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1 **RESEARCH ARTICLE**

2 **Use of videos to characterize farmers' knowledge of tillage with**  
3 **horses and share it to promote agroecological innovations in French**  
4 **vineyards**

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13 **Abstract**

14 During agroecological transition, farmers test and adjust new cropping practices that can enhance the  
15 ecosystem services of their agrosystems. Supporting farmers to change their practices requires a description  
16 and understanding of the step-by-step design of innovations, and the learning processes that unfold with the  
17 farmers' actions. Our research focuses on the re-introduction of horse-drawn tillage in viticulture, during  
18 on-farm experimentation involving the collaboration of a service provider. Our objective is to show how  
19 our research approach, based on the use of videos, allows us to access, characterize and share the knowledge  
20 embodied and mobilized in situ by the service providers, considered here as farmers. To do so, we mobilized  
21 the methods of the course-of-action research program. First, we filmed the hilling operations performed by  
22 two service providers on thirteen plots. We then conducted their self-confrontation interviews to highlight  
23 their implicit and invisible activity. Next, we conducted an allo-confrontation interview with a third service  
24 provider to validate/invalidate and complete the knowledge mobilized during the hilling activity. Finally,  
25 through a comparative analysis, we developed a first provisional qualitative modeling of the hilling activity.  
26 We thus show that the equine traction service providers used not only visual cues but also sound, tactile  
27 and relational cues with the horse, to adjust their practices; and we illustrate the advantages of using videos  
28 to decompose the individual activity of service providers, then to share and compare this activity with those  
29 of peers and, finally, to recompose the hilling activity in a qualitative model by identifying key dimensions  
30 structuring the activity.

31 The use of digital technology makes it possible to construct data on farmers' learning processes as they  
32 change their practice to support agroecological innovations. The material produced and the insights gained  
33 can contribute to the building of digital resource banks that are valuable tools for training.

34 **Keywords:** equine traction, hilling operation, viticulture, agroecological practices, experimentation,  
35 digital resources, course-of-action, self-confrontation interview, allo-confrontation interview.

36

## 37 **1 Introduction**

38 In France, viticulture accounts for only 3% of the country's agricultural surface area yet consumes large  
39 quantities of phytosanitary products: 20% of all pesticides used. (Agreste 2019). Most phytosanitary  
40 treatments concern fungi management (Agreste 2019), and herbicides are applied on 80% of vineyards  
41 (Agreste 2019). Although representing only 5% of the total treatment frequency indicator (Agreste 2019),  
42 herbicides have deleterious impacts on the environment. Those impacts include pollution of surface and  
43 groundwater, resulting in a failure to meet drinking water quality standards (Ministère de la Transition  
44 Ecologique 2020), and lower biological quality of the soil (e.g., decrease of the population of beneficial  
45 nematodes and mycorrhizal fungi; Karimi et al. 2020). As soil quality impacts vines' growth and vigor, and  
46 the quality of the grapes, it is essential for winegrowers to implement practices that sustain life in the soil.  
47 Thus, practices such as mechanical weed control and permanent or temporary soil cover are developing as  
48 alternatives to chemical weed control in many wine growing areas (Mailly et al., 2017). Soils in certified  
49 organic or biodynamic vineyards where these practices are used have a higher microbial biomass, except  
50 for earthworms whose population is affected by mechanical weeding (Karimi et al. 2020).

51 The challenge of reducing the use of chemical inputs and enhancing the ecosystem services of their  
52 agrosystems pushes farmers to experiment with new agroecological practices (Catalogna et al. 2022). Two  
53 main principles of agroecology aim (1) to reduce the use of chemical inputs by relying more on the  
54 ecosystem services provided by the preservation of biodiversity, and (2) to base interventions on  
55 observations made on the agrosystem in an adaptive approach and not to apply a "recipe" in advance (Altieri  
56 2002). In France, horse-powered tillage is one of the mechanical weeding practices that winegrowers  
57 experiment with. This practice can be considered agroecological for four main reasons. First, working with  
58 a horse instead of a tractor reduces the use of fossil fuel (Rydberg and Jansén 2002). Second, horse-powered  
59 tillage limits soil compaction (Garcia-Tomillo et al. 2017) and consequently avoids erosion and the  
60 disappearance of living organisms in the soil. Third, thanks to interaction with the horse, this tillage method  
61 encourages winegrowers to pay attention to their soil and to adapt to the dynamic conditions of the  
62 agrosystem. They have to adjust their methods according to the horse's capabilities (Mulier and Müller  
63 2019), the characteristics of each plot (age of the vines, type of soil, presence of slopes, etc.), weather

64 conditions, and their own objectives (Bénézet et al. 2021). Fourth, this practice engages a physical and  
65 sensorial dimension, particularly during interaction with the soil and the horse (Bénézet et al. 2021), which  
66 we assume facilitates farmers' learning.

67 Recent studies on changes of cropping practices during the transition to agroecology (Chantre et al. 2014;  
68 Toffolini et al. 2016; Catalogna 2018) have focused on how farmers learn new ways of cropping. According  
69 to Toffolini et al. (2016), identifying the knowledge applied by farmers when redesigning their farming  
70 systems step-by-step would make it possible to improve the support for the agroecological transition  
71 provided by research and agricultural advisors. The trial-and-error experiments carried out by farmers  
72 generate exploratory learning (Chantre et al. 2014) that favors the evolution of their practices. Through  
73 experimentation, farmers progressively and autonomously design and adapt (Prost et al. 2020) their agro-  
74 ecosystems. Could the use of draft horses in vineyards contribute to these experiments and learning? Horse-  
75 powered work requires "understanding stewardship embodied in working a team of horses" (Kendell 2003).  
76 The majority of winegrowers using horse-powered tillage have chosen to work with a service provider  
77 (estimated at 63%, IFCE and IFV 2021) so that they do not have to manage horses or to invest in specific  
78 equipment. They are thus accompanied in the change process by a service provider who, using previous  
79 experience with other agrosystems, acts as an advisor. The winegrower and service provider twosome seeks  
80 to adjust the tillage practice to a specific agrosystem by testing new modalities and observing their effects.  
81 This approach is close to experimentation as defined by Catalogna (2018), that is, a process of testing  
82 practices that involves making hypotheses on both their implementation and the agroecological processes  
83 that these practices aim to induce. Farmers often rely on visual cues (Toffolini et al. 2016) to observe their  
84 agrosystems and interpret their evolution, notably with regard to new practices. These cues help them to  
85 adjust their interventions progressively and adapt their strategy. Catalogna (2018) mentions the advantages  
86 of monitoring experimental situations in progress to facilitate the identification of these cues and the  
87 knowledge mobilized in the action. Farmers may have difficulties remembering these cues when they are  
88 no longer in the field, especially since "they very rarely keep written records of experiments" (Catalogna  
89 2018).

90 This raises the difficulty of keeping traces and highlighting the empirical knowledge built by farmers during  
91 the redesign of their agrosystems, especially since these experiments are often not accompanied by  
92 researchers or agricultural advisors (IFCE and IFV 2021). We postulate that highlighting the knowledge  
93 elaborated during the work with draft horses and sharing these experiences could be a way to promote  
94 agroecological innovations in French vineyards. Agricultural research however lacks theoretical and  
95 methodological tools to identify the situated knowledge of farmers in the field. In the continuity of the  
96 research on situated cognition (Suchman 1987), we postulate that analyzing work while it is underway  
97 informs the study of the dynamic interactions between humans and their technical, social and cultural

98 environment. Among the main current trends in work analysis, the course-of-action research program  
99 (Leblanc et al. 2001; Theureau 2003) approaches work holistically by jointly studying six aspects: (1) the  
100 experience that serve to describe what the actors do, think or feel at the moment; (2) the focus on what they  
101 take into account to act; (3) the knowledge allowing them to adapt their activity dynamically following the  
102 focuses encountered; (4) the anticipation of how they expect the situation to evolve; (5) the intentions of  
103 what they try to do; and (6) the learning resulting from a possible modification of knowledge linked to the  
104 situation encountered (Poizat and San Martin 2020). The course-of-action research program greatly differs  
105 from other approaches where behaviors are observed from an external point of view, which is only the tip  
106 of the iceberg: actions and communications. If no one asks them to comment on their work in progress, a  
107 whole part of their activities remains invisible, especially sensations/emotions, focuses, knowledge,  
108 anticipations, intentions and learning (Poizat and San Martin 2020). One difficulty is that, in certain cases,  
109 asking actors to comment on their work while they are performing it interferes with the "natural" course of  
110 that activity. They may find it difficult to explain what they are doing while they mobilize their bodies to  
111 do it. But conversely, the time lag between the work situation and the interview requires farmers to record  
112 traces of the activity, to help them to remember their experience. Two efficient tools based on video  
113 recordings have been developed to record traces of an activity and help actors to comment on their  
114 experience: self- and allo-confrontation interviews. The self-confrontation interview (Poizat and San Martin  
115 2020) aims at putting actors back into a dynamic situation by showing them their behaviors, using video  
116 recordings of field situations and specifically-worded questions. The second type of interview, allo-  
117 confrontation (Mollo and Falzon 2004), is conducted to understand the convergences and divergences  
118 between the activities of peers in comparable situations. During the allo-confrontation interview, an actor  
119 is first shown video clips of filmed situations of peers at work, followed by comments from these same  
120 peers on what is invisible (i.e. their concerns, intentions, etc.). Then, while viewing the videoclip or  
121 afterwards, the interviewee in allo-confrontation engages in reflection on their own knowledge that they  
122 mobilize in this type of situation, presented here by another person (Mollo and Falzon 2004). This two-  
123 phase interview process allows for a gradual increase in genericity, and thus for the identification of typical  
124 knowledge related to a practice that is found among the majority of actors, as well as more specific  
125 knowledge related to the conditions of implementation of the practice. Typical knowledge is that which is  
126 recurrently mobilized by the actors during their work situation (Flandin et al. 2017).

127 Our study focuses on horse-powered soil tillage in vineyards. With the course-of-action research program,  
128 we aim to describe, understand and possibly explain how the interaction with the horse can favor the  
129 mobilization of physical and sensorial cues and of knowledge useful to the implementation of  
130 agroecological practices in vineyards. In this theoretical framework, the activity is the result of an  
131 asymmetrical coupling between the actor and his environment, which includes the horse but also the soil,

132 the plow, the weather, etc. In our case, we consider what the actor considers in this environment to act. In  
133 this study, we focused on the activity of service providers (plowmen) rather than winegrowers (Figure 1),  
134 because they currently are more experienced and have a deeper understanding of horses. Moreover, we  
135 consider service providers as farmers because they replace the winegrowers on one of their missions, which  
136 is the soil maintenance of their plots. However, as some winegrowers also lead horses themselves, we  
137 postulate that our model and results would also be accurate for them. We hypothesize that understanding  
138 the interaction between the horse and the service provider at work on plots will help us to understand the  
139 interaction between the winegrower and the horse, whether or not it involves a service provider. In this  
140 paper, we focus on the analysis of individual activity during the soil intervention with the horse.  
141



142

143 **Figure 1:** Horse-powered tillage driven by a service provider on a vineyard plot © Bénézet.

144 In Section 2, we describe the study (location, actors involved) and present the methodological framework  
145 of the course-of-action used to make service providers elicit their knowledge, based on video recordings,  
146 self- and allo-confrontation interviews, and the data analysis method. In Section 3, we present and discuss  
147 the results in 4 points. First (1), we show how the step of selecting the best points of view of the activity  
148 with the service provider for video recording begins to inform the latter's visual cues to adjust their activity  
149 in a dynamic way. Next (2), we present the advantages of self- and allo-confrontation interviews based on

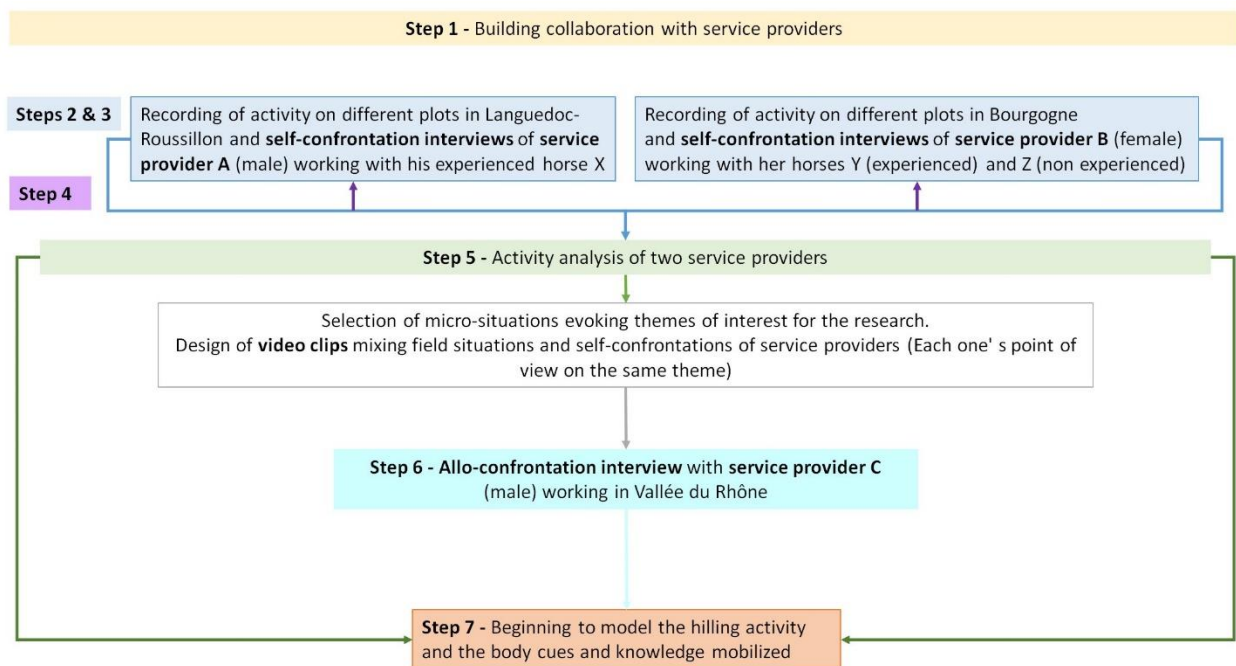
150 video recordings to access the knowledge and bodily cues that service providers mobilize during horse-  
151 powered tillage. Then (3), we describe the knowledge and cues mobilized in action, based on the analysis  
152 of the activity of three service providers. Finally (4), we show how this analysis leads to a provisional  
153 modeling of the activity that serves to develop a platform of video-trainings re-using digital data resulting  
154 from the research as support for the change of practices.

## 155 **2 Materials and methods**

156 Among the different tillage activities performed with horses, we selected hilling, which consists in forming  
157 a homogeneous mound of soil along the vines. This choice of the hilling activity is linked to the fact that  
158 soil tillage by horse traction is mostly done under the vine row, i.e. as close as possible to the vine plant.  
159 Hilling has three main objectives for the winegrower: protect the vines in winter (Jolivet and Dubois 2000),  
160 bury the weeds, and facilitate winter water flow. According to service providers, hilling is the key operation  
161 that frequently starts the soil tillage season and on which the other soil tillage operations such as plowing  
162 the ridges depend. When done well, hilling facilitates ridge plowing, whereas poorly done hilling can  
163 complicate the ridge plowing progress and thus demand extra effort and generate additional fatigue for both  
164 the horse and the service provider. We had to adjust the methodological framework of the course-of-action  
165 program to the observation of horse-powered tillage. This consisted in finding the best angles for the  
166 cameras, to ensure that the service providers would be able to remember their activity during the self- and  
167 allo-confrontation interviews. We then implemented the research device on several vineyards to understand  
168 how service providers, in close interaction with their horses, learn about the soil conditions and nature on  
169 the plots they work; in other words, what cues and knowledge they mobilize during the tilling.

170 Among the different approaches of work analysis, the choice of the course-of-action research program  
171 (Theureau 2003; Poizat and San Martin 2020) allowed us, thanks to its theoretical and methodological  
172 framework, to analyze activity in its embodied dimension through the perceptions and sensations  
173 experienced by the service provider. Our study was structured in seven steps (Figure 2). The first step was  
174 to build a field of study and collaboration with the service providers, to involve them fully in our research  
175 project. We therefore chose to work with three experienced service providers with whom we had already  
176 collaborated. The trust built between the researcher and the service providers prior to the study facilitated  
177 the swift development of our methodology. The second step was to film service providers A and B in hilling  
178 activities on different plots from several angles so that their activity could easily be seen, reviewed and  
179 shown. The third step was to conduct self-confrontation interviews with service providers A and B, based  
180 on records of their hilling activity on different plots to access the implicit, non-visible dimensions. The  
181 fourth step was to adapt the camera angles on the activity corresponding to the service provider's needs, to  
182 facilitate their expression about the activity. The fifth step consisted in analyzing the individual activity of

183 the two service providers A and B, to identify convergences or specificities, particularly in terms of  
 184 knowledge mobilized during the action. Based on this analysis, we designed thematic video clips combining  
 185 hilling situations and comments from the service providers A and B on situations related to the theme of  
 186 the video clip. The sixth step was to conduct an allo-confrontation interview with service provider C based  
 187 on these thematic video clips to validate, invalidate or complete the register of knowledge mobilized during  
 188 the hilling activity. Finally, the seventh step was to carry out a comparative analysis of all data from self-  
 189 and allo-confrontation interviews to propose a first provisional model of the hilling activity resulting from  
 190 the analysis of the activity of these three service providers (Figure 2).



191  
 192 **Figure 2:** Method used to record and analyze data based on seven steps, leading to the model of hilling activity by  
 193 horse-drawn service providers.

## 194 2.1 Data construction

195 In step 1, we selected three experienced service providers, two men (A and C) and one woman (B), all three  
 196 with between 8 and 19 years of experience, working with several vineyards in three different wine-growing  
 197 regions (Bourgogne, Languedoc-Roussillon, Vallée du Rhône). We observed hilling activity on thirteen  
 198 plots during five working days in November 2020: three plots worked with one experienced horse for  
 199 service provider A, and ten plots worked with two horses (one experienced and one training course) for  
 200 service provider B. The plots were selected with the two service providers for their contrasting soil and  
 201 crop characteristics (more or less sticky soil, presence or absence of slopes, more or less narrow rows). The  
 202 aim was to observe and record the hilling activity under different conditions, which were supposed to lead  
 203 to specific adjustments of the hilling activity from the service providers. Thus, we hypothesized that these



204 contrasting conditions of intervention would allow access to the typical and structuring dimensions of the  
205 activity.

### 206 **2.1.1 Collecting information on the conditions of intervention**

207 In the theoretical approach of situated action, the environment transforms the action, and the other way  
208 around (Suchman 1987; Theureau 2003). It is therefore essential to describe the context of the situation to  
209 be analyzed. The information collected, thanks to ethnographic notes throughout our participant  
210 observation, concerned mainly the characteristics of the worked plot (condition and nature of the soil,  
211 slopes) and the service providers' adjustments to their equipment (settings and characteristics of the plow  
212 used), specifically related to the worked plot and the partner horse for the intervention (age, experience,  
213 working behavior). We posited that these elements could either influence the service provider's hilling  
214 activity and their interaction with the horse, or reflect an adjustment of their activity to the specific situation  
215 in which they were engaged. They are moreover an aid on which the researcher can rely to accompany  
216 actors in accessing their experience during self-confrontation interviews.

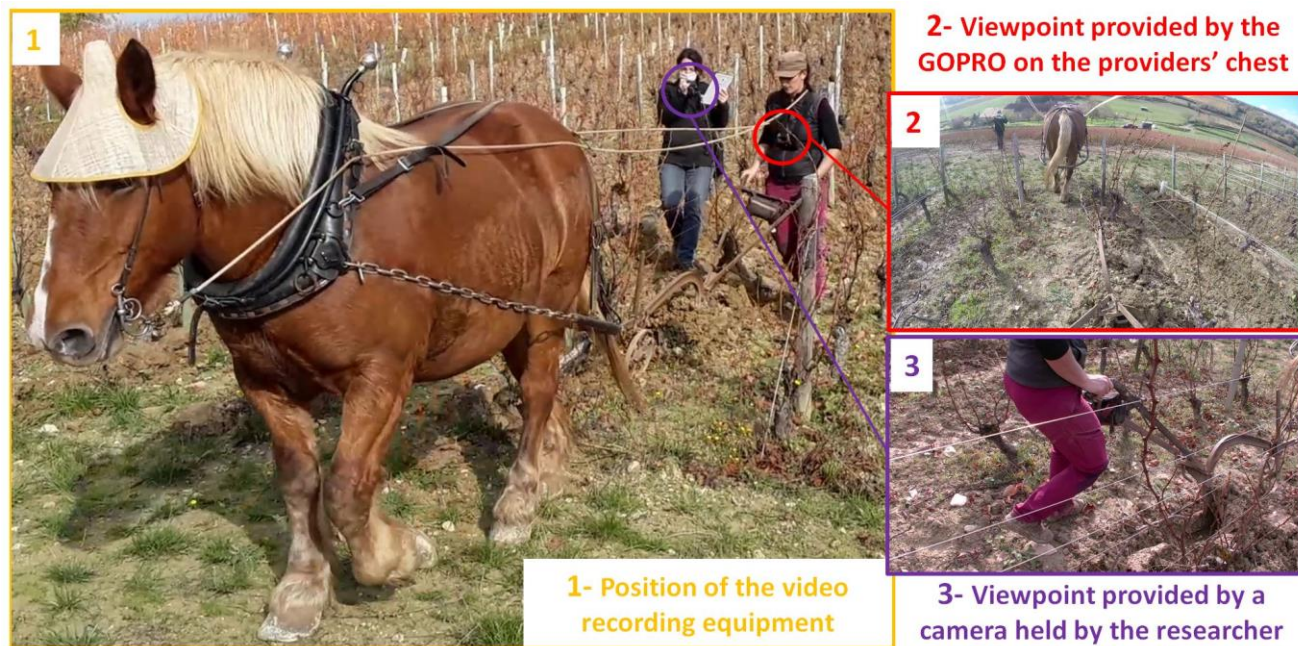
### 217 **2.1.2 Video recording of hilling situations**

218 Step 2 consists in video recording. The video recording of the situation is a tool to co-investigate and  
219 understand the point of view of an actor in situ (Leblanc and Azema 2022). In our case, video recording the  
220 service provider was intended to obtain information on what happened during tillage along a row without  
221 interrupting the activity. This information concerns both visual and spatio-temporal aspects present in the  
222 images that scroll through the video (dynamic interactions between the soil, the plow, the service provider,  
223 and the horse). For example, when using video, we can finely decompose the spatio-temporal flow of the  
224 activity and in particular the behaviors of the service provider and the horse when the plow hits a stone in  
225 the ground and is deviated from its trajectory. The video moment can be replayed over and over again, or  
226 slowed down, to facilitate this observation. The video also integrates sound information (communication  
227 between the service provider and their horse, sound of the iron plow's impact on the ground, the horse's  
228 snorts, etc.).

229 Game (2001) says that “[horse] riding involves an ‘absorption’ of movement with ‘loins’ and ‘seat’:  
230 absorbing horse, taking horse into our body”. We hypothesized that horse-powered tillage, also involving  
231 human-horse interaction, presents a similar strong embodied dimension, with a multitude of senses being  
232 simultaneously mobilized by the service provider to act. It can sometimes be difficult to put this bodily  
233 experience into words in the continuous flow of action, and the use of video recordings allows the service  
234 provider temporarily to "pause" the flow of the activity to comment on or mime a particular aspect.

235 To record such information, we used two video devices, positioned initially at two angles to benefit from  
236 different views of the activity (view 1 in Figure 3). On one side, a Go-Pro was harnessed to the service  
237 provider's chest and focused on the plow and the horse's hindquarters (view 2 in Figure 3). On the other, a

238 hand-held camera was carried by the researcher and focused on the service provider to record their  
 239 movements (view 3 in Figure 3).



240

241 **Figure 3:** Illustration of the three tested positioning and viewpoints of video recording devices.

242 **2.1.3 Self-confrontation interview with service providers A and B**

243 In step 3, to understand their situated point of view, we conducted, as close as possible to the activity  
 244 recorded (preferably at the end of the hilling day), an individual self-confrontation interview with service  
 245 providers A and B. The researcher chose to conduct the self-confrontations individually because he  
 246 considered that this would facilitate the free expression of each of the actors on their own activity without  
 247 fear of judgment by a peer. These interviews were based on video recordings of their behaviors and those  
 248 of the horses during the daily activity. They were filmed so that they could be analyzed later by the  
 249 researcher. The choice of the sequences viewed on each of the plots was made jointly by the service  
 250 providers and the researcher. In order to understand each service provider's activity and the cues they used  
 251 to act, it was necessary to help them immerse themselves precisely and dynamically in the situation they  
 252 had experienced. Thus, the service providers were invited to choose the best angle to enable them to  
 253 dynamically re-situate themselves in the situation previously experienced and recorded (step 4), and to  
 254 suggest possible modifications to be made to these points of view during the following days of observation  
 255 of the activity. After selecting the camera's angles of view, we accompanied them as they described their  
 256 experiences while the viewing the videos. Specific questions allowed us to access the different areas of the  
 257 activity proposed by the course-of-action research program, which are experience  
 258 (actions/communications/sensations/emotions); focus; knowledge; anticipations; intentions and learning.

259 To understand and correctly identify the service provider's actions and communication during the sequence,  
260 we asked the following questions: What are you doing? Do you say anything in particular to yourself? Do  
261 you feel any emotions? Is there anything particular about your sensations at that moment? Or about your  
262 relationship with the horse, with the land? We furthermore wanted to identify their focus ("What are you  
263 paying attention to?"), their preoccupations and intentions ("What are you trying to do?"), and the  
264 knowledge they mobilized ("What made you do that at that moment?").

#### 265 **2.1.4 Allo-confrontation interview with service provider C**

266 The analysis of the activities of the service providers A and B (step 5) allowed us to identify converging or  
267 specific elements concerning the organization of the hilling activity in progress. Based on these elements,  
268 we produced 5 thematic video clips lasting between 1 minute 30 and 4 minutes 15 extracted from the  
269 previous video recordings of hilling situations and of self-confrontation interviews. The 5 themes, generated  
270 inductively through the analysis of individual activities and their comparison, were: (1) service provider-  
271 winegrower relationship; (2) mobilization of the service provider's body; (3) equipment settings;  
272 relationship between the service provider (4) with the plot or (5) with the horse (education, training,  
273 divergent activities). In this article, we analyze only the data related to the mobilization of the service  
274 provider's body. For the video clip on this subject, which lasts about 3 minutes, we edited 3 different  
275 sequences. In the first sequence, the service provider B described a pleasant and satisfying situation of  
276 hilling on a first plot. In the second sequence, she was engaged in more physical hilling on a plot where the  
277 soil was not pouring as well. Finally, in a third sequence, service provider A mentioned his different  
278 sensations while tilling a particular row of a plot presenting several types of soil.

279 These video clips were used with the third service provider C during an allo-confrontation interview (step  
280 6). He was asked to comment spontaneously on specific elements of the video that were meaningful to him  
281 by pausing the video or rewinding it. During the viewing, the researcher observed the interviewee's  
282 behavior, facial expressions, posture and movements, and more or less focused gaze, to ask a question based  
283 on this behavior, about C's experience at that moment. The researcher also linked the behavior and the time  
284 code in the video. She asked service provider C questions about whether what he saw and heard reminded  
285 him of a similar situation that he could describe and comment on, how he positioned himself in relation to  
286 the comments of service providers A and B, and if he could describe, show or mime what he would do in a  
287 comparable situation.

## 288 **2.2 Data analysis**

### 289 **2.2.1 Analysis of the hilling activity of a service provider**

290 The analysis was carried out in two steps. First, in step 5, we transcribed the oral interactions between the  
291 service providers A or B and the researcher that were recorded during the self-confrontation  
292 interviews. Careful reading of the verbatim records enabled us to identify different themes commented by


293 the service provider (service provider-winegrower relationship; mobilization of the service provider's body;  
294 equipment settings; relationship between the service provider with the plot or with the horse (education,  
295 training, divergent activities)). We marked the excerpts of the service provider's verbatim related to each  
296 theme, and then selected all those related to a particular theme that showed convergences or dissimilarities  
297 between service providers A and B. For example, we reported that service providers were using tactile cues  
298 to collect information about the nature and condition of the soil they were working on. We then analyzed  
299 the verbatim by identifying different areas of activity, mentioned by the actor, as developed in the course-  
300 of-action method and suggested by Poizat and San Martin (2020).

### 301 **2.2.2 Comparison of the activity of three service providers**

302 Step 7 consisted in a comparison of all three service providers. A three-part table was developed to match  
303 service provider C's allo-confrontation comments with service provider A's or B's self-confrontation  
304 comments on a given situation (Figure 4), for the three sequences presented in the video clips. For each  
305 video clip sequence, the first part refers to the videos and describes precisely the service provider's behavior  
306 during the hilling (actions, oral communications with the horse observable by an outsider). The second part  
307 of the table refers to the self-confrontation interview and contains the verbatim of the service provider A or  
308 B and the researcher. The third part of the table contains the verbatim of the service provider C and the  
309 researcher during the allo-confrontation interview. In the verbatim excerpts in Figure 4, two out of six areas  
310 of activity are documented ((1) Action/communication/sensation/emotion and (2) Knowledge). Thus, the  
311 cues and knowledge mobilized by service providers A and B, highlighted by the recording of their activity  
312 and their self-confrontation interviews, can be validated. Otherwise, the conditions of their appearance are  
313 specified during the allo-confrontation interview with a third service provider, C.

314 The excerpt in Figure 4 shows that the service provider C can relate to the comments made by the service  
315 provider B, to the effect that when the weight on the arms becomes too much, it is possible to help with the  
316 hip to take the weight off the arms and still keep the plow in the ground.

317

Part 1: Hilling situation			Part 2: Self-confrontation			Part 3: Allo-confrontation		
Time-code Hilling situation	Speaker	Action communication	Time-code Self-confrontation	Speaker	Transcription	Time-code Allo-confrontation	Speaker	Transcription
28s	Service provider B	[Service provider B holds her left arm against her hip and thigh] <sup>1</sup>	13m24	Service provider B	This one here [pointing to his left hand on the screen], I'm holding it against my thigh <sup>1</sup> you see here I'm doing it.			[Start of the video clip on the service provider's body mobilization]
			13m28	Researcher	Yes			
			13m29	Service provider B	And then I get back on my feet, it's okay <sup>1</sup> , but sometimes I lean against my hip and that helps me <sup>3</sup> , you know.	11m08	Service provider C	[Service provider C nods as he listens to service provider B's words, researcher pauses the video] It happens to me too <sup>3</sup> .
							Researcher	Really? To hold your arm?
							Service provider C	Yeah, sometimes you get tired so you use your hip to press the tool <sup>3</sup> [Service provider C does the movement with his right arm and right hip because he works on the right side of the row while service provider B works on the left side of the row]. [Researcher restarts the video]
				13m38	Researcher	Oh yeah, it helps you push your plow to the vine?		
			13m42	Service provider B	Yeah well, like that, it takes the weight off my arms and I don't have to force it too much <sup>3</sup> , it keeps it [the plow] in place <sup>3</sup> .	11m27	Service provider C	[Service provider C nods as he listens to service provider B's words]

Caption:

Action, communication, sensation, emotion<sup>1</sup>  
Knowledge<sup>3</sup>

318  
319 **Figure 4:** Illustration of the verbatim analysis of the self and allo-confrontation interviews for each video clip  
320 sequence. First part describes the service provider's behavior during hilling (actions, oral communications with the  
321 horse observable by an outsider). Part 2 contains the verbatim of the service provider A or B and the researcher during  
322 the self-confrontation interview. Part 3 contains the verbatim of the service provider C and the researcher during the  
323 allo-confrontation interview. In this excerpt, the green color refers to the actions experienced and described by Service  
324 Provider B during the self-confrontation. The orange color describes the knowledge mentioned by Service Providers  
325 B and C in relation to the situation experienced or viewed.

### 2.2.3 Modeling the hilling activity with horse-powered traction

327 The whole research set-up contributes to a qualitative modeling of the activity observed and commented on  
328 by several actors through different modes of confrontation with the activity (self- and allo-confrontation  
329 interviews). The process illustrated in Figure 2 shows how the research device involves de-constructing the  
330 activity of a few service providers carrying out comparable operations (in this case, hilling) in different  
331 contexts (geographical areas, plots, partner horses, etc.) and sorting them into six areas. These areas of  
332 activity and in particular the knowledge mobilized in the action are then compared, to highlight the  
333 convergences or specificities between service providers. These steps contribute to the final step of

334 identifying dimensions that allow service providers to structure and organize their hilling activity, resulting  
335 in a simplified model of complexity.

### 336 **3 Results and discussion**

#### 337 **3.1 Finding the best point of view to access the service providers' experience**

338 The first step of the self-confrontation interview was to test, with the service providers, for the best angles  
339 from which to film the situation so that they would be able to comment on their experience. In the first self-  
340 confrontation interview, service provider A mentioned: "There we don't really see the work of the plow"  
341 (Figure 5A). The positioning of the GoPro on his chest did admittedly cause the image to move and the  
342 plowshare to leave the image frame. When leading the horse, his gaze was mainly "downwards to look at  
343 the soil turning" (Figure 1). He occasionally looked up to see the end of the row or to see if the horse was  
344 close to the worked row. "There [Figure 5A], we see more the straight movement of the horse". So, if the  
345 camera was primarily focused on the horse, it did not allow the service provider to access his experience.  
346 This situation led him to propose a new way of filming on the second day of observation, by holding the  
347 GoPro in his hand (Figure 5B and 5C). He took advantage of the presence of a trainee that day to film the  
348 situation himself. He tested two recording positions: in the next row behind the plow (Figure 5B) and in the  
349 same row in front of the plow (Figure 5C).



A: Initial GOPRO viewpoint on the 1st hilling day  
*Plow out of the picture*  
(Situation on November 20, 2020)



B: New viewpoint provided by a GOPRO held by the service provider A on the 2<sup>nd</sup> hilling day  
*Rear side of the plow*  
(Situation on November 25, 2020)



C: New viewpoint provided by a GOPRO held by the service provider A on the 2<sup>nd</sup> hilling day  
*Front of the plow*  
(Situation on November 25, 2020)

350

351

352 **Figure 5:** Testing three viewpoints on the situation. A. GOPRO located on the provider' chest, B. GOPRO held by  
353 the service provider A on the other side of the worked vine row, C. GOPRO held by the service provider walking in  
354 front of the plow in the same row of vines worked.

355 Each view has its benefits and limitations. The view in Figure 5B allows one to see "all the action", the  
356 driver's gestures and the horse's position in the row, but is less precise regarding the interaction between  
357 the plowshare and the soil that is turned over. The view in Figure 5C is more precise regarding the  
358 movement of the soil on the moldboard plow but the horse is absent from the image. Filmed from these  
359 new angles with the GoPro (Figure 5B and 5C), the driver could easily put himself back into the dynamic  
360 situation by viewing two key elements: (1) the movement of the soil on the plowshare, and (2) his behavior  
361 in relation to his plow.

362 As Leblanc and Azema (2022) have demonstrated, the relevant point of view of video recording of actors'  
363 activity enables the actors to capture the most salient aspects of their activity. Here, we understood that the  
364 service provider A mainly used the visual cues resulting from the interaction between the plow iron and the  
365 soil, and in particular the dynamic movement of the soil that turns on the iron of the plow. Occasionally, he  
366 could also take visual cues from the position of the horse in the row (distance to the worked row – lateral  
367 movements–, or the distance to the end of the row – movement forwards). Furthermore, this phase, which  
368 facilitated the self-confrontation, also reflects the service providers' acceptance (Lallier 2009) of the  
369 researcher's presence to film "their realities" from their perspectives.

### 370        **3.2 Value of the video to reveal the cues and knowledge mobilized by service providers**

371 The view in Figure 5C allowed the service provider A to comment in detail on his activity while hilling in  
372 one row. The situation was as follows: the soil was accumulating in the moldboard, it was pushed and no  
373 longer turned (*focus*) by the plow. The soil ended up "going out in all directions", including in the middle  
374 of the row whereas the service provider wanted to steer it only close to the vine plant to form the mound  
375 (*intention*). He therefore had to stop the horse to remove the soil from the moldboard (*action*), which  
376 increased his fatigue and that of his horse. In this situation, he adjusted his hand movements (*action*) to help  
377 clear the soil from the moldboard of the plow (*intention*). "You see the movement? It [The soil] is turning  
378 a little better there (*focus*). "Tac-tac" [mimicking the gesture], it helps the soil not to stick too much, because  
379 when the soil is stuck [to the moldboard], it's over [you have to stop to clean the moldboard]" (*knowledge*).  
380 The service provider also used gestures during the self-confrontation interview to describe his action. The  
381 researcher relied on these gestures during the interview to continue investigating the service provider's  
382 activity and to help him formulate what had become so embodied that he no longer even mentioned it, as  
383 he no longer paid attention to it.

384 The service provider's detailed description of this situation is facilitated by the video which clearly shows  
385 the dynamic link between his perception of the soil that was starting to stick to his moldboard and his hand  
386 movements to turn the soil. Similarly, as he was progressing along the row with the horse, he perceived the  
387 changes in soil texture or the arrival of stones in certain parts of the row thanks to the sound generated by  
388 the soil's contact with the moldboard. These elements, present in the work situation and highlighted in the  
389 recording with the help of the researcher's questions, allowed the service provider, during the self-  
390 confrontation interview, to evoke his sensations and his knowledge mobilized in the action. These results  
391 confirm the assertion of Leblanc and Azema (2022) who consider that "The film allows us to understand  
392 the details of the gestures, the movements, the distances and the temporal flow of the practice". Mollo and  
393 Falzon (2004) also point out that the use of video recordings avoids the filtering or distortion that the  
394 researcher might apply to the data when taking notes during the observation of the situation, by selecting  
395 only certain information to have the service provider comment on.

396 Thus, we show through this self-confrontation interview that the visual cues are not the only ones used by  
397 the service provider to understand the soil conditions and adjust their practice. Other indicators are  
398 mobilized, such as those linked to touch through the sleeves of his plow (sensation of soil slipping, sticking),  
399 and sounds.

### 400        **3.3 Cues and knowledge mobilized during hilling**

401 The activity of the two service providers A and B, compared to that of service provider C, made it possible  
402 to highlight cues from the body or from the relationship with the horse, and knowledge mobilized in  
403 different hilling situations. The situations observed on recorded hilling days additionally made it possible



404 to highlight different body and relational cues with the horse used by each of the providers A and B, some  
405 being common, other specific. To understand whether these cues were shared by other service providers  
406 and to identify the conditions of mobilization of certain cues specific to a particular situation, we used the  
407 allo-confrontation interview to indirectly access the activity of service provider C. For instance, the three  
408 service providers recognized a hilling situation as occurring in optimal or degraded conditions, based on  
409 variations in visual, tactile, and/or sound cues or variations in the relationship with the horse (Table 1).  
410 Thus, our method allowed us to specify the conditions of appearance of body or relational cues mobilized  
411 in a situation (linked to a specific configuration of the plot, or to the nature of the soil, etc.). The visual cues  
412 used by service providers varied according to the soil's interaction with the plow. The soil can form a  
413 homogeneous mound with a friable consistency along the row in optimal conditions, or it can go towards  
414 the middle of the row or form large blocks in certain places in degraded conditions. The behavior of the  
415 horse at work, in particular its walking speed, its fatigue and the speed of its response to the service  
416 provider's prompts was also an indication of the progress of the intervention in optimal or degraded  
417 conditions.  
418  
419

420 **Table 1:** List of body and relational cues with the horse used by service providers A, B and C during hilling activity,  
 421 according to the optimal or degraded hilling conditions. This list is derived from inferences made by the researcher  
 422 based on the comparison of individual service providers' activities.

<b>Body cues</b>	<b>Optimal hilling conditions</b>	<b>Degraded hilling conditions</b>
<b>Visual Cues</b>	Homogeneous soil mound under the row	Soil moving to the middle of the row Soil overflowing on the other side of the row of vines worked, on the return path of the hilling Soil turning less on the plowshare Soil sticking to the plowshare and/or wheel Soil forming large blocks Smoothing of the soil at the bottom of the furrow formed during hilling
	Loose, friable, granular soil	
<b>Tactile cues</b>	Very little action on the plow "plowing by itself" Softness and suppleness of the soil when no stones Sensation of cracking felt through the plow when there are some stones	Heaviness in the hands and fatigue in the arms Joint pain, hand injuries
<b>Sound cues</b>	Specific song for each plot for a given tool	
<b>Relational cues with the horse</b>	Smooth and fluid communication Favorable response of the horse to the service provider's vocal prompts without the use of reins Understanding each other without using the voice or the reins Horse that is doing well and wants to work Horse at the right pace	Repeated communications using voice and reins Tired horse The horse speed is too high

423  
 424 The cues taken into consideration by service providers during their activity are thus numerous and perceived  
 425 through different senses. As discussed by Toffolini et al. (2016), farmers mobilize a library of visual  
 426 references (for example, homogeneous or heterogeneous soil mound under the row) to interpret the

427 conditions of their agrosystem and construct an understanding of its functioning. In an experimental study,  
428 Cerf et al. (1998) presented photos of the soil and its texture to cereal farmers and asked them how they  
429 decided to intervene on the soil to prepare a seed bed. The authors demonstrated the importance of the  
430 viewpoint of the photograph in enabling the farmer to understand the situation. In our study, not only were  
431 service providers involved in choosing the point of view that allowed them to have cues to understand their  
432 soil conditions (see 3.1), but the use of video instead of photographs also captured the dynamics of soil  
433 movement as it interacted with the tool (3.2). Thus, criteria that are difficult to assess from photographs  
434 (e.g. soil moisture) were hardly mentioned by farmers in Cerf et al. (1998), when they are in fact crucial for  
435 deciding whether or not to intervene on the soil. In our study, thanks to the use of video, many visual cues  
436 related to the movement of the soil and its dynamic interaction with the tool along the row (accumulation  
437 of soil, soil turning less well, formation of plates, etc.) allowed service providers to estimate whether or not  
438 the soil was too wet to intervene.

439 The activity of horse-powered tillage accentuates the proximity of the service provider to the soil, compared  
440 to tillage by tractor. As service providers walk behind the tool, they directly visualize the movement of the  
441 soil on the plow in front of them. Moreover, when nuisances due to the functioning of the tractor engine  
442 (noise, vibrations, odor) are removed, service providers mobilize their other senses more easily. Thus,  
443 tactile and sound cues, as well as relational cues with the horse, are mobilized by service providers to  
444 interpret the situation in which they are engaged. They easily perceived the condition of their horse as  
445 "doing well" or "being tired", without detailing it much at first. When their relationship with their horse  
446 was long-standing and they had repeatedly worked on known plots and operations, they sometimes  
447 described the relationship as "instinctive", that is, not requiring the use of their voice or conventional means  
448 of communication such as ropes or leather straps, webbing or synthetic material between the horse's mouth  
449 and the driver's hand. Despret (2013) defines embodied empathy as "the process by which one delegates to  
450 one's body a question, or a problem, that matters and that involves other beings' bodies." The actions of the  
451 service provider were embodied; in other words, he no longer paid attention to them and these actions were  
452 "prediscursive, preconceptual, profoundly gestural" (Petitmengin 2006). This relationship or "mutually  
453 created language" (Brandt 2004) between horse and service provider allowed them to create a shared  
454 sensibility and thus increase their libraries of available bodily cues.

455 The analysis of the verbatims from the self- and allo-confrontation interviews yielded a range of knowledge  
456 on the use of these bodily and relational cues allowing service providers to understand the situation and  
457 adjust their intervention on the soil (Table 2). For example, the formation of soil blocks when hilling at the  
458 beginning of winter can have greater or lesser consequences, depending on the intervention area. Service  
459 providers B and C explain for instance that the winter frost will help transform these blocks into friable soil

460 at the end of the winter. Areas where the temperature may drop below zero degrees in winter do not benefit  
461 from this effect.

462 **Table 2:** Knowledge allowing service providers to understand the situation and adjust their intervention. The  
463 information is split according to optimal and degraded hilling conditions (column), and divided according to  
464 knowledge on soil behavior, health and energy of the service provider, and horse behavior (lines).

<b><u>Knowledge mobilized during hilling</u></b>	<b>Optimal hilling conditions</b>	<b>Degraded hilling conditions</b>
<b>Soil behavior</b>	The frost helps to destroy blocks formed during hilling	On a transversal slope, the soil falls towards the middle of the row
	The presence of some pebbles can help the soil to fall off the plowing iron	Soil with many stones causes more vibrations in the service provider's body
	Sandy soil, softer, easy to work	Clay-limestone soil more tiring and harder to work
	Damp, homogeneous and supple soil	Sticky earth preventing the soil from turning properly on the moldboard
<b>Health and energy of service provider</b>	Plow adjustments to reduce fatigue Choice of a tool adapted to the plot (weight of the plow, size of the iron, etc.) Choice of the starting side of the work. Example: on a plot with a transversal slope, start with the row at the bottom of the slope to bring up the soil Wait until the soil is sufficiently dry	
<b>Horse behavior</b>	Experienced and trained horse	Young, unprepared or inexperienced horse

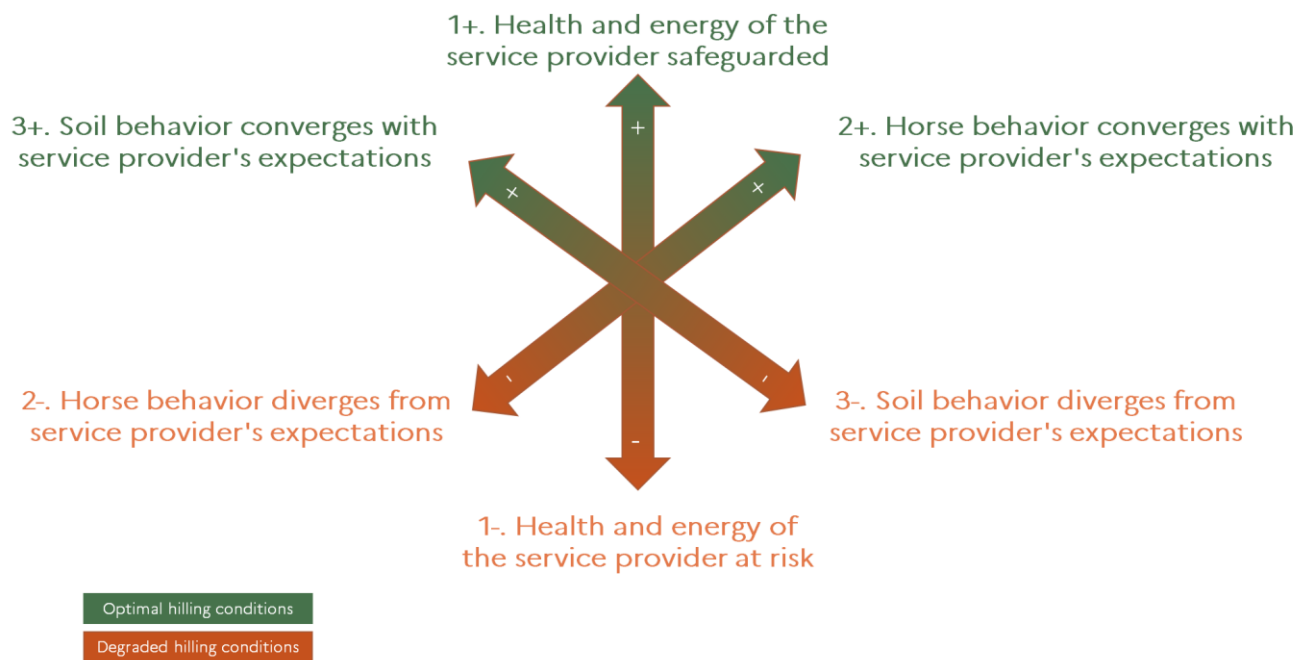
465  
466 Thus, elements linked to the agrosystem and its environment will be favorable or not to the emergence of  
467 degraded hilling situations. Service providers will be able to adjust their activity by intervening in different  
468 settings (tools, intervention window, etc.), but if they have several horses with more or less experience,  
469 they will also choose the horse according to the anticipated difficulty of an intervention.

### 470 **3.4 Qualitative modeling of the activity to build video for training**

471 During the self- and allo-confrontation interviews with the service providers, we wanted them to comment  
472 on their activity as if they were in the situation without analyzing it afterwards. However, confrontation  
473 with their own activity or that of a peer through a video recording spontaneously led them to reflection on  
474 their own practice at certain moments. For example, during the allo-confrontation interview, the service  
475 provider C was confronted with the service provider B's practice regarding requests to her horse to turn  
476 around at the end of the row. The service provider B did not use either voice or guides to ask her experienced  
477 horse to turn at the end of the row; her horse spontaneously turned around and stopped at the beginning of  
478 the next row. In the same situation at the end of the row, the service provider C explained that he himself  
479 "leaves little room for initiative," "I will decide when it [his horse] will turn around and/or possibly stop for  
480 a break at the end of the row." The fact that the service provider B had installed an "automatism" in her  
481 horse's behavior at the end of the row and that she no longer needed to use her voice or the guides to make  
482 it turn around led the service provider C to reflect on his own way of acting with his horse at the end of the  
483 row: "Somehow, they go further than I do and I think that what they have developed is more intelligent  
484 than what I have done, I might expect too much [from my horse], I might be too directive".

485 In literature, the confrontation with the activity of peers thanks to the use of video clips has shown real  
486 advantages as a training modality (Leblanc and Ria 2014; Leblanc 2018). Individuals undergoing training,  
487 confronted with the real activity of peers facing the same difficulties and problems as they do in their trials  
488 and errors, will more easily evoke their own difficulties and doubts in training. The learners have access,  
489 thanks to video clips, to the adjustments of the activity implemented by others to try to improve their own  
490 situations. They thus spontaneously engage in mimetic behavior favorable to reflexivity and they project  
491 themselves in future experiments for their own activity. According to the winegrowers, there is currently  
492 not enough training available in this alternative practice of horse-powered soil tillage, which limits its  
493 development (IFCE and IFV 2021). However, service providers have significant expertise in this practice  
494 due to the frequency of implementation on a variety of plots, which could be of interest to winegrowers  
495 wishing to do their own tillage with a horse. Thus, this access to service providers' experience will make it  
496 possible to convey the typical elements of the activity of horse-powered tillage to learners prior to their  
497 experience of it, to inspire them and facilitate their learning. As we have shown, digital tools can be a  
498 valuable source of learning thanks to the visibility of service provider's implicit activity like body cues and  
499 relational cues with the horse, and associated knowledge to understand the intervention situation. The use  
500 of easy-to-use and ergonomic cognitive resources in consulting and training can be a real asset. An  
501 environment of video clips built from the modeling of service providers' work would allow other service  
502 providers, or even winegrowers who themselves would like to experiment with tillage with horses, to select  
503 and arrange useful knowledge in their own way (Gaudin et al. 2015). According to Berthoz (2009), living

504 beings select a few criteria to adapt efficiently to/in hypercomplex environments. Identifying the  
 505 dimensions that structure and organize the activity can simplify the complexity by making a provisional  
 506 and qualitative model of the activity. From the analysis of the hilling activity of the three service providers,  
 507 we can represent these dimensions as axes in tension that the service provider tries to balance in order to  
 508 act (Figure 6).  
 509



510

511

512 **Figure 6:** Qualitative model of hilling activity by service provision in equine traction, organized around 3 main axes  
 513 in tension (1. The health and energy of the service provider, 2. Horse behavior, 3. Soil behavior). Green color refers  
 514 to optimal hilling conditions, and orange to degraded hilling conditions.

515 This first analysis led us to identify three main organizing axes of the hilling activity carried out by the  
 516 service providers, which are linked to one another. For example, in Figure 6, we propose a first  
 517 representation of this model. The first axis concerned the behavior of the soil during the plowing operation,  
 518 as assessed by the service provider. The service providers assess the behavior of the soil according to a  
 519 scale ranging from convergent with his expectations in optimal conditions, to divergent from his  
 520 expectations in degraded conditions according to several mainly visual indices. The three service providers'  
 521 fundamental concern is to carry out a hilling that is both aesthetic (soil not scattered over the whole plot)  
 522 and efficient, in particular in terms of burying the weeds and the shape of the hilling (homogeneous, etc.)  
 523 to facilitate future ridge plowing operation. The data constructed during this study could highlight, in video  
 524 clips, the visual cues and associated knowledge to assess the conditions of the activity. A second axis is

525 likewise related to the behavior of the horse, to promote a fluid relationship and continuous work without  
526 the need to repeat orders several times and without successive stops leading to additional fatigue for the  
527 horse. The data constructed during this study could highlight, in video clips, the cues related to the  
528 evaluation of the horse's condition and ability to perform the work, and thus allow to adjust the conditions  
529 of their work if necessary. For example, the service providers would choose a simple situation (plot without  
530 slope, sandy soil, no stones, etc.) for their young inexperienced horse. A third axis is related to the health  
531 and energy of the service providers themselves. Even if they are able to continue working when they feel  
532 pain, the service provider activity implies an intense professional commitment during seasonal peaks, with  
533 daily physical work. Therefore, ways must be found to facilitate their work. The data constructed during  
534 this study could reveal, in video clips, the knowledge associated with the choice and settings of tools  
535 adapted to the plot to be worked or the working methods for more complex plot configurations (double  
536 slope, etc.).

537 This qualitative modeling aims to encourage users to reflect on their own practices and to evolve as they  
538 do so (Azema and Leblanc 2021). This model of the hilling activity is not static; it is intended to evolve  
539 through the construction of new research data on the transformation of these activities in relation to their  
540 dynamic and complex environments. The process of description and comprehension of case studies ends  
541 once the research reaches theoretical saturation, described as "[when] one has then more or less [...] gone  
542 through the range of strategies [or possible situations] relative to a particular arena" (De Sardan 1995).  
543 Other video recordings of the work followed by self-confrontation interviews in other viticultural areas or  
544 in other soil tillage activities such as ridge plowing followed by other allo-confrontation interviews will  
545 thus be necessary to strengthen our analyses and qualitative modeling.

#### 546 **4 Conclusion**

547 This article presents two main results. First, video recordings were used to identify and then compare the  
548 knowledge and cues mobilized by service providers while performing their work. Self-confrontation  
549 interviews helped service providers to comment on the invisible part of their activity, namely knowledge,  
550 while allo-confrontation interviews allowed for a rise in genericity by highlighting either typical dimensions  
551 organizing the activity or, on the contrary, the particularities of several service providers' activities in  
552 relation to their specific context. The identification of these typical and specific dimensions can be enhanced  
553 through an evolutionary and qualitative modeling of the activity aimed at sharing the knowledge of  
554 experienced service providers in training or consulting. Thus, based on these results, we consider that the  
555 allo-confrontation interviews could also be conducted in training or consulting situations, based on a  
556 platform of video clips organized according to these typical dimensions of the activity. The allo-  
557 confrontation interviews would then engage the learners in reflexivity leading them to question their

558 practice or to experiment with new practices that may have similarities with other soil maintenance practices  
559 that the winegrowers are familiar with (especially with a tractor). Secondly, the mobilization of such device  
560 based on self- and allo-confrontation is quite rare in agronomy and it enabled us to build original insights,  
561 especially on the various information collected and analyzed by the horse-leader. Thanks to the  
562 conservation of the dynamic flow of the activity and the sound, the video recordings allowed service  
563 providers to evoke the bodily and relational knowledge with their horses that helps them to adjust their  
564 activity permanently. As the sensory information arrives simultaneously in the continuous flow of the  
565 activity and by different modalities (sight, smell, touch, hearing), the video recordings facilitate the  
566 selection and analysis of significant moments for the actor during the self- or allo-confrontation interview.  
567 As future perspectives, we will continue modeling the activity by looking at another soil tillage operation,  
568 which is plowing the ridges. This will also allow us to identify particularities of operations on the soil. To  
569 test and increase the genericity of our results, we will involve new service providers with similar methods.  
570 Finally, and more generally, we believe that the implementation of our approach will allow for the  
571 integration of farmers' empirical knowledge into scientific agronomic knowledge and thus reduce the gaps,  
572 and favor synergies between the knowledge produced by science and that experimented in the field by the  
573 farmers themselves. Agronomists can contribute to bringing the empirical knowledge of farmers to light by  
574 appropriating the methodology of self- and allo-confrontation interviews. Moreover, the participation of  
575 farmers in the construction of the research system will make it possible to improve the performance of  
576 research, including support for changes in practices in favor of agroecology. The main originality of our  
577 research stands in the characterization of the embodied knowledge mobilized during the situation of  
578 plowing with a horse. To study the step-by-step design of the agrosystem by winegrowers and support their  
579 transition, next studies should focus on the interactions between plowman and winegrower, and on the use  
580 of videos for training and learning of future horse users.

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## 585 **Declarations**

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### 588 **Conflicts of interest/Competing interests**

589 The authors declare that they have no conflict of interests.



590 **Ethics approval**

591 All research procedures involving human participants were in accordance with research ethical standards  
592 at the date of the study. No experiments on horses were performed in this study.

593 **Consent to participate**

594 Verbal informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study.

595 **Consent for publication**

596 Verbal informed consent was obtained from all individual participants for publication of the results.

597 **Availability of data and material**

598 The datasets analyzed during the current study are available from the corresponding author on reasonable  
599 request. This excludes the raw documents from interviews, which contain personal information on the  
600 participants.

601 **Code availability**

602 Not applicable

603 **Authors' contributions**

604 Conceptualization and methodology, C.B., L.H., M.N. and S.L.; Resources and access to farmers, C.B.:  
605 Investigation, C.B.; Writing — original draft, C.B.; Writing — review and editing, L.H., M.N. and S.L.

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