



The challenge of organised agricultural criminality: The psychological and wider societal impacts

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Abstract

Globally, farmers are increasingly threatened by organised criminal networks, leading to a rise in agricultural crime. This shift from traditional opportunistic offences to more organised crime is severely impacting the psychological well-being of farmers. It is also causing broader societal issues, including farmers' departure from the sector, diminished trust in law enforcement and threats to food chain security.

Farmers encounter various stressors – negative events that affect their well-being – and hinder successful business management. Existing research has identified stressors such as weather, finance, regulation, staffing and time pressures. However, the impact of organised agricultural criminality (OAC) on farmers' mental health and its broader implications have not been explored.

This pioneering research investigates whether agricultural crime should be recognised as a stressor for farmers. It compares the impact of agricultural crime with other well-documented stressors on farm management in Great Britain. Additionally, this study examines the wider repercussions of OAC, considering the secondary and tertiary impacts of these events.

While this research was conducted in Great Britain, its findings have international relevance, given the global reach of these criminal networks. The results indicate that OAC is a significant stressor for farmers, surpassed only by weather, finance and time pressures. Moreover, acts of criminality have extensive societal consequences often overlooked by those involved in crime prevention and law enforcement.

The study argues that without serious international law enforcement consideration of OAC, the psychological and societal effects of these crimes could jeopardise global food security in unforeseen ways.

Keywords: organised agricultural crime, farmers' mental health, farming.

Introduction

Rural and agricultural crime has become a small but emerging area of research in the last 30 years (Barclay et al., 2002; Bunei et al., 2013; DeKeseredy et al., 2013; Saltiele, 1992; Smith et al., 2019). Criminological literature has discussed the increasingly organised nature of rural and agricultural crime since the mid 2010s (Smith et al., 2017; Smith, 2018; Smith et al., 2016). Recent work supported by the United Kingdom's newly established National Rural Crime Unit has identified a clear link between the theft of agricultural machinery and organised crime group (OCG) networks (Tudor, 2024). Despite this slowly developing academic evidence, there remain issues in the practical policing of organised agricultural criminality (OAC) in Great Britain due to not only a lack of a national working definition of rural and agricultural crime despite the recent establishment and best efforts of the National Rural Crime Unit, but also a dearth of official data relating to rural and agricultural crime incidents. As a result of the inability to show the true extent of agricultural crime incidents, it remains a challenge to get regional organised crime policing units to accept that much of the agricultural criminality that is experienced is organised in nature. It is often the case that organised criminality in rural communities is seen as directly related to urban crime, such as organised drug trafficking, and as such organised criminality is seen as negligible in the rural space (Fraser et al., 2018; Clark et al., 2021). Despite increasing evidence of OAC and the impact it can have on farmers, farming communities and global food security (Smith, 2024), the impact of OAC is often overlooked by strategic policing decision-makers and as such fails to attract the resources that city-based organised criminality does (Clark et al., 2021).

Academic literature has long recognised that farmers worldwide are working under levels of immense stress (Booth et al., 2000; Kearney et al., 2014; Olson et al., 1986; Walker et al., 1986). Indeed, farming is one of the industries where workers are most likely to become a victim of suicide (Booth et al., 2000). The tenuous balance of competing stressors such as finances, weather and regulations are recognised in the literature and could be considered chronic stressors that farmers learn to deal with in the daily running of their farms. However, the introduction of an acute stressor such as a criminal incident can lead to this delicate stressor balance being disrupted, leading to short- and long-term financial and business continuity pressures, in addition to affecting the confidence farmers have in the police, which can lead to ongoing extensive social, psychological and physical health effects (Smith, 2024; Smith et al., 2024). Farmers have reported anxiety, depression and suicidal tendencies as a direct result of agricultural crime (Smith, 2020, 2022). This original article extends the author's previous work (Smith, 2020, 2022, 2024) by examining new data to provide an in-depth understanding of the extensive impact that crime has on farming communities and the wide-reaching second- and third-order effects to which this leads. Additionally, this work identifies the need for policing strategists to recognise the increasingly organised nature of these types of crimes, and the ability of OCGs to pivot their business plans to respond very quickly to local, national and global demands.

This exploratory research aims to address the following issues: (1) How does OAC compare with other stressors? (2) Do farmers feel that agricultural criminality is organised? (3) How is OAC affecting farmer mental health? This research explores the key research question: To what extent is OAC impacting farmers' mental health?

Methodology

This research extends the previous work of the author through the collection of new data leading to practical policy recommendations based on the quantitative analyses undertaken. The target population for this work was British farmers who had been victims of crime within the previous 12 months, with non-probability purposive snowball sampling being employed via an online questionnaire delivered using JISC online surveys (<https://www.jisc.ac.uk/online-surveys>). While it is recognised that online surveys pose methodological issues through the reduced equality in availability, particularly in rural areas due to poor internet stability, this method does allow research requests to be sent to a widely dispersed target population quickly, easily and at a low cost to the researcher, particularly where communities might be hard to reach, remote or isolated (Smith, 2021).

The questions are partly based on the work carried out by Smith (2020; 2022) exploring the impact of agricultural crime on farmers' psychological well-being and experiences of victimisation. Additional questions were added to explore the issue of who farmers thought were committing such offences. This was done with the intention of exploring the extent to which farmers believed these crimes to be committed by OCGs or other potential offenders.

The questionnaire comprised 27 questions divided into four sections: crime victimisation; the impact of agricultural crime on farmers' psychological well-being; do the farmers think agricultural crime is organised; and general information about the farmers. The questionnaire was completely anonymous, and no identifying information was collected. The research was conducted with ethical approval via the Harper Adams Research Ethics Committee.

The questionnaire was piloted by six colleagues who have knowledge of farming but who do not fit the target population to ensure avoidance of sample contamination. Feedback from the pilot members was reviewed and actioned where necessary to ensure that the questionnaire was workable and contained no confusing or leading questions. Once adapted as required, the questionnaire was made live on the online software. The link and QR code were promulgated via various social media platforms including X, Facebook, Instagram and LinkedIn. Further, a press release was drafted and released by the Harper Adams Press Office, and the link and QR code were sent to staff at the university to share with their own networks, with the aim of reaching as many potential respondents as possible. The survey was open for four weeks to allow as many responses as possible to be collected. In total, 239 responses were received in that period. The demographic data of respondents are included in Table 22.1.

Table 22.1. Demographic data of respondents

		<i>N</i>
Age	18–34	39
	35–44	74
	45–54	60
	55–64	64
	65+	2
Role	Farmer	87
	Full-time farm worker	20
	Part-time farm worker	108
	Farmer family	24

		<i>N</i>
Gender	Male	76
	Female	163
Production	Arable	54
	Beef finishing	8
	Dairy	35
	Fruit	97
Ownership	Sheep	45
	Owner occupier	89
	Tenant	148
	Share farming agreement	2

Results were exported from JISC online surveys into Statistical Product and Service Solutions software for cleaning and analysis. Descriptive statistics were collated and analysed with the aim of addressing the key objectives as presented in the next section. Inferential statistical analysis was undertaken with non-parametric tests being employed due to the non-random sampling strategy, the non-normal distribution of the data and the scales of measurement of the individual variables tested.

Results

How does organised agricultural criminality compare with other stressors?

Figures 22.1 to 22.7 provide an overview of OAC victimisation experiences and how respondents feel crime ranks as a stressor when considered alongside other stressors. Figure 22.1 shows that almost two thirds (61 %) of respondents have been victims of crime at least four times in the proceeding 12-month period, with Figure 22.2 presenting the type of crimes experienced.

When considering the impact of repeat victimisation on experiencing crime-related mental health issues, there are several statistically significant positively correlated results, as shown in Appendix 22.1. One key exception is the reporting of worrying about their own safety, which indicated a negative correlation. This suggests that the issue of ‘defence othering’ (Stough-Hunter, 2015) may play a key part in the minds of farmers by deflecting any of their concerns for their own safety either in an attempt to remain stoic or because they must in order to continue with the business of farming.

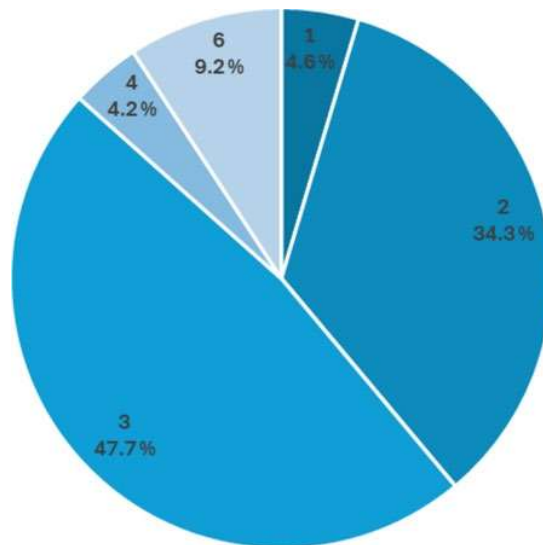


Figure 22.1. Number of criminal incidents experienced by respondents in the previous 12 months, showing a majority reporting more than four criminal events

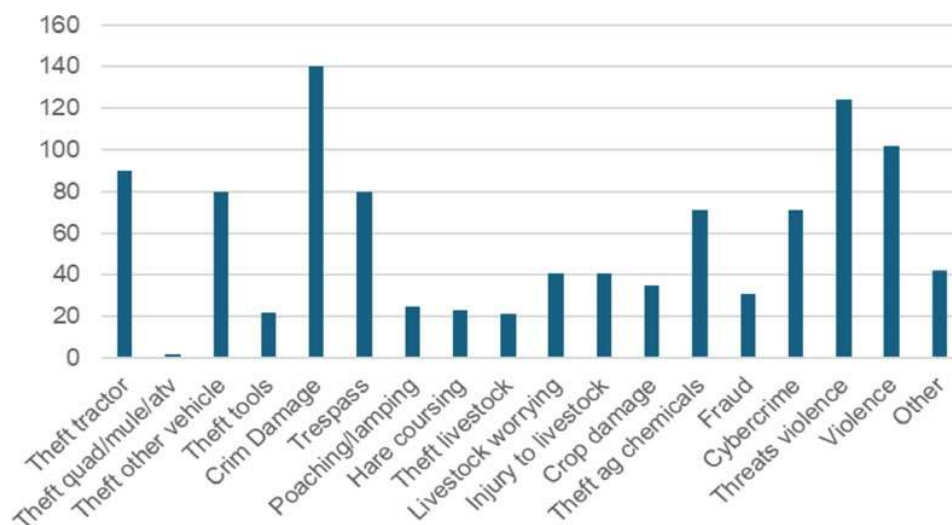


Figure 22.2. Types of crimes experienced by farmers, showing that criminal damage, violence and threats of violence are the crimes most experienced

When considering the reporting of crimes to the police (Figure 22.3), it is interesting to note that three quarters of respondents did report the crime to the police (75.7 %); however, over half of respondents (54.2 %) felt that the police response was either ‘fairly unhelpful’ or ‘very unhelpful’ (Figure 22.4).

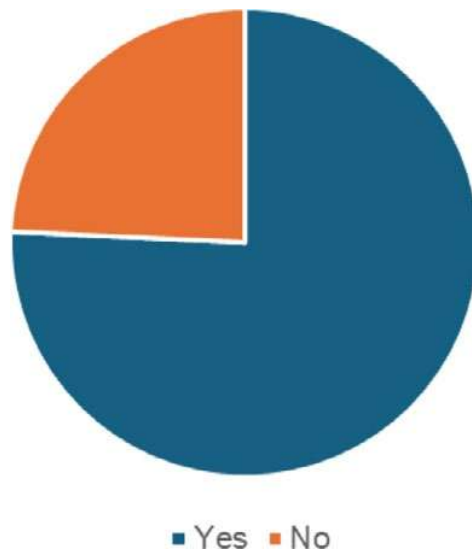


Figure 22.3. Level of reporting crimes to police, showing that over three quarters of crimes were reported to the police by respondents

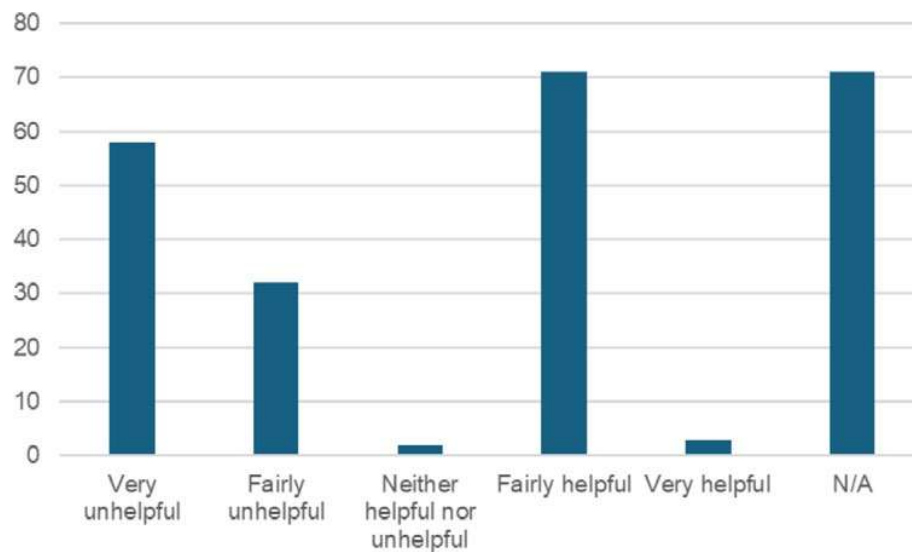


Figure 22.4. Over half of respondents felt the police were either fairly or very unhelpful when they reported the crime

Figure 22.5 provides a word cloud representing the most mentioned words by respondents when asked about the top three impacts of being a victim of crime. Keywords identified include 'financial', 'costs', 'vulnerable' and 'suspicious'. This seems to indicate a more equal weighting between financial and emotional impacts than previously thought. Figure 22.6 further provides a word cloud representing the most mentioned words by respondents when asked about the top three day-to-day stressors when running a farm. Keywords identified here include 'finance', 'weather', 'lone', and 'machinery', which reflects the existing literature. However, it is notable that 'crime' does feature quite prominently on this word cloud, despite most respondents (64 %) ranking crime as at least 10th on their stressor list (Figure 22.7).



Figure 22.5. This word cloud highlights that the most reported impacts of crime were ‘financial’, ‘costs’, ‘vulnerable’ and ‘suspicious’



Figure 22.6. Key stressors are highlighted as ‘finance’, ‘weather’, ‘productivity’ and ‘lone’, and that ‘crime’ remains prominent on this list despite this

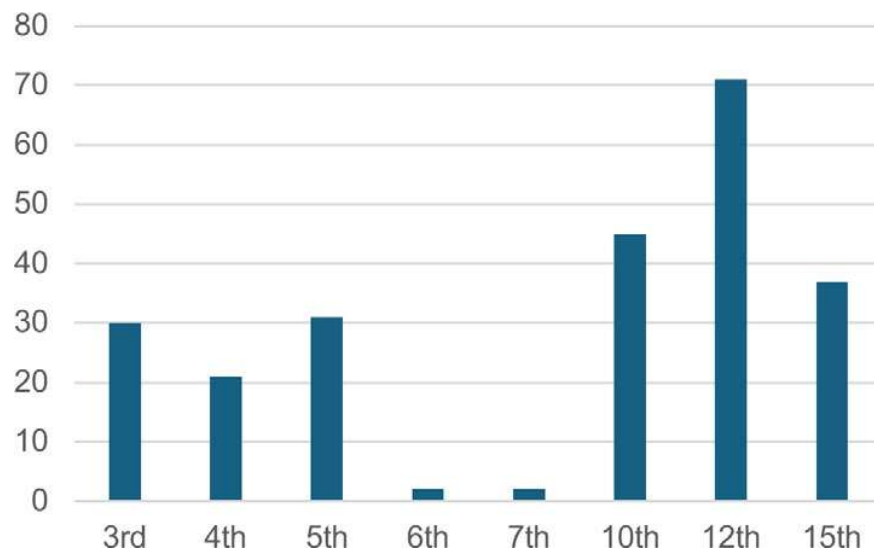


Figure 22.7. A majority of respondents felt that crime ranked at least 10th on this list of stressors despite the prominent appearance of crime in the above word cloud

Despite crime seemingly being quite low down in the stressor ranking, inferential correlational analysis found that in several cases rank is positively correlated with crime-related mental health indicators (Appendix 22.2). The exceptions are isolation ($R = -0.14, p = 0.03$), worry about my safety ($R = -0.33, p < 0.001$) and worry about securing firearms ($R = -0.17, p = 0.01$). This suggests that despite not considering crime to be a key stressor, farmers often experience crime-related mental health indicators, suggesting that this may be more stressful than initially considered by respondents.

Do farmers feel agricultural crime is organised?

Figures 22.8 to 22.11 provide results relating to respondents' thoughts about the level of organisation of agricultural crime. While there is an indication that respondents feel that each offender type is always represented (Figure 22.8), there seems to be a strong indication that respondents feel that OAC is very much driven by three key cohorts: OCGs (66.5 % 'very often' or 'always'); urban residents (71.9 % 'very often' or 'always'); and travelling communities (83.7 % 'very often' or 'always'). It is arguable that each of these three cohorts in some way suggest some level of organisation, even if not overtly stated as such due to the nature of the historic links of urban residents and elements of the travelling community being involved in agricultural crime (McElwee et al., 2012; Mawby et al., 2016).

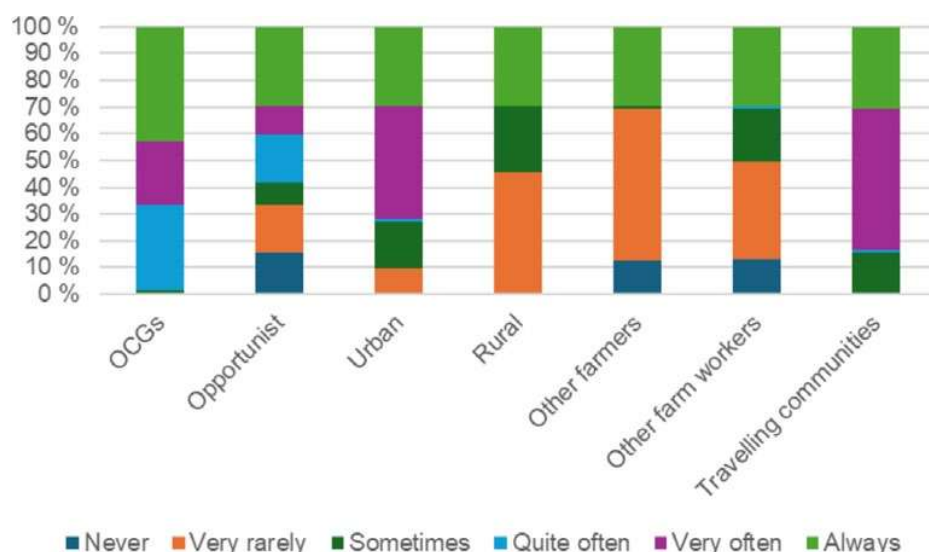


Figure 22.8. Despite a belief that agricultural crime is most often committed by travelling communities, most respondents felt that OCGs committed agricultural crime at least quite often

To underpin the responses indicating OCG involvement, Figure 22.9 shows that almost all respondents ($n = 237$) either 'agree' or 'strongly agree' that agricultural crime is committed by OCGs, and Figure 22.10 shows that all respondents believe that the level of OCGs targeting farms has either 'increased a little' or 'increased a lot' over the last five years. Most interestingly, Figure 22.11 shows that 76 % of respondents believe that the police do not see agricultural crime as organised crime. This suggests a perceived increase in OCG activity that is clearly recognised by the farmer respondents, but they equally feel that the police do not recognise this effect.

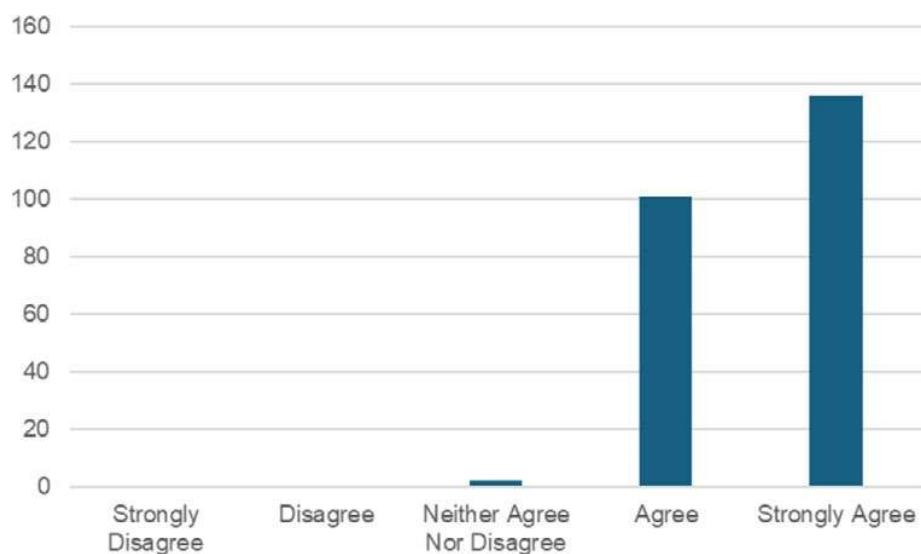


Figure 22.9. Almost all respondents felt that OCGs were key offenders in agricultural crime



Figure 22.10. Almost all respondents felt that OCGs targeting farms has increased in the last five years

Table 22.2 shows the statistically significant positive associations between perceptions of OCG increase and reported crime-related mental health indicators experienced. This shows a clear relationship between feeling that OCGs are increasingly targeting farms and leading to farmers experiencing anxiety, inability to prevent victimisation, feeling vulnerable, lack of sleep, loss of confidence and control, suicidal thoughts and worries about family safety.

Table 22.2. Spearman's rho associations between crime-related mental health indicators and recognition of increased targeting of farms by OCGs

Mental health indicator	N	R	P
Feeling anxious	239	0.13	0.04
Cannot prevent being victim	239	0.15	0.02
Feeling vulnerable	239	0.21	0.001
Lack of sleep	239	0.15	0.02
Loss of confidence	239	0.13	0.04
Loss of control	239	0.15	0.02
Suicidal thoughts	239	0.15	0.03
Worry about family safety	221	0.19	0.006

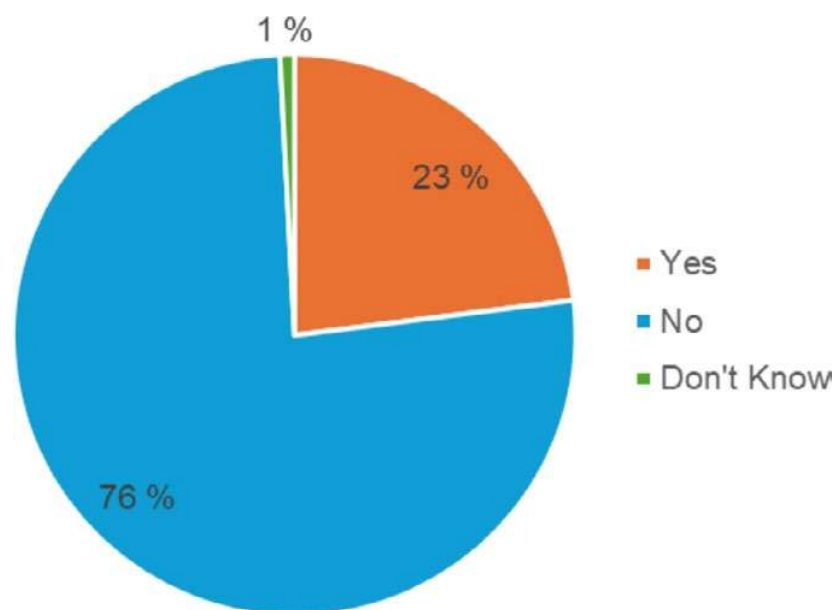


Figure 22.11. Most respondents felt that the police do not see agricultural crime as organised

Appendix 22.3 presents the inferential results when exploring statistically significant differences of crime-related mental health indicators across whether respondents feel that the police recognise agricultural crime as organised. In all but two cases, those who felt the police did not recognise agricultural crime as organised were statistically more likely to report experiencing crime-related mental health issues. The exceptions were not being able to prevent being a victim (organised $\bar{x}R = 135.88$; not organised $\bar{x}R = 115.94$; do not know $\bar{x}R = 52.5$), ($H = 7.08$ (2, 239), $p = 0.03$), and feeling vulnerable (organised $\bar{x}R = 139.89$; not organised $\bar{x}R = 115.07$; do not know $\bar{x}R = 21.5$), ($H = 11.95$ (2, 239), $p = 0.003$).

How is organised agricultural criminality affecting farmers' mental health?

Multiple indicators were used to assess the impact of OAC on farmers' mental health. These were grouped into five categories: victimisation (Figure 22.12); simple worries (Figure 22.13); losses (Figure 22.14); worries (Figure 22.15); and personal (Figure 22.16). It can be seen from these figures that each indicator is experienced by all respondents to varying degrees, with no responses showing that indicators are wholly either 'never' or 'very rarely' experienced. Key highlights include farmers feeling 'always abandoned by the police' (38.5 %), 'always feeling vulnerable' (55.6 %) (Figure 22.12), 'always feeling anxious' (46.4 %) (Figure 22.13), and a feeling 'loss of trust' (42.7 %) (Figure 22.14). Key worries for respondents centred around the safety of their family (38.9 % 'always'), which may suggest an element of 'defence othering' (Stough-Hunter, 2015) and worry about lone working (46.4 % 'always') (Figure 22.15). From the 'personal' category, while all indicators showed a response of between 40 % and 50 % reporting they never experience these indicators, it is particularly notable that 38.4 % of respondents 'always' thought about giving up farming and the same number reported 'always' having suicidal thoughts, and while no respondents reported 'always' exhibiting suicidal behaviour, 30.1 % did report experiencing this behaviour very often as a direct result of OAC (Figure 22.16).

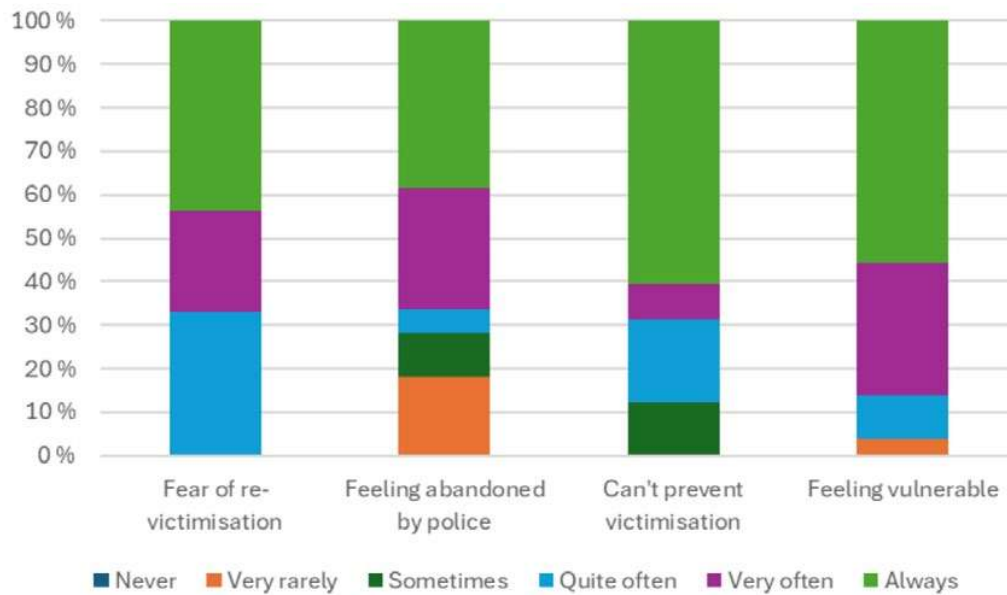


Figure 22.12. Victimisation shows the greatest impact on worries around repeat victimisation and inability to prevent victimisation

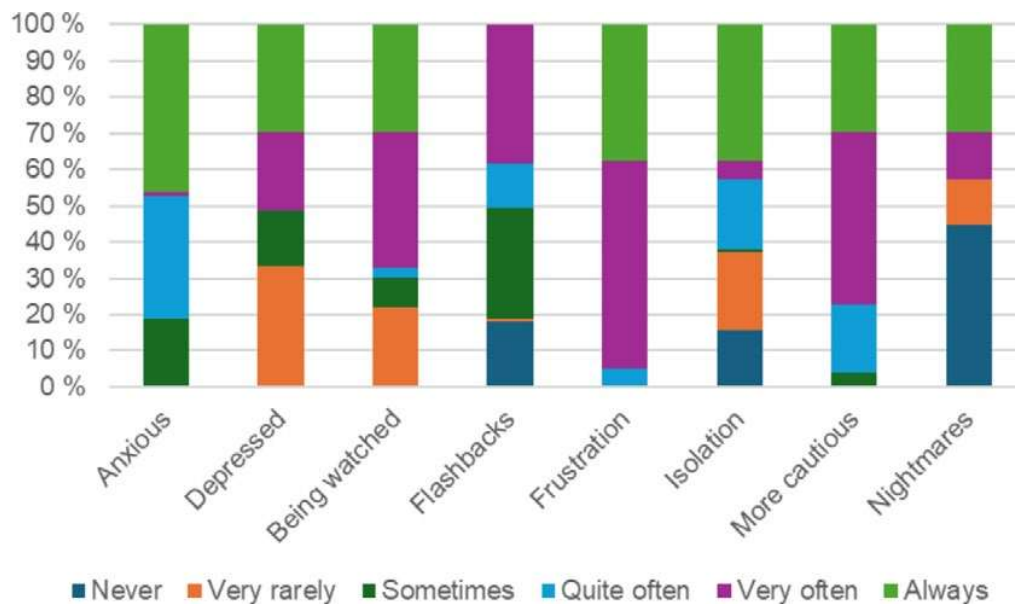


Figure 22.13. Simple worries affected by victimisation are primarily presented through feelings of frustration and anxiety

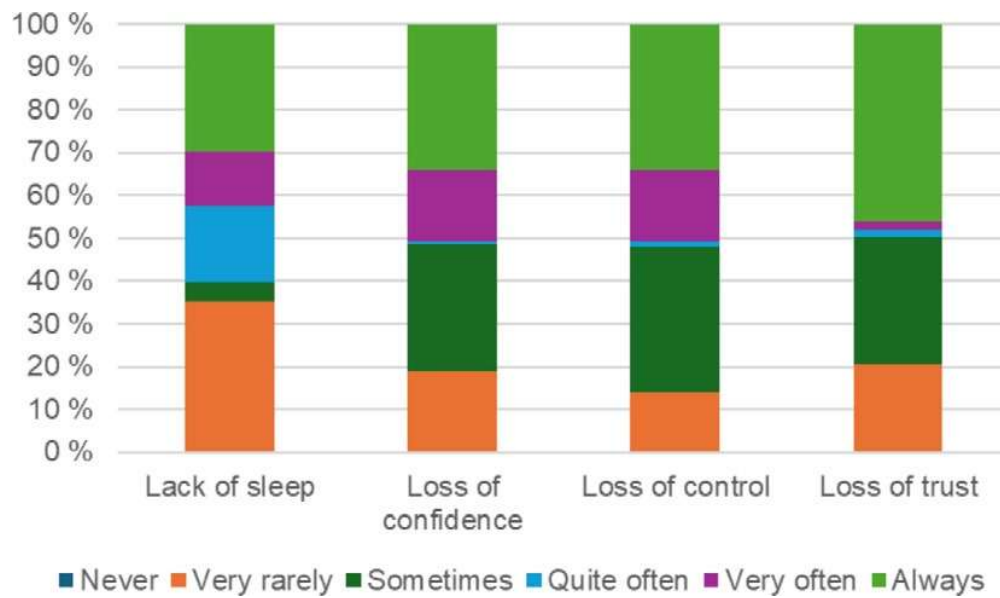


Figure 22.14. Losses affected by victimisation are seen at least 'quite often' in a minimum of 50 % of respondents

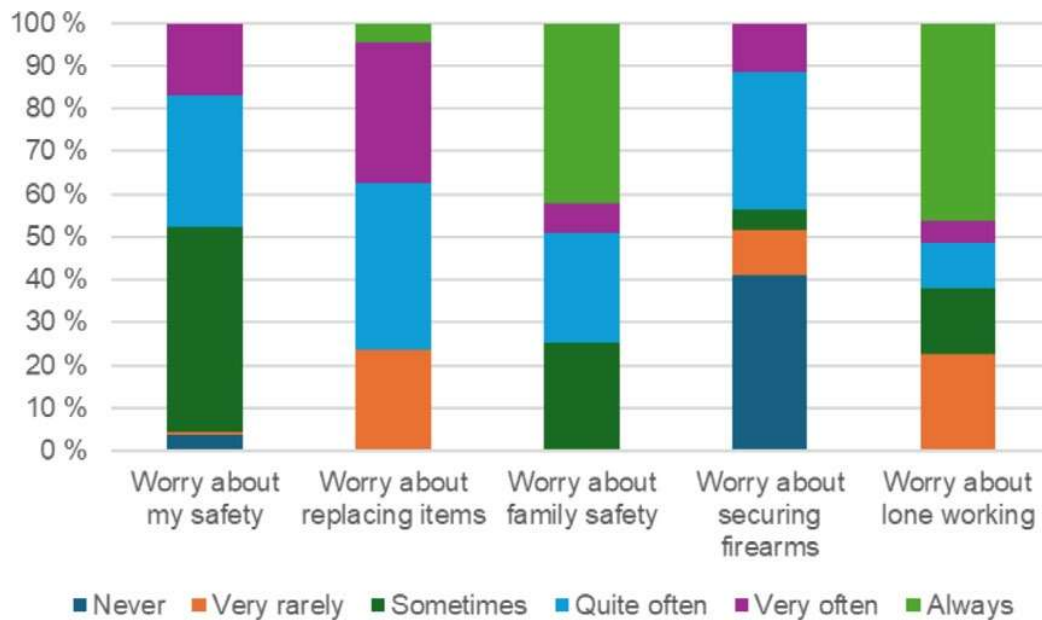


Figure 22.15. Worries about replacing items are most common, but worries about family safety and lone working are seen at a higher level in the 'always' category

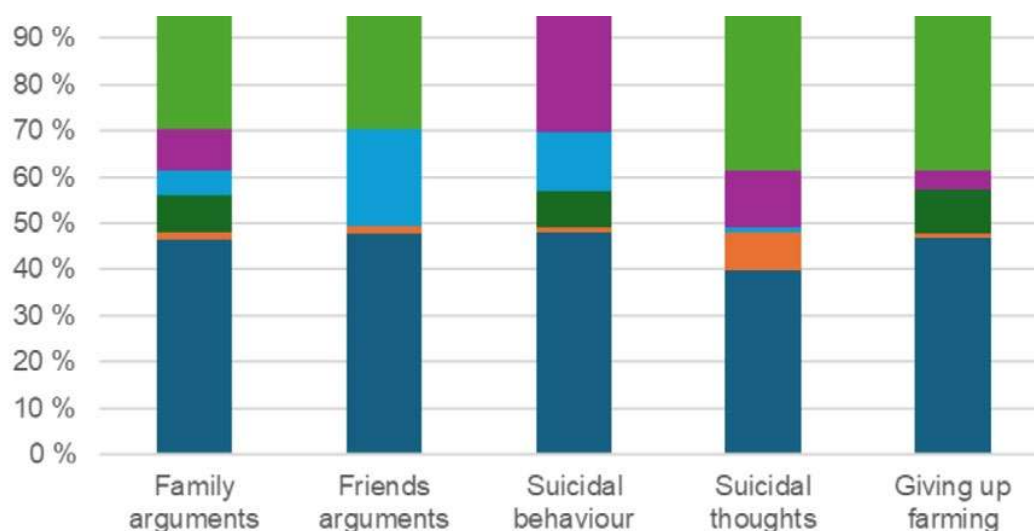


Figure 22.16. Suicidal thoughts and thoughts of giving up farming are ‘always’ seen in around 40 % of respondents

When considering the inferential analysis of the effect of OAC on farmers’ mental health, gender and age were seen as being particularly relevant. When analysing the effect of gender on crime-related mental health, a Mann–Whitney *U* test found that, across all measures seen in Figures 22.12–22.16, female respondents were significantly more likely to experience these effects (Appendix 22.4). When considering age as the independent variable, a Spearman’s rho test found a significant correlation across all mental health indicators except feelings of isolation ($p = 0.43$), worry about safety ($p = 0.34$) and worry about securing firearms ($p = 0.41$). As can be seen in Appendix 22.5, all except two significant results suggest that older respondents are less likely to experience crime-related mental health issues.

Conclusion

Interpretation of results

This novel research found that all respondents report worrying about re-victimisation at least ‘quite often’, which suggests that the face of agricultural crime is changing, and that fear is increasing. This may be due to the clear link that farmers are seeing between agricultural crime and OCGs as shown by this research. There is the potential to focus on women working within agriculture, those who have been repeat victims and younger people in this sector, as this analysis indicates that they are more likely to feel the effects on their mental health from OAC victimisation. Regardless of this, these findings show that the perception of the rural space as idyllic and crime-free is very quickly being eroded by the in-roads that OCGs are making in the farming community. These findings build on the work done by Tudor (2024) but go further by suggesting that the role of OCGs in agricultural crime is moving beyond tractor and machinery theft to cover a much wider range of criminality, whether acquisitive, criminal damage or violence. This research has identified that, while agricultural crimes and repeat victimisation are increasingly being reported to the police, respondents remain sceptical about the police’s recognition of the organised nature of agricultural crimes. This seems to be reinforced, in part, by the fact that the response farmers received when reporting such crimes remains well below par.

Worries as a direct result of victimisation cover initial financial worries through to indicators of traumatic events such as suspicion and feelings of vulnerability. While recognised stressors were most reported, crime did feature prominently in the responses despite being ranked fairly low when asked directly. Whether this is due to the cohort who completed the questionnaire having been a victim of crime should be questioned; however, it is indicative of the impact that crime is having on the farming community.

While this research has shown that OAC is having a detrimental effect on farmers' mental health, the fact that varying numbers of respondents report experiencing all of the mental health indicators at least 'very often' should be a cause for serious concern. The wider implications of the impact of OAC on farmers' mental health, that is, the second- and third-order impacts, present a real challenge for farmers. Although Smith (2024) explores these downstream consequences, this does not consider the wider social implications of OAC that can have a direct effect on farmers, including a loss of trust, and health and safety issues due to a lack of sleep, anxiety and depression. Furthermore, the potential for victimisation to trigger suicidal ideation or lead to a decision for farmers to leave the sector should be seen as extremely problematic due to the wider food security implications this may have.

Implications for law enforcement practices

This research has taken a step forward in highlighting the fears and experiences of the British farming community in relation to the increased nature of OAC. While more research is needed to expand on these findings, this work clearly shows that there is a need for a better understanding of OAC among police forces internationally, so that they are better able to support victims in a more effective way. Despite the UK's *Rural and Wildlife Crime Strategy 2022–2025* (National Wildlife Crime Unit, n.d.) stating that there is a need to 'relentlessly pursue' organised criminals targeting rural environments, there remains little capacity or will within police regional organised crime units to highlight OAC as a strategic priority. This lack of consideration of crime in the rural space is further illustrated by the introduction of the 'Neighbourhood policing guarantee' by the UK government (UK government: Home Office, 2025), which proposes a minimum standard of policing across all communities (UK government, 2025); however, nowhere in the framework is there any mention of rural policing or resourcing. There is a need to include some level of rural awareness training for law enforcement as standard to enable better understanding of rural life and how crime can affect those living and working in the rural space. This may form part of the initial training that new recruits undertake or part of a programme of continued professional development. Police training in England and Wales is conducted via an apprenticeship degree; however, none of the educational providers include any content on rural criminality across the three-year course. Without this understanding of rural life, how will police officers be able to undertake appropriate and effective response and investigation? It is argued that there is a need for a clear understanding among law enforcement officers, and those training them, as to the real impact that OAC is having on the farming community to enable effective communication between the police and the victims and encourage information sharing to effect a true understanding among police resource allocators of the implications that crime in the rural space can have on wider society. Finally, there is an opportunity for the police at all levels to work in liaison with academic researchers and local communities to co-create collaborative preventative and protective approaches to addressing the effects at a local level that recognise the individual nature of rural communities and their needs and experiences.

Recommendations for future research

This piece of work was exploratory in nature to gain a broad understanding of who farmers believe are the offenders targeting their farms. More importantly, this work goes some way to build on what is already known about the effects that OAC has on farmer mental health and adds new perspectives across the fields of rural criminology and mental health scholarship by extending the previous work conducted by the author (in particular Smith, 2020, 2022) to consider the growing issue of OAC and its wider effects. Key recommendations for researchers going forward firstly centre around obtaining much broader quantitative data to add to these findings, focusing on a much larger sample than that obtained with this work. This may be extended to countries outside the United Kingdom to allow for an international comparison on how OAC is affecting farmers globally. Furthermore, additional research should be undertaken from a qualitative perspective to enable a more in-depth exploration of the issues raised by this research, how OAC is affecting farmers and their mental health. The possibility of co-developing appropriate and effective police responses to OAC with farmers and academics should be explored to ensure such practices take into account what farmers consider such a response should look like. In addition, there is a need to identify key research to underpin new and innovative practices – or indeed adapt existing practices – to work through a rural lens.

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Appendices

Appendix 22.1. Spearman's rho analysis of statistical correlation between repeat victimisation and experience of crime-related mental health indicators

	Fear of revictimisation	Feeling abandoned by police	Feeling anxious	Feeling depressed	Can't prevent being victim	Feeling vulnerable	Feeling being watched	Flash-backs	Frustration
<i>R</i>	0.024	0.068	-0.159*	0.212**	0.280**	0.201**	0.018	-0.022	0.210**
<i>p</i> (2-tailed)	0.710	0.293	0.014	0.001	0.000	0.002	0.785	0.739	0.001
<i>N</i>	239	239	239	239	239	239	239	239	239

	Isolation	Lack of sleep	Loss of confidence	Loss of control	Loss of trust	Family arguments	Friends arguments	More cautious	Nightmares
<i>R</i>	0.320**	0.289**	0.115	0.133*	0.002	0.131*	0.148*	0.287**	0.104
<i>p</i> (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.076	0.041	0.971	0.044	0.023	0.000	0.109
<i>N</i>	239	239	239	239	221	239	239	239	239

	Suicidal behaviour	Suicidal thoughts	Thought of giving up farming	Worry about my safety	Worry about replacing items	Worry about family safety	Worry about secure firearms	Worry about lone working
<i>R</i>	0.182**	0.200**	0.318**	-0.293**	0.266**	0.030	0.146*	0.052
<i>p</i> (2-tailed)	0.005	0.002	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.656	0.030	0.422
<i>N</i>	239	239	239	239	221	221	221	239

* Significant at the 0.05 level.

** Significant at the 0.001 level.

Appendix 22.2. Spearman's rho analysis of statistical correlation between how respondents ranked agricultural crime as a stressor and crime-related mental health indicators

	Fear of revictimisation	Feeling abandoned by police	Feeling anxious	Feeling depressed	Can't prevent being victim	Feeling vulnerable	Feeling being watched	Flash-backs	Frustration
<i>R</i>	0.258**	0.255**	0.096	−0.001	0.084	0.332**	0.470**	0.107	0.322**
<i>p</i> (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.138	0.983	0.196	0.000	0.000	0.099	0.000
<i>N</i>	239	239	239	239	239	239	239	239	239

	Isolation	Lack of sleep	Loss of confidence	Loss of control	Loss of trust	Family arguments	Friends arguments	More cautious	Nightmares
<i>R</i>	−0.141*	−0.023	0.138*	0.245**	0.079	0.142*	0.159*	0.644**	0.121
<i>p</i> (2-tailed)	0.029	0.725	0.033	0.000	0.240	0.029	0.014	0.000	0.062
<i>N</i>	239	239	239	239	221	239	239	239	239

	Suicidal behaviour	Suicidal thoughts	Thought of giving up farming	Worry about my safety	Worry about replacing items	Worry about family safety	Worry about secure firearms	Worry about lone working
<i>R</i>	0.154*	−0.050	−0.020	−0.325**	0.222**	0.181**	−0.172*	−0.004
<i>p</i> (2-tailed)	0.017	0.444	0.758	0.000	0.001	0.007	0.010	0.947
<i>N</i>	239	239	239	239	221	221	221	239

* Significant at the 0.05 level.

** Significant at the 0.001 level.

Appendix 22.3. Kruskal–Wallis H test analysis of statistical difference between whether respondents feel that the police recognise agricultural crime as organised and crime-related mental health indicators

Do police think crime is organised?		Yes	No	Don't know	Kruskal–Wallis H	df	p -value
Fear of re-victimisation	N	55	182	2	111.042	2	0.000
	Mean rank	40.00	143.43	187.50			
Feeling abandoned by police	N	55	182	2	129.478	2	0.000
	Mean rank	32.34	147.20	55.50			
Feeling anxious	N	55	182	2	128.627	2	0.000
	Mean rank	36.75	146.23	23.00			
Feeling depressed	N	55	182	2	73.175	2	0.000
	Mean rank	53.15	140.44	98.50			
Can't prevent being victim	N	55	182	2	7.084	2	0.029
	Mean rank	135.88	115.94	52.50			
Feeling vulnerable	N	55	182	2	11.949	2	0.003
	Mean rank	139.89	115.07	21.50			
Feeling being watched	N	55	182	2	137.572	2	0.000
	Mean rank	29.20	147.92	76.00			
Flashbacks	N	55	182	2	123.564	2	0.000
	Mean rank	35.09	146.49	44.50			
Frustration	N	55	182	2	61.907	2	0.000
	Mean rank	64.75	137.13	81.00			
Isolation	N	55	182	2	46.819	2	0.000
	Mean rank	66.28	136.29	114.50			
Lack of sleep	N	55	182	2	74.225	2	0.000
	Mean rank	54.31	140.70	42.50			
Loss of confidence	N	55	182	2	121.974	2	0.000
	Mean rank	35.65	146.55	23.00			
Loss of control	N	55	182	2	51.784	2	0.000
	Mean rank	67.41	137.02	17.00			
Loss of trust	N	55	164	2	119.669	2	0.000
	Mean rank	37.24	136.81	23.00			

Do police think crime is organised?		Yes	No	Don't know	Kruskal-Wallis <i>H</i>	df	<i>p</i> -value
Family arguments	<i>N</i>	55	182	2	63.622	2	0.000
	Mean rank	60.64	138.64	56.00			
Friends arguments	<i>N</i>	55	182	2	71.450	2	0.000
	Mean rank	57.50	139.57	57.50			
More cautious	<i>N</i>	55	182	2	11.832	2	0.003
	Mean rank	94.07	127.93	111.50			
Nightmares	<i>N</i>	55	182	2	54.254	2	0.000
	Mean rank	65.21	137.28	54.00			
Suicidal behaviour	<i>N</i>	55	182	2	64.458	2	0.000
	Mean rank	60.65	138.62	58.00			
Suicidal thoughts	<i>N</i>	55	182	2	88.730	2	0.000
	Mean rank	49.54	142.09	48.00			
Thoughts of giving up farming	<i>N</i>	55	182	2	66.837	2	0.000
	Mean rank	60.29	138.74	56.50			
Worry about my safety	<i>N</i>	55	182	2	56.509	2	0.000
	Mean rank	63.24	136.69	162.50			
Worry about replacing items	<i>N</i>	55	164	2	131.876	2	0.000
	Mean rank	30.26	138.27	95.50			
Worry about family safety	<i>N</i>	55	164	2	126.980	2	0.000
	Mean rank	33.55	137.98	28.50			
Worry about secure firearms	<i>N</i>	55	164	2	80.031	2	0.000
	Mean rank	49.11	130.56	209.00			
Worry about lone working	<i>N</i>	55	182	2	132.277	2	0.000
	Mean rank	31.67	146.66	122.50			

Appendix 22.4. Mann–Whitney *U* test analysis of statistical difference between gender and experience of crime-related mental health indicators

Gender		Male	Female	Mann–Whitney <i>U</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i> -value
Fear of re-victimisation	<i>N</i>	76	163	409.000	−12.470	0.000
	Mean rank	43.88	155.49			
Feeling abandoned by police	<i>N</i>	76	163	1 225.000	−10.442	0.000
	Mean rank	54.62	150.48			
Feeling anxious	<i>N</i>	76	163	775.000	−11.779	0.000
	Mean rank	48.70	153.25			
Feeling depressed	<i>N</i>	76	163	2 066.000	−8.634	0.000
	Mean rank	65.68	145.33			
Can't prevent being victim	<i>N</i>	76	163	4 900.000	−2.968	0.003
	Mean rank	102.97	127.94			
Feeling vulnerable	<i>N</i>	76	163	5 074.000	−2.519	0.012
	Mean rank	105.26	126.87			
Feeling being watched	<i>N</i>	76	163	102.000	−12.821	0.000
	Mean rank	39.84	157.37			
Flashbacks	<i>N</i>	76	163	651.000	−11.694	0.000
	Mean rank	47.07	154.01			
Frustration	<i>N</i>	76	163	2 559.500	−8.386	0.000
	Mean rank	72.18	142.30			
Isolation	<i>N</i>	76	163	3 076.000	−6.512	0.000
	Mean rank	78.97	139.13			
Lack of sleep	<i>N</i>	76	163	2 211.500	−8.329	0.000
	Mean rank	67.60	144.43			
Loss of confidence	<i>N</i>	76	163	620.000	−11.653	0.000
	Mean rank	46.66	154.20			
Loss of control	<i>N</i>	76	163	953.500	−11.016	0.000
	Mean rank	51.05	152.15			
Loss of trust	<i>N</i>	76	145	612.500	−11.652	0.000
	Mean rank	46.56	144.78			

Gender		Male	Female	Mann-Whitney <i>U</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i> -value
Family arguments	<i>N</i>	76	163	1 445.000	−10.216	0.000
	Mean rank	57.51	149.13			
Friends arguments	<i>N</i>	76	163	1 562.000	−10.057	0.000
	Mean rank	59.05	148.42			
More cautious	<i>N</i>	76	163	2 840.500	−7.271	0.000
	Mean rank	75.88	140.57			
Nightmares	<i>N</i>	76	163	1 931.500	−9.129	0.000
	Mean rank	63.91	146.15			
Suicidal behaviour	<i>N</i>	76	163	1 627.500	−9.901	0.000
	Mean rank	59.91	148.02			
Suicidal thoughts	<i>N</i>	76	163	1 956.500	−9.087	0.000
	Mean rank	64.24	146.00			
Thoughts of giving up farming	<i>N</i>	76	163	2 872.000	−7.286	0.000
	Mean rank	76.29	140.38			
Worry about my safety	<i>N</i>	76	163	3 660.500	−5.498	0.000
	Mean rank	86.66	135.54			
Worry about replacing items	<i>N</i>	76	145	903.000	−10.804	0.000
	Mean rank	50.38	142.77			
Worry about family safety	<i>N</i>	76	145	370.000	−12.055	0.000
	Mean rank	43.37	146.45			
Worry about secure firearms	<i>N</i>	76	145	2 036.000	−8.136	0.000
	Mean rank	65.29	134.96			
Worry about lone working	<i>N</i>	76	163	884.000	−11.351	0.000
	Mean rank	50.13	152.58			

Appendix 22.5. Spearman's rho analysis of statistical correlation between age and experiencing crime-related mental health indicators

	Fear of revictimisation	Feeling abandoned by police	Feeling anxious	Feeling depressed	Can't prevent being victim	Feeling vulnerable	Feeling being watched	Flash-backs	Frustration
<i>R</i>	−0.443**	−0.622**	−0.330**	−0.202**	0.185**	0.193**	−0.638**	−0.406**	−0.180**
<i>p</i> (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.002	0.004	0.003	0.000	0.000	0.005
<i>N</i>	239	239	239	239	239	239	239	239	239

	Isolation	Lack of sleep	Loss of confidence	Loss of control	Loss of trust	Family arguments	Friends arguments	More cautious	Nightmares
<i>R</i>	0.052	−0.242**	−0.413**	−0.274**	−0.434**	−0.280**	−0.248**	−0.376**	−0.271**
<i>p</i> (2-tailed)	0.427	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
<i>N</i>	239	239	239	239	221	239	239	239	239

	Suicidal behaviour	Suicidal thoughts	Thought of giving up farming	Worry about my safety	Worry about replacing items	Worry about family safety	Worry about secure firearms	Worry about lone working
<i>R</i>	−0.242**	−0.170**	−0.321**	0.062	−0.542**	−0.444**	−0.055	−0.229**
<i>p</i> (2-tailed)	0.000	0.009	0.000	0.343	0.000	0.000	0.413	0.000
<i>N</i>	239	239	239	239	221	221	221	239

* Significant at the 0.05 level.

** Significant at the 0.001 level.