of farms led and managed by women. The scheme has been reconfirmed for the second year (2021) in the National Budget Law. The Bonus is aimed at micro, small and medium-sized enterprises run and managed by women, individually or in association. The fund finances projects pursuing the improvement of farm performance and sustainability, for example, the improvement of agronomic and environmental conditions, hygiene, and animal welfare and/or the

construction and enhancement of infrastructure related to the development and modernisation of agriculture (ISMEA, no date). On the other hand, there is also a grassroot empowerment in rural communities. One of the examples comes also from Italy, highlighting the presence of childcare services in rural areas, most of which have emerged spontaneously to meet internal needs of farms in terms of economic diversification, income integration, employment, and entrepreneurship, but also to meet the needs of families living in rural areas (Borsotto et al., 2023).

## 4.6. Research deficits and future directions

It is stressed by partner countries that there are many aspects of women entrepreneurship and diversification which are underexplored.

There are various studies where the participants are identified by gender, but the results are not reflected accordingly. This shows, on the one hand, that gender is not treated as a factor affecting innovation in agriculture. The emphasis is often placed on education and age groups.

Despite the presence of several networking groups and organisations and a significant proportion of them engaging with women to provide the training and skills that they require, most research have not fully explored how these social structures impact individual farm businesses and diversification paths that women in farm families pursue. While most analysis look at the individuals, mainly the male farmer, the group or organisational network effect on diversification remains underexplored. While majority of the research have also focused on decision-making in farm families and businesses, not much work has been done on the decisions women in families make when they engage in on or off-farm diversifications and how these impacts their businesses, family lives and wider economy.

Aspect that also remains underexplored is the challenges, barriers and the opportunities that women face when they decide to diversify as well as their actual experience in diversification. Despite the increasing recognition of women's role in diversification, the extent to which this is also changing farm families remains underexplored especially from a gender perspective.

For example, in the UK, a significant proportion of research on women diversification have focused mostly on diversification into farm- or agritourism. Diversification and social innovation into other ventures requires further investigation as well as the gendered implications. In addition to that, apart from the economic support that the income from off-farm employment provides for farm families, there appears to be limited studies on what other implications of off-farm employment might be for farm families and farm business survival especially in situations when women are no longer able to take up off-farm employment. The social and cultural implications for both farm families and rural economies also remain underexplored. As a result, other diversification paths that women within rural economies pursue may be overlooked. Also, different entrepreneurial paths would require different business strategies especially given the regional differences that may occur across each country.

# 05 Conclusions

## 5.1. Key Findings

- Despite efforts in EU legislation, gender inequalities still exist in the EU. Women in rural areas suffer from double discrimination: the first stems from the gender gap and the second from the urban-rural gap.
- The population of women in rural areas is much lower than men, as they migrate to cities to find better working and studying conditions.
- Rural women have less access to services, rural organizations, infrastructure, or technology.
- In peripheral rural areas of Europe and in Central and Eastern European Member States, women face more problems because these areas are not gender-sensitive and do not consider the specific needs and experiences of women, especially in terms of employment and services.
- Women are more likely to be unemployed, to have part-time employment, to participate in the labour force through unpaid and invisible work, to be paid less than men, to own fewer farms (only 30% of all farm managers in the EU), and to be the most vulnerable.
- Women in agriculture are often burdened with unpaid care and domestic work.
- Invisible work is still widespread in the EU, unpaid work and responsibilities are not captured in employment data.
- Working informally limits women's participation in paid economic activities.
- Women's contribution to rural development and agriculture is crucial but undervalued and underestimated as they are often not recognized as official partners.
- Gender norms at EU, national and family level create challenges to rural women at every stage of the innovation process.
- CAP support is designed for "standard" farms, which receive support tailored to male-majority farms. The gender perspective is not considered in this process.
- Women have limited or no access to land and finance. Managers of public enterprise funds believe that it is less profitable to invest in or financially support women than men.
- Rural and farm women face many barriers in leading rural innovations, such as limited access to land, property and financial resources, a lack of access to information, training, mentorship, and professional networks.
- Women are not represented in political life, they are mostly excluded from formal male-dominated networks, and they are unable to make or influence decisions.
- Women do not have adequate access to institutional support.
- Women's innovations are often overlooked and unregistered, alienating them from training and funding opportunities at EU and national levels.
- Women are involved in and initiating sustainable and multifunctional farming practices.
- Women seek to create innovations tackling socio-ecological issues and they are often at the forefront of ecological farming practices, generally on smaller farms.
- Involving women in social entrepreneurship leads to several positive changes in women's lives: increased mobility, increased visibility and status in local communities, and increased

awareness of local policies and programs.

- Networking and collective action are key factors for rural women to enhance their possibilities as entrepreneurs and innovators.
- The role of local self-government needs to be strengthened so that rural women's needs and interests are adequately considered in decision-making processes of improving living standards in rural areas.
- Rural women remain largely unexplored on national or EU level, academically and statistically.
- There is a lack of research on farm and especially non-farm rural women's experience in leading socio-ecological innovations.

All GRASS Ceiling partner countries report that the body of research on rural women, their experiences in agriculture and the rural context in EU is mainly insufficient. The available information regarding the women-led innovation in rural areas is fragmented and often does not provide the whole context of specific country. Nevertheless, the studies we do have explore critical themes and stress key issues and obstacles which rural women face. All partner countries stress that EU policy has failed to meet the requirements set out by the EU Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025, through inefficient processes of gender mainstreaming and incorrect attitudes of viewing agriculture as a sector rather than an occupation and the real implications this has for national level policy and the lived realities of women working in agriculture and living in rural areas.

There are many implications for rural women which include barriers to accessing key funding and training opportunities. Research on the role of tradition in perpetuating gender norms is showing to encompass patriarchal land inheritance practices, male dominance in farming bodies and organisation and micro level mindsets and behaviours in farm families as social units. As a result, women's critical work both on and "off farm," in which they play an increasing role in promoting the sustainability of family farms, is underestimated by male family members, and underplayed by the women themselves who sustain traditional and dominant narratives of males as breadwinners due to internalised patriarchal patterns.

There is more academic research and data on farm women than on rural women and their role in innovation and economy, on household, community, or regional level. Likewise, the data on the extent of (rural) women innovations nationally is difficult or impossible to obtain. Rural women remain largely unexplored on national or EU level, academically and statistically. Although there is a certain amount of research on farm women, we find the scientific information and statistical data still very limited, especially if we consider the discrepancies in volume of research between partner countries, having a substantial amount of research in Spain, Sweden and UK, less but still much important in Norway, the Netherlands and Lithuania, however quite less in Croatia.

This literature review has demonstrated that there are clear and evident gender-based barriers for women in rural areas, both in the agriculture community and the wider rural society. Factors which contribute to these barriers include male dominance in farm ownership, farm size and farm income, patrilineal land inheritance patterns, lack of women in leadership positions and women's participation in farming institutions and organisations as well as lacking women's access to key training and farm education opportunities. In all reporting countries remains a gender imbalance in division of tasks in farm households with many women doing more chores and childcare than their

partners. There is also the significance of women's "off farm" work that has changed over time, it has initially supported women's financial independence, but later has often become critical to the survival and sustainability of family farms.

Research on agricultural and rural women's key role as socio-ecological innovators could be much enhanced, however, recent studies do highlight key points. Women, though generally working on smaller farms, are involved in organic, green, and sustainable farming practices, often challenging the traditional, more conservative methods adopted by male farmers. This results from their environmental values but also a drive to maximise profits. Women are creating small and medium sized enterprises, often social entrepreneurships influenced by local context, and are contributing significantly to the social and economic viability of their local regions though, again, this is often overlooked by their communities and the innovators themselves due to longstanding male dominance in "entrepreneurship".

In general, women seek to create innovations tackling socio-ecological issues and they are often at the forefront of ecological farming practices, generally on smaller farms. For example, in Lithuania, rural women have a positive impact on the food system, improve quality of life, reduce waste of food, have positive impact on the environment and are important for the encouragement of climate-smart agriculture. In Norway, development of farm-based innovations such as tourism and Green Care are often women-led and appear as a strategy to attract potential successors. Women-led innovations often solve societal problems related to social entrepreneurship.

Although there are many similarities in rural women position and barriers in all partner countries, however, ruralities are heterogeneous and it needs to be stressed that there is also a specific context of each country which should be tackled in reporting as well as in creating policy.

In the last decade it is observed that women take more active economic roles. Women's engagement and agency are becoming important for promoting innovation in the agricultural sector, particularly in multifunctional farming. Setting up their own business can empower farm women by establishing their own business and professional identity and by generating their own income. It also strengthens their position and recognition within the farm and the farm sector. When developing new business activities, farm women tend to start at a small scale, without a business plan or bank loan. Women are more likely than men to explore farm diversification to generate alternative revenue streams, and in doing so, they are facing gender norms and stereotypes on the farm and the wider farm sector, including banks, as well as traditional ideas about farm development.

Although the involvement of women in agricultural businesses is quite low, women are increasingly taking on more strategic and outwardly focused roles. For example, research in Netherlands (Van der Meulen et al., 2014) showed over two-thirds of women who consider themselves to be involved in strategic decision-making on farms. This is reflected in the prominence of husband-wife or father-daughter partnerships in which women become official co-head of the farm with varying percentages in the distribution of "headship". This formalizes their decision-making power and entrepreneurship yet does not necessarily include co-ownership of farm capital, e. g. land. Unlike other partner countries, in Spain young women are more likely to enter the rural labour market and

the development of new sources of employment helps to create innovative initiatives that generate income and jobs. These innovative activities are increasing in sectors such as agriculture and livestock (new products, quality production, organic food), agri-food enterprises, services to the population, tourism, and trade. However, there are obstacles to the successful development of these activities, mentioned in previous paragraphs. In the context of UK, and we perhaps also of the EU, Scotland presents an example of an exception government which has invested heavily into eradicating the gender inequality in the industry. It has invested into various training and opportunities for women in the agriculture industry to help increase their confidence and tackle patriarchal structures in agricultural organisations. Therefore, it should be held up as an example to other countries for best practice as to how move past gender inequality in the industry. In order to overcome gender inequality in rural areas, it is necessary to apply tools that can favour the occupational trajectory of women. One of them, proven in Spain, is associationism and cooperativism, as they represent an important asset to be able to take advantage of synergies by working in a collaborative, equal and supportive way. Furthermore, there is a need to provide an access to training that could bring the professionalisation of the various innovative activities, especially in issues related to digitalisation and sustainability.

While seeds of hope are acknowledged in literature in the form of a national funding programme developed specifically to support women innovators in rural areas, research has identified where there is considerable room for improvement at European and national levels, encompassing more targeted data collection, policies and supports to promote not only the visibility but the success of women led innovations.

# 05 References

*#meeto in the green industries* (2018) [#metoo i det gröna näringslivet].

Adinolfi, F., Capitanio, F., De Rosa, M. and Vecchio, Y. (2020) 'Gender differences in farm entrepreneurship: comparing farming performance of women and men in Italy', *New Medit* 19(1), pp. 69–82. Avaliable at: https://doi.org/10.30682/nm2001e (Accessed: 3 March 2023).

AgriFood (2022) *The participants of the EWA program in Lithuania gained knowledge about attracting investors in the "MasterClass" event*. Available at: https://www.agrifood.lt/en/ewa-master-class/ (Accessed: 10 March 2023).

Agronews (2017) 'Las mujeres y la ganadería', *Agrnews Castilla y León*, 9 May. Available at: https://www.agronewscastillayleon.com/las-mujeres-y-la-ganaderia (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Agronews (2022) 'La Titularidad Compartida cumple 10 años con 924 altas', *Agronews CyL*, 6 January. Available at: https://www.agronewscastillayleon.com/la-titularidad-compartida-cumple-10-anos-con-924-altas#:~:text=Los%20%C3%BAltimos%20datos%20ofrecidos%20por,a%202020%20cuando%20fueron%20119 (Accessed : 16 March 2023).

Alario, M. and Morales, E. (2016) 'Iniciativas de las mujeres: emprendimiento y oportunidades en el espacio rural de Castilla y León', *Documents d'anàlisi geográfica*, 62(3), pp. 613-637. Available at: https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/dag.369 (Accessed 7 March 2023).

Alcampo (2020) 'La ganadería española también se escribe con nombre de mujer', *Alcampo Corporativo*, 17 September. Available at: https://alcampocorporativo.es/huella/la-ganaderia-espanola-tambien-se-escribe-con-nombre-de-mujer/. (Accessed 14 March 2023).

Alić, K. (2016) *Rodni poredak u životima ruralnih žena na području Zadarske županije.* Available at : https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:162:062577 (Accessed: 7 March 2023).

Alonso, R. (2021) 'La mujer rural, clave para una sociedad rural más cohesionada y paritaria', *El Diario,* 30 October. Available at: https://www.eldiario.es/andalucia/desdeelsur/mujer-rural-clave-sociedad-rural-cohesionada-paritaria_132_8446516.html (Accessed: 9 March 2023).

Alsos, G. A. and Ljunggren, E. (2017) 'The Role of Gender in Entrepreneur-Investor Relationships: A Signaling Theory Approach', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 41(4), pp. 567-590. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/etp.12226 (Accessed: 6 March 2023).

Alsos, G. A., Bjørkhaug, H., Bolsø, A. and Ljunggren, E. (2015) (eds.). *Kjønn i næringslivet*. Oslo: Cappellen Damm Akademisk.

Andersson, E. (2014) 'Doing gender (in) equality in Swedish family farming', *Acta Universitatis Agriculturae Sueciae*, 2014(74). Available at: https://res.slu.se/id/publ/61055 (Accessed: 9

March 2023).

Andersson, E. and Lidestav, G. (2014) 'Gendered resource access and utilisation in Swedish family farming', *Land*, 3(1), pp. 188-203. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3390/land3010188 (Accessed: 17 March 2023).

Andersson, E. and Lidestav, G. (2016) 'Creating alternative spaces and articulating needs: challenging gendered notions of forestry and forest ownership through women's networks', *Forest Policy and Economics,* 67(1), pp. 38–44. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2016.03.014 (Accessed: 2 March 2023).

Andersson, E. and Lundqvist, P. (2014) 'Gendered agricultural space and safety: Towards embodied, situated knowledge', *Journal of agromedicine*, 19(3), pp. 303-315. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/1059924X.2014.916644 (Accessed: 17 March 2023).

Andújar, R. (2019) 'Mujeres rurales, garantía de avance', *Granada Hoy,* 14 October. Available at: https://www.granadahoy.com/opinion/tribuna/Mujeres-rurales-garantia-avance_0_1400560468.html (Accessed: 9 March 2023).

Arce, C., Díaz-Gaona, C., Sánchez-Rodríguez, M., Sanz- Fernández, S., López-Fariña, M. D. and Rodríguez-Estévez, V. (2022) 'The Role of Women on Dairy Goat Farms in Southern Spain', *Animals*, 12(13:1686). Available at: https://doi.org/10.3390/ani12131686 (Accessed: 9 March 2023).

Arora-Jonsson, S. (2017) 'The realm of freedom in new rural governance: Micro-politics of democracy in Sweden', *Geoforum*, 79(2017), pp. 58–69. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2016.12.010 (Accessed: 11 March 2023).

Arora-Jonsson, S. and Ågren, M. (2019)' Bringing diversity to nature: politicizing gender, race and class in environmental organizations?' *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space*, 2(4), pp. 874–898. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/2514848619866381 (Accessed: 11 March 2023).

Arora-Jonsson, S. and Leder, S. (2020) 'Gender mainstreaming in agricultural and forestry institutions'. In C.E. Sachs, L. Jensen, P. Castellanos and K. Sexsmith, (eds.) *Routledge handbook of gender and agriculture*. London: Routledge, pp. 15-31. Available at: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9780429199752-3/gender-mainstreaming-agricultural-forestry-institutions-seema-arora-jonsson-stephanie-leder (Accesed 1 March 2023).

Asociacón de Familias y Mujeres del Medio Rural-AFAMMNER (2022) *El avance de las cooperativas no será posible sin las mujeres*. Available at: https://www.afammer.es/el-avance-de-las-cooperativas-no-sera-posible-sin-las-mujeres/ (Accessed: 16 March 2023).

Asztalos Morell, I. (2021) 'Indigenous Gender Justice with a Focus on Sámi Reindeer Herding in Sweden'. In: K. Hossain, (ed.) *Indigenous Peoples and Gender Equality with Special Reference to Sámi Reindeer Herding*, Rovaniemi: University of Lapland, pp. 37-72. Available at: https://nikk.no/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Indigenous-Peoples-and-Gender-Equality.pdf (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Asztalos Morell, I. (2023) 'Governing resettlement beyond safety: Multilevel governance as a model for sustainable resettlement of Unaccompanied Refugee Children', *Sociology Rural Special Issue: Multiple Dimensions of Sustainability: Towards New Rural Futures in Europe*,

63(3), pp. 435-459. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/soru.12431 (Accessed: 10 March 2023).

ATHENA Project (2019) *ATHENA Project.* Available at: https://athenaproject.net/ (Accessed 03 March 2023).

Augére-Granier, M. A. (2017) *Rural poverty in the European Union*. Available at: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2017/599333/EPRS_BRI(2017)599333_EN.pdf (Accessed: 10 March 2023).

Balezentis, T., Morkunas, M., Volkov, A., Ribasauskiene, E. and Streimikiene, D. (2021) 'Are women neglected in the EU agriculture? Evidence from Lithuanian young farmers', *Land use policy*, 101, pp. 105-129. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2020.105129 (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Barada, V., Čop, B. and Kučer, M. (2011) 'Žene u ruralnim područjima Dalmacije. Nevidljivo polje svijeta rada?'. Split: Domine.

Bardekjian, A. C., Nesbitt, L., Konijnendijk, C. C. and Lötter, B. T. (2019) 'Women in urban forestry and arboriculture: experiences, barriers and strategies for leadership'. *Urban Forestry & Urban Greening,* 46, pp. 1–13. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ufug.2019.126442 (Accessed 9 March 2023).

Baublyte, G., Korhonen, J., D'Amato, D. and Toppinen, A. (2019) '"Being one of the boys": perspectives from female forest industry leaders on gender diversity and the future of Nordic forest-based bioeconomy', *Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research,* 34(6), pp. 521–528. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/02827581.2019.1598484 (Accessed 8 March 2023).

Bayer (2023). *La mujer es fundamental en la economía rural*. Available at: https://www.bayer.com/es/es/blog/espana-la-mujer-es-fundamental-en-la-economia-rural. (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Baylina, M. (2019) 'La mujer como eje vertebrador de la nueva ruralidad. Un estado de la cuestión', in E. Cejudo and F. Navarro (eds.) *Despoblación y transformaciones sociodemográficas de los territorios rurales: los casos de España, Italia y Francia*. Lecce : Università del Salento, pp. 153-176. Available at : https://core.ac.uk/reader/287229756 (Accessed: 10 March 2023).

Baylina, M. and Garcia-Ramon, M. D. (2017) 'Rural gender studies in Spain between 1975 and the present', in H. Goverde, H. de Haan, M. Baylina (eds.), *Power and Gender in European Rural Development*. London: Routledge, pp. 160-170. Available at: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781351151481-13/rural-gender-studies-spain-1975-present-mireia-baylina-maria-dolors-garcia-ramon (Accessed: 10 march 2023).

Baylina, M., Garcia-Ramon, M. D., Porto, A. M., Rodó-de-Zárate, M., Salamaña, I. and Villarino, M. (2017) 'Work–life balance of professional women in rural Spain', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 24(1), pp. 72-84. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2016.1249345 (Accessed: 20 March 2023).

Baylina, M., Villarino, M., García Ramon, M. D., Mosteiro, M. J., Porto, A. M. and Salamaña, I. (2019) 'Género e innovación en los nuevos procesos de re-ruralización en España',

*Finisterra*, 54(110), pp. 75-91. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.18055/Finis16053 (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Becker, H. (1963) *Outsiders*. New York: The Free Press.

Benedetto, G. and Corinto, G. L. (2015) 'The role of women in the sustainability of the wine industry: Two case studies in Italy', in A. Vastola, (ed) *The Sustainability of Agro-Food and Natural Resource Systems in the Mediterranean Basin*. Cham: Springer Cham, pp. 173–187. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-16357-4_12 (Accessed: 20 March 2023).

Berglund, K., Ahl, H., Pettersson, K. and Tillmar, M. (2023) 'Conceptualising feminist resistance in the postfeminist terrain'. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 38(2), pp. 183-199. Available at: https://publications.slu.se/?file=publ/show&id=120649 (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Bergstén S., Andersson, E. and Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2020). 'Same-same but different: Gendering forest ownership in Sweden', *Forest Policy and Economics,* 115, pp. 102–162. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2020.102162 (Accessed: 3 March 2023).

Bertrand, M., Black, S. E., Jensen, S. and Lleras-Muney, A. (2019) 'Breaking the glass ceiling? The effect of board quotas on female labour market outcomes in Norway', *The Review of Economic Studies,* 86(1), pp. 191-239. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1093/restud/rdy032 (Accessed: 10 March 2023).

Bjerke, L. and Mellander, C. (2017) 'Moving home again? Never! The locational choices of graduates in Sweden', *The Annals of Regional Science*, 59, 707-729. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s00168-016-0777-2 (Accessed: 11 March 2023).

Bloemberg, M., Bouwmeester, R., Dodde, H., Hallema, T., de Snoo, E. and Voorhorst, J. (2020) 'Boerin is vaker baas op de boerderij', *Nieuwe Oogst*, 18 December. Available at: https://www.nieuweoogst.nl/nieuws/2020/12/18/boerin-is-vaker-baas-op-de-boerderij (Accessed: 18 March 2023.

Bokan, N. (2020) 'Rodna perspektiva u procjeni socioekonomskih nejednakosti ruralnih područja: položaj žena kao indikator društvenih promjena', In O. Obad (ed.) *Socioekonomske nejednakosti na relaciji selo-grad: izgradnja baze znanja u kontekstu provedbe mjera ruralnog razvoja*. Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, pp. 72-112.

Borsotto, P., Giarè, F., Moino, F. and Muscas, F. (2023) 'Attività sociali e di servizio per le comunità locali nelle aree rurali: il ruolo dei servizi per l'infanzia', *PianetaPSR,* February 2023. Available at: http://www.pianetapsr.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/2871 (Accessed: 4 March 2023).

Brandth, B. (2017) 'Farm fathers and their fathers: Flexible work and cultural change'. In V. Česnuitytė, D. Lück and E. D. Widmer (eds.) *Family Continuity and Change*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 291–312. Available at: https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/978-1-137-59028-2_13 (Accessed 6 March 2023).

Brandth, B. and Bjørkhaug, H. (2015) 'Gender quotas for agricultural boards: Changing constructions of gender?', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 22(6), pp. 614-628. Available at: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/gwao.12112 (Accessed: 16 March 2023).

Brandth, B. and Overrein, G. (2013) 'Resourcing children in a changing rural context: Fathering and

farm succession in two generations of farmers', *Sociologia Ruralis*, 53(1), pp. 95–111. Available at : https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/soru.12003 (Accesed: 16 March 2023).

British Broadcasting Company-BBC (2018) *Dartmouth Fatstock: Sexism row over men-only awards dinner*., Available at https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-devon-46524148 (Accessed: 22 March 2023).

Brunori, G., Rolandi, S., Gentili, R., Palmioli, L. and Pagni, L. (2021) 'Mapping Report of Challenges – Country: Italy'. *H2020 FARMWELL. Deliverable / Work package number: D2.3/WP2. 31/10/2021*. Available at: https://farmwell-h2020.eu/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/D-2.3_ITALY.pdf (Accessed: 20 March 2023).

Budge, H. and Shortall, S. (2022a) 'Agriculture, COVID-19, and mental health: Does gender matter?' *Sociologia Ruralis*, 63(51), pp. 1– 13. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/soru.12408 (Accessed: 8 march 2023).

Budge, H. and Shortall, S. (2022b) 'Covid-19, gender, agriculture, and future research' in P. Castellanos, C. Sachs and A. Tickamyer, A. (eds.) *Gender, Food and COVID-19: Global Stories of Harm and Hope*. Routledge: New York, pp. 45-52. Available at: https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003198277 (Accessed: 18 March 2023).

Burton, M., Rigby, D. and Young, T. (2003) 'Modelling the adoption of organic horticultural technology in the UK using duration analysis', *Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 47(1), pp. 29-54. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8489.00202 (Accesed: 19 March 2023).

Burton, R. J. (2014) 'The influence of farmer demographic characteristics on environmental behaviour: A review', *Journal of environmental management*, 135, pp. 19-26. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvman.2013.12.005 (Accessed: 22 March 2023).

Busby, G. and Rendle, S. (2000) 'The transition from tourism on farms to farm tourism', *Tourism management*, 21(6), pp. 635-642. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177(00)00011-X (Accessed: 21 march 2023).

Camarero, L. (2017a) 'Trabajadores del campo y familias de la tierra. Instantáneas de la desagrarización', *Ager. Revista de Estudios sobre Despoblación y Desarrollo Rural*, 23, pp. 163-195. Available at: https://doi.org/10.4422/ager.2017.01 (Accessed : 9 March 2023).

Camarero, L. (2017b) 'Por los senderos de la despoblación rural: notas desde la diversidad social', *Documentación social*, 185, pp. 19-35. Available at: https://www2.uned.es/dpto-sociologia-I/departamento_sociologia/luis_camarero/DS.pdf (Accessed : 10 March 2023).

Camarero, L. and Oliva, J. (2019) 'Thinking in rural gap: mobility and social inequalities', *Palgrave Communications*, 95 (5). Available at: https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-019-0306-x (Accessed 9 March 2023).

Camarero, L. and Sampedro, R. (2016) 'Exploring female over-migration in rural Spain. Employment, care giving and mobility', In Wiest, K. (ed.) *Women and migration in rural Europe. Labour markets, representations and policies*, *New Geographies of Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 189-208. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-48304-1_10 (Accessed 13 March 2023).

Canal de cabrito y cordero (2019) 'Pastoras y ganaderas, el papel de la mujer en la cría de cordero'

*Canal de cabrito y cordero*. 8 march. Available at: https://www.canalcordero.com/actualidad/pastoras-ganaderas/ (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Carlbaum, S. (2022) 'Refugee women's establishment in the rural north of Sweden: cultural capital in meeting local labour market needs', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 48 (5), pp. 1210-1227. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2021.1933402 (Accessed: 17 March 2023).

Carvajal, R. (2022) 'Las mujeres se abren paso en el medio rural', *Ecomercio agrario*. 24 November. Available at: https://ecomercioagrario.com/las-mujeres-se-abren-paso-en-el-medio-rural/ (Accessed: 09 March 2023).

Casas, M. E. (2019) 'La organización del tiempo de trabajo con perspectiva de género: la conciliación de la vida privada y la vida laboral', *Documentación Laboral* (DL), 117, pp. 17-21. Available at: https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=7095884 (Accessed 9 March 2023).

Cassel, S. H. and Pettersson, K. (2015) 'Performing gender and rurality in Swedish farm tourism', *Scandinavian journal of hospitality and tourism*, 15 (1-2), pp. 138-151. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/15022250.2015.1005333 (Accessed: 13 March 2023).

Casellas, A., Tulla, A., Vera, A. and Pallarès, M. (2013) 'Gobernanza local y espacio rural: un análisis territorial desde la perspectiva de género', *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 62, pp. 379-402. Available at: https://doi.org/10.21138/bage.1582 (Accessed 10 March 2023).

Cassidy, A. and McGrath, B. (2014) 'The Relationship between 'Non-successor' Farm Offspring and the Continuity of the Irish Family Farm', *Sociologia Ruralis*, 54(4), pp. 399-416. Available at. https://doi.org/10.1111/soru.12054 (Accessed 22 March 2023).

Cassidy, A. and McGrath, B. (2015) 'Farm, place and identity construction among Irish farm youth who migrate', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 37, pp. 20-28. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2014.11.006 (Accessec 22 March 2023).

Castelló, E. and Romano, M. J. (2021) 'Shepherdesses: new representations of rural women in Spain', *Feminist Media Studies*, pp. 1-17. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2021.1992646 (Accessed 21 March 2023).

Cátedra agricultura sostenible campo de Cartagena. (2018) 'Las mujeres del medio rural estamos concienciadas que la agricultura del futuro está condicionada a la sostenibilidad', *Cátedra Agricultura Sostenible Campo de Cartagena*, 01 October. Available at: https://www.catedraagriculturasostenible.es/2018/10/01/las-mujeres-del-medio-rural-estamos-concienciadas-que-la-agricultura-del-futuro-esta-condicionada-a-la-sostenibilidad/ (Accessed 09/ March 2023).

Cavicchioli, D., Bertoni, D., Tesser, F. and Frisio, D. (2015) 'What Factors Encourage Intrafamily Farm Succession in Mountain Areas? Evidence from an Alpine Valley in Italy', *Mountain Research and Development,* 35(2), pp. 152–160. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1659/MRD-JOURNAL-D-14-00107.1 (Accessed 15 March 2023).

Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek-CBS, (2018) 'Vrouw stabiele factor op boerderij', *CBS*. Available at: https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2018/10/vrouw-stabiele-factor-op-boerderij

(Accessed: 6 March 2023).

Cesar, S. and Broz, T. (2014) '*Europske mogućnosti za žene s ruralnih područja'*. Zagreb: CESI. Available at: http://stari.cesi.hr/attach/_e/europske_mogucnosti_za_zene_web.pdf (Accessed: 2 March 2023).

Clerino, P., Fargue-Lelievre, A. and Meynard, J. M. (2023) 'Stakeholder's practices for the sustainability assessment of professional urban agriculture reveal numerous original criteria and indicators', *Agronomy for Sustainable Development*, 43(1). Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s13593-022-00849-6 (Accessed 20 March 2023).

Closingap (2022) *Coste de oportunidad de la brecha de género en el medio rural*. Madrid: Closingap, pp. 1-74. Available at: https://closingap.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/CG_Informe_rural.pdf (Accessed: 10 march 2023).

Cocampo noticias (2022) '10 casos de innovación en el desarrollo de las mujeres rurales', *Cocampo*, 18 October. Available at: https://www.cocampo.com/es/es/noticias/10-casos-de-innovacion-en-el-desarrollo-de-las-mujeres-rurales/ (Accessed: 14/03/2023).

Coldiretti (no date) Donne in agricoltura, *Coldiretti*. Available at: https://www.coldiretti.it/servizio/donne-in-agricoltura (Accessed: 20 March 2023).

Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Agricultores y Ganaderos-COAG (2022) 'El paro femenino en el medio rural duplica la tasa general', *Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Agricultores y Ganaderos (COAG)*, 14 October. Available at: https://coag.chil.me/post/15-octubre-el-paro-femenino-en-el-medio-rural-duplica-la-tasa-general-420379 (Accessed 09 March 2023).

Copa Cogeca (2020) *Copa- Cogeca reflection on the European Commission Communication on Gender Equality Strategy.* Available at: http://www.womenentrepreneurshipplatform.org/uploads/1/0/9/4/109400817/copa-cogeca_reflection_on_the_european_commission_communication_on_gender_equality_strategy.pdf (Accessed: 2 March 2023).

Copa Cogeca (2023) *Innovation award for Women farmers*. Available at: https://womenfarmersaward.eu/category/2020-edition/ (Accessed: 8 March 2023).

COUNCIL DIRECTIVE 79/7/EEC of 19 December 1978 on the progressive implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women in matters of social security. Official Journal of the European Communities

COUNCIL DIRECTIVE 92/85/EEC of 19 October 1991 on the introduction of measures to encourage improvements in the safety and health at work of pregnant workers and workers who have recently given birth or are breastfeeding (tenth individual Directive within the meaning of Article 16 (1) of Directive 89/391/EEC). Official Journal L 348 , 28/11/1992

COUNCIL DIRECTIVE 97/81/ EC of 15 December 1997 concerning the Framework Agreement on part-time work concluded by UNICE, CEEP and the ETUC - Annex : Framework agreement on part-time work. Official Journal l014, 20/01/1998

COUNCIL DIRECTIVE 2010/18/EU of 8 March 2010 implementing the revised Framework Agreement on parental leave concluded by BUSINESSEUROPE, UEAPME, CEEP and ETUC and repealing Directive 96/34/EC (Text with EEA relevance). Official Journal of the European Union L 68/13

Crespo, C. (2019) 'La mujer y su papel en la economía rural', *Diario de Sevilla*. 15 October.

Available at: https://www.diariodesevilla.es/opinion/tribuna/mujer-papel-economia-rural_0_1400859975.html (Accessed 9 March 2023).

Crofting Commission (2018) *Crofting Statistics 2018*. Available at https://www.crofting.scotland.gov.uk/userfiles/file/annual_report_and_accounts/crofting_statistics/Crofting-Statistics-2017-18.pdf (Accessed 30 August 2023).

Crofting Commission (2023) *What is crofting?* Available at https://www.crofting.scotland.gov.uk/what-is-crofting (Accessed 30 August 2023).

Curtin, M. (2021) 'A history of women's land rights in Ireland', *RTÉ Brainstorm*, 8 March. Available at: https://www.rte.ie/brainstorm/2021/0308/1201597-women-land-rights-ownership-ireland/ (Accessed: 23 March 2023).

Curtin, M. (2023) 'Ongoing research to find a path to more female farm ownership', *Irish Farmers Journal*, 1 February. Available at: https://www3.farmersjournal.ie/finding-a-path-to-more-female-farm-ownership-746955 (Accessed: 23 March 2023).

Cush, P., Macken-Walsh, Á. and Byrne, A. (2018) 'Joint farming ventures in Ireland: gender identities of the self and the social', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 57, pp. 55-64. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2017.09.017 (Accessed: 23 March 2023).

Ćurlin, P. (2022) *Ruralne žene u Splitkso-dalmatinskoj županiji: između sfere rada i obiteljskog života.* Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Filozofski fakultet. Available at: https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:131:263621 (Accessed: 2 march 2023).

Dalla Torre, C. and Ravazzoli, E. (2020) 'Women as agents of social innovation in rural areas', *Rural Connections*, 2, pp. 21-22. Available at: https://hdl.handle.net/10863/17183 (Accessed: 20 March 2023).

Dalla Torre, C., Ravazzoli, E., Dijkshoorn-Dekker, M., Polman, N., Melnykovych, M., Pisani, E., Gori, F., Da Re, R., Vicentini, K. and Secco, L., (2020) 'The Role of Agency in the Emergence and Development of Social Innovations in Rural Areas. Analysis of Two Cases of Social Farming in Italy and the Netherlands,' *Sustainability*, 12(11), DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.3390/su12114440 (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

De Pablo Valenciano, J., Milán-García, J., Uribe-Toril, J. and Guerrero-Villalba, M. A. (2021) 'Rural Development from a Gender Perspective: The Case of Women Farmers in Southern Spain', *Land*, 10(1:75). Available at: https://doi.org/10.3390/land10010075 (Accessed: 9 March 2023).

De Rosa, M., Bartoli, L. and McElwee, G. (2021) 'Spaces of innovation and women rural entrepreneurship in Italy', *New Medit* 20(3), pp. 85–99. Available at: https://doi.org/10.30682/NM2103F (Accessed: 20 March 2023).

De Rosa, M., Bartoli, L., Charatsari, C. and Lioutas, E. (2020) 'Knowledge transfer and innovation adoption in women farmers', *British Food Journal* 123(1), pp. 317–336. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/BFJ-02-2020-0159 (Accessed: 22 March 2023)

Del Valle, S. (2022) '¿Qué es y cómo funciona la titularidad compartida en la actividad agraria?', *Agronews*, 27 January. Available at: https://www.agronewscastillayleon.com/blog/emilio-miguel-gomez/que-es-y-como-funciona-la-titularidad-compartida-en-la-actividad-agraria (Accessed: 16 March 2023).

Desafío mujer rural (2022) 'Emprendedoras y empresarias ponen en común ideas sobre la

innovación en el sector agrícola', *Desafío Mujer Rural*, 29 September. Available at: https://desafiomujerrural.es/emprendedoras-y-empresarias-ponen-en-comun-ideas-sobre-la-innovacion-en-el-sector-agricola/ (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Di Napoli, R. and Reda, E. (2021) 'Ma LEADER contribuisce alla parità di genere? Reti, azioni collettive e beni comuni per superare la disparità', *Agricoltura in genere*, *RRN Magazine*, 13. Available at: http://www.pianetapsr.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/2584 (Accessed: 20 march 2023).

DIRECTIVE 2000/78/ EC of 27 November 2000 establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation. Official Journal L 303 , 02/12/2000

DIRECTIVE 2004/113/ EC of 13 December 2004 implementing the principle of equal treatment between men and women in the access to and supply of goods and services. Official Journal of the European Union L 373/37

DIRECTIVE 2006/54/ EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 July 2006 on the implementation of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation (recast). Official Journal of the European Union L 204/23

DIRECTIVE 2010/41/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 7 July 2010 on the application of the principle of equal treatment between men and women engaged in an activity in a self-employed capacity and repealing Council Directive 86/613/EEC. Official Journal of the European Union L 180/1

Dunne, C., Siettou, C. and Wilson, P. (2021) 'Investigating the economic visibility and contribution of UK women in agriculture through a systematic review of international literature', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 86, pp. 330-345. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2021.06.012 (Accessed: 22 March 2023).

Duruiheoma, F. I., Burek, C. V., Bonwick, G. A. and Alexander, R. (2015) 'Farmers' Interest in Agricultural Technology and Organic Farming: Implications for AD Adoption and Sustainable Agriculture in the UK', *Environmental Management and sustainable development*, 4(1), pp. 242-263. Available at: https://doi.org/10.5296/emsd.v4i1.7590 (Accessed: 21 March 2023).

Elkafrawi, N., Roos, A. and Refai, D. (2022) 'Contextualising rural entrepreneurship – A strong structuration perspective on gendered-local agency', *International Small Business Journal*, 40(8), pp. 1019-1040. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/02662426211069851 (Accessed: 23 March 2023).

Eriksson, C. and Hajdu, F. (2021) '"You have to focus all your energy on being a parent": Barriers and opportunities for Swedish farmers to be involved fathers'. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 83, pp. 88–95. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2021.02.020 (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Esparcia, J. (2014) 'Innovation and networks in rural areas. An analysis from European innovative projects', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 34, pp. 1-14. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2013.12.004 (Accessed: 9 March 2023).

Espín, M. (2018) 'Autoempleo decente: las mujeres autónomas y el acceso a los recursos. Un estudio en el marco de los Objetivos de Desarrollo Sostenible marcados por la Agenda 2040

de la ONU', *Revista Internacional y Comparada de Relaciones Laborales y Derecho del Empleo*, 6(4), pp. 101-122. Available at : https://ejcls.adapt.it/index.php/rlde_adapt/article/view/629 (Accessed: 8 March 2023).

Esteban Salvador, M. L., Pérez Sanz, F. J. and Gargallo Castell, A. (2018) 'Áreas rurales y cooperativas: iniciativas de mujeres para el desarrollo', *REVESCO. Revista de Estudios Cooperativos, Primer Cuatrimestre*, 127, pp. 116-138. Available at: https://doi.org/10.5209/REVE.58397 (Accessed: 8 March 2023).

EU CAP Network (2022) *Advancing gender equality in rural areas in the EU*. Available at: https://enrd.ec.europa.eu/news-events/events/advancing-gender-equality-rural-areas-eu_en (Accessed: 10 March 2023).

European Court of Auditors - ECA (2021) 'Gender Mainstreaming in the EU Budget: Time to turn words into action, Special Report Number 10'. Available at: https://www.eca.europa.eu/Lists/ECADocuments/SR21_10/SR_Gender_mainstreaming_EN.pdf (Accessed: 23 March 2023).

European Environmental Bureau - EEB (2021) 'Why the European Green Deals Needs Ecofeminism'. Available at: https://eeb.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Report-16.pdf . (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

European Institute for Gender Equality- EIGE (2016) 'Gender in agriculture and rural development'. Available at: https://eige.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/ti_pubpdf_mh0116799enn_pdfweb_20170124110315_no_white_pages.pdf (Accesseed: 22 March 2023).

European Institute for Gender Equality-EIGE (2022) *Gender Equality Index*. Available at: https://eige.europa.eu/gender-equality-index/2022/country/LT (Accessed: 10 March 2023).

Eurostat (2018) *Living conditions in Europe*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/3217494/9210140/KS-HA-18-001-EN-N.pdf (Accessed: 7 March 2023).

Eurostat (2021a) *Educational attainment 25-34 years in rural areas by sex*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/edat_lfs_9913/default/table?lang=en (Accessed: 7 March 2023).

Eurostat (2021b) *Employment rate (20-64 years) by sex*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/lfst_r_ergau/default/table?lang=en (Accessed: 7 March 2023).

Eurostat (2021c) *People living in predominantly rural regions*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/demo_r_find3/default/table?lang=en (Accessed: 7 March 2023).

Eurostat (2022) *Urban-rural Europe – introduction*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Urban-rural_Europe_-_introduction

Eurostat (2023a) *Gender gap for income narrower in rural areas*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/w/EDN-20230306-1 (Accessed: 7 March 2023).

Eurostat (2023b) *Employment (thousand persons) by NUTS 3 regions*. Available at: https://data.europa.eu/data/datasets/4kii6o0ixpti1zddp3fa?locale=en (Accessed: 7 March 2023).

Eurostat (2023c) *Urban- rural Europe- women and men living in rural areas*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Urban-rural_Europe_-_women_and_men_living_in_rural_areas (Accessed: 7 March 2023).

Fanelli, R. M. (2022) 'Bridging the Gender Gap in the Agricultural Sector: Evidence from European Union Countries', *Social Sciences*, 11(3). Available at: https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci11030105 (Accessed 21 March 2023).

Federación de Mujeres y Familias del Ámbito Rural-AMFAR (2023) *Abierta la convocatoria de los Premios de Excelencia a la Innovación ara Mujeres Rurales* Available at: https://mujerrural.com/detalle-noticia/abierta-la-convocatoria-de-los-premios-de-excelencia-a-la-innovacion-para-mujeres-rurales/ (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Fernández Álvarez, O. (2016) 'Mujeres en el medio rural: imprescindibles pero invisibles', in O. Fernández, (ed.), *Mujeres en riesgo de exclusión social: una perspectiva transnacional*. McGraw-Hill pp. 139-147. Available at: https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/libro?codigo=661353 (Accessed : 10 March 2023).

Fernández Álvarez, O. (2022) 'Reprogramar el campo. Migraciones de las mujeres al medio rural en España', *AGER: Revista de Estudios sobre Despoblación y Desarrollo Rural (Journal of Depopulation and Rural Development Studies)*, 34, pp. 19-45. Available at: https://doi.org/10.4422/ager.2022.03 (Accessed : 10 March 2023).

Fernández Cornejo, J. A., Escot Mangas, L. and Cáceres Ruiz, J. I. (2019) 'La corresponsabilidad de los padres en el cuidado de los hijos y su efecto positivo sobre la carrera profesional de sus parejas', in C. Calderón and R. Mateos de Cabo (eds.) *Barreras e impulsores del desarrollo profesional de las mujeres: tiempo de soluciones*, Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch, pp. 117-142. Available at: https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/libro?codigo=851557 (Accessed 10 March 2023).

Fernández-Giménez, M. E., Oteros-Rozas, E. and Ravera, F. (2021) 'Spanish women pastoralists' pathways into livestock management: Motivations, challenges and learning', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 87, pp. 1-11. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2021.08.019 (Accessed: 10 March 2023)

Fernández-Giménez, M. E., Ravera, F. and Oteros-Rozas, E. (2022) 'The invisible thread: women as tradition keepers and change agents in Spanish pastoral social-ecological systems', *Ecology and Society*, 27(2). Available at: https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-12794-270204 (Accessed: 10 March 2023)

Fhlatharta, A. M. N. and Farrell, M. (2017) 'Unravelling the strands of 'patriarchy' in rural innovation: A study of female innovators and their contribution to rural Connemara', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 54, pp. 15-27. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2017.05.002 (Accessed: 22 March 2023)

Follo, G., Lidestav, G., Ludvig, A., Vilkriste, L., Hujala, T., Karppinen, H., Didolot, F. and Mizaraite, D. (2017) 'Gender in European forest ownership and manage-ment: reflections on women as "New forest owners"', *Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research,* 32(2), pp. 174–184.

Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/02827581.2016.1195866 (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Fornieles, S. (2022) 'Las mujeres agrícolas y ganaderas están dándolo todo en el mundo rural pero no se las ve'. *20minutos*, 05 April. Available at: https://www.20minutos.es/mujer/mas-mujer/las-mujeras-agricolas-y-ganaderas-estan-dandolo-todo-en-el-mundo-rural-pero-no-se-las-ve-4980575/ (Accessed: 14 March 2023)

Franić, R. (2015) Directorate-General For Internal Policies. Policy Department C: Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs: International Day of Rural Women 2015. Study for the FEMM Committee.

Franić, R. and Kovačićek, T. (2019) 'The professional status of rural women in the EU'. Brussels: Policy department for citizens' rights and constitutional affairs. Available at: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2019/608868/IPOL_STU(2019)608868_EN.pdf (Accessed 3 March 2023).

Ganetz, H., Hansson, K. and Sveningsson, M. (2020) '#metoo, byggbranschen och de gröna näringarna [#metoo, the constuction industry and the green industry]', *Stockholm: Stockholms universitet*. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/347953848_metoo_byggbranschen_och_de_grona_naringarna (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

García Díaz, C. (2020) 'Los lastres que todavía cargan las emprendedoras rurales', *The Conversation*, 14 October. Available at: https://theconversation.com/los-lastres-que-todavia-cargan-las-emprendedoras-rurales-146853 (Accessed: 09 March 2023).

Gender SMART Project (2021) *About the project*. Available at: https://gender-smart.eu/ (Accessed: 10 March 2023).

Genillo, E. (2019) 'Carmen Quintanilla: "La mujer rural sufre una doble discriminación"', *La Razón*, 16 October. Available: https://www.larazon.es/sociedad/carmen-quintanilla-la-mujer-rural-sufre-una-doble-discriminacion-LF25313888/ (Accessed: 09 March 2023).

Gilabert, B. L. and Pla-Julián, I. (2021) 'Are Public Subsidies to Encourage Young Farmers Effective? Case Study of a First-Time Farm Set Up by a Young Female Farmer in the Valencian Region of Spain', *Sustainability*, 13(16). Available at: https://doi.org/10.3390/su13169320 (Accessed: 9 March 2023).

Girdziute, L., Besuspariene, E., Nausediene, A., Novikova, A., Leppala, J. and Jakob, M. (2022) 'Youth's (Un)willingness to work in agriculture sector'. *Front. Public Health*, 10. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2022.937657 (Accessed: 12 March 2023)

Glover, J. L. (2014) 'Gender, power and succession in family farm business', *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, 6(3), pp. 276-295. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/IJGE-01-2012-0006 (Accessed: 12 March 2023)

Gómez Carrasco, I. (2019) 'Women-led cooperatives in Spain: empowering or perpetuating gender roles?', *REVESCO: Revista de estudios cooperativos*, 131, pp. 48-64. DOI: 10.5209/REVE.63560 (Accessed 9 March 2023)

Gråik, M. (2018) Kvinnor möttes om kvinnors situation i renskötseln, *Sveriges Radio,* 8 October. Available at: https://sverigesradio.se/artikel/7061559 (Accessed: 24 March 2023)

Gramm, V., Dalla Torre, C. and Membretti, A. (2020) 'Farms in progress-providing childcare services as a means of empowering women farmers in South Tyrol, Italy', *Sustainability,*

12(2). Available at: https://doi.org/10.3390/su12020467 (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Grande, J. (2011) 'New venture creation in the farm sector–Critical resources and capabilities', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 27(2), pp. 220-233. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2011.02.003 (Accessed: 10 March 2023).

Grubbström, A. and Powell, S. (2020) '*Persistent norms and the #MeToo effect in Swedish forestry education*', *Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research,* 35(5–6), pp. 308–318. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/02827581.2020.1791243 (Accessed: 13 March 2023).

Grubbström, A., Stenbacka, S. and Joosse, S. (2014) 'Balancing family traditions and business: gendered strategies for achieving future resilience among agricultural students', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 35, pp. 152–161. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2014.05.003 (Accessed: 4 March 2017).

Grünfeld, L., Hernes, S. and Karttinen, E. (2020) '*Female Entrepreneurship in the Nordics 2020 – A comparative study*'. Oslo: Menon Economics. Available at: http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1438362/FULLTEXT02.pdf (Accessed 31 March 2023).

Grünfeld, L., Hernes, S., Idland, V., Hvide, H. and Olssøn, E. (2019) 'Kvinnelig entreprenørskap i Norge. Utviklingstrekk, hindre og muligheter'. Oslo: Menon Economics. Available at: https://www.menon.no/wp-content/uploads/2019-01-Kvinnelig-entrepren%C3%B8rskap-i-Norge.pdf (Accessed 21 March 2023).

Gustavsson, M. and Farstad, M. (2022) 'Feminist and gender research in Norwegian farming and forestry (landbruk) contexts: Past and future directions', *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift–Norwegian Journal of Geography,* 76, pp. 286-299. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/00291951.2022.2156920 (Accessed 23 March 2023).

Hajdu, F., Eriksson, C., Waldenström, C. and Westholm, E. (2020) 'Sveriges förändrade lantbruk – Lantbrukarnas egna röster om förändringar sedan 1990-talet och strategier inför framtiden'. SLU Future Food – a research platform for a sustainable food system. Available at: https://www.slu.se/globalassets/ew/org/centrb/fu-food/publikationer/future-food-reports/slu-futurefood_rapport_11.pdf (Accessed: 12 March 2023).

Hassink, J., Grin, J. and Hulsink, W. (2018) 'Enriching the multi-level perspective by better understanding agency and challenges associated with interactions across system boundaries. The case of care farming in the Netherlands: Multifunctional agriculture meets health care' *Journal of Rural Studies*, 57, pp. 186-196. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2017.12.018 (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Hauge, E. S. (2015) 'Entreprenørskap, kjønn og identitet', in Alsos, G., H. Bjørkhaug, A. Bolsø and E. Ljunggren (eds.) *Kjønn i næringslivet.* Oslo: Cappellen Damm Akademisk, pp. 67-82.

Haugen, M. S. and Brandth, B. (2015) 'When farm couples break up: Gendered moralities, gossip and the fear of stigmatisation in rural communities', *Sociologia Ruralis,* 55, pp. 227-242. Available at: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/soru.12065 (Accessed: 22 March 2023).

Haugen, M. S., Brandth, B. and Follo, G. (2015) 'Farm, family, and myself: farm women dealing with family break-up', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 22, pp. 37-49. Available at : https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/0966369X.2013.855708 (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Hedberg, C. (2016) '"Doing gender"in the wild berry industry: Transforming the role of Thai women in rural Sweden 1980–2012', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 23(2), pp. 169-184. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506815571143 (Accessed at: 8 March 2023).

Hedberg, C. and Haandrikman, K. (2014) 'Repopulation of the Swedish countryside: Globalisation by international migration', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 34, p 128-138, Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2014.01.005 (Accessed: 7 March 2023).

Heggem, R. (2014a) 'Exclusion and inclusion of women in Norwegian agriculture: Exploring different outcomes of the "tractor gene"', *Journal of Rural Studies* 34, pp. 263-271. Available at: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0743016714000370 (Accessed: 7 March 2023).

Heggem, R. (2014b) 'Diversification and re-feminisation of Norwegian farm properties', *Sociologia Ruralis,* 54, pp. 439-459. Available at: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/soru.12044 (Accessed: 7 March 2023).

Hernández, M. L., Serrano, A. and Méndez, J. (2020) 'Propuesta metodológica para valorar la integración de las mujeres en el medio rural. Ensayo en Aragón (España)', *AGER: Revista de Estudios sobre Despoblación y Desarrollo Rural (Journal of Depopulation and Rural Development Studies)*, 29, pp. 131-175. Available at: https://doi.org/10.4422/ager.2020.06 (Accessed 9 March 2023).

Hervás, I. (2014) 'Emprendedoras en el medio rural: La visualización de la multifuncionalidad del territorio', *Terrarum: Tierras de Aragón*, 28, pp. 9-20. Available at : https://aragonrural.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/TERRARUM-28-a-210x297.pdf (Accessed: 9 March 2023).

Holmgren, S. and Arora-Jonsson, S. (2015) 'The Forest Kingdom – with what values for the world? Climate change and gender equality in a contested forest policy context', *Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research*, 30(3), pp. 235-245. Available at: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/02827581.2014.1002216 (Accessed 20 March 2023).

Holton, M., Riley, M. and Kallis, G. (2022) 'Towards the geographies of loneliness: interpreting the spaces of loneliness in farming contexts', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 23. Available at: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/14649365.2022.2104360?needAccess=true&role=button (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Hozer-Kocmiel, M., Misiak-Kwit, S., Lisowska, E. and Ruminska-Zimny, E. (2017) 'Gender and Innovation in the Countries of the Baltic Sea Region', *International Journal of Contemporary Management*, 16(1), pp. 109-126. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/334960879_Gender_and_innovation_in_the_countries_of_the_Baltic_Sea_Region (Accessed: 22 March 2023)

Hussmanns, R. (2004) *Defining and measuring informal employment*. Geneva: ILO- International Labour Office. Available at: https://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/download/papers/meas.pdf (Accessed: 23 March 2023)

Huyer, S. and Partey, S. (2020) 'Weathering the storm or storming the norms? Moving gender

equality forward in climate-resilient agriculture', *Climatic Change*, 158, pp. 1-12. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-019-02612-5 (Accessed: 31 March 2023).

Innovation Norway (2019) *Female Entrepreneur 2009-2019. [Ti år med kvinnelige gründere]*. Oslo: Innovation Norway 2019. Available at: https://www.innovasjonnorge.no/globalassets/0-innovasjonnorge.no/om-innovasjon-norge/nyheter/in_kunnskapsgrunnlaget_2019_0304_webarkiv_oppslag.pdf/ (Accessed 09 March 2023).

Interempresas (2022) 'El vacuno de carne en España: un bastión para el medio rural, la mujer y el medioambiente', *Interempresas*, 22 Jun. Available at: https://www.interempresas.net/Industria-Carnica/Articulos/392941-El-vacuno-de-carne-en-Espana-un-bastion-para-el-medio-rural-la-mujer-y-el-medioambiente.html (Accessed: 14 March 2023)

Interporc (2022) 'Interporc: "Debemos gran parte de lo que somos a las de 30.000 mujeres del porcino que trabajan en el medio rural"', *Interporc,* 15 October. Available at: https://interporc.com/2022/10/15/mas-de-30000-mujeres-del-porcino-trabajan-en-el-medio-rural?cat=actualidad/prensa (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

ISMEA (no date). Archivio: Donne in campo, *ISMEA – Generazione Terra*. Available at: https://www.ismea.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/11152 (Accessed 22 March 2023).

Jackova, S., Kadlecikova, M., Kosuda, J. and Jurickova, Z. (2016) 'The state of rural women and their role at the achievement of food safety', in E. Horská, Z., M. Hallová (ed.) *Kapsdorferová International Scientific Days. The Agri-Food Value Chain: Challenges for Natural Resources Management and Society*. Nitra: Slovak University of Agriculture in Nitra, pp. 47-53. Available at: http://www.slpk.sk/eldo/2016/dl/9788055215037/files/01/jackova_kadlecikova_kosuda_jurickova.pdf (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Jakšić, D. (2015) *Diskriminacija žena u ruralnoj zajednici koja nestaje.* Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Hrvatski studiji. Available at: https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:111:853171 (Accessed: 3 March).

Jämställdhetsakademien (2009) Den osynliga entreprenören. Genus och företagande i de gröna näringarna. Lantbrukarnas Riksförbund – LRF.

Johansson, M. and Ringblom, L. (2017) 'The business case of gender equality in Swedish forestry and mining-restricting or enabling organizational change', *Gender, Work & Organization*, 24(6), pp. 628-642. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12187 (Accesse: 7 March 2023).

Johansson, M., Johansson, K. and Andersson, E. (2018) '#Metoo in the Swedish forest sector: testimonies from harassed women on sexualised forms of male control', *Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research*, 33(5), pp. 419-425. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/02827581.2018.1474248 (Accessed: 3 March 2023).

Johansson, K., Andersson, E., Johansson, M. and Lidestav, G. (2019) 'The discursive resistance of men to gender equality interventions: Negotiating 'unjustness' and 'unnecessity' in Swedish forestry', *Men and Masculinities,* 22(2), pp. 177–196. Available at:

https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X17706400 (Accessed: 9 March 2023).

Johansson, K., Andersson, E., Johansson, M. and Lidestav, G. (2020) 'Conditioned openings and restraints: The meaning-making of women professionals breaking into the male-dominated sector of forestry', *Gender, Work & Organization*, 27(6), pp. 927-943. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12403 (Accessed: 9 March 2023).

Kolvereid, L. and Åmo, B.-W. (2019) 'Incorporated entrepreneurship in Norway: Propensity and endurance', *Journal of Business Venturing Insights,* 11. Available at: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S235267341830163X (Accessed 5 March 2023).

La Vía Campesina (2021) 'España: Las mujeres campesinas tienen más dificultades para acceder a las ayudas agrarias', *La Vía Campesina*, 08 March. Available at: https://viacampesina.org/en/spain-peasant-women-find-it-more-difficult-to-access-agricultural-aid/. (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Langreo, A. and García Azcárate, T. (2022) 'Las mujeres del medio rural y su participación en la actividad económica, *Mediterráneo económico : La España rural: retos y oportunidades de futuro*, 35, pp. 199-218. Available at: https://dialnet.unirioja.es/ejemplar/601400 (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Lantbrukarnas Riksförbund – LRF (2014) *Vi har nog delat mer än normen - Åtta inspirerande exempel på hur företagare på landsbygden nyttjat sin föräldraledighet.* Available at: https://docplayer.se/3116074-Lrfs-jamstalldhetsakademi-vi-har-nog-delat-mer-an-normen-atta-inspirerande-exempel-pa-hur-foretagare-pa-landsbygden-nyttjat-sin-foraldraledighet.html (Accessed: 06 March 2023)

Lantbrukarnas Riksförbund – LRF (2017) *Jämställdhet ger tillväxt*. Stockholm: Lantbrukarnas Riksförbund. Available at: https://www.lrf.se/sakomraden/jamstalldhet/ (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Lantbrukarnas Riksförbund – LRF (2019) *Jämställdhet i det gröna näringslivet En guide från LRFs Jämställdhetsakademi*. Stockholm: Lantbrukarnas Riksförbund. Available at: https://www.lrf.se/sakomraden/jamstalldhet/ (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Larasatie, P., Barnett, T. and Hansen, E. (2020) 'Leading with the heart and/or thehead? Experiences of women student leaders in top world forestryuniversities', *Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research*, 35(8), pp. 588–599. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/02827581.2020.1825787 (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Lietuvos Agrarines Ekonomikos Institutas - LAEI (2020) *Assessment of the economic, social and environmental situation of agriculture and rural areas in Lithuania*. Available at: https://zum.lrv.lt/uploads/zum/documents/files/BZUP_SP_SSGG_2020-10-30.pdf (Accessed: 10 March 2023).

Lobley, M., Reed, M., Butler, A., Courtney, P. and Warren, M. (2005) 'The Impact of Organic Farming on the Rural Economy in England (CRR Research Report No. 11)', Exeter: Centre for Rural Policy Research, University of Exeter. Available at: https://socialsciences.exeter.ac.uk/media/universityofexeter/research/microsites/centreforruralpolicyresearch/pdfs/researchreports/Organic_Impacts_final.pdf (Accessed: 23 March 2023).

Löf, A. (2014) Challenging Adaptability: Analysing the Governance of Reindeer Husbandry in

Sweden, PhD dissertation, Umeå universitet.

Madau, F. and Piras, F. (2018) *La partecipazione femminile nella politica di sviluppo rurale*. Rome : Ministero delle politiche agricole alimentari e forestali. Available at: https://www.reterurale.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/18594 (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Martínez Arroyo, F. (2019) 'Mujeres rurales, el corazón de nuestros pueblos', *Rural Siglo 21*, 13 October. Available at: https://ruralsiglo21.org/2019/10/13/mujeres-rurales-el-corazon-de-nuestros-pueblos/ (Accessed: 9 March 2023).

Martini, U., Malacarne, K., Pederzolli Giovanazzi, S. and Buffa, F. (2020) S'ustainable tourism development in rural and marginal areas and opportunities for female entrepreneurship: lessons from an exploratory study', *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes* 12, pp. 421–430. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/WHATT-05-2020-0023 (Accessed: 8 March 2023).

Matuszewska-Janica, A. (2018) 'Women's labour market activity in the agriculture sector in Poland and European Union in 2016', in: J. Gołębiewski (ed.) *Proceedings of the 2018 International Scientific Conference 'Economic Sciences for Agribusiness and Rural Economy No 2'*, Warsaw: Warsaw University of Life Sciences, pp. 124–129. DOI: 10.22630/ESARE.2018.2 (Accessed: 9 March 2023).

McDonald´s (2023) *Primero el sector primario. La contribución de McDonald's por un sector agrario español más sostenible, competitivo e igualitario*. Available at: https://mcdonalds.es/empresa/sala-de-prensa/libro-blanco-sector-primario (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

McElwee, G. (2006) 'Farmers as entrepreneurs: developing competitive skills', *Journal of developmental entrepreneurship*, 11(03), pp. 187-206. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1142/S1084946706000398 (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

McFadden, T. and Gorman, M. (2016) 'Exploring the concept of farm household innovation capacity in relation to farm diversification in policy context', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 46, pp. 60-70. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2016.05.006 (Accessed: 23 March 2023)

McKee, A. and Sutherland, L-A. (2021) *The Changing Role of Women in the Farming, Crofting and the Agriculture Industry: 2016-2021*, Available at https://www.hutton.ac.uk/sites/default/files/files/publications/Changing-Role-of-Women-in-Farming-final-report-Hutton-24_11_21.pdf (Accessed 25 March 2023).

Merino, M. (2016) '15. De octubre. Día Mundial de la Mujer Rural'. *Asociación Agraria Jovenes Agricultores*, 11 October. Available at: https://www.asaja.com/publicaciones/15_de_octubre_dia_mundial_de_la_mujer_rural-_articulo_de_opinion_de_maria_dolores_merino_chacon_presidenta_nacional_de_amfar_federacion_de_mujeres_y_familias_del_ambito_rural_4342 (Accessed: 09 March 2023).

Miličević, A. (2016) *Rodne nejednakosti u ruralnom društvu*. Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Agronomski fakultet. Available at: https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:204:988198 (Accessed: 3 March 2023).

Ministarstvo poljoprivrede, ribarstva i ruralnog razvoja (2011) *„101 pitanje za ženu iz ruralnih*

*područja".* Zagreb: Ministarstvo poljoprivrede, ribarstva i ruralnog razvoja. Available at: https://ravnopravnost.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/images/pdf/101%20pitanje%20za%20seosku%20enu%20--%202.pdf (Accessed: 3 March 2023).

Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación - MAPA (2020) *Estudio Mujer Rural*. Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación: Madrid.

Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación - MAPA (2021) *Diagnóstico de la igualdad de género en el medio rural*. Ministerio de Medio Ambiente y Medio Rural y Marino: Madrid. Available at: https://www.mapa.gob.es/es/desarrollo-rural/temas/igualdad_genero_y_des_sostenible/DIAGN%C3%93STICO%20COMPLETO%20BAJA_tcm30-101391.pdf (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Miralles-Guasch, C., Melo, M. M. and Marquet, O. (2016) 'A gender analysis of everyday mobility in urban and rural territories: from challenges to sustainability', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 23(3), pp. 398-417. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2015.1013448 (Accessed: 22 March 2023).

Molina, V. (2022) 'Las mujeres empiezan a mandar en el campo', *El Periódico de España*, 09 May. Available at: https://www.epe.es/es/igualdad/20220509/mujeres-campo-agricultura-ganaderia-espana-vaciada-13617651 (Accessed: 14 March 2023)

Molinero, F. (2017) 'La España profunda', in E. Moyano (ed), *La agricultura familiar en España Anuario 2017*, Madrid: Fundación de Estudios Rurales. pp. 34-43.

Moreno, A. (2021) 'El escaso éxito de la titularidad compartida como medida destinada a hacer efectiva la igualdad entre hombres y mujeres en el sector agrario', *Agrolaboral*, 23 September. Available at: https://agrolaboral.es/el-escaso-exito-de-la-titularidad-compartida-como-medida-destinada-a-hacer-efectiva-la-igualdad-entre-hombres-y-mujeres-en-el-sector-agrario-ana-ma-moreno-marquez/ (Accesed: 16 March 2023).

Morris, C. and Evans, N. (2004) 'Agricultural turns, geographical turns: retrospect and prospect', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 20(1), pp. 95-111. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/S0743-0167(03)00041-X (Accessed 16 March 2023).

Mozas, A. (2019) *Contribución de las cooperativas agrarias al cumplimiento de los ODS. Especial referencia al sector oleícola*, Valencia : CIRIEC-España.

Munkejord, M. C. (2017a) 'Immigrant entrepreneurship contextualized. Becoming a female migrant entrepreneur in rural Norway', *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy.* 11, pp. 258-276. Available at: https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/JEC-05-2015-0029/full/html (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Munkejord, M. C. (2017b) 'Local and transnational networking among female immigrant entrepreneurs in peripheral rural contexts: Perspectives on Russians in Finnmark, Norway', *European Urban and Regional Studies,* 24, pp. 7-20. Available at: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0969776415587122 (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

National Women's Council - NWC (2021) *Paper on Women in Rural Communities: We want to live and work where we are*, Dublin: National Women's Council. Available at: https://www.nwci.ie/images/uploads/Women_in_rural_communities_May_2021.pdf

(Accessed: 23 March 2023).

Navarro, M. (2018) 'El trabajo de las mujeres rurales como garantía para el desarrollo', in A. Téllez Infantes (ed.), *Despejando la senda de la igualdad*. Elche: Universidad Miguel Hernández de Elche, pp. 21-39.

Navarro-Valverde, F., Labianca, M., Cejudo-García, E. and De Rubertis, S. (2022) 'Social Innovation in Rural Areas of the European Union Learnings from Neo-Endogenous Development Projects in Italy and Spain', *Sustainability*, 14. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3390/su14116439 (Accessed: 14 March)

Nieuwe Oogst (2020) 'Vrouwelijke bedrijfsopvolgers', *Nieuwe Oogst,* 7 November. Available at: https://cdn.nieuweoogst.nu/public/image/vrouwelijke_bedrijfsopvolgers_nov_2020.pdf (Accessed: 20 March 2023)

Nordbø, I. (2022) 'Female entrepreneurs and path-dependency in rural tourism' *Journal of Rural Studies*, 96, pp. 198-206. Available at: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0743016722002303 (Accessed: 20 March 2023).

Nordic Forest Research – SNS (2020) 'Women an untapped potential in forestry'. Available at: https://nordicforestresearch.org/blog/2020/09/10/women-an-untapped-potential-in-forestry/ (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Observatorio del Emprendimiento de España - OEE (2022) 'Emprendedoras rurales en España, Análisis con datos GEM 2021-2022', Santander: Observatorio del Emprendimiento de España.

Office of the Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson - OEOO (2023) Gender statistics. Available at: https://lygybe.lt/en/activities/annual-reports/ (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Olsen, T. A. (2015) '"Masculinities" in Sámi studies', *Journal of Northern Studies*, 9(2), pp. 37–54. Available at: http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A925323&dswid=4168 (Accessed: 9 March 2023).

Östlund, L., Öbom, A., Löfdahl, A. and Rautio, A. M. (2020) 'Women in forestry in the early twentieth century–new opportunities for young women to work and gain their freedom in a traditional agrarian society', *Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research,* 35(7), pp. 403–416. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/02827581.2020.1808054 (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Osuna, M., Rodríguez, L. and Gómez, M. (2015) *Mujeres, Turismo Rural y Brecha Salarial de Género*, Cordoba: Universidad de Córdoba. Available at: https://www.uco.es/catedraintercultural/images/documentos/publicaciones/MUJERES,TFLFtRk4QkUqZoU1b6zx5EzZCZCpfBF4BL.pdf (Accessed: 9 March 2023).

Padel, S. (2001) 'Conversion to organic farming: a typical example of the diffusion of an innovation?', *Sociologia ruralis*, 41(1), pp. 40-61. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9523.00169 (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Pallarès-Blanch, M. Tulla, A. and Vera, A. (2015) 'Environmental Capital and Women's Entrepreneurship: A Sustainable Local Development Approach', *Carpathian Journal of Earth and Environmental Sciences*, 10 (3), pp 133-146. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/280255149_Environmental_capital_and_women%27s_entrepreneurship_A_sustainable_local_development_approach (Accessed: 9 March

2023).

Pallarès-Blanch, M., Vera, A. and Tulla, A. (2018) 'Emprendimiento e innovación de las mujeres: hacia una mayor sostenibilidad en las áreas rurales de montaña', *Cuadernos Geográficos*, 57(3), pp.36-57. Availble at : https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=6771263 (Accessed : 8 March 2023).

Papaleo, A. (2021) 'Storie di casi aziendali di successo', *RRN Magazine*, 13, pp. 29-33. Available at: http://www.pianetapsr.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/2584 (Accessed: 15 March).

Patino-Alonso, M., Vicente-Galindo, M., Galindo-Villardón, M. and Vicente-Villardón, J. (2015) 'Multivariate profile of women who work in rural settings in Salamanca, Spain', *Journal of Sociology*, 52 (4), pp. 806-823. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1440783315594485 (Accessed: 9 March)

Pato, L. (2015) 'Rural Entrepreneurship and Innovation: Some Successful Women's Initiatives', *European Regional Science Association (ERSA) conference papers*. pp. 1367-1368 Available at: https://ideas.repec.org/p/wiw/wiwrsa/ersa15p1367.html (Accessed 9 March 2023).

Pérez, A., Tallón, M., Rodríguez, P. and Guerrero, M. (2017) 'Estudio de la mujer emprendedora: el medio rural como oportunidad', *RA & DEM: Revista de Administración y Dirección de Empresas*, 1, pp. 1-12. Available at : https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=6341525 (Accessed: 14 March 2023)

Pettersson, K. and Heldt Cassel, S. (2014) 'Women tourism entrepreneurs: doing gender on farms in Sweden', *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 29(8), pp. 487-504. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/GM-02-2014-0016 (Accessed: 22 March 2023).

Pettersson, K. and Tillmar, M. (2022) 'Working from the heart–cultivating feminist care ethics through care farming in Sweden', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 29(10), pp. 1446-1466. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2022.2071847 (Accessed: 22 March 2023).

Pettersson, K., Ahl, H., Berglund, K. and Tillmar, M. (2017) 'In the name of women? Feminist readings of policies for women's entrepreneurship in Scandinavia'. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 33, pp. 50-63. Available at: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0956522116301257 (Accessed: 22 March 2023).

Phelan, C. and Sharpley, R. (2012) 'Exploring entrepreneurial skills and competencies in farmtourism', *Local Economy* 27(2), pp. 103-118. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0269094211429654 (Accessed: 30 March 2023).

Portal Veterinaria (2023) 'El 42% del empleo directo del sector del porcino lo desempeñan mujeres', *Portal Veterinaria,* 28 February. Available at: https://www.portalveterinaria.com/porcino/actualidad/40096/el-42-del-empleo-directo-del-sector-porcino-lo-desempenan-mujeres.html (Accessed: 16 March 2023).

Porto Castro, A. M., Villarino Pérez, M., Baylina Ferré, M., García Ramón, M. D. and Salamaña i Serra, I. (2015) 'Formación de las mujeres, empoderamiento e innovación rural', *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 68, pp. 385-406. Available at : https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=5138938 (Accessed 14 March 2023).

Porto Castro, A. M., Mosteiro García, M. J., Baylina Ferré, M. and Villarino Pérez, M. (2022)

'Género y emprendimiento rural. Claves para la orientación profesional', *Revista Española de Orientación y Psicopedagogía*, 33(3), pp. 7-21. Available at: https://doi.org/10.5944/reop.vol.33.num.3.2022.36458 (Accessed : 16 March 2023).

Provacuno (2018) 'El papel de las mujeres en el sector de care de vacuno', *Provacuno,* 22 October. Available at: http://www.provacuno.es/vacuno/noticias/el-papel-de-las-mujeres-en-el-sector-de-carne-de-vacuno_90_325_1798_0_1_in.html (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Rae, D. (2006) 'Entrepreneurial learning: A conceptual framework for technology-based enterprise', *Technology Analysis & Strategic Management*, 18(1), pp. 39-56. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09537320500520494 (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Raisiene, A. G. and Skulskis, V. (2018) 'Collaboration Turn: towards understanding stakeholder empowerment for agrarian policy making', *Public Policy and Administration*, 17(2), pp. 177-191. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326706721_Collaboration_Turn_towards_understanding_stakeholder_empowerment_for_agrarian_policy_making (Accessed: 8 March 2023).

Raisiene, A. G., Podvezko, A. and Bilan, Y. (2018) 'Feasibility of Stakeholder Participation in Organizations of Common Interest for Agricultural Policy Making', Polish Journal of Management Studies, 18(1), pp. 277-295. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/330331216_Feasibility_of_stakeholder_participation_in_organizations_of_common_interest_for_agricultural_policy_making (Accessed: 8 March 2023).

Rauhut, D. and Littke, H. (2016) 'A one way ticket to the city, please!'on young women leaving the Swedish peripheral region Västernorrland', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 43, pp. 301-310. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2015.05.003 (Accessed: 13 March 2023).

Red rural nacional (2022) 'Las mujeres rurales lideran varios proyectos de innovación en Europa', *Red Rural Nacional,* 17 December. Available at: https://www.redruralnacional.es/noticia/las-mujeres-rurales-lideran-varios-proyectos-innovacion-en-europa (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Reguliauskiene, D. (2022) *Analysis of the need to promote innovation in Lithuanian agriculture,* Vilnius: Mykolas Romeris University.

Relja, R., Popović, T. and Domazet Lošo, S. (2021) 'Socio-ekonomski aspekti položaja žena u Cetinskoj krajini', in: K. Svržnjak, A. Čehić (ed.), *Knjiga sažetaka II. međunarodnog stručno-znanstvenog skupa - Inovacije: Jamstvo budućnosti agrobiznisa u Hrvatskoj*. Available at: https://haed.hr/znanstveni-skup/knjiga-sazetaka-iii-medunarodni-znanstveno-strucni-skup-inovacije-i-agrobiznis/ (Accessed: 3 March 2023).

Revista agricultura (2021) 'COAG y CERES visibilizan la desigualdad de género en las ayudas agrarias', *Revista agricultura*, 04 March. Available at : https://www.revistaagricultura.com/agricultura/economia/coag-y-ceres-visibilizan-la-desigualdad-de-genero-en-las-ayudas-agrarias_12905_39_16126_0_1_in.html (Accessed: 16 March 2023).

Rico, M. (2019) 'Las mujeres rurales en Castilla y León. Evolución de sus características socioeconómicas según los tres últimos censos de población'. *XII Congreso de la Asociación*

*de Economía Agraria*, Madrid: Asociación de Economía Agraria.

Rico, M. (2020) 'El fenómeno de la despoblación rural en Castilla y León. Implicaciones desde la perspectiva socioeconómica'. *Práctica Urbanística: Revista mensual de Urbanismo*, 162, pp. 37-53.

Rico, M. and Gómez, A. (2021) *Las mujeres rurales en la provincia de Palencia. Características socioeconómicas, actitudes y propuestas de actuación*, Palencia : Diputación Provincial de Palencia and MIMEO. Available at: https://www.diputaciondepalencia.es/system/files/becas-premios-concursos/resoluciones/20211209/resolucion_premios_estudio_mujer_web.pdf (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Rico, M. and Vázquez, C. (2022) *Mujeres agricultoras y ganaderas en la provincia de Palencia. Perspectiva cuantitativa y relatos de vida*, Palencia Diputación Provincial de Palencia and MIMEO.

Rigby, D. and Young, T. (2000) *Why Do Some Agricultural Producers Abandon Organic Production Systems?: An Exploration of UK Data (Discussion Paper 0015)*, Manchester: School of Economic Studies, University of Manchester.

Rigby, D., Young, T. and Burton, M. (2001) 'The development of and prospects for organic farming in the UK', *Food policy*, 26(6), pp. 599-613. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/S0306-9192(01)00023-9 (Accessed: 22 March 2023).

Riley, M. (2009) 'Bringing the 'invisible farmer'into sharper focus: gender relations and agricultural practices in the Peak District (UK)', *Gender, place and culture*, 16(6), pp. 665-682. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09663690903279138 (Accessed: 22 March 2023).

Ríos, J. J. (2022) 'La innovación, faro que guía a las ganas de emprender de la mujer rural', *EFE:Agro*, 13 October. Available at: https://efeagro.com/la-innovacion-faro-que-guia-a-las-ganas-de-emprender-de-la-mujer-rural/ (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Markussen, S. and Røed, K. (2015) 'Social Insurance Networks', *Journal of Human Resources*, 50(4), Available at: https://www.innovasjonnorge.no/globalassets/0-innovasjonnorge.no/om-innovasjon-norge/nyheter/in_forskningsrapport_190304_web_arkiv_oppslag.pdf (Accessed: 21 March 2023).

Roos, A. (2019) Embeddedness in Context: Understanding gender in a female entrepreneurship network. Entrepreneurship & Regional Development, 31(3-4), pp. 279-292.

Roos, A. (2021) *Reproducing gender - The spatial context of gender in entrepreneurship.* Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/349139887_Reproducing_gender_-_The_spatial_context_of_gender_in_entrepreneurship (Accessed: 21 March 2023).

Roos, A. and Gaddefors, J. (2022) In the wake of the ironworks-entrepreneurship and the spatial connections to empowerment and emancipation. The International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation, 14657503221089802.

Roos, A., Blomquist, M., Bhatia, R., Ekegren, K., Rönnberg, J., Torfgård, L. and Tunberg, M. (2021) 'The digitalisation of the Nordic bioeconomy and its effect on gender equality', *Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research*, 36(7-8), pp. 639-654. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/02827581.2021.1996629 (Accessed: 23 March 2023).

Rossi, R. (2022, March 14) The future of the EU's rural areas, *European Parliamentary Research Service*, 14 March. Available at: https://epthinktank.eu/2022/03/14/the-future-of-the-eus-

rural-areas/ (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Royal Agriculture Benevolent Institution (2021) *The Big Farming Survey: The health and wellbeing of the farming community in England and Wales in 2020s*, Oxford: The Royal Agricultural Benevolent Institution. Available at https://rabi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/RABI-Big-Farming-Survey-FINAL-single-pages-No-embargo-APP-min.pdf (Accessed 25 March 2023).

Sarkki, S., Dalla Torre, C., Fransala, J., Živojinović, I., Ludvig, A., Górriz-Mifsud, E., Melnykovych, M., Sfeir, P. R., Arbia, L., Bengoumi, M., Chorti, H., Gramm, V., Marco, L. L., Ravazzoli, E. and Nijnik, M. (2021) 'Reconstructive social innovation cycles in women-led initiatives in rural areas', *Sustainability*, 13, pp. 1–22. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3390/su13031231 (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Schroeder, L.A., Isselstein, J., Chaplin, S. and Peel, S. (2013) 'Agri-environment schemes: Farmers' acceptance and perception of potential 'Payment by Results' in grassland—A case study in England', *Land Use Policy*, 32, pp. 134-144. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2012.10.009 (Accessed: 22 March 2023).

Scottish Crofting Federation (2023) *Our Mission*, Available at https://www.crofting.org/about-scf/ (Accessed 29 March 2023).

Scottish Government (2019) *Women in Agriculture Taskforce: final report*, Edinburgh: Wmen in agriculture Scotland. Available at https://www.gov.scot/publications/final-report-women-agriculture-taskforce/ (Accessed 25 March 2023).

Scottish Government (2018) *Scottish Government Report to Parliament: Economic Condition of Crofting 2015 - 2018*, Edinburgh: Scottish Government. Available at https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/research-and-analysis/2018/12/economic-condition-of-crofting/documents/economic-condition-of-crofting-2015-to-2018/economic-condition-of-crofting-2015-to-2018/govscot%3Adocument/Economic%2Bcondition%2Bof%2Bcrofting%2B2015%2Bto%2B2018.pdf (Accessed 30 August 2023).

Scottish Government (2022) *Women in Agriculture 'Be Your Best Self' 2020-2021 pilot evaluation report*, Edinburgh: rural and environmental science and analytical services and Scotish Government. Available at https://www.gov.scot/publications/women-agriculture-best-self-2020-2021-pilot-evaluation-report/documents/ (Accessed 25 March 2023).

Scottish Government (2023) *Agricultural holdings including crofting and small landholdings*, Available at https://www.gov.scot/policies/agricultural-holdings-crofting/crofting/ (Accessed 27 March 2023).

Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania (2022) *Lietuvos respublikos ligos ir motinystės socialinio draudimo įstatymo nr. Ix-110 1, 5, 111, 16, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24 straipsnių pakeitimo ir įstatymo papildymo priedu įstatymas. No. XIV-1190*, Available at: https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/b124b272f87f11ecbfe9c72e552dd5bd (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Serrano, J. J. and Pitarch-Garrido, M. D. (2023) 'Recent Demographic Trends in Spanish Rural Areas: Poverty and Inequality with Gender Perspective (1999–2020)', In: M.L. De Lázaro Torres and R. De Miguel González (eds.), *Sustainable Development Goals in Europe. Key*

*Challenges in Geography*. Cham: Springer. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-21614-5_5 (Accessed; 14 March 2023).

Seuneke, P. and Bock, B. (2015) 'Exploring the roles of women in the development of multifunctional entrepreneurship on family farms: an entrepreneurial learning approach' *NJAS - Wageningen Journal of Life Sciences*, 74-75, pp. 41-50. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.njas.2015.07.001 (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Sharpley, R. and Vass, A. (2006) 'Tourism, farming and diversification: An attitudinal study', *Tourism management*, 27(5), pp. 1040-1052. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2005.10.025 (Accessed: 16 March 2023).

Shortall, S. (1999) *Women and farming: Property and power*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Shortall, S. (2014) 'Farming, identity and well-being: managing changing gender roles within Western European farm families', *Anthropological Notebooks*, 20(3), 67-81. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/279048293_Farming_identity_and_well-being_Managing_changing_gender_roles_within_Western_European_farm_families (Accessed: 22 March 2023).

Shortall, S. (2016) 'Gender and identity formation', in D. Brown, and M. Shucksmith, M. (eds.) *Routledge International Handbook of Rural Studies*. London: Routledge, pp. 400-411.

Shortall, S. (2017) 'Changing Gender Roles in Irish Farm Households: Continuity and Change', *Irish Geography*, 50(2), 175–191, DOI: 10.2014/igj.v50i1.1321, https://irishgeography.ie/index.php/irishgeography/article/view/1321 (Accessed: 22 March 2023).

Shortall, S. and Bock, B. (2015) 'Introduction: rural women in Europe: the impact of place and culture on gender mainstreaming the European Rural Development Programme', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 22(5), pp. 662-669. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2014.917819 (Accessed: 23 March 2023).

Shortall, S. and Marangudakis, V. (2022) 'Is agriculture an occupation or a sector? Gender inequalities in a European context', *Sociologia Ruralis*, 62(4), pp.746-762. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/soru.12400 (Accessed: 22 March 2023)

Shortall, S., McKee, A. and Sutherland, L-A. (2020) 'The Performance of Occupational Closure: The Case of Agriculture and Gender', *Sociologia Ruralis*, 60(1), pp.40-57. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/soru.12279 (Accessed: 23 March 2023).

Shortall, S., Sutherland, L-A., Mckee, A. and Hopkins, J. (2017) *Women in Farming and the Agriculture Sector: Final Report for the Environment and Forestry Directorate*, Edinbrugh: Rural and Environment Science and Analytical Services (RESAS) Division, Scottish Government. Available at: https://www.gov.scot/publications/women-farming-agriculture-sector/ (Accessed: 23 March 2023).

Simpson, J. (2010) *Rural women's entrepreneurship is 'good business'!,* Geneva: International Labour Organization. Available at: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/documents/publication/wcms_150832.pdf (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Solesvik, M., Iakovleva, T. and Trifilova, A. (2019) 'Motivation of female entrepreneurs: a cross-national study', *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 26, pp. 684-705. Available at: https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/JSBED-10-2018-

0306/full/html (Accessed: 3 March 2023).

Solheim, J. (2015) 'Kapital – menns domene? Kjønn, kapital og eiendom i historisk perspektiv', in G.A. Alsos, H. Bjørkhaug, A. Bolsø and E. Ljunggren (eds.) *Kjønn i næringslivet*, Oslo: Cappellen Damm Akademisk, pp. 29-48.

Sreček, H. (2022) *„Žena drži sva tri ćoška v hiži i četvrti potpomaže" – iskustva ruralnih žena različitih generacija o orodnjenim ulogama u obitelji.* Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru. Available at: https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:162:226227 (Accessed 3 March 2023).

Statistics Lithuania (2023) *Indicators database*. Available at: https://osp.stat.gov.lt/statistiniu-rodikliu-analize#/ (Accessed: 10 March 2023).

Stenbacka, S. (2017) 'Where family, farm and society intersect: values of women farmers in Sweden', in B.B. Bock and S. Shortall (eds.), *Gender and rural globalization: International perspectives on gender and rural development*, Wallingford UK: CABI, pp. 114-128. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1079/9781780646251.0114 (Accessed: 16 March 2023).

Suárez-Ortega, M. (2016) 'Across gender. Work situations of Rural Women in the South of Spain', *Qualitative Research in Education*, 5(1), pp. 77-104. Available at: https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1111680.pdf (Accessed: 16 March 2023).

Šikić Mićanović, L. (2014) *Hidden Lives: An Anthropological Study of Rural Women*, Zagreb: Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences.

Teagasc (The Agriculture and Food Development Authority) (2019) 'Women in Irish agricultural history', *Tresearch*, 14(2). Available at: https://www.teagasc.ie/media/website/publications/2019/p32_WomenAgHistory_Web.pdf (Accessed: 23 March 2023).

Teagasc (The Agriculture and Food Development Authority) (2021) *Teagasc National Farm Survey 2021 Final Results* Available at: https://www.teagasc.ie/media/website/publications/2022/Teagasc-National-Farm-Survey-2021.pdf (Accessed: 23 March 2023).

Tillmar, M., Sköld, B., Ahl, H., Berglund, K. and Pettersson, K. (2022) 'Women's rural businesses: for economic viability or gender equality?–a database study from the Swedish context', *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, 14(3), p. 323-351. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/IJGE-06-2021-0091 (Accessed: 9 March 2023).

Trauger, A., Sachs, C., Barbercheck, M., Brasier, K., Kiernan, N. and Schwartzberg, A. (2010) The object of extension: agricultural education and authentic farmers in Pennsylvania, *Sociologia Ruralis*, 50(2), pp. 85–102. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9523.2010.00507.x (Accessed: 22 March 2023).

Turner, M., Winter, M., Barr, D., Errington, A., Fogerty, M., Lobley, M., Reed, M. and Whitehead, I. (2003) *Farm diversification activities: benchmarking study 2002, Final report to DEFRA (CRR Research Report No 4)*, Exter: Centre for Rural Policy Research, University of Exeter.

Van der Meulen, H., Matser, I., Remery, C., Terluin, I., Bouma, J. and Jager, J. (2014) *Vrouwen op agrarische bedrijven: actief en betrokken,* Wageningen: LEI Wageningen UR. Available at: https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwig8oDw4-rERC5b4PoR51qWEvAWuJsX6yRVRBvRVta7&url=https%3A%2F%2Fedepot.wur.nl%2F32101

6&usg=AOvVaw0vGoWzxndIhUq1EdEVPxnZ (Accessed: 20 March 2023).

Varela-Candamio, L., Calvo, N. and Novo-Corti, I. (2018) 'The role of public subsidies for efficiency and environmental adaptation of farming: A multi-layered business model based on functional foods and rural women', *Journal of Cleaner Production,* 183, pp. 555-565. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2018.02.109 (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Vidickiene, D. (2017) 'Attractiveness of Rural Areas for Young, Educated Women in Post-Industrial Society', *Eastern European Countryside*, 23(1), pp.171-190. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/eec-2017-0008 (Accessed: 9 March 2023).

Vidović, D., Perić, J. and Jožanc, N. (2015) 'The role of social entrepreneurship in empowerment of women in rural areas of Croatia', in: A. Mašek Tonković, (ed.) *4. međunarodni znanstveni simpozij Gospodarstvo istočne Hrvatske - vizija i razvoj*. Available at: http://www.efos.unios.hr/repec/osi/eecytt/PDF/EconomyofeasternCroatiayesterdaytodaytomorrow04/eecytt0471.pdf (Accessed: 16 March 2023).

Vilkė, D., Crowther, D., Pareigienė, L. and Stalgienė, A. (2018) *Social responsibility of farmers in the provision of public goods and services: multi-criteria evaluation, Scientific study*. Vilnius: LAEI.

Villafáñez Perez, I. (2017) 'Principios y valores cooperativos, igualdad de género e interés social en las cooperativas', *CIRIEC-España*, 30, pp. 1-37. Available at: http://ciriec-revistajuridica.es/wp-content/uploads/comen30-02.pdf (Accessed: 22 March 2023).

Vitunskienė, V., Makutėnienė, D., Besusparienė, E., Savickienė, J., Nausėdienė, A., Dapkuvienė, A. and Rakštys, R. (2022) *Identification of criteria for sustainable production in the agriculture, food and fisheries sectors, and development of a system for assessing and monitoring compliance with these criteria. Final report*, Kaunas: VMU Agriculture Academy. Available at: https://zum.lrv.lt/uploads/zum/documents/files/1_%20Tvarios%20gamybos%20%C5%BEem%C4%97s%2C%20maisto%20%C5%ABkio%20ir%20%C5%BEuvininkyst%C4%97s%20sektoriuose%20kriterij%C5%B3.pdf. (Accessed: 10 March 2023).

Warren-Smith, I. and Jackson, C. (2004) 'Women creating wealth through rural enterprise', *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, 10(6), pp. 369-383. Available at: https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/13552550410564707/full/html (Accessed: 8 March 2023).

Wegate (2020) *Wegate Project.* Available at: https://www.wegate.eu/ (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Wegate (2022) *The Webarometer 2022. A survey of women entrepreneurs in europe*. Available at: https://www.wegate.eu/the-webarometer-2022-is-out-discover-how-we-can-help-women-entrepreneurs-access-more-funding/ (Accessed 15 March 2023).

Whatmore, S. (1991) 'Life cycle or patriarchy? Gender divisions in family farming', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 7(1-2), pp. 71-76. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/0743-0167(91)90043-R (Accessed: 22 march 2023).

Wigren-Kristoferson, C. (2013) *Jämställdhet – Företagsstöd inom Landsbygdsprogrammet 2007-2012*. Jönköping: The Swedish Board of Agriculture. Available at: https://jordbruksverket.se/download/18.23f3563314184096e0d276d/1381411363275/J%C3%A4mst%C3%A4lldhetsrapport+Caroline+Wigren+3.2.04-692013.pdf (Accessed: 15

March 2023)

Wilson, L. A. (2007) 'The family farm business? Insights into family, business and ownership dimensions of open-farms', *Leisure Studies*, 26(3), pp. 357-374. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/02614360600661120 (Accessed: 3 March 2023).

Wilson-Youlden, L. and Bosworth, G. R. (2019) 'Women tourism entrepreneurs and the survival of family farms in North East England', *Journal of Rural and Community Development*, 14(3), pp. 126-145. Available at: https://journals.brandonu.ca/jrcd/article/view/1626/384 (Accessed: 22 March 2023).

Wojciechowska, A. (2022) 'How desirable is gender equality in the rural labour market? The evidence from spain and Poland', *Journal of Agribusiness and Rural Development*, 66(4), pp. 361-374. DOI: https://doi.org/10.17306/J.JARD.2022.01661 (Accessed: 15 March 2023).

Young Women Green Enterprenuers (YOUWEEN) (2022) *Mapping and Collection of Best Practices. (Project Nº: 2020-2-PL01-KA205-082849)*. Available at: https://platform.youween.eu/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Final-Collection-of-Best-Practices-YOU_WEEN-7-1.pdf (Accessed: 10 March 2023).

Zagata, L., Uhnak, T. and Hrabak, J. (2021) 'Moderately radical? Stakeholders' perspectives on societal roles and transformative potential of organic agriculture', *Ecological Economics*, 190. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2021.107208 (Accessed: 22 March 2023).

Zumpano, C. (2021) 'La voce corale delle agricoltrici. Agricoltura in genere', *RRN Magazine*, 13. Available at: http://www.pianetapsr.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/2584 (Accessed: 14 March 2023).

Zvinkliene, A. (2016) 'Innovations in gender equality politics in the Baltic States: from woman to gender mainstreaming', *Filosofija-Sociologija*, 27(4), pp. 353-363. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/327250244_Innovations_in_gender_equality_politics_in_the_baltic_states_From_woman_to_gender_mainstreaming (Accessed: 15 March 2023).