AN EVERYDAY APPROACH TO AGRITOURISM PRODUCTION IN SOUTHERN ONTARIO

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a nuanced interpretation of the production of space in the context of agritourism in Southern Ontario. It uses everyday life as a theoretical framework to expand conceptualizations of tourism production by enabling a discussion of how cultural practice is central to economic activity. I use agritourism to show how, in addition to being an important economic activity, tourism production is a culturally informed process with intrinsic value concerned with home and family, and contributes to individual utility, self-worth, identity and well-being for the tourism producer.

In Southern Ontario, Agritourism has grown in popularity in the past thirty years. It is well-known as an economic diversification strategy but needs to be better understood as a cultural practice involving the social relations and everyday interactions of individual 'life contexts'. I argue that the everyday reveals the production logic of well-being that is not necessarily based on an economic mentality but on the day-to-day negotiation of the home as a private place of residence, a place of work, and a tourism attraction open to the public. The question driving this dissertation is: to what extent does the everyday reveal alternative forms of production related to agritourism that are not necessarily driven by profit but by achieving a greater sense of well-being?

At the heart of the research is an intimate knowledge of the farmer's experience. I investigated these experiences by way of participant observation and semi-structured conversational style interviews. In addition to completing 27 interviews with a total of 32 self-employed people involved in operating/managing/running small to medium-large, and relatively large sized agritourism operations/businesses, I visited 16 agritourism attractions as an agritourist.

An everyday approach shows that emotional well-being is a success factor in the production process, which points to agritourism as more than an economic activity. Adaptation, personal growth, family bonds and legacy, emotional connections, value systems, and protecting the privacy of the home are non-economic characteristics of tourism production that are about the embodied doings of day-to-day tasks that keep the destination running in the long term by preserving the well-being of the farmer and his/her family.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my home in Shingletown, Ontario,
where my childhood lives.

AKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"Festival differed from everyday life only in the explosion of forces which had slowly accumulated in and via everyday life itself" (Lefebvre 2002, 202).

The universe has brought me many wonderful people and I would like to mention a few of them here and how they influenced the completion of this project:

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PREFACE

On a warm, sunny, mid-October Saturday afternoon in 2013, I visited an agritourism attraction offering a typical experience that has a history in Southern Ontario. After pulling off a rural road and onto a gravel driveway, I was greeted by a towering straw-bale man dressed as a farmer holding a welcome sign, as well as an employee who asked if I had ever been to the farm before. I said “no”, so she handed me a pamphlet of the farm and briefly highlighted some of the activities I could partake in. She directed me to continue down and pull off the driveway to find a parking spot in a field of grass that was converted into a temporary parking lot, and jam-packed with cars. From the car, I walked to the entrance that had a ticket booth where admission was paid. The admission for this attraction was $7.00 for adults (I had paid up to $12 at other places).

The farm was like a mini-amusement park with all kinds of kid-oriented activities. It was the perfect destination for parents looking to occupy their children and spend time with their family in an outdoor setting. This farm had a carnival or fair-like atmosphere and was the scene of noisy crowds and lively people freely moving in no real direction or organized flow from one area of the farm to the next. Families with smaller children were making their way from one activity to the next. Children climbed up bales of hay stacked into pyramids, waited in line for their turn to take a ride on a mini-go cart track, and jumped around in an inflatable bouncy castle. There were parents sitting on benches watching and taking pictures of their kids digging holes in an enormous sand pit and crawling through tunnels connected to a playground structure that looked like a pirate ship. There was also a petting zoo with two goats, a handful of chickens, and a big Jersey cow named Betsy enjoying the attention of little hands patting her head.

The excited screams and commotion of children launching pumpkins from a pumpkin catapult, losing their balance on a trampoline pillow jump, and getting lost in a corn maze blended with the country music soundtrack playing over speakers to create an amusement park soundscape. Walking closer to the concession stand, smells of popcorn, french fries and the sweetness of candied apples filled the air. Picnic tables were arranged in lines across the lawn and were occupied with people enjoying a mid-afternoon snack in the open air. Across the park, a crowd congregated at a platform where they were loaded onto wagons pulled by tractors that took them on a tour of farm fields and the surrounding forest. During the ride a recorded commentary, highlighting special features on the farm and asking the riders agricultural trivia, played over speakers.

Mixed amongst the spectacle of activity were quintessential features of the farm. The barns and were painted green and white, grey concrete solos were well maintained, and metal grain storage sheds were well kept. In addition, the farmhouse was part of the scene but not part of the attraction itself. Despite the crowds of people and the obviously staged sets and amusements, it still felt like being on a farm.

The agritourism experience would not be complete without a visit to the pick your own pumpkin patch to pick out a pumpkin for Halloween. Wagons were available to haul pumpkins from the patch to the cashier, although parents were also giving their children bumpy rides on uneven dirt paths. Before leaving the farm park, families would make one last stop for a photo opportunity where children (and adults) could stick their heads through a hole in a picture board pained with goofy farm characters, which would serve as a memory of the time they spent at the farm. This thesis is about the everyday production of this experience.

CHAPTER 1: AGRITOURISM, TOURISM PRODUCTION AND THE EVERYDAY

1.1 An Introduction

This dissertation is a cultural account of economic changes to farming in Southern Ontario at the scale of the family farm, and in the form of agritourism. The trend of reconfiguring the farm business from a traditional food producing operation into an attraction for tourist consumption is an economic decision made by many farmers and their families to diversify the farm and change the commercial function of the home. Producing agritourism involves changing the types of daily tasks and work habits in which farmers engage, the networks and social relationships of which farmers are a part, and the ideas and feelings farmers have towards home. Although there are aspects of the family farm that have drastically changed with the introduction of agritourism, the way people reproduce themselves on a day-to-day basis through farming as a way of life on the farm have not.

I use a framework of the everyday to understand agritourism production as a culturally informed process concerned with home, family and individual well-being. Agritourism is well-understood as an important economic diversification strategy, but in addition, it is not clear how it is a product of everyday life or a modality through which everyday life is organized for many people. An everyday viewpoint makes explicit how structural changes in agriculture shape and are shaped by work, family culture and well-being on the farm.

Before I present my argument, I provide a brief background of agricultural transformation in Southern Ontario and contextualize the economic circumstances out of

which agritourism emerged. I then define agritourism and specify the type of agritourism around which this dissertation focuses. Next, I talk about how my research question developed and provide my rationale for rethinking tourism production as a nuanced economic form. The role of everyday life in tourism production is central to my argument and opens up a space for cultural and economic ideas to not only talk with one another, but also to find ways of re-interpreting big themes concerning the economic in tourism geography. The last section of the chapter presents my Lefebvrian inspired everyday framework for studying tourism production.

1.2 Agricultural Transformation in Southern Ontario

1.2.1 A Changing Picture of Farming

Farming in Southern Ontario has changed faster in the past several decades than at any other point in history since the land was settled. In a sixty-year period between 1951 and 2011 the number of farms in Ontario decreased from 149,920 to 51,950 – a loss of 97,970 farms, 15,570 of which were lost in the last fifteen years (table 1.1) (Statistics Canada 2012). In the same fifteen-year time span, the average farm size increased 38 acres from 206 to 244 (Statistics Canada 2012). Fewer but larger farms with higher incomes collectively make up the majority of Ontario's farming revenue. In 2010, Ontario had 5,609 large farms (10.8% of all farms in Ontario) with receipts of $500,000 or more, accounting for 68.1% of the province's gross total (Statistics Canada 2012). Nearly all of these farms are large-scale family owned businesses that have 'gone corporate'. In 2013 farm receipts in Ontario totaled over $12 billion and accounted for 22.1% of Canada's total (OMAFRA 2013).

Table 1.1: Ontario Farm Data, Census of Agriculture 1996, 2001, 2006 and 2011

	1996	**2001**	**2006**	**2011**
Number of census farms (Ontario)	67,520	59,728	57,211	51,950
Total area of farms (acres)	13,879,565	13,507,357	13,310,216	12,668,236
Total area owned (acres)	9,764,607	9,373,178	8,889,694	8,952,054
Total area rented (acres)	4,114,958	4,134,179	4,420,522	3,716,182
Number of farm operators	96,940	85,015	82,410	74,840
Average farm size (acres)	206	226	233	244
Cropland (acres)	8,759,707	9,035,915	9,046,383	8,929,948
Pasture (acres)	2,502,478	2,087,985	1,862,387	1,633,566
Market value of land and buildings (dollars '000)	33,167,842	40,898,278	55,912,249	75,817,764
Value of machinery and equipment (dollars '000)	5,410,519	6,564,008	7,075,892	7,616,206
Value of livestock and poultry (dollars '000)	2,282,575	3,067,498	2,348,655	2,269,368
Total capital value (dollars '000)	40,860,936	50,529,784	65,336,796	85,703,337

Source Statistics Canada 2012

The image of the farmer plowing small plots of land for a living and wearing “a straw hat and overalls with chickens and cows and pigs, growing vegetables” (Waldie 2012) is largely an image of the past. Up until the twentieth century, traditional small-scale family farm configurations engaging in diversified mixed farming were sufficient to support a family, and were at the heart of local rural economies (Fuller 1990; Smithers and Johnson 2004). Modernized industrial agriculture, technological advances in agricultural mechanization, the competitive nature of domestic and international trade for agricultural products, and the inherent cyclicality of farm prices under neoliberal policies, however, made it difficult for small farms growing a variety of crops on less than 50 acres to remain viable as a business venture. Industrial farming operations specializing in cash cropping or single breed operations, and requiring a smaller work force than was needed to run a mixed farm less than a century ago (Parson 1999), have largely replaced small-scale family farms and represent a significant transformation in Ontario’s agricultural production.

The reality is “for people who want to live off farming, it’s pretty tight” (Penny, farmer 2011), especially if they remain small in scale. This is not surprising given that the smallest farms are losing money. In 2004, the overall financial performance of farms in the $10,000 – $99,999 revenue class for small farms lost $52 million (Sparling and Laughland 2006). During the same year, over 50% of Ontario farms belonged to this income category and accounted for 8.1% of total farm revenue. Only 1% of farms earned over 25 million, which accounted for 19.9% of total farm revenue. Between 2001 and 2013, net operating income for farms in the $10,000 – $49,999 revenue class were consistently negative (table 1.2), as compared to the net operating incomes of farms in the

$250,000 – $499 999 revenue class (table 1.3). Smaller farms did not earn enough revenue to cover expenses, which reflects the inefficiencies and low production values of these operations. For example, in 2005, on average, operations with less than $25,000 in receipts spent $1.68 on operating expenses for every dollar of revenue earned (Statistics Canada 2006). Without diversification strategies to supplement farm income, these farms are unsustainable as businesses. These statistics illustrate a dichotomy of lots of small farms earning small amounts of income and very few large farms earning large amounts of income.

It is important to make note that some smaller sized farms are quite profitable. Those practicing a minimalist lifestyle, which includes Anabaptist groups using traditional technologies, some organic farmers, and various forms of communal farming, are significant elements of small-scale farming in Ontario. Niche farming operations such as greenhouses that grow roses, vineyards, tobacco, ginseng, and legal marijuana farms are also examples of profitable small-scale operations.

For the majority of small-scale family farms, however, staying profitable in an environment dominated by large-scale mechanized agri-businesses, means adapting to changing conditions. Charlie Huffman, a farmer from Essex County, in a CBC documentary stated this advice for farmers about the changing agricultural landscape in Southern Ontario: “Change with the times and discard the systems that you had worked with in the past; my son is changing and my grandson, no doubt he will have to change too. If you don't, you've lost" (Huffman 1977 CBC news clip). This prophetic comment speaks to the need for farmers to make tough decisions between realizing the possibilities of farming, or remaining stagnant in an environment of rising constraints. Those that

Table 1.2: Average Operating Revenues and Expenses of Farms in Revenue class $10,000 – $49,999 Ontario, 2001-2013

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Total Operating Revenue	24,461	23,893	23,948	23,696	24,859	24,054	24,272	24,788	24,601	24,856	24,982	25,514	24,936
Total Operating Expenses	24,838	25,822	26,116	27,059	26,623	26,969	26,797	28,186	29,980	28,575	27,848	27,724	28,439
Net Operating Income	-377	-1,928	-2,168	-3,363	-1,764	-2,915	-2,525	-3,398	-5,380	-3,719	-2,867	-2,210	-3,504

Source: Statistics Canada 2013, CANSIM table 002-0046

Table 1.3: Average Operating Revenues and Expenses of Farms in Revenue Class $250,000 – $499,999 Ontario, 2001-2013

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Total Operating Revenue	348,250	348,023	347,899	350,799	352,108	353,010	354,833	354,282	359,840	362,382	355,204	357,747	350,774
Total Operating Expenses	282,598	284,785	283,993	288,347	286,064	290,301	293,170	288,059	296,539	286,546	279,337	278,746	276,100
Net Operating Income	65,652	63,238	63,906	62,453	66,043	62,709	61,663	66,222	63,302	75,836	75,867	79,001	74,674

Source: Statistics Canada 2013, CANSIM table 002-0046

not ‘change with the times’ run the risk of not only eventually going out of business but also of losing the farm (Beattie et al. 1981).

Those farmers who can afford it, or who can take on the debt, intensify operations through capital investment in technologically advanced production facilities that increase capacity and efficiency. Many farms with adequate equipment and resources also grow in scale by increasing their holdings through purchasing or renting additional land. Some farms have the opportunity to secure contracts with multinational agro-corporations, which is often at the cost of relinquishing control over farm management and giving up independence to become corporately controlled growers (Power 1996). Not all farmers, however, are in a circumstance that makes amalgamation an option, nor do all farmers have the ability, or the desire to engage in large-scale farming.

Farmers that do not have the resources to expand farming operations commonly obtain off-farm work to supplement farm income. Off-farm work is common in the farming community, and an indicator that the farmer is unable to make ends meet with farming alone (Fuller 1990; Phelan and Sharpley 2010; Martz and Bruechner 2003). Custom farm work, contract trucking, school bus driving and snow plough operating in the winter are just a few of the numerous lines of work farmers take up to earn extra money while maintaining small farming operations. In 2011, 79% of farm families’ total income came from off the farm, down from 84% in 2009 (table 1.4) (Statistics Canada 2011). Small farms in the $10,000 – $24,999 income class had a total average off farm income per operator of $52,209. The amount of off farm income decreases as the income class of the farm gets bigger (table 1.5), evidence that small-scale farming is the most reliant on this strategy to keep small-scale farming an option for families.

Table 1.4: Farm Families, Average Total Income, Ontario, 2007-2011

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
	number				
Ontario					
Farm families	30,770	29,480	27,960	-	27,160
	average per family ($)				
Total income	93,445	99,262	93,743	-	110,301
Off-farm income1	77,634	81,211	79,082	-	86,648
Net operating income	15,811	18,051	14,661	-	23,653
Net program payments	6,436	5,437	2,593	-	2,591
Net market income	9,375	12,614	12,068	-	21,062
Adjustment for capital cost allowance (CCA)2	11,932	12,602	12,783	-	14,382
Net market income adjusted for CCA2	-2,557	12	-715	-	6,681
Total income adjusted for CCA2	81,513	86,660	80,960	-	95,919

Source: Statistics Canada 2014, CANSIM table 002-0024 and catalogue no. 21-207-X

Table 1.5: Farm Operators' Income from Farm and Off-Farm Sources, Ontario, 2011

Income	$10,000 to $24,999	$25,000 to $49,999	$50,000 to $99,999	$100,000 to $249,999	$250,000 to $499,999	$500,000 and over	Total
Number of operators	12,170	9,075	7,390	8,170	5,160	3,580	45,540
Number of farms	9,505	6,830	5,615	5,830	3,305	2,030	33,115
Total operating revenue ($'000)	158,855	245,019	398,563	922,676	1,175,257	2,019,130	4,918,293
Total operating expenses ($'000)	205,916	246,878	343,923	738,664	922,991	1,689,876	4,147,253
Net operating income ($'000)	-47,062	-1,859	54,640	184,012	252,266	329,255	771,040
Average per operator ($)	-3,867	-205	7,394	22,523	48,889	91,971	16,931
Total off-farm income ($'000)	635,386	410,020	319,103	266,368	106,095	70,441	1,807,281
Average per operator ($)	52,209	45,181	43,180	32,603	20,561	19,676	39,686
Total income of operators ($'000)	588,324	408,162	373,743	450,380	358,361	399,696	2,578,321
Average per operator ($)	48,342	44,976	50,574	55,126	69,450	111,647	56,617

Source: Statistics Canada 2014, CANSIM table 002-0024 and catalogue no. 21-207-X

1.2.2 Agritourism as Part of the Transformation Picture

Some farmers of small-scale operations are inclined to adapt to changes in farming by adding new non-agricultural business enterprises to bring in extra income and help support diminishing agricultural returns on the farm. Agritourism is an example of a diversification strategy in which the farm is produced as a tourist space and opened to the public as an attraction (Nickerson et al. 2001; McGehee and Kim 2004; McGehee et al. 2007; Haugen and Vik 2008; Evans and Ibery 1989). Agritourism, farm tourism, 'agritainment' and value-added tourism are terms often used interchangeably to refer to similar types of activities that market farm products in the form of fresh produce or entertainment directly to the consumer. The Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC 2003) classifies agritourism as "basically any activity tying agriculture with leisure". In many cases, the revenue stream generated from agritourism makes it possible for families to reduce their financial dependency on agricultural production and still continue with some form of farming, and stay on the farm (Van der Ploeg et al. 2000). Tourism is valuable to farming because it allows the farm family to remain viable as an economic and cultural unit (Woods 2005; Ilbery 1992).

Agritourism is a niche of rural tourism and, very broadly, involves "the act of visiting a working farm or any agricultural, horticultural, or agribusiness operation for enjoyment, education, or active involvement in the activities of the farm or operation" (Che et al. 2006, 98). Agritourism is not synonymous with rural tourism, which encompasses a broad range of experiences and environments in the countryside. Examples of tourism in rural areas include nature-based activities, festivals, heritage events, community-based farmers markets, agricultural fairs, local food festivals and

harvest celebrations. One argument is that the working farm is an important aspect of defining agritourism (Clarke 1996; Barbieri 2009; Barbieri and Mshenga 2008; Fennel and Weaver 1997; Phillip, Hunter and Blackstock 2010; Roberts and Hall 2001), but is not always necessary in reality. A more inclusive but general definition of agritourism is tourism in a farm setting (Peebles 1995).

Agritourism experiences vary widely around the world. For instance, in Europe, farm-based tourism largely encompasses 'farm accommodation' where visitors stay overnight and often take part in chores. In North America, agritourism commonly refers to farm-based tourism enterprises with a recreational emphasis (Nickerson et al. 2001; Busby and Rendle 2000). Overnight accommodation is uncommon on agritourism farms in Ontario. Rather, farm owners of all kinds including wholesale producers of commercial fruits and vegetables, cash croppers, and livestock farmers offer a spectrum of places, events and activities that, to some degree, sell the farm and farming as a tourist attraction to day visitors (Barbieri and Mshenga 2008; Veeck et al. 2006). Farmers markets and roadside stands are popular places to buy local farm fresh produce and interact with farmers. Wineries offer guided tours through vineyards followed by wine tastings. In the spring people can learn how to make maple syrup in the sugar bush. These are all forms of agritourism in Ontario.

This study focused on agritourism related to fall harvest festivals and pumpkin farms offering some form of 'agri-tainment'. The farms included in this study offered a range of agritourism experiences such as roadside stands, wineries, pick your own operations (strawberries and apples) and 'farm gate entry'. Farm gate entry refers to those farms acting as an entertainment attraction and offering an 'on the farm experience'

to the public. Day-trippers are invited to take part in walking through a barnyard, picking a pumpkin in a pumpkin patch, finding the perfect apple in a pick-your-own orchard, buying fresh pies from scratch bakeries, getting lost in a corn maze, scaring yourself in a haunted barn or going on a tractor-pulled wagon ride through a field. Fall harvest festivals and themed pumpkin farms offering some of these 'agri-tainment' forms are the focus of research in this dissertation. Some farms also have retail stores and/or are vendors in farmers markets. Many farms also give school tours. Each agritourism destination in this study has its own personality and no two farms are the same. The commonality they do share, however, is that they always offer "a chance for fresh air and a day outside" (Veeck et al. 2006).

In 2005, an estimated 400 farms in Ontario were involved in some form of agritourism that generated approximately $116 million in sales (Jayeff Partners 2005). Four years later, the number of farms involved in agritourism increased to 750, with annual sales of $210 million (Experience Renewal Solutions 2009). More recent data report current annual sales totaling over $313 million (Experience Renewal Solutions 2012). Two studies surveying agritourism farmers in 2005 and 2009 show that nearly 50% of the respondents surveyed said more than half their income came from marketing agritourism activities on the farm. The 2009 study indicates that 64% of survey respondents reported an increase in sales and 43% of respondents were planning additions or expansions of their enterprise. In 2005, nearly 25% of respondents received over 250 000 visitors per year. The number of farms receiving this many visitors increased 35% in 2009.

Although the number of Ontario farms engaged in agritourism is estimated at less than 1% of all farms in the province (Mendoza 2008), the increasing number of agritourism destinations in their various forms indicates a growing consumer demand for spending a day on the farm, touring the countryside or attending rural venues. On a sunny weekend in October, it is not unusual for some agritourism operations to welcome thousands of people to the farm. Farms have appeal because they are part of a romanticized past. In Canada most people are detached from their farming roots because they no longer have a relative on the farm they can go and visit. Agritourism offers a way for people living in both urban and rural areas to take their families and reconnect to a life that is viewed as simple, slower paced, rustic and domestic, as well as spend time together and make memories (Bunce 2003; Bell 2006; Short 2006; Horton 2008; Baylina and Berg 2010; Che et al. 2005). The small-scale mixed family farm is a place of nostalgia and cultural heritage and the public interest in coming to the farm illustrates how consumerism plays a role in changing rural areas and their meanings.

It is important to point out that the nostalgia of the countryside and the romanticized conceptions of farm life tourists seek, as well as the family farm itself, are versions of agriculture that are specific to a white settler colonialist Ontario. The agritourism experience reproduces one particular history of the hetero-normative, nuclear family and farm life, which is also privileged in that many farmers own their farm. This is a narrow vision that excludes Aboriginal histories and leaves no space for alternative family structures in farming. Agritourism in Southern Ontario puts selective versions of farming on display, erases Aboriginal aspects of farming like the ‘three sisters’ (corn, squash and beans), writes out Aboriginal experiences of farming, and silences other

interpretations of agritourism not belonging to the white colonial settler history of Ontario. In this way, agritourism is an expression of power relations and the way it is represented reflects the ideologies of those that possess power.

The whiteness of agritourism production and the white settler producer are arguably part of the agritourism product and its appeal to agritourists. Although speculative, a family from South Asia who buys a farm and turns it into a tourism attraction is not likely to be as successful in their agritourism operation because they do not fit the imagination of the farmer or rurality in Ontario. Tourists want to consume a very specific experience of farming nostalgia and heritage belonging to and produced by white people. As part of my discussion of participant observation in chapter three, I further elaborate on the representation of farming produced through agritourism.

Unbeknown to the people that produce it, and not part of my original research question, agritourism production is, for the most part, part of a broader process of reproducing a normative family life of white people. It is an automatic, subconscious socially engrained idea that is passed on to succeeding generations as part of an everyday consciousness and norm. Of particular relevance here is Bourdieu's note that although people's everyday interpretation of their social world has considerable validity, at the same time, we shouldn't succumb to "the illusion of immediate knowledge" (Bordieau et al. 1991, 250), meaning that a person's thoughts "are not fully transparent to them" (Gardiner 2000, 7). Although they are unaware of it, this unawareness is part of the everyday consciousness that reproduces one history over another. This points to "power relationships [that] are so deeply entrenched and pervasive in our everyday practices and experiences that they go unnoticed or are taken for granted, unexamined because of

ideological blindness or a conscious or subconscious fear or uneasiness as to what they might reveal" (Pred 1981, 30). Having said this, it is tangential to this dissertation. The project is not about representations of race in agritourism, reproducing the ideology of the family, or the socially constructed idea of the family farm. Nor is it about how farmers sell agritourism as a consumptive experience.

1.2.3 The Starting Point

I am not a farmer nor have I ever lived on a farm. My upbringing was a rural one and farms with barns, silos, cows, pastures, cornfields and tractors were part of my everyday landscape and spatial sensibility (as opposed to city buses, subways, tall buildings and traffic). Although indirectly connected to agriculture, my rural situation was one in which I witnessed the impact of agricultural change on the landscape. I have one particular childhood memory of driving past a farm nearby my parents' house and noticing for the first time a sign at the end of the driveway that read 'pumpkins for sale'. Over the years, this farm evolved from selling pumpkins on picnic tables by the roadside into a popular agritourism destination, attracting thousands of people on weekends in October.

One of the interesting aspects about agritourism is that, more often times than not, the farm is a site of someone's home. Amidst the lively scene of people enjoying the farm is the farmer's house and although it is not typically part of the 'attraction' (as it is in other forms of tourism, like bed and breakfasts) it is front and centre at the agritourism site (figure 1.1 and figure 1.2). The close proximity of the private space of the home to the public space of the tourist made me question how tourism impacts, and is impacted by, the home and family life at the heart of the farm attraction. The consumer space I

experienced "represents a world of appearances. It hides a deeper reality" (Lefebvre 2002, 27). What everyday realities hide behind the spectacle of the farm I experienced? The farm is real to me as a tourist destination, but how is it real to the people that produce it? Under what conditions do these people exist and what is everyday life like for these individuals? How are thousands of strange people roaming the farm experienced from the farmer's point of view? How do farmers manage the distinction between their home and the tourism attraction? Or do they?

These questions get at the 'reverse image' (Lefebvre 1991) of the tourist's view of the scene. It is an image of an everyday reality that reflects relationships between people, ideas, and things that are not necessarily reflected in the farm as a space of consumption. The tourism geographer in me understands spaces of consumption as having a corresponding and prior production of space (Gottdiener 2000) and is interested in how spaces of tourism consumption, like agritourism attractions, connect back to the production of the tourist space itself. Tourism might be considered a species of leisure associated with play and fun (Edensor 2007), but it is also a species of work in which a significant amount of time, energy and emotional labour goes into producing space for tourist experiences. The transformation of the farm into a tourism attraction is an accumulation of everyday activities involving work, family and home.

1.2.4 Beyond Economic Explanations of Agritourism Production

Questions about how the lives of people are connected to the material conditions of production are not typically asked or addressed in traditional approaches to agritourism. Production leads to the material outputs that are necessary in order to make

Figure1.1: Example 1 – The House Surrounded by Tourism

Source: researcher

Figure 1.2: Example 2 – The House Surrounded by Tourism

Source: researcher

something for consumption. It is typically understood and studied in economic terms and is related to a sophisticated system of globalized capital and broader processes of restructuring. Productivist logic generally focuses on efficiency as the over-riding criteria for success and largely understands agritourism from the 'supply side' as a financial survival strategy (Brookfield and Parsons 2007). The purpose of agritourism is economic in nature because farmers use it to make extra money. In tourism studies more broadly, this economic perspective is used to understand production as a monetary transaction in a free market exchange involving transnational corporations, capital investment, ownership and development, and land and labour (Agarwal et al. 2000; Hannam and Knox 2010). Industry trends, market segments, and demand are examples of how tourism supply is characterized in the agritourism industry. Less discussed in the literature are the social relations and interactions of everyday life that make up agritourism production. This dissertation expands conceptualizations of tourism production by situating it in a broader theoretical context of everyday life, which sees production has having intrinsic value that contributes to individual utility, self-worth, identity and well-being for the producer. At a larger scale, these non-economic aspects of production are important to national development and progress and need to be included in accounts of agritourism.

1.3 Argument: Agritourism Production as Everyday

In the context of agritourism, I argue that the everyday reveals tourism production as a culturally informed process with intrinsic value concerned with: home and family, individual self-worth, identity and well-being for an individual. The everyday enables a discussion of how cultural practice is central to economic activity. More specifically, it opens up the possibility for the production logic of well being that is based on the cultural

practices of the day-to-day negotiation of home as a private place of residence, a place of work and a tourism attraction open to the public. This logic works alongside and in conjunction with the logic of earning profit and is not separate from it. But, the question driving this dissertation is: to what extent does the everyday reveal alternative forms of production related to agritourism that are not necessarily driven by profit but by achieving a greater sense of overall well-being for the farmer producing tourism? Other than money, what does it take to run an agritourism operation? I am interested in the cultural nuances of the agritourism as an economic activity, which includes human experiences.

The everyday lens I use makes the work that goes into producing agritourism spaces explicit and highlights how tourist experiences are inescapably linked to the lives and labor of those who create the experience (Veijola 2010). This way of seeing production offers an alternative approach to thinking about and reframing the boundaries of what constitutes and reflects the wider realities of a tourism production system – namely the working lives and spaces beyond the 'labour market'. It recognizes that production has an economic premise and is important to the tourism economy, but it sees that in a system of making money there are additional logics of production that involve a diversity of practices, organizations, and interrelationships that cannot solely be captured by dollar figures, but are still necessary and desirable for the functioning of a capitalist space. This dissertation uses the everyday to further understandings of production to include the socially valued emotional and mental energy of daily activity that constitute economic work. It is significant because it changes the way we think about space. Farmers have an economic motive to increase their income, but in addition to, in support

of, and operating within economic transactions, are human emotion, family relationships and legacy, self-esteem, identity and well being – all important to the human nature of the production of agritourism space.

Tourism production needs to be understood and studied in terms of experiences, values, everyday practice and spaces of individual ‘life contexts’. This interpretation is premised on the assumption that the economy is something people *do* in everyday life as a way of creating livelihoods (Mosedale 2007). More than that, tourism production is a way of being in the world, comprised of embodiment, private thoughts, personal moments and felt emotions in lived space. Work does not just structure people’s lives; it is people’s lives. It provides a reminder that tourists can consume tourist sites as part of a leisure activity because people spend their working lives producing it as a space of consumption (Perrons 1999). This dissertation is about furthering our understanding of alternative forms of production that include the emotional and mental energy of daily activity that constitute the tourism economy.

The relationships between tourism and everyday life are complex and multi-faceted (Hannam and Knox 2010) (and further discussed in chapter 2), however, the claim that tourism “should be understood by its imbrication in the everyday rather than as a special separate field of activity and enquiry” (Edensor 2001, 59) applies to both consumption and production. Similar to the way tourism consumption is studied in the context of everyday life, so too should tourism production be studied as a life experience and everyday practice. The everyday is a significant addition to understanding tourism production because it casts light on new social relations, offers new ways of thinking about everyday space, and suggests new sensibilities for those that produce it.

Rethinking tourism production in this way reveals context-specific geographies of everyday life.

1.4 An Everyday Framework for Studying Tourism Production

In this section I outline my everyday framework for extending the idea of tourism production. It is the theoretical tool I use to interpret the cultural inflections of economic activity. The everyday has a long theoretical lineage, many interpretations and is studied in a diversity of disciplines including cultural studies, sociology, anthropology, literary studies and psychology. The variety of approaches to everyday life share the assumption that human life is not as it seems and that underneath the appearance of life is a complex process in need of explanation (Highmore 2002). Central writers of the canon that comprises the field of everyday life studies include Freud, Barthes, de Certeau, Perec and Lefebvre.

I am influenced by Lefebvre who argues that everything comes back to capitalism, but also argues there needs to be a way to humanize capitalist practices and processes to help us understand that, although money is a major factor in tourism production, it is not the only factor. Lefebvre was a French cultural theorist of everyday life and his three volume *Critique of Everyday Life* is one of his most influential works on the topic. His conception of the everyday accounts for cultural aspects of economic activity by humanizing the production process, but not disconnecting it from capitalist relations. For this reason he influences my thinking in re-interpreting production as more than an economic endeavor.

1.4.1 The Everyday

The everyday is significant to geographers because it offers a way to think about what is where and why in the daily occurrences of our own lives. Lefebvre (2008) sees everyday life as a specific level of analysis – the most fundamental and general level at which society is framed. The everyday forms its own space in terms of ongoing social relations and humans are embedded in and base their lives on spatial relations related to the dynamic processes of making the unfamiliar familiar, getting accustomed to the disruption of custom, struggling to incorporate the new, and adjusting to different and new ways of living (Highmore 2002). Everyday life is usually conducted on the basis of numerous unstated and unexamined assumptions about the way things are. I draw from Lefebvre in my interpretation of the everyday. The following passage is an articulated definition:

> "Everyday life, in a sense residual, defined by 'what is left over' after all distinct, superior, specialized, structured activities have been singled out by analysis, must be defined as a totality. . . . Everyday life is profoundly related to all activities, and encompasses them with all their differences and their conflicts; it is their meeting place, their bond, their common ground. And it is in everyday life that the sum total of relations which make the human—and every human being—a whole takes its shape and its form. In it are expressed and fulfilled those relations which bring into play the totality of the real, albeit in a certain manner which is always partial and incomplete: friendship, comradeship, love, the need to communicate, play, etc. . . . the critique of everyday life studies human nature in its concreteness" (1991, 97).

The everyday is 'common ground' for human activities in which people "enter into a transformative praxis with nature, learn about comradeship and love, acquire and develop commutative competence, formulate and realize pragmatically normative conceptions, feel a myriad of desires, pains, exaltations, and eventually expire" (Gardener 2000, 2). The everyday is about the concrete ins and outs of life lived at

the scale of practice (Pred 1981) and involves the totality of activities, practices and strategies as they develop in relation to an individual's life course (Simonsen and Vaiou 1996).

In part, everyday life is made up of repetitive actions and routine, and everydayness is often used as a descriptor to characterize habitual practices and obligations that are part of the ongoing routine of daily existence. The everyday is about the most repeated actions, the most travelled journeys, and the most inhabited spaces that make up the day-to-day (Highmore 2002). Repetition is necessary because it 'keeps the world going', producing it over and over again (Lefebvre 2002, 239). It is part of the essential functioning of daily life. People repeat daily acts as part of reproducing themselves and in doing so continually reproduce the everyday through practices and performances of acting and doing (Lefebvre 2005).

Lefebvre says, "it is in everyday life, and through everyday life that humanization is accomplished" (1991, 163) because "it is in everyday life that the sum total of relations which make the human – and everyday human being – a whole takes shape and its form" (Lefebvre 1991, 97). This includes the dynamic, expressive and creative essence of "how people are inventing their lives in the minutes of living" (Hjorth 2005, 390). It is the immediate and familiar movements, actions and spaces that make up the content and flow of day-to-day life, and it is in this daily flow that tourism is produced.

The everyday is not defined by its repetitive nature alone, but also by its potential for creativity and spontaneity. On the one hand, "everyday life is nothing but triviality or an accumulation of commonplaces, and yet it is in the everyday that human dramas ravel, unravel or remain unraveled" (Lefebvre 2002, 65). At the scale of the human body,

everyday life can be routinized, but it is also dynamic, creative and spontaneous. The everyday is always different and yet it is always the same (Lefebvre 2001) and brings with it an element of unpredictability (Maffesoli 1996) that escapes formulation, coherence and regularity (Blanchot 1987).

1.4.2 Humanizing Production with the Everyday

One of the currents in *Critique of Everyday Life* is the interrogation of the economistic, dogmatic Marxist 'metaphysics of labour', which Gardiner (2000) defines as "the utilitarian transformation of external nature through repetitive, instrumental action" (80). Lefebvre sees this approach to labour as problematic because the lives of workers are "separated from their tools, connected to the material conditions of their labour solely by the 'contract' which binds them to the employer, sold like commodities on the labour market in the legal and ideological guise of 'free labour" (148). He criticized Marxist thought for suppressing the individual and reducing them to the status of a 'tool for production' empty of cultural importance and human experience related to love, creativity, emotion and imaginative practices (Lefebvre 2002). These are also forces of the productive process, and provide opportunities for developing human capacity and individuality (Gardiner 2000). However, Marxism has "parenthesized man's [sic] nature and the inner appropriation of nature by the human" (Lefebvre 2002, 95), meaning that the human side of production through which the worker reproduces himself is not the focus of Marxist analysis.

Productive forces have social relations that extend beyond class struggle. In continuing his critique of Marxism, Lefebvre says, "they have neglected to study the relations of production in so far as they are linked with the development of productive

forces" (1991, 37). He argues that in focusing on class struggle, the 'socialization of production' is neglected. Materialist analysis of social relations need more than political economy. The social relations between individuals and products cannot be "reduced to the economic study of processes of production" (Lefebvre 1991, 97). Social relations also need to include social, psychological and ethical factors (Lefebvre 1991). Specifically, "if we consider the overall life of the worker, we will see that his [sic] work and his attitude towards the work are linked to social practice as a whole, to experience as a whole his leisure activities, his family life, his cultural and political goals as well as the class struggle" (Lefebvre 1991, 98). Lefebvre's notion of everyday life emphasizes the human experiences of production.

1.4.3 The Production Logic of Well-Being

Central to my everyday approach is the production logic of well-being. These are aspects of the everyday that emphasize the human element of the work and energy that goes into the production of space, and open up possibilities for thinking about the role of human beings in producing tourism. Well-being is a frame from which I build an understanding of production from an everyday standpoint and is the basis for later analysis.

Well-being is about peoples' positive evaluations of their lives and includes positive emotion, engagement, satisfaction and meaning (Seligman 2002). It is a mental state in which an individual's quality of life can be measured outside of money and material things. There are happiness related measures that are not related to monetary wealth. Well-being, therefore, is not just about economic indicators, but takes other societal values into consideration. Engagement with work, personal meaning, optimism,

trust and life satisfaction are all part of well-being. Life satisfaction is strongly related to feelings of meaning and growth, which involves strong close relationships with others.

Work also has social value and is a source of well-being in that an individual can feel 'at one' with the social conditions of the activity allowing a person to become closer to the self. Doing the work, is to some degree, compensation. Lefebvre asks: "what life does he [sic] earn with his work?" (2002, 51) Although getting paid is necessary for survival, survival requires more than getting paid. Not all work is solely driven by profit, but is also committed to producing well-being. Labour is not mere duration or time spent on the job, but a much more complex issue of organizing the relations between life, labour and capital (Foucault 1997). In addition to financial security, well-being involves a combination of having the resources to meet basic needs, a sense of enjoyment derived from what a person does each day, the close personal relationships of a supportive social network, involvement in community and good health (Gibson Graham et al. 2013). These are part of a holistic picture of work and are important for understanding how it helps people to 'survive well' and achieve a high quality of life.

Home is an important consideration for theorizing tourism production as a source of well-being. Some tourism locations are both tourist attractions and home (Terkenli 1998). Home humanizes the tourism production process because it is a space that shapes and is shaped by a diversity of everyday practices, lived experiences, social relations, meanings, memories, emotions and relationships that "lie at the heart of human life" (Blunt and Varley 2004, 3). Typically, home represents a material experience and a physical site that centers on individual ways of life, but is also a place of symbolic meanings, feelings, self-reference and attachment (Terkenli 1998; Blunt and Dowling

2006). Although home is not always attached to a physical building, it is normatively defined as a physical site that centers on individual ways of life. At the very least, "integral to the average life is an awareness of a fixed point in space, a firm position from which we 'proceed'…and to which we return in due course. This firm position is what we call home" (Heller 1984, 239). In this way home is "an anchoring point through which human beings are centered" (Blunt and Dowling 2006, 11) and a site where daily processes of social reproduction take place such as eating, sheltering, sleeping, and socializing (Blunt 2005a). A humanistic perspective sees the home as an "irreplaceable centre of significance" (Relph 1976, 39), as well as a place "to which one withdraws and from which one ventures forth" (Tuan 1971, 189).

Home as a place of tourism work relies on non-work relations, which is another source of well-being. Family bonding and legacy, emotional connections, improvisation, frustration, invasion of privacy, personal moments of self-making, disappointment, hurt feelings and passing down values to children are also aspects of the production process associated with home and found in everyday life. In addition to being a site of daily processes of production, people can have deep connections to home because it is a meaningful and intimate place where close familial relations play out (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Dovey 1985). Home is "inextricable from that of self, family, nation, sense of place, and sense of responsibility towards those who share one's place in the world" (Duncan and Lambert 2003, 395). It indicates a special relationship between people and their environment, from which a 'sense of the world' emerges (Dovey 1985).

Work can have additional emotional significance when it takes place at home. There is an emotional attachment to place and a heightened reflexivity - an inclination to

reflect emotionally with place. Individuals invest their identities in their working lives, producing meanings and feelings, in addition to producing capital. Personal and intimate relationships with place influence attitudes towards work and how it is carried out. Although work can be exhausting, it is also productive and rewarding. This is part of an emotional logic of production in which value is not necessarily economic in nature, but part of an emotional human transaction.

1.5 The Plan

In this introduction I have presented a background for the empirical context of the research, stated an argument and outlined a theoretical framework. From here I pinpoint three literatures to which this dissertation makes a contribution. First, an everyday approach to production sits on both sides of the fence with respect to being an economic and cultural analysis and it is important to connect it to the debates on economic versus cultural approaches in the broader field of critical tourism research. This dissertation builds onto this broader literature by extending conceptualizations of tourism production and situating it in a broader theoretical context of everyday life – an important but overlooked site of tourism production in this literature. An everyday approach adds to debates on critical research by challenging the primacy of either the economy or culture as central to defining 'the critical'. The way everyday life is used to study tourism is the second literature to which this dissertation makes a more specific contribution. A review of this literature reveals the potential for expanding the field and connecting production to everyday life, as well as strengthening the everyday as a theoretical concept for understanding tourism. Lastly, everyday life is not strongly connected to literature on

agritourism and I show where the approach can make a contribution to research related to tourism and the commercial home in rural tourism literature.

Chapter three outlines my research approach to studying the everyday aspects of tourism production. At the heart of the research is an intimate knowledge of the farmer's experience, which I investigate by way of participant observation and semi-structured conversational style interviews. I explain these approaches in detail and identify how the two methods articulate in the research process. I provide a rationale for selecting the study area and, based on my reflexivity and positionality, I discuss strategies used to minimize power relations in the research process.

Chapters four and five recognize that production has an economic premise. These chapters address how the economy is part of everyday life by showing that the economy is something that people do. Chapter four sees agricultural restructuring from an everyday standpoint by identifying how the economy is embedded in the daily actions of the people who experience change on the farm. This perspective is juxtaposed with a traditional interpretation of farm restructuring in Southern Ontario. The changes in farming identified are a part of the political economic story of agritourism production. The broader circumstances surrounding changes to farming are situated in an historical context and identified as part of a global trend. The specific circumstances of how day-to-day changes in farming are experienced on an individual basis illustrate what restructuring looks like in everyday terms and how farmers manage it as a business relation. Competition from the Ontario Food Terminal (OFT), changes to acreage and land value, and generational inheritance of the farm are three aspects of farm functioning used to show how restructuring translates to the scale of the farm and is something that

people do as part of everyday life. This translation shows that the political economy of agriculture in Ontario has a cultural side. There are cultural relations evident in political economic processes of restructuring.

Although farmers are embedded in the economy, they adapt and find new ways of surviving by changing what they do in daily life. The everyday approach I take in chapter five sees agritourism as an accumulation of adaptations involved in negotiating the farm into a stage for tourist consumption. Finding ways to add value to everyday spaces and objects on the farm is evidence of how farmers are adapting by changing the way they conceive farm space as a tourist attraction or product that is consumed by the tourist. The ability to adapt is a significant aspect in the production of agritourism space. Although adaptations are an avenue towards finding agency in a structured system, they also re-signify the ordering of traditional farming reality, which raises questions about what is included under the definition of farming.

Chapters six and seven argue that everyday life is more than about just the economy. These chapters are about the non-economic wealth gained through, and the emotional management needed for, production. Chapter six focuses on home as an aspect in the production process. The 'object of attention' (Williams and Lew 2014) is no longer the farm as a product, but the farm as home. The chapter shows how, similar to farming, agrtourism production is based on the home as a family workspace, which is not completely based on an economic logic. I argue that agritourism is supported by the production logic of well-being achieved through self-employment, involving the children, spousal involvement and emotionally connecting to the work. From this perspective, the everyday experiences of agritourism farmers are arguably indistinguishable from those

everyday experiences of traditional farmers. This is evidence that farmers involved in agritourism have been able to adapt the work-home merge (in addition to the farm-tourism merge addressed in chapter five) and take part in practices that rethink tourism production as a way of preserving a farming way of life and involving the home and family as part of the working conditions.

Chapter seven centers on how farmers experience tourists as part of the production process by using emotional transgression as an everyday approach. The chapter identifies tourists as a threat to the productive logic of well-being presented in chapter six and shows how agritourism production is an emotional experience that needs to be managed by the farmer. The emotional transgressions connected to negative customer encounters are a major barrier to agritourism as a space of well-being for the farmer identified in chapter six. I am critical of agritourism production as a sustainable way of life because it involves the tourist – an unpredictable element in the tourism production process. Farmers need to manage the emotionally transgressive transactions, to some degree, by finding a balance in the merge of public and private space. Several examples are provided to show how some farmers have been able to cope with the crowds.

Chapter eight concludes the dissertation. It provides a summary of the argument and recaps how the argument was made. It presents major research outcomes by outlining alternative forms of tourism production revealed through an everyday framework of well-being. Adaptation, personal growth, family bonds and legacy, emotional connections, value systems, and protecting the home are non-economic characteristics of tourism production that are about the embodied doings of day-to-day tasks that keep the

destination running in the long term by preserving the well-being of the farmer. The chapter highlights the theoretical significance in both tourism and everyday literatures and draws out policy implications for implementing the logic of well-being as part of the everyday practice of producing tourist space.

CHAPTER 2: THE CRITICAL, THE EVERYDAY, AND THE RURAL

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I situate an everyday approach to tourism production in three literatures. I start with an overview of both economic and cultural interpretations of tourism production in the broader field of critical tourism studies. This is not to say, however, that culture and economy are mutually exclusive categories. They co-exist happily, for example, in cultural political economy (Jessop and Oosterlynek 2008; Best and Paterson 2010; Sayer 2001) or the cultural turn in economic geography (Barnes 2001; Amin and Thrift 2000; Debbage and Ioannides 2004). The overview presented in this is important because re-thinking tourism production from an everyday standpoint walks a line between economic and cultural analyses, and makes a broader contribution to debates on what constitutes critical scholarship. Second, I provide a review of the connections made between tourism and the everyday, identify theoretical weaknesses of the approach as it has been used to date, and pinpoint how this dissertation addresses some of the theoretical shortcomings. Approaching production from an everyday perspective takes the everyday tourism literature in a new direction that re-thinks the relationship between tourism and everyday life from the producer's perspective. The third literature in which I situate an everyday approach to production is rural tourism studies. Rural tourism, and more specifically agritourism, is studied from a variety of approaches, which are broadly outlined before the case is made for using the everyday to further explore the cultural dimensions and dynamics involved in operating agritourism enterprises out of the commercial home.

2.2 Locating the Critical in Tourism Studies

The everyday is an approach that enables a discussion of how economic activity and cultural practice come together in agritourism. Economy and culture are the subjects of critical inquiry in the broader field of tourism geographies and tourism studies, and are studied using a diverse range of theoretical arguments stemming from Marxism, feminism, post colonialism, queer theory and post structuralism. Castree (2000) defines critical work as “an homologous umbrella term or that plethora of antiracist, disabled, feminist, green, Marxist, postmodern, postcolonial, and queer geographies which now constitute the large, dynamic, and broad based disciplinary Left” (956). For this reason, ‘the critical’ is a category difficult to succinctly articulate and ‘nail down’ (Blomley 2006).

The critical turn in tourism studies represents a significant re-navigation in tourism research away from a field previously identified as “stale, tired, repetitive and lifeless” (Franklin and Crang 2001, 5) and lacking in theoretical sophistication (Apostolopoulos et al. 1996), and sets a course towards a prolific, robust, and entangled tourism scholarship part of an interesting and maturing intellectual space. Work of the critical turn demonstrates tourism as a site of cultural power, forms, and processes (Aitchison 2005b; Hannam and Knox 2010) – some of which are influenced by economic and political interests. This critical work “challenges the field’s dominant discourses” and ignites “dialogues, conversations and entanglements into the nature of power, discourses and representations in tourism” (Ateljevic et al. 2007, 1-2).

The critical turn is influenced by the ‘cultural turn’ in the broader field of geography and what Peter Jackson (1989) and others have termed a ‘new cultural

geography'. The critical turn in tourism studies "pushes the boundaries of theoretical debate" (Bianchi 2009, 486) by drawing on post structural and feminist theory (Aitchison 2005a, 2005b, 2006; Prichard and Morgan 2007). The turn is away from the empiricist frameworks and economic underpinnings of tourism management studies, which dominated tourism research between the 1980s and 1990s. The turn is towards a variety of new theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches (Aitchison 2000; Gibson 2001; Johnston 2001; Pritchard and Morgan 2001; Fullagar 2002; Jordan and Gibson 2004; Kinnaird and Hall 2004; Phillimore and Goodson 2004; Ritchie et al. 2005; Ateljevic et al. 2006) that "served to alter the course of the knowledge production process within tourism-related studies and to challenge the previously dominant paradigm of materialist tourism management" (Aitchison 2005a, 208).

Geographers concerned with economic development have long embraced and been instrumental in informing critical theory with materialist, structuralist and post structuralist approaches to studying tourism's complex spatiality (Blomley 2006; Wilson 2012). The critical turn in tourism studies is, therefore, a deceptive descriptor for tourism geographers because it is not so much a turn towards critical approaches as it is a wave of research energy embracing new ways of theorizing tourism by drawing from cultural, as opposed to political economic, theory. Building theory that encourages a pro-social justice and anti-oppression political project (Ateljevic et al. 2007), and recognizes that power "springs from an assemblage of diverse sources" (Morgan and Pritchard 1998, 165) is what makes the critical turn a 'quiet revolution' in the field of tourism inquiry (Ateljevic et al. 2007) and not necessarily that it is a turn toward critical approaches in the study of tourism.

Criticism of the critical turn does not argue against cultural analysis, "nor does it imply that the exploration of tourist consumption, discourses and representations is unimportant" (Bianchi 2009, 498). It does argue that cultural approaches do not get at the relevance of the structural analysis of power asymmetries or material inequalities that underpin capitalist power. Likewise, there is concern that tourism production, industrial structures and uneven development are of increasingly marginal concern and considered absent or displaced by cultural discussions of critical tourism scholarship (Agarwal. et al. 2000; Judd 2006; Gibson 2009; Bianchi 2009; Mosedale 2010; Martin and Sunley 2001; Jones 2008). In the broader field of geography this debate is characterized by an exaggerated dichotomy between "culturalists as die-hard absolute relativists", and "political economists as irreducible base-superstructure materialists" (Fumaz 2009, 447). For the former, tourism is a form of consumption, discourse and representation and for the latter, tourism is a market activity and form of capital accumulation (Bianchi 2009).

The commonality of all critical theory in tourism research, however, is that it identifies and explains the "essential workings of power in tourism" (Bianchi 2009, 489) in systems of domination, injustices and oppressions (Gibson 2009). There are political economic concepts of power, and there are social and cultural concepts of power in tourism (Mowforth and Munt 2003) and they both "attempt to understand in a rationally responsible manner the oppressive features of a society such that this understanding stimulates its audience to transform their society and thereby liberate themselves" (Fay 1987, 4). Both views take a "political stance that supports those who have been victimized by the various power-wielding elites who perpetuate various forms of social injustice" (Blackwell et al. 2003, 25). Despite the different ways power is conceptualized

and studied in tourism research, whether through material conditions, culture, or discourse, it is the interrogation and questioning of power that makes a viewpoint critical (Hubbard et al. 2002). The following sections paint a broad theoretical picture of critical tourism scholarship and identify how power is conceptualized in economic and cultural accounts of tourism production.

2.2.1 Production, Accumulation, Labour

Stemming largely from political economic perspectives, geographers have long studied the uneven production and distribution of wealth and its relationship to networks of power and power relations, and have struggled with questions of poverty, and precarious livelihoods (Gibson 2009). This work shows "the relevance of political economy in the analysis of tourism's relationship to the economic and political relations of power in the contemporary global (dis)order" (Bianchi 2012, 47). It is concerned with the structural dimensions of power related to imperial domination and past colonial legacies as well as to political and financial elites, transnational corporations and the privatization of public resources.

Early critiques of tourism centre on economic issues of mass tourism in third world countries that embraced tourism as a policy for development and economic diversification (Bryden 1973; Hills and Lundgren 1977; Perez 1974). These critiques largely rest on foundations of economic dependency theory, which contends that "through an uneven and unequal structural relationship of surplus expropriation and underdevelopment" (Kingsbury 2005, 116), peripheral countries in the third world become economically dependent on dominant core countries in the first world. Dependency explains inequalities between core capitalist states and peripheral, third

world economies, which are 'condemned' to situations of underdevelopment (Bianchi 2012).

Young (1973) and de Kadt (1979) stimulate a critical analysis of tourism production in their focus on development and dependency theory, which is interested in the interdependence of development and underdevelopment in third world tourism. Key issues include loss of control of local resources, low multiplier effects outside tourism enclaves, lack of articulation with other domestic sectors, and high foreign exchange leakages (Belisle 1983; Pattullo 1996). Leakage and dependency relationships illustrate how, in international tourism, transnational companies develop and perpetuate a hierarchical element in tourism development (Britton 1982; Lea 1988). This perspective sheds light on the ways in which the tourism industry relies on and recreates "the system of global capitalism through the positioning of multi-nationals and the low-paid and often seasonal and casual labor force relations upon whom the industry so depends" (Aitchison 2005b, 21).

In reference to how European colonialism and postcolonial development shape the economic and spatial organization of tourism, Britton (1982) draws on underdevelopment and dependency theories to argue, "that patterns of (neo)colonial domination underpin the structural relations of inequality in the international tourist industry" (336). Britton's (1980, 1982) analyses of Fiji were the first studies in tourism geography to investigate relations between the social and the spatial through the use of dependency theory, and to identify mass tourism as an exploitive form of development. The unequal exchange between core and periphery countries is central to analyzing the macro relations of production from a dependency perspective. The effects of international

hotel tourism and development in less developed countries, for example, demonstrate asymmetrical power relationships, unequal exchange and a one sided flow of power between countries. Given this economic dependency, one argument is that the political economy of mass tourism is analogous to a master-servant colonial relationship (Britton 1980; Lea 1988; Nash 1989; van den Abbeele 1980).

Britton (1991) is well known for his application of a Marxian framework to study tourism as a capitalist industry and system of production. His contributions represent a key piece that sets a framework for uncovering capitalist structures driving geographical uneven-ness in tourism. He argues that the tourism production system is "simultaneously a mechanism for the accumulation of capital, the private appropriation of wealth, the extraction of surplus value from labor, and the capturing of (often unearned) rents from cultural and physical phenomena (esp. public goods) which are deemed to have both a social and scarcity value" (Britton 1991, 455). For Britton, these are the characteristics of tourism production.

According to Britton (1991), a tourism production system is not a single industry but made up of many sectors. The wide-ranging activities of consumptive experiences and encounters, travel writers and agents, transport and infrastructure, natural attractions, and the material production of souvenirs, for example, are the basis for contesting the singular nature of the tourism industry (Leiper 2008). Each sector is its own entity with its own geographies, divisions of labor and competitive dynamic (Roehl 1998), which points to the fact that "tourism is no simple product but, rather, a wide range of products and services that interact to provide an opportunity to fulfill a tourist experience that comprises both tangible parts (e.g. hotel, restaurant, or airline) and intangible parts (e.g.

sunset, scenery, mood)" (Debbage and Daniels 1998, 23). Tourism is considered a hybrid economic formation that blends different industries together, as well as commodities and infrastructures (d'Hauteserre 2006). For this reason, farming, for example, can easily be inserted into tourism.

The character and politics of tourism capitalism emerges as a focus for research in tourism geography not only with respect to international dimensions of tourism, including the monopolistic, foreign-owned nature of mass tourism corporations in third world destinations, but also with respect to globalization and flows of people and economic transfers (Agarwal et al. 2000; Debbage and Ioannides 2004; Ioannides 2006; Shaw and Williams 2004). Corporate concentration and expansion of the airline and hotel accommodation industries of mass tourism in the 1980s sparked the study of privatization, concentration, and the sophistication of market competition and control by geographers (Papatheodorou 2006; Hjalager 2007; Coles and Hall 2008; Weaver 2008). Mass tourism provides a basis for investigating large conglomerates with interests in real estate (Endo 2006) and developing strategic alliances (Meethan 2004; Mosedale 2006; Duval 2008), as well as the consolidation of airlines, hotel chains and Internet companies into powerful positions (O'Connell 2006).

In the tourism industry, millions of people spend their working lives performing or producing goods and services for those who travel (Aguiar and Herod 2006). While tourism is commonly understood as an escape from normativity, tourism work is defined by its normativity in terms of what it involves, whom it involves and where it takes place. In many developing parts of the world, tourism and hospitality are significant job generators but are connected to relatively poor conditions facing tourism workers

(Williams and Shaw 1989; Lee and Seyoung 1998; Sinclair 1998). Some labour geographers are interested in the ways workers are oppressed in a capitalist system. For the majority of tourism workers jobs are low paying and in 'positions of servitude' (Cabezas 2008) or lower-end positions where there is limited training and little chance for long-term opportunities for career advancement (Zampoukos and Ioannides 2011). Political economic perspectives realize that the relationship between labour and capital are central to capitalist production but are also exploitative in terms of being poorly paid, unskilled, insecure, dangerous, devaluing and marginalizing (Britton 1991), not to mention temporary. In many instances there is an absence of minimum-wage, employment-related laws (Beddoe 2004), or trade union activities (Riley 2004).

Lower-end positions are usually made up of a workforce of women, immigrants and young people (Zampoukos and Ioannides 2011), and contemporary capitalist production is a starting point for investigating patterns of gender and labour and understanding gender politics in the tourism industry (Veijola 2010). A structurally embedded social division of people in the labour force leads to labor market segmentation and is reason to pay differential wages for the work done (Lew et al. 2004). For example, the pay for cleaning hotel rooms is likely to vary significantly depending on the 'class' of the hotel, which, without the help of unions, works to keep specific groups of workers in low paying positions. Racial and gender segregation also exist in the hotel labour force in which 'back of the house' workers, such as cleaners and cooks, differ from 'front of the house' workers, such as desk clerks and servers, who are in many instances, white with English as their first language (Tufts 2003).

2.2.2 Commodification, Consumption, Representation

Critical work in tourism is also concerned with the cultural nature of the economy, especially with respect to its social construction and the associated expressions and social relations of power (Ateljevic et al. 2006). These are dimensions of the tourism production process that are not present in political economic approaches but make way for investigations into the nature of power in cultural expressions of tourism (Ateljevic and Doorne 2004).

Commodification helps to explain how the material world of political economy and the imagined world of culture interact in a tourism context (Hannam and Knox 2010). Tourism operates in a sphere of commodities and consumption in which tourist destinations are not only a physical structure, but also an idea conjured up in the sign value (Williams 2004) of tourism imagery and advertising (Goodall 1990; Crompton 1979; Gartner 1993). The sign value of advertising imagery and place representation is as much a part of tourism production as labor, capital and other material resources. Representations of places are imagined and operate within a sign system of symbols, images, phrases, and narratives that fuel the commodification and consumption of tourist sites (Edensor 1998; Hopkins 1998). Imagery, in large part, conveys mental concepts or constructed place meanings the signs and symbols that are conferred onto and come to represent material objects. The physicality of a tourism destination is an example (Ashwood and Voogd 1994; Dann 1996; Morgan et al. 2002; Lash and Urry 1994). Advertisements are a major tool for delivering images to potential tourists and send a message about the perceived value of a destination. They utilize images that clearly show

the benefits a tourist would derive from choosing a certain destination (Prichard and Morgan 2000).

The production and circulation of signs in tourism advertisements are cultural articulations of economic and political tourism processes (Mosedale 2011). Power is embedded and sustained through representations, cultural media, and symbols in the realm of consumption. This is to say that the nature of tourism representations is not innocent but socially constructed to reflect gendered, ethnic, sexualized and (post) colonial tropes that reinforce and permeate power relations through normalized dominance (Cheong and Miller 2000; Hollinshead 1992; Pratt 1992; Morgan and Pritchard 1998; Aitchison 2001). For example, in a tourism brochure advertising a rural town in Southern Ontario, a chubby-cheeked, wide-eyed, big-bellied cartoon squirrel relaxing in the forest is used to send the message of a friendly and innocent wildlife experience. This is a social construction of nature that is docile and domesticated (Hopkins 1998). Investing place with tourism meanings allows them to "be incorporated into the production process associated with tourism" (Ateljevic 2000, 375). Thus, the production of places as commodities are not only implicated in the transfer of capital, but also in the transfer of meanings, sentiments, and emotions, given to these commodities by the producer (Hannam and Knox 2010).

Urry (1990) uses the 'the tourist gaze' to describe tourism destinations as socially constructed through systematic and organized 'ways of seeing'. The tourist gaze draws on Foucauldian notions of power to interrogate the manipulation of representations and experiences inherent in the way a tourist 'sees' a destination (Cheong and Miller 2000). The gaze is part of a disciplinary mechanism that permeates institutional settings and can

be viewed through lenses of gender, ethnicity, colonialist subordination and exploitation (Hollinshead 1992; Pratt 1992; Morgan and Pritchard 1998; Aichison 2001). For example, myths of 'the exotic' are part of a colonialist discourse that construct places and people as 'other', especially in third world destinations (Cohen 1995; Enole 1989). The stereotyping and packaging of exoticism works to control conceptions of place, which highlight how power relations are reproduced in the representational practices of tourism.

The notion of the tourist gaze is foundational to critical tourism research that examines media-tized representations of tourism. This work is interested in the connections between the materiality of place and the ways in which people think about and experience place. Material experiences are mediated by a host of 'media lenses' (Hannam and Knox 2010). There are lots of examples: the marketing of Hawaii (Goss 1993), guidebooks of India (Bhattacharyya 1997), tourist photography (Markwell 1997), travel writing literature (Dann 1996), and cinematic and cartographic representations of destinations (Hutnyk 1999). New Zealand, for example, was the set of the 'Lord of the Rings' film series released in 2001 to 2003, which spawned a tourism industry for the country. The symbolic aspects of tourism destinations emphasize that the objects involved in tourism consumption are increasingly immaterial signs and symbols, pointing to how 'the economic' includes the production and articulation of signs (Lash and Urry 1994). Urry's notion of Foucauldian power in the tourist gaze lays a foundational groundwork for critically thinking about social and cultural relations of power in tourism.

Building critically on Urry's Foucauldian based work, Cheong and Miller (2000) argue that power is not exclusively associated with the tourist, but originates from "an assemblage of diverse sources" (Morgan and Pritchard 1998, 165). Rather than assume

tourists are the ones with power, these authors see the tourist as having little power at all. Surveillance like the use security cameras raise questions over tourist agency (Hannam 2002). In 'being watched' tourists are targets of power (Cheong and Miller 2000), which influence the ways tourist performances are enacted and constrained in 'enclavic' tourist spaces, like holiday resorts (Edensor 2001). Tourist subjectivities become at odds with the "powerful objectifying gaze of the tourist system" (Hollinshead 1992, 43), which challenges the binary structure between the dominating tourist and the dominated host.

The key message is that tourists are not passive objects but rather actively create experiences for themselves and for other tourists (as well as tourism producers) at sites of consumption. Within 'circuits of production and consumption', tourist experiences change meanings of both tangible and intangible products depending on individual interpretations (Ateljevic 2000). The meanings conveyed onto souvenirs by tourists are an example of how commodities "move beyond their utility functions" and take on certain "cultural and symbolic meanings" (Ateljevic and Doorne 2003, 311). Souvenirs are symbolic material representations of a destination, but the act of buying a souvenir is connected "back into the social relations of production and forward into cycles of use and re-use" (Jackson and Thrift 1995, 205). Social relations of the tourist experience extend beyond the tourist trip, which emphasizes the importance of meanings attributed to tourism objects outside the process of commodification.

2.2.3 A Contribution to Debatable Points

The above sections have highlighted a broad theoretical picture of critical tourism research in economic and cultural accounts of tourism production, but not everyone sees the approaches as equally valuable. Bianchi (2012) sees the emphasis on representation

and social construction as too far a shift away from political economy because it appears "detached from the structural alignments of power, which are shaping twenty-first century capitalism and globalization" (46). The concern is that "renewed waves of capital accumulation stimulated by neoliberal globalization, and the recent 2008 financial/sovereign debt crisis are reconfiguring tourism in ways that cultural analysis have failed to engage with, let alone explain or attempt to challenge" (54). Although he does not give an example, the suggestion is that discursive, symbolic and cultural realms of tourism are studied at the expense of analyzing the "unfolding relations of power in tourism associated with globalization and neoliberal capitalism" (47), and "often appear to be de-coupled from the workings of capitalist economics and wider configurations of institutional power" (Bianchi 2009, 491).

Bianchi sees the economy through the lens of a capitalist logic, which does not recognize metaphors like performance as a legitimate analytical device of host and guest encounters in tourism settings. He understands that post-structuralist theoretical underpinnings "have little to say about the material inequalities, working conditions, ecological degradation and patterns of social polarization that are manifest in twenty first century tourism" (498). From this viewpoint, ascribing sign value to places and objects threatens a dematerialization of economic activities, such as the labour, materials, tools and machines needed to build and maintain them (Mosedale 2011; Bianchi 2011; Hudson 2008), and does not address how the organization of production imposes constraints on peoples' livelihoods and affects their relationship to the labour market (Bianchi 2009).

Given his Marxist lens, it is not surprising that Bianchi sees the emphasis on cultural analysis as being too much a step away from political economic approaches that

address the power configurations and inequalities of capitalist forces that effect tourism. Power configurations and inequalities, however, come in many forms and the analysis of tourism needs to expand conceptions of what constitutes economic activity and connect it to broader influences that shape tourism. Bianchi's claim that cultural approaches do not adequately address the capitalist power relations relevant to contemporary society misses the point that capitalism does not explain everything. The economy has a cultural dimension that manipulates and shapes tourism processes and spaces, which political economic approaches cannot explain. This is not to say that these processes and spaces are outside of a capitalist economy, but they are necessary in the functioning of the economy on a day-to-day basis.

The everyday plays a significant role in the functioning of the economy, however, the everyday does not necessarily require a capitalist economy. What aspects of the everyday do not require economic relationships but are still integral to tourism production? Neither cultural or economic tourism researchers have asked this question until now. This dissertation contributes to the debate on what constitutes critical tourism research by arguing that not all forms of tourism production are necessarily economic in nature. There are other valued forms of non-economic related activities at work alongside and in conversation the economy to sustain a certain quality of life. Although contentious, a middle ground combining both cultural and economic perspectives reinforces a critical position because it raises consciousness about how people survive/learn to live with (as opposed to escape) structural forces in their everyday life, as well as how they find ways of making life better for themselves. The aim of this dissertation is not to liberate society from oppressive forces nor is it to appeal to

emancipatory alternatives. Rather, it is to understand how individuals find, to various degrees, freedom from structural constraints while at the same time living within/with them.

To do this, I argue for a greater presence of everyday life in tourism production because it is a lens through which to look at how structural power and associated struggles are directly experienced and negotiated by farmers on a daily basis at the scale of the home. Economic change is negotiated in the everyday by way of cultural action, which requires progressing traditional ways of thinking about what goes into the production of tourism space. New ways of thinking about tourism production challenges the normalized, legitimized and dominated ways of thinking by governments and practitioners, and tourists themselves (Hannam and Knox 2010). Thinking critically involves breaking down conventional categories and definitions (Hannam and Knox 2010) and offering alternative modes of inquiry that unmask power relations, consider emotional entanglements, address inequality and advocate for change.

My culturally inflected view of tourism economy contributes to an already in process dismantling of the boundaries between 'the economic' and 'the cultural' (Mosedale 2010) and exposing of "the socio-spatial processes that (re)produce inequalities between people and places" (Hubbard et al. 2002, 62). Mosedale (2010) offers a 'cultural political economy' and 'post structural economy' as a way of culturally approaching political economy. He also mentions that tourism researchers have, to date, not 'discovered post structural political economy'. Although I am uncomfortable with his labeling, my work is of this nature because it uses cultural theory to understand an economic process. Production is related to economic processes, but is also socially and

culturally produced. This blurring is significant because it represents "a conversation across theoretical approaches" (Mosedale 2011, 94) that recognizes the cultural aspects of the economy and acknowledges "the social practices through which it is (re)produced" (Mosedale 2011, 94). It also "renders visible the connections between social [economic] and cultural relations and their respective material and symbolic representations of power" (Aitchison 2005a, 110). Focusing on the cultural dimensions of tourism economy as it plays out in everyday life does not necessarily 'skip over' political economic approaches so much as it endeavors to extend the possible theoretical explanations of a complex phenomenon.

2.3 The Everyday and Performance

This section of the chapter reviews how the everyday is used to study tourism and identifies an opportunity to make a contribution to the everyday tourism literature by applying the everyday to tourism production. I also challenge conceptions of the everyday in tourism literature to date before I provide my suggestions for theoretical expansion.

Everyday life is a recent addition to tourism theory that makes it possible to produce complex, dynamic, and contextual accounts of tourism (Haldrup and Larson 2010). It addresses the touristic elements of everyday life as well as the mundane aspects of tourism (Hannam and Knox 2010). In this work, the distinction between everyday life and tourism is problemitized with questions about the everydayness of tourist practices of consumption. The everyday and tourism consumption are not two separate realms, but rather each is implicated in the other (Larsen et al. 2006; Franklin and Crang 2001; Knox 2001, 2008). In this dissertation, I argue that, similar to tourism consumption, tourism

production and the everyday are not two separate realms because each is implicated in the other. The following sections outline how the everyday is used to study tourism consumption.

2.3.1 Tourist Practice and Tourism Consumption

In traditional accounts of tourism, the notion of differences between places is a motivating factor driving tourists to consume the unfamiliar and the exotic. Tourism is integrally connected to distinctive place specific characteristics and is driven by people's desire to have an experience in, and form a relationship with, place. Originally, Urry (1990) explained tourism as being in opposition to everyday life – there is a key difference between one's normal place of residence and work and the 'object' of the tourist gaze, whose focus is on the idea of 'elsewhereness'. With this in mind, the primary motive for tourist travel is a real or perceived temporary escape from routine, home, work and the familiarity of physical and social environments. In these "culturally coded escape attempt[s]" (Edensor 2007, 200) normal mundane conventions are suspended for a period of time (Edensor 2007; Urry 2002) and are replaced by an extra-ordinary sense of authenticity that is presumably lacking in an individual's everyday life (MacCannell 1973). In this case, "tourism is an escape from home, a quest for more desirable and fulfilling places" (Larson and Haldrup 2010, 20). It concerns play rather than work and takes into account notions of 'getting away from it all' by being in a space that allows people to take off their everyday masks, be their authentic self, and explore different identities. The binary division between the ordinary and everyday, and the extra-ordinary and exotic is the basis for defining tourism in much of this tourism research.

The everyday is also used to de-exoticize traditional notions of tourism defined in relation to distances between origin and destination (Larson and Haldrup 2010). When tourism is imported into everyday space (Gale 2009), the distinction between the two dissolves (Urry 1990). Aesthetics and practices of tourism emerge as part of contemporary consumer life (Hannam and Knox 2010) and tourism as a consumptive activity intrudes as spectacle into everyday space (Hopkins 1990; Sorkin 1992; Urry 1990), losing its specificity and blurring with other forms of consumption (Lash and Urry 1994). In fact, there is a claim that people are tourists all the time in an economy of signs that mediatizes everyday sites into spectacle (Urry 2002). Increasingly 'media cultures' and consumer goods of a spectacular society bombard and saturate everyday life (Urry 1990). In his later writing, Urry (2002) suggests that for much of the time individuals are tourists regardless of their conscious choosing. Tourism is a way of seeing and sensing the world that becomes part of everyday perception. It has its own "aesthetic sensibilities and pre-dispositions" (Franklin and Crang 2001, 8) that facilitate the growing opportunities for consuming place (Edensor 2007). For the inhabitants of these spaces, sights of the spectacular become mundane as they are passed by as part of daily movement. Edensor (2007) points out an interesting paradox: "tourism is increasingly part of everyday worlds, increasingly saturating the everyday life which it supposedly escapes" (2007, 201). Spectacle becomes commonplace rendering it mundane and no longer out of the ordinary, and is further diluted with the growing number of travel and tourism opportunities available to increasing numbers of people looking for them (Edensor 2007).

Far from ordinary, everyday spaces are full of images of exotic, other places to the extent that the tourist gaze becomes part of everyday life. Lash and Urry (1994) make the claim that because everyday spaces are filled with touristic objects and signs, it is the 'end of tourism': "People are tourists most of the time, whether they are literally mobile or only experience simulated mobility through the incredible fluidity of multiple signs and electronic images" (259). Rojeck (1993) sees this as part of a 'de-differentiation' of clear boundaries between the tourist gaze and everyday life. A proliferation of tourist stages, activities and identities are available, which are the means by which people can be tourists in their everyday travels. Rather than an escape from the everyday, tourism is part of it (Gale 2009; Edensor 2007; Franklin 2003).

The 'end of tourism' theory suggests a 'touristification of everyday life' in which spectacle penetrates banal spaces, rendering the exotic mundane (Binnie, Holloway, Millington and Young 2006). As a result, "tourism has consequently lost much of its power as practice through which the everyday might be transcended via a confrontation with otherness" (Edensor 2007, 201). 'Post tourism' suggests that, at least in the global north/west, tourism is not necessarily just experienced in spaces outside of everyday life. Rather, one does not have to leave everyday spaces in order to experience objects of the tourist gaze (Gale 2009); the tourist gaze is no longer set apart from everyday life. As Urry (2002) points out, "the post tourist does not have to leave his or her house to see many of the typical objects of the gaze" (Urry 2002, 90). Tourism materializes in the 'unremarkable environments' of the familiar (Larson and Haldrup 2010).

The mundane aspects of tourism are another way the everyday has been studied in relationship to tourism. Hannam and Knox (2010) argue "we need to turn to look at the

everyday, the banal and the familiar in order to fully understand the characteristics of contemporary tourism" (Hannam and Knox 2010, 90). One argument is that tourist escapes are informed by everyday performances (Edensor 2001). Tourists bring their everyday habits with them on vacation and enact home (Moltz 2008). Practices and routines from home are transferred over space to the tourism destination. Conversely, practices and routines of the tourism destination are, to some degree and in some manifestation, transferred back home. In this way "tourism is never entirely separate from the habits of everyday life, since they are un-reflexively embodied in the tourist" (61). As Edensor (2001) states, "although suffused with notions of escape from normativity, tourists carry quotidian habits and responses with them" (61). Further, "many tourist endeavors are mundane and informed by an un-reflexive sensual awareness, and hence, not particularly dissimilar to everyday habits and routines" (Edensor 2006, 26). Some tourists leave home behind physically, but take home with them through embodied gestures, routine practices, social habits and daily rituals (Larson and Haldrup 2010). This includes day-to-day practices such as eating, drinking, sleeping, brushing teeth, reading, as well as mundane objects like mobile phones, cameras, food, clothes and medicine (Larsen 2008; Duncan and Lambert 2003; Pons 2003). The traveler might leave home, but home does not leave the traveler (Duncan and Lambert 2003; Pons 2003; Molz 2005). The everyday practices of a tourist become reflexive habit part of an unquestioned way of being in space (Edensor 2001).

The 'performance turn' in tourism conceptualizes tourism as tied up with a tourist's everyday practices, familiar places and significant others such as family members and friends (Haldrup and Larson 2010). Performance in tourism theory

increased significantly in the late 1990s (Edensor 1998; 2000; 2001; Franklin and Crang 2001; Perkins and Thorns 2001; Coleman and Crang 2002; Baerenholdt et al. 2004) and is claimed as "fresh ground for a robust development in understanding tourism" (Crouch 2004, 86). It sees tourism as being closely connected with everyday practices, ordinary places and significant others (Haldrup and Larson 2010). It provides a framework for investigating how tourism is conceived as a set of potentially creative, un-reflexive, unintentional and habitual activities imbricated in, and thus suitable for investigating, the everyday (Edensor 1998, 2000, 2001).

Performance is also connected to an embodied experience based on being, doing, touching, seeing, hearing, tasting and smelling (Cloke and Perkins 1998), implicating the corporeality of the tourist body in the sensations they experience in material space. For many tourists, the embodied material act of tourism focuses on "the bodily character of the ways in which individuals encounter tourism experiences, events, and spaces and their potential connections with the figuring of their own lives" (Crouch 2004, 86). Interacting with and moving through material space is a multi-sensual embodied practice (Crouch 2004; Edensor 1998). Going on vacation revolves around bodily experiences (e.g. sunbathing, dancing, walking, eating, driving) and, in large part, is the motivation for some travel (Crouch and Desforges 2003). In this way, tourism space is a stage on which tourists perform (Edensor 1998).

The performative dimension of everyday life is a non-representational approach in that it opposes the tourist gaze and other representational approaches privileging the visual (MacCannell 1976; Shields 1991; Dann 1996; Selwyn 1996). Non-representational theory (NPR) is about "mundane everyday practices that shape the conduct of human

beings towards others and themselves at particular sites" (Thrift 1997, 126-7). NPR goes beyond textual analysis and provides insight into how daily life is structured, practiced and acquires meaning through acting and doing (Thrift 1997; Harrison 2002).

2.3.2 Tourism Performance and Work

Performance is also used to understand tourism work and how space is produced. Through the use of performative metaphors, the everyday is part of the cultural agenda in tourism research. It addresses the meaning of labour as a lived experience of production (Crang 1997). Edensor (2001) uses performance to examine tourist workers at the Taj Mahal. Here, the "stage management is the work of a host of workers from cleaning teams, stone-masons, and other artisans, gatekeepers, police, gardeners and guides who maintain its upkeep" (69). Work in the service sector, including tourism, is special in that workers provide a service but are also part of a consumed product. Service qualities of workers are tangible in that they are embodied and enacted as part of a commodity form (Kingsbury 2011). In addition to the tangible service qualities that are embodied and enacted, performance is used to explain the habits and practices that are part of tourism work (Crang 1997; Kingsbury 2011). In order to deliver a high quality product, workers have to have the 'right attitude' towards consumers, which demands visible and embodied performances involving the looks, emotions, personality, physicality and intellect of the worker (McDowell 2004).

Crang (1997) presents a nuanced picture of labour market practices in tourism by using performance to discuss the face-to-face interactions of the service economy. Those involved in the production of tourist space embody particular habits and practices that are part of tourism work. In particular, the dynamic nature of tourism requires tourism

producers and workers to carry out a range of performances with consumers. Encountering other people as part of tourism work sometimes requires improvised performances as well as those that follow training guidelines that emphasize the importance of expressing a friendly eagerness to please customers (Crang 1997).

In addition to being embodied, tourism work is also unreflexive and habitual where daily tasks and routine movements related to work are performed unquestionably. Ingold and Kurttila's (2000) conception of a 'taskscape' is helpful in understanding everyday familiar spaces that are reproduced by the 'un-reflexive habits' and routines of those that live in that space. Some practices are done so often they appear natural and are taken for granted. Taskscapes are unquestioned 'familiar grounds' with ordinary objects and familial faces where routine is carried out, including cleaning, eating and lounging. Edensor (2007) applies the notion of taskscape to tourist spaces to illustrate the everydayness of relationships between the tourist body and experiences in space.

2.3.3 Expanding the use of the Everyday in Tourism Studies

My criticism of the everyday in tourism research is two-fold. First, as previously mentioned, the everyday is largely applied to the consumer. Just like tourism consumption, tourism production can also be imported into everyday space and blur the distinction between home and tourism. This dissertation expands the use of the everyday in tourism theory by applying it to tourism production. Similar to the way tourism consumption is studied in the context of everyday life, so too should tourism production be studied as a life experience and everyday practice. The everyday is a significant addition to understanding tourism production because it casts light on new social

relations, offers new ways of thinking about everyday space, and suggests new sensibilities for those that produce it.

The second criticism is that the everyday needs further theoretical development in the tourism literature. Haldrup and Larson (2010) rightly point out that discussion of everyday life is mainly absent from tourism theory and research until recently. However, the everyday itself is theoretically under developed with respect to being informed by broader range of cultural and social theory. This is not to say theory is entirely absent. Performance based on Goffman has a strong presence in the everyday tourism literature but it is not the only way to understand the everyday. The everyday characteristics of repetition, mundane-ness, and familiarity are also part of this conversation. Edensor captures this element of the everyday in his work on tourism consumption, explaining that:

> "The everyday can partly be captured by unreflexive habit, inscribed on the body, a normative unquestioned way of being in the world…The repetition of daily, weekly, and annual routines…how and when to eat, wash, move, work and play, constitutes a realm of 'commonsense'…The shared habits strengthen affective and cognitive links, constitute a habitus consisting of acquired skills which minimize unnecessary reflection every time a decision is required" (Edensor 2001, 61).

The everyday is more than a repetitive performance. It is a rich concept and there are other ways of looking at the everyday that can do justice to understanding tourism as a path to well-being. As I outline in chapter one, I think differently about the everyday in tourism studies by drawing on Lefebvre. Lefebvre has yet to enter into theoretical discussions of the everyday in tourism research. I use Lefebvre to open up ways of talking about tourism production as an everyday activity, which links the everyday tourism literature to political economy.

2.4 A Place for the Everyday in Rural Tourism

An everyday approach to production can be extended into and make a contribution to rural tourism studies, especially to research focused on agritourism. Rural tourism is the final literature in which this dissertation is situated. Agritourism is a key component of the research and informs theoretical discussions of the everyday. After all, it is within the context of agritourism that the everydayness of tourism production is explored. Theoretical discussions of the everyday, however, can also inform agritourism research and rural tourism studies more broadly. The review makes it evident that an everyday approach to tourism production is a new angle for studying agritourism that can make contributions to understanding the farm as a different type of commercial home and cultural practice.

2.4.1 Rural Tourism as Economic Strategy

The importance of the relationship between tourism and economic development is the focus of much rural tourism research (Butler et al., 1998; Hall and Jenkins 1998; Ilbery 1998; Luloff et al. 1993; Mitchell 1998; Ramaswamy and Kuentzel 1998; Hopkins 1998; Veeck et al. 2006; Busby and Rendle, 2000; Weaver and Fennell 1997; Miller 1993; Nickerson, Black and McCool, 2001). On an international scale economic forms of globalization, fluctuating economic cycles, agreements among trade associations, new technologies, migration flows, political upheavals and the exploitation of natural resources have contributed to rural decline in developed nations (Woods 2005; Jenkins, Hall and Troughton 1998). In Canada, the proportion of people living in rural areas has declined in the past 160 years and can be attributed to a major shift in the Canadian economy from agricultural to industrial. Out migration from rural areas are related to job

opportunities in urban areas and a loss of farms and farm related jobs replaced by mechanized equipment and new technologies. Rural tourism is commonly examined as an economic development strategy for improving economic and social well-being in areas experiencing rural decline and agricultural change (Floysand and Jakobsen 2007; Woods 2005). Agricultural restructuring is connected to tourism as a development strategy and demonstrates that rather than seek economic development through agricultural modernization and productive potential, greater value and economic weight is placed on the appeal of agriculture as a tourism experience (Marsden et al. 1993; Woods 2005; Bouquet and Winter 1987; Butler et al. 1998; Hall and Jenkins 1998; Ilbery 1998; Keane 1992; Luloff et al. 1993; Mitchell and Coghill 2000; Ramaswany and Kluentzel 1998; Woods 2005).

Diversification strategies that add new, non-traditional businesses to the farm, reduce income dependency on agricultural production, and provide new employment opportunities for family members (McGehee and Kim 2004; Veeck et al. 2006), are central to the economic study of tourism in rural places. Diversification includes a range of activities: farm shops/retail, food processing, renewable energy, raising alternative livestock (e.g. ostrich, goats, ducks), pick your own fruit enterprises, crafts and the development of themed tourism activities (agritourism). Diversification into any of these activities has the potential to increase revenues with viable alternative economic activity (Woods 2005; Hopkins 1998; Veeck et al. 2006; McGehee and Kim 2004; Nickerson, Black and McCool 2001).

Entrepreneurship is another aspect of farm diversification that is increasingly an aspect of modern farming (Smit 2004). Economic factors like offsetting farm income are

most cited as motivating farmers to engage in entrepreneurial activity related to tourism (Barbieri 2009; McGehee and Kim 2004; Nickerson et al. 2001). It involves recognizing opportunities in the marketplace and using pre-existing resources in a non-farm related business. It also involves developing new skills like implementing a long-term business plan and developing marketing strategies to remain competitive (McElwee 2006; Vesala, Peura and McElwee, 2007; Couzy and Dockes, 2008; Hildenbrand and Hennon 2008; McElwee 2008; Vesala and Vesala 2010). Networking, innovation, teamwork, and leadership are also fundamental to running a farm business (McElwee 2008).

2.4.2 Rural Tourism as Commodity

Some rural tourism researchers interpret restructuring in terms of transitions in rural economies (Hoggart and Paniagua 2001). Tourism is considered part of the shift in economic base in rural societies from being centered on agriculture and manufacturing to being centered on services involving the commodification of the countryside (Floysand and Jakobsen 2007; Allen, Hafer, Long and Perdue 1993; Fleischer and Felsenstein 2000). Commodification is part of economic restructuring in rural areas where the 'use value' of agricultural environments is outpaced by their 'exchange value'. In this case, "a rural landscape is valued for its aesthetic appeal rather than for its productive potential, the conservation of the visual appearance of the landscape has more economic weight than agricultural modernization practices that might alter it" (Woods 2005, 184). The European model of agricultural development sees agritourism as part of a change from productivism to sustainability and multifunctionality (Van der Ploeg 2008), and is described more broadly as a shift of rural space from 'productivist' to 'post-productivist' (Halfacree 1999). In England after 1970 spaces of capital-intensive agriculture were

transformed into spaces of landscape and cultural preservation (Halfacree 1999; Marsden 1999). The countryside became a place of consumption and recreation as opposed to a place of food production (Burton and Wilson 2006; Crouch 2006).

Tourism is a process that commodifies rural space and refocuses rural economies from production to consumption (Knefsey 2001; Cloke and Perkins 2002). As a commodity, place is a consumable entity (Ashworth and Voogd 1994) – a tourism-related product that is imbued with meanings, values, experiences and identities. Rural tourism offers an example of place commodification in terms of selling an idealized version of an idyllic countryside experience (Kneafsey 2003; Hopkins 1998). Representations of rurality often rely on positive connotations of the 'rural idyll' (Bunce 2003; Bell 2006; Short 2006: Horton 2008; Baylina and Berg 2010) to construct a desirable destination identity that will attract place consumers (Hopkins 1998). Qualities like wild landscapes, the simple life, rustic-ness, animals, quiet and peace, community, domesticity and traditional foods are packaged for purchase by people who are interested in "an escape from the rush of modernity to a golden past" (Bell 2006, 152). The farm is packaged as a product that conforms to popular social constructions of a rural geographical imagination. Restorations, renovations and/or reconstructions of vernacular buildings, such as barns or streetscapes, are constructed to portray a "cleaned up heritage look suitable for the gaze of tourists" (Urry 1995, 219), searching for an authentic experience of farm life. In this way, rural tourism is marketed and packaged to meet pre-existing consumer preconceptions and expectations, which are most often based on the myth of the rural idyll or references to popular culture rather than on the everyday lived experience of the farm (Woods 2005).

2.4.3 Rural Tourism as Performance

Recently, research in rural geography has moved beyond perceptions and representations of the rural by examining the ways in which the rural is performed and constituted (Woods 2005). Performance is significant in the construction of rurality beyond popular social constructivist representations (Woods 2009). Space is a lived process and the consumption of rural landscapes is a corporeal experience (Macpherson 2009). Understanding the embodiment of space requires more than a representational analysis (Carolan 2008).

Non-representational theory like performance addresses the material effects of rural experiences as they are felt and sensed through bodily actions and performances (Wylie 2005; Carolan 2008). For example, rural geographers explore performance with respect to community life, gender, farm identities and adventure tourism. Here, rural performance is not by the tourist but by those living in rural spaces. Rural geographers talk about performance in the context of social interactions and collective practices, which contribute to significantly different understandings of rural social relations and communities (Little and Leyshon 2003). Clubs and societies, such as the Women's Institute and Young Farmers Clubs (Neal and Walters, 2008), village fetes and shows, post-offices and shops, the school gate and public houses and bars (Campbell 2000; Heley 2008) are stages for a certain performance of rural identity that include exchanging gossip, casual surveillance, volunteering, taking part in sports clubs and village associations, attending community events, working communal land, drinking and socializing (Liepins 2000; Mackenzie 2004; Winchester and Rofe, 2005; Brown 2007; Neal and Walters 2007, 2008; Leyshon 2008).

Performance is also used in the context of farm households and the construction of gender roles in farming. For example, the construction of gender roles in farming is reinforced by the different types of labor performed by the women and men of the family (Saugeres 2002a; 2002b). More broadly, farmers know the countryside through their bodies and the everyday practices of the farm household that are part of a spatial, emotional and ethical dimension of the relationship between the landscape and the farming community (Carolan 2008; Convery et al. 2005).

Performance is also used in the context of producing the rural tourism stage. Edensor (2006) makes the case that performance can be used to study a range of rural enactions, ranging from staged events to everyday practices. Referring to rural tourism in Europe he states that, "different rural performances are enacted on different stages by different actors: at village greens, farm-life centres, heritage attractions, grouse moors, mountains, long-distance footpaths and farmyards, and in rural spaces identified as 'wilderness'" (484). He goes on to list some examples such as "the dramatized rituals of grouse and pheasant shoots, the performances of rural folk customs such as Morris Dancing and well dressing, folk music revivals, and popular film and television dramas" (486). These types of performances take place at museums, farm parks, heritage sites and interpretive centers, and are scripted, choreographed and act out representations of rural life.

Rural tourists also adopt a diverse range of performances in order to attain a sensation and awareness of the self in rural surroundings. Edensor (2006) notes that "forms of rural space are (re)produced by distinct kinds of performance" (486). For example, "walkers delineate particular kinds of landscape as suitable for (particular kinds

of) walking" (486). Tourist performance in rural space is organized around styles of movement, modes of looking, taking pictures, communicating meaning and sharing experiences. Performance makes an important connection between cultural theory and the rural tourism literature.

2.4.4 Rural Tourism and the Commercial Home

Typically, in the case of tourism, the home is part of an accommodation business and takes the form of small hotels, bed and breakfasts, guesthouses or farm stays in which owners (usually husband and wife, or family) share their domestic space to some degree with fee-paying visitors. Lynch (2005b) defines this as a 'commercial home': "'Commercial home' refers to types of accommodation where visitors or guests pay to stay in private homes, where interactions take place with a host and/or family usually living upon the premises and with whom public space is, to a degree, shared" (534). In practice, sharing includes a micro-separation within the house. Visitors are welcomed in one set of rooms, like the living room for sitting and the kitchen for eating, and the family who runs the business exists behind a door marked 'private'. Sharing is also normally seasonal, which means it is finite and typically concentrated in the summer months. Like farming, these types of farm hospitality businesses overlap domestic and commercial space for the purpose of generating an income (Lynch et al. 2009). The home, however, is used for a completely different type of work than conventional farming (Brandth and Haugen 2012).

The farm as a dual location of home and work in agritourism is sparsely researched in tourism geography, but Brandth and Haugen (2012) provide one example of the overlap in Norway. Their study focuses on the nature of the subjective experience

of the hosts and their lived experiences of commercial hospitality in the rural setting of a farm home. Of particular interest is how farmers mark boundaries between work and home to avoid tension where hosts and guests interact at an intimate distance. It is important to note that their study focuses on farm tourism businesses that offer accommodation – a significant difference from the agritourism operations in this study, especially with respect to the extent to which private space of the home is shared with visitors.

Given the overlapping nature of home and work in the context of farm tourism, it is not surprising that Sharpley and Vass (2006) found that one of the negative sides of farm tourism in the home is having private life intruded on. This includes physical space, but also has an emotional element in that it requires putting aside one's own feelings for the sake of the business. Boundary setting is, thus, necessary when managing a commercial home and the ways in which farm tourism operators have divided home and work space is a central theme in this work. Farm tourism literature, however, has only to a very small extent discussed issues of hospitality, service provision and conflicts distinguishing public and private (Brandth and Haugen 2012).

This dissertation adds to the discussion of commercial homes in rural tourism by examining how home and the characteristics associated with it, such as familial relations, belonging, intimacy and identity (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Dovey 1985) are part of the tourism production process. In the context of agritourism, home is not easily separated from the commercial activity of an agritourism business. The intersecting spaces, in most instances, leads to a breech of private space by visitors. As chapter seven will show, tolerating invasions is part of the everyday experience of producing agritourist space that

must be negotiated with home as a meaningful place of experience, identity and belonging.

2.4.5 Agritourism: More than an Economic Imperative

The negotiation of business with home in the context of agritourism reveals that, although income is a significant driver, social motivations like family legacy, lifestyle and quality of life are other motivators in deciding to diversify the farm (McGehee and Kim 2004; Tew and Barbieri 2012). Farmers might be forced into diversification by economic circumstance but part of the decision to transition often relates to engaging in the business for other purposes (Nickerson, Black and McCool 2001). For example, if the decision to engage in agritourism were only based on economic reasoning, then what is stopping farming families from other lucrative options, such as selling their land for urban development? Despite the potential profits from selling farmland to developers, especially for those farms in close proximity to cities, some agritourism operators choose not to sell out. This suggests there are other motivational factors for engaging in agritourism that are just as significant as money (Haugen and Vik 2008; Schroder 2004; Wilson 2007). Some of these factors include passing down a family legacy (Ainley 2012), living a certain way of life, and achieving a high quality of well-being. Several studies link the motivation for operating agritourism businesses to non-economic aspirations involving the individual and family (Barbieri 2010; McGehee and Kim 2004; Nickerson et al. 2001; Ollenburg and Buckley 2007). Diversification and transformation of farming into tourism is also discussed with how it influences the farmer’s sense of self by re-affirming and strengthening farmer identity and sustaining a farming lifestyle (Brandth and Haugen 2011; Ainley 2012).

Another cultural explanation of agritourism provided by Brandth and Haugen (2012) focus on the nature of the subjective experiences of hosts of farm tourism attractions in Norway. Their study of the meeting of home and work on the farm indirectly shows how hosting visitors is a social form of work. This dissertation complements research investigating the social side of agritourism by thinking about agritourism production as the ability of farm operators to merge spaces of the farm, tourism, home, and work. Brandth and Haugen note, "the farm as a location where hospitality, work and home meet has scarcely been researched" (2012, 172). I address this scarcity by using everyday life, an idea that has yet to be applied to agritourism, to theoretically develop and inform the literature.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has situated the dissertation in three literatures and has identified where it makes a contribution to each. First, a review of critical tourism scholarship broadly situated an everyday approach to tourism production in debates around defining critical approaches from either an economic or cultural perspective. I argued that a critical approach can encompass both. Second, the everyday tourism literature highlighted the absence of production as part of discussions on tourism and everyday life, and revealed weaknesses in the under theorization of everyday life in the study of tourism. An everyday approach to tourism production questions the limits of conventional tourism theorization and the everyday by situating tourism production as a cultural practice in the flows of daily life. Third, a shift in rural tourism research towards culturally understanding agritourism revealed that significant aspects of tourism production are cultural in nature meaning that profit is not always the core motivator for

the business. Interest in the social aspects of agritourism mirrors the broader trend in tourism literature to expand beyond economic explanations of tourism and force a re-thinking of what constitutes the tourism economy.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND THE EVERYDAY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines how I studied the everyday aspects of tourism production on farms in Southern Ontario. Fieldwork took place between February 2010 and November 2011 during which I drove 8,745 kms and completed 27 interviews with a total of 32 self-employed individuals involved in operating, managing and running small-to-medium and large-sized agritourism businesses. I talked with 15 women and 17 men in interviews that lasted from 40 minutes to 2.5 hours. I also engaged in participant observation by visiting 16 agritourism attractions in Southern Ontario as an agritourist during the 2010 and 2011 fall Thanksgiving and Halloween seasons.

This chapter begins with a description and justification of the study location followed by a discussion of my use of semi-structured conversational style interviews, including with whom I talked and how they were recruited. Strategies for transcript analysis of recorded interviews are also part of this discussion. I then talk about my use of participant observation as an agritourist and as an attendee at a marketing workshop for farmers in the agritourism business. Recorded verbal and written notes, and personal photographs formed the concrete dataset for this analysis. A section follows on how the research methods articulate in the research process and the benefits of this articulation. I also include a discussion of the power relations in my research: my awareness of, participation in, and negotiation of power dynamics between researcher and participant. The chapter finishes by discussing the limits of the method.

3.2 Methodological Underpinnings

The methodological framework of the thesis is reflexive and influenced by, but not solely embedded in feminist approaches. It is relevant to a growing body of work engaging the role of critical and qualitative research in tourism. Specifically, Phillimore and Goodson (2004) argue that, "to date, tourism research has, in the main, used qualitative research as a set of methods rather than as a set of thinking tools which enable researchers to consider different ways of approaching research and uncovering new ways of knowing" (5). I take up Phillimore and Goodson's call to "adopt a more sophisticated attitude toward thinking about and using qualitative research" (5) by understanding the world from the perspective of participants and viewing social life as the result of interactions and interpretations that constitute the human dimensions of society.

The approach is feminist in that it rejects notions of universal or absolute truths and deconstructs 'grand narratives' by claiming a plural position of multiple truths. There is uncertainty to 'ways of knowing' about the social and cultural world (Aitchison 2005a), which contests the view that knowledge should be produced in a rational scientific way in order to 'discover the truth'. Critiques of what counts as knowledge is fundamental to feminism as an academic field. The epistemological tenets of feminism see knowledge production as subjective (Kroløkke and Sorensen 2006) and critique what counts as knowledge and who creates it (Aitchison 2005a). This human-based view of knowledge production (Belhassen and Canton 2009) breaks "from traditional notions of scientific output as a neutral mirror of reality" and comes "to terms with new realities of knowledge production" (Tribe 2006). The outcomes of research are not necessarily true statements of reality, but rather "meaningful constructions that individual actors or

groups of actors form to 'make sense' of the situations in which they find themselves" (Guba and Lincoln 1988, 8). This is to say that the findings will not report facts, but understandings created through an interactive process that includes the researcher and the participants.

A feminist methodology critically reflects on the approach taken in the design, data collection and analysis of research. In particular, reflexivity and positionality emphasize the role of the researcher and her relationship to participants as part of the knowledge production process. The researcher, from the start, acknowledges power relationships inherent in researcher and participant interactions. As a researcher, I am aware of not only the constructed nature of analysis, but also my own self-reflection in the production of knowledge. Tourism knowledge is mediated by researcher personhood and positionality. Similarly, the experiences and identities of participants will influence what they count as knowledge and how they participate in its production (Moss 2002). An awareness of how a researcher influences her study is a reflexive concern involving a "self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self conscious analytical scrutiny of the self as a researcher" (England 1994, 82). Researchers are part of the interaction they seek to study and influence that interaction (Fontana and Frey 2005).

The methodology involves a hermeneutic approach in which reality is understood with respect to what is meaningful to individuals (Pernecky and Jamal 2010). It investigates individual interpretations of the real-life occurrences of tourism production. In particular, it provides a way to construct and interpret narratives based on individual experience by placing value on the meanings in people's responses. In the context of the present research, this translates into the farmer's voice being central to understanding a

lived tourism production. Participant observation and conversational interviews highlight and honor participant understanding of their circumstances and enable them to tell their own story, in their own words. These strategies "transform lived experience into a textual expression of its essence – in such as way that the effect of the text is at once a reflexive re-living and a reflective appropriation of something meaningful" (Van Manen 1997, 36).

3.3 Study Location

Pumpkins are a big part of business for farm tourism in Southern Ontario. For example, in 2001, 92% of pumpkin sales in Ontario came from fresh pumpkins (i.e. to carve into jack-o-lanterns) and the remaining 8% of sales came from processing (Doran 2004). Although these are older statistics, the increase in pumpkin production indicates an increase in the demand for popular agritourism activities related to Thanksgiving and Halloween with fall harvest on the farm. The increased levels of consumerism surrounding these holidays in North America has elevated the pumpkin to an important icon in consumer culture. The growing number of pumpkin farms in Ontario is evidence of the phenomenon's significance in the area. Table 3.1 presents data on harvested area, marketed production, farm value, average price, and average yield of pumpkins in Ontario between 1979 and 2013. Of particular interest is the major spike in pumpkin harvest area between 1989 and 1990, jumping from a steady 500 to 1,837 hectares the following year. This translates into an increase in market production from 13,377 to 36,209 tonnes, an increase in farm value from $629,000 to $8,985,000, and an increase in average price per tonne from $46.60 to $248.10. A general upward trend continues over the next 20 years with slight declines along the way. In 2013, 2,814 hectares of pumpkins equaling 38,998 tonnes had a farm value of $18,911,000 and an average price per tonne

of $484.90. These statistics are evidence of the impact agritourism has had on pumpkin production in this part of Ontario.

The following map (figure 3.1) shows the number of pumpkin farms in Southern Ontario (2009-2010). The red rectangle indicates the area within which the farms in this study were located. The farms included in this study are not identified on this map because this would forfeit the complete anonymity promised to participants. The majority of farms associated with pumpkin related agritourism in Southern Ontario, as well as the farms included in this study, are located near rapidly growing major urban centers in the region (Doran 2004). In addition to the GTA, clusters have also formed around Hamilton, St. Catherines, Kitchener/Waterloo, St. Thomas and Ottawa. Southern Ontario is well suited geographically for agritourism because of its proximity to urban centers, which provides a local market that more easily makes agritourism a viable option.

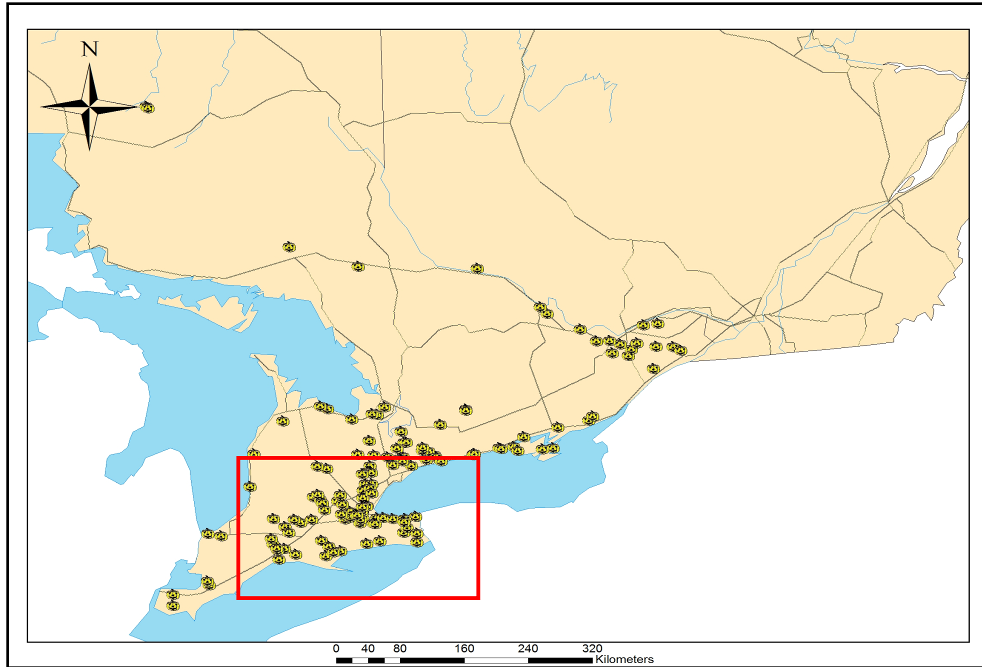
Personal and practical considerations were also factors in selecting the study location. Driving was a big part of fieldwork and proximity to my home was a major factor in selecting potential participants. Ultimately, the deciding factor for selecting locations was distance, measured in drive time. Research sites were all within the confines of a 'day's drive' from home (North York). Although this was a logistical consideration, it is also something that tourists consider when deciding on a destination. It is a 'close to home' tourism mobility, which is easily connected to the popular 'stay-cation'. In this project, local tourism could be defined as travel to any destination within which a reasonable day's drive can be made, which is defined as driving to the destination and back home in no more than five hours of total driving time. In this way I

Table 3.1: Pumpkin, Squash and Zucchini: Harvested Area, Market Production, Farm Value, Average Price and Yield, Ontario 1979-2013

Year	Harvested Area (ha)	Marketed Production (tonnes)	Farm Value (a) ($' 000)	Average Price ($/tonne)	Average Yield (tonnes/ha)
2013	2,814	38,998	18,911	484.9	13.9
2012	2,870	54,543	23,298	427.1	19.0
2011	2,775	48,853	20,289	415.3	17.6
2010	3,107	37,445	17,469	466.5	12.1
2009	2,730	41,253	17,732	429.8	15.1
2008	2,707	37,081	14,390	388.1	13.7
2007	2,691	42,664	12,356	289.6	15.9
2006	3,043	41,749	11,884	284.7	13.7
2005	2,469	40,188	11,168	277.9	16.3
2004	2,519	33,076	12,826	387.8	13.1
2003	2,469	28,458	11,561	406.2	11.5
2002	2,619	26,853	10,498	390.9	10.3
2001	2,843	27,920	9,265	331.8	9.8
2000	2,191	20,002	7,305	365.2	9.1
1999	1,835	23,149	8,025	346.7	12.6
1998	1,374	15,252	4,340	284.6	11.1
1997	1,554	19,187	5,040	262.7	12.3
1996	2,191	23,954	5,505	229.8	10.9
1995	1,471	22,101	7,540	341.2	15.0
1994	1,304	22,595	6,783	300.2	17.3
1993	1,368	36,004	10,188	283.0	26.3
1992	1,287	20,338	6,801	334.4	15.8
1991	1,571	17,735	6,841	385.7	11.3
1990	1,837	36,209	8,985	248.1	19.7
1989	500	13,377	621	46.4	26.7
1988	486	12,641	544	43.0	26.0
1987	573	17,382	704	40.5	30.3
1986	466	14,585	582	39.9	31.3
1985	439	9,995	402	40.2	22.7
1984	587	17,690	681	38.5	30.1
1983	526	14,515	640	44.1	27.6
1982	445	12,927	482	37.3	29.0
1981	304	9,026	320	35.5	29.7
1980	445	13,336	441	33.1	30.0
1979	486	12,746	393	30.8	26.2

Source: Agricultural Statistics for Ontario 2013, OMAFRA; Seasonal Fruit and Vegetable Annual Summary Reports

Figure 3.1: Pumpkin Farms in Southern Ontario (2009-2010). The farms in this study are not directly identified on this map because of anonymity agreements. The red rectangle indicates the general area within which farms in this study are located.



Source: Roza Sath (Project GIS assistant)

experienced the mobility of a local tourist (with respect to distance and not necessarily frequency of visits to farms) in addition to that of a researcher.

3.4 A Semi-Structured Conversational Approach to Interviews

The purpose of using interviews was to obtain stories or narratives about what is involved in the everyday work of producing agritourism on the family farm. An everyday knowledge of tourism production belongs in the backstage regions of the agritourism destination, which is not revealed to tourists but is critical to the functioning of the front stage. This knowledge is subjective and situated; not every participant will necessarily have the same experience (Kroløkke and Sorensen 2005; Haraway 1991). The knowledge stemming from each farmer's experience is "marked by the contexts in which they are produced" (England 1994, 286), situated specifically to an individual's everyday context and based on individual experience. What constitutes the everyday for one person is not necessarily the same for everyone.

My rationale for approaching interviews as a conversation is in large part because of my desire to access this situated knowledge. I made the assumption that this style of interview would diffuse power dynamics between participants and myself, and enable easier access. I talk about this in greater detail later in the chapter, but I need to make it clear now that I wanted my method to include giving participants the chance to steer the discussion towards issues important to them. A conversational approach gives a greater degree of weight to the participant's role in 'taking the reigns' and 'steering' the conversation than a traditional interview. The effect is to shift the dynamic by giving the participant a small degree of control and establishing them as the expert. Like semi-structured interviews, the open-ended conversational-like structure imposed fewer limits

on participant responses and enabled them to express their perspectives with some level of depth (Squire 1994).

Interviews get at the 'how' and 'what' that shape and structure peoples lives, enabling subtle nuances of meaning to come through in verbal expression (Gubrium and Holstein 1997; England 2006). The subjective meanings, personal perspectives, experiences and situations of farmers are important to understanding tourism production as an everyday experience, and a semi-structured conversation allows for a variety of possibilities to be expressed. The aim of the interview is to gather rich, in-depth experiential accounts of participants (Fontana and Frey 2005). Participants are not passive, but knowledgeable agents, sentient beings, and experts of their own experience and because interviews are people oriented they allow participants to construct their own accounts of experiences using their words in telling their version of events (Crang and Cook 1995). They emphasize the voice of the research participant (Reinharz 1979; Oakley 1981; Stanley and Wise 1993), which is significant to understanding the meanings people attribute to their lives and the processes that operate in and influence their particular contexts (Valentine 1997).

Interviews were a semi-structured conversational style in that the interaction between the participant and myself took the form of a casual dialogue rather than a systematic back-and-forth exchange of asking questions and getting responses. The interview style was informal and casual with the participant and myself taking turns speaking, proceeding on a turn-by-turn basis. This is not to say that interviews were not semi-structured and questions semi-predetermined as part of a research agenda. The conversation was, to a degree, directed. I used a protocol (see Appendix A: Interview

Protocol) in the first six interviews and found it to stall conversational flow. On some occasions it took on an authoritative role for participants and they conducted themselves according to the 'researcher's gaze'. For example, a situation arose in my third interview where the protocol became central to the conversation, acted as a distraction, and cut off a rich train of thought. Donald was talking about a farming issue related to seed companies and his wife perceived this to be 'off topic' and chimed in saying "but that's getting away from her question, 'how did it all start?'" (Penny farmer, 2010). She taps on the interview protocol on the table and says "that's why there is this thing! We're not sticking to the plan!" (Penny farmer, 2010) People behave differently when they know they are being studied (Jorgensen 1989) and the physical presence of the list of questions was obtrusive to the more informal atmosphere I was trying to create. For this reason, I did not use a protocol for the remainder of the interviews.

However, questions were still part of the interview and took an open-ended form or were asked as a statement. For example: 'Tell me about how you and your farm got into agritourism' or 'describe what you do.' Farmers' situations varied from one interview to the next and questions like this gave them the chance to talk about what was most important to them. At times making a comment or casually chatting in response to what the participant said was a way to engage conversational flow. In addition to predetermined questions, I had a set of standard statements such as 'that is an interesting way of doing things' or 'I can't imagine what that must be like'. These types of statements opened the door for participants to go in greater depth about what they were talking about and divulge more details than a string of back and fourth questions and answers could elicit. In this dialogue, the aim was to activate participant knowledge

through conversation and engage in a far more wide-ranging discussion (Valentine 1997).

The conversational interview was systematic in that it covered a planned set of topics, however the topics were not always addressed in the same order in each interview. It was important to be flexible and accommodate the richness inherent in the experiences of participants, while staying focused on the research (Berglund 2007). I had a loose guide of themes to cover in the interview, but unanticipated, unplanned themes also developed. Unplanned questions relevant to the immediate topic were asked on the spot as well. I had specific questions 'on deck' if the conversation came to a standstill or if the interview got too much off track. It was important to be able to improvise, but this was dependant on my preparedness to deviate from the 'script'. With this approach I did not necessarily know in advance all the questions that were going to be asked or all the topics that were going to be covered.

On many occasions the participant directed the conversation and often shifted the topic of discussion. This has both benefits and disadvantages. A benefit is that it introduced topics I had not considered and gave the discussion spontaneity. Unanticipated but relevant issues for discussion emerged as they came up in conversation. It required thinking on my feet and listening carefully to what the person was saying in order to pick up on their ideas and follow them through for discussion. It was necessary to follow their train of thought so not to lose the unplanned-ness of the conversation, even if they were digressing. The drawback is that sometimes discussions were too off-topic and had to be redirected with a question. A balance needed to be reached between focusing the interview and letting the interview flow and take its own course (Valentine 1997). As the interviewer, when it was appropriate, it was my responsibility to re-focus a participant's

storytelling towards more research related themes (Holstein and Gubrium 2003; Silverman and Marvasti 2008).

Another benefit of participant led discussion is that it resulted in varied interviews tailored to the interests, experiences and views of each person (Valentine 1997). Co-producing the agenda with the participant was less systematic than traditional interviews, but the types of narratives I collected would not have resulted from traditional interview approaches. Not every participant was asked the same questions, in the same order, nor were the same topics always discussed in each interview. As previously mentioned, this is not to say that I did not have a list of topics to cover and questions to ask – this is what makes the interview semi-structured. Although I did not bring the list with me physically, it still structured the conversation. This structure was not as visible to the participant and created the illusion that the interview was more casual than it really was. A participant might have been able to set the course for an interview, but ultimately they were working within the confines of my agenda. In part, the flexibility of this interview strategy is an inherent characteristic of qualitative research in that one interview cannot necessarily be replicated in another circumstance.

Interviews were also flexible with respect to who asked and answered the questions. Participants on many occasions had questions for me, which is no doubt common for any researcher. The most frequently asked question about the project was why I chose to study pumpkin farms. During the last five minutes of our interview Harry asked me: “So how did you stumble onto pumpkin farms? Are you actually writing about pumpkin farms? So you study pumpkin farms?” (Harry, farmer 2011) Harry has trouble understanding why anyone would want to study something that is so everyday and

commonplace to him. He is in such disbelief that he asks twice to make sure it is indeed the case. This is perhaps evidence that "the familiar is not necessarily the known" (Lefebvre 1991, 15) meaning that although Harry lives his life producing an agritourism destination he is unaware of how significant his everyday actions are in explanations of tourism production as a logic of well-being.

3.4.1 Participant Recruitment

The first step of recruitment was to search out potential research participants, keeping in mind that the aim of the interview was not to be representative but to understand how individuals make sense of an experience and the meanings they attribute to their lives in particular social contexts (Valentine 1997). The aim of choosing potential candidates was not to come up with a representative sample through random sampling techniques, but rather, to select an illustrative sample through strategic selection. I used purposive sampling techniques in the deliberate selection of interview participants on the basis of some common and favorable characteristic. As mentioned earlier, for this study the commonality was farms that offered some form of 'agri-tainment' related to fall harvest. There was no ranking with respect to which potential candidate would be better to contact than another. Given the criteria, farms were either ranked as suitable or un-suitable candidates.

Developing a purposive sample involved creating a database of candidates with key contact information. The number, diversity and popularity of agritourism attractions in Southern Ontario ensured a dynamic population sample and made it easy to search and compile a database of potential people to contact. I compiled a comprehensive list of agritourism enterprises by consulting a variety of sources and organizations. Google was

a good preliminary resource for searches of ‘farm tourism in Ontario’ or ‘Ontario agritourism operations’. This is no doubt a tool that an interested visitor would use for finding information about an attraction. Websites for agritourism destinations were also important sources of detailed information. Reviewing website content of potential candidates provided important background information about their agritourism activities, farm history and family involvement. During the database formation process, this additional information about the business was collected from websites. Websites ended up being a selection criterion for potential candidates; those agritourism operations without a website were left out of the search.

Another thorough source of information was the ‘Harvest Ontario’ guide published by Foodland Ontario and available for free at Home Hardware stores. It is an annual marketing catalogue that lists contact information as well as the various activities farms offer. The Ontario Farm Fresh Marketing Association (OFFMA) is another source that provided a comprehensive online listing of ‘farms to visit’. For both of these listings, farmers have to pay a fee or have a membership to be included. This poses limitations for using these ‘data sets’ exclusively for selecting potential candidates and, thus, was used in conjunction with Internet searches.

Participants themselves were resources in terms of expanding the database of potential candidates. This is a ‘snowballing’ technique in which one contact helps to recruit another contact (Valentine 1997). Some participants referred to and/or asked me if I had talked with or was intending on talking with certain people in the business. Participants very willingly and enthusiastically volunteered names of friends, competitors, and colleagues whom they thought would be good people for me to contact

for an interview. In the interest of confidentiality, I never disclosed the name of the referee during the interview. I did, however, mention (after being asked) the names of the farms I had visited, both as a researcher and as an agritourist, but did not specify who I had interviewed. This served to help me 'get in' with participants because they perceived me to have some knowledge of the business.

The database of potential candidates was not fixed but a continually evolving list over the course of the research period. The final number of potential candidates was 62. From this list, named individuals were sent a letter introducing myself, describing my project and the research aims, outlining who I wanted to talk to, estimating the time commitment on behalf of the participant, and asking if they would be interested in participating. They were also sent an email with the same letter. From the fifty-seven letters and emails sent out, I completed twenty-seven interviews with a total of fifteen women and seventeen men (table 3.2).

All participants interviewed for this study were white (of European decent) and between the ages of 35 and 65. Four couples mentioned they were either beginning to think about or were already in the process of retirement planning. Over two thirds of participants ran the business with their spouse (although, on several occasions, only one spouse was present for the interview) and involved their children in some way. The other one third of farms were run either by individuals with no children, couples with no children, or as family businesses. Twenty-seven of the thirty-two farm operators interviewed either grew up on a farm or have a spouse that had an on-farm upbringing. The other five operators had little to no experience on a farm and bought their farms with the intention of running them as agritourism destinations. The number of years

experience running an operation ranged between approximately thirty and four. To varying degrees, all farms combined agricultural practices of a working farm with tourism activities, but no farms operated as commercial producers for wholesale distribution.

I made a strategic decision with respect to whom I sent the first two or three letters. The first participants contacted and interviewed were chosen based on my personal familiarity with their agritourism sites, which I gained by participating as an agritourist. The first people I contacted were located down the road from my childhood home. As I mentioned in chapter one, growing up, my family would drive by their farm three or four times a week on our way into the city and, of course, stop for pumpkins in the fall season. We still do. My familiarity with the research site, as well as the location, eased concerns about getting lost on my first interview out and allowed for a greater focus on the interview itself. Planning the route and getting directions were also less of a concern. This sense of familiarity was appealing especially as a first time interviewer. Further, sharing my experiences and memories of Ken and Ginger's place as part of my childhood served as a tactic for establishing a personal connection.

After the first interview was booked, I sent out another round of two or three letters to named individuals, as opposed to doing a mass mailing. Once a second and third interview were booked, another round of two to three letters were sent. The pattern of letters going out, responses coming in, interviews being booked, and interviews being conducted progressed in a cascading or rolling fashion until all options were exhausted and an attempt had been made to contact everyone on the list. The majority of people who were contacted sent an email to express interest, and two telephoned. There were

Table 3.2: Participant Description Chart

Interview #	Pseudonym	Details
1	Ken Ginger	Male Female
2	Sonny Cheryl	Male Female
3	Dell	Male
4	Penny Donald	Female Male
5	Mable	Female
6	Debbie	Female
7	Marg	Female
8	Murray	Female
9	Riggy	Male
10	Jones	Male
11	Duke	Male
12	Beth	Female
13	Walter	Male
15	Lil Cecil	Female Male
16	Crisp	Male
17	Ernie	Male
18	Shelly	Female
19	Sam	Male
20	Brooke Nash	Female Male
21	Lowel Marylou	Male Female
22	Ellie Mae	Female
23	Lawne	Female
24	Harry	Male
25	Ben	Female
26	Rex	Male
27	Mac	Male

three types of responses: no feedback at all (17), positive response and an interview (27); and positive response but no interview (13). On the latter occasions, I had back and forth communication with the potential participant but an interview did not result. For some, 'last chance' emails were sent as a strategy to encourage participation but not be too annoying about it. I had one interested person get back to me but when I got back to her, she responded that she "was no longer interested". I coordinated logistical considerations with interested people and scheduled interviews at times that were mutually convenient for the person and myself. Interviews took place in participant's homes (this is discussed in greater detail later in the chapter).

3.4.2 Strategies for Transcript Analysis

All interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim. After each interview, a transcript was completed within a three to four week timeline. Audio recordings are valuable because they capture the words spoken, but also non-verbal cues like laughing, pauses and hesitations that are part of the conversation (Smith et al. 2009). The recorded interviews let me return to the 'raw data', in its original form, as often as I needed (Giorgi and Giorgi 2003; Silverman and Marvasti 2008; Smith et al. 2009). In addition to the recordings, after each interview I made voice notes in a recorded research journal and transcribed these as well.

Transcripts were the textual data used for content analysis. They provided a rich and sizable source of information relayed during face-to-face interviews. The task I faced was deciding how to go about constructing a 'meaningful story' (Ellis 1995) from pages and pages of transcripts. Ideally, the goal was to "transform lived experience into a textual expression of its essence – in such a way that the effect of the text is at once a

reflexive re-living and a reflective appropriation of something meaningful" (Van Manen 1997, 36). This is a difficult but creative aspect of doing a qualitative research project. Analysis was not quick or neat, which is not a limitation but a strength (Berg 1989).

There was no single or correct method for 'processing data', but rather a flexibility built into data analysis that allowed for moving between descriptive and interpretive processes (Hycner 1985; Smith et al. 2009). I learned that this involved listening and re-listening, reading and re-reading, remembering, interpreting and condensing narratives (Kvale 1996). I listened to audio-recordings of interviews twice and read transcripts several times in order to 'get a sense of the whole' (Berglund 2007). Upon completion of analyzing a transcript, I transcribed corresponding field notes from my reflective research journal and added them as notes to the bottom of the transcript.

Analysis was a process that involved a continuous interaction with, and a close line-by-line reading of, transcripts in order to identify common as well as unique themes – some anticipated and others not. For example, I expected the theme of resource re-use on the farm, but was not anticipating the theme of competition from large retail grocery chains. In this way interviews were analyzed using content analysis organized into themes. The ultimate goal was to develop some sort of framework/structure that organized material to illustrate the relationships between themes. From the content of the transcripts, I built a commentary narrative of extracted quotations, which came together to tell a story around identified themes.

Although I had a good idea of what themes might emerge from the interviews, I approached data analysis with minimal preconceived notions of what I would find. I did not formulate a rubric of categories with which I would 'fit' the data, but let the data

reveal and categorize itself, to some extent. I realize that as the analyst trying to uncover patterns and themes, I cannot help but have a bias and to exercise judgment about what is significant and what is not significant based on categories in my head beforehand (Patton 1990). Nonetheless, the analysis is inductive in that patterns, themes and categories "emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data analysis" (Patton 1990, 390).

Transcripts were read in no particular order. The first read through involved taking note of key themes. I made notes of anything of interest: similarities, differences, indifferences, and participant insights. It was not long after the first read through that I began to identify patterns in the way participants talked about similar experiences. Certain themes had a higher frequency than others. For example, one of the challenges that nearly all participants mentioned was the weather. Like agriculture, the success of agritourism is highly dependent on good weather – an everyday consideration part of the production process. During the first read through I found myself making connections between transcripts, although I had not planned on doing this until the second and third read through. In the interest of treating each interview individually and drawing out new themes that were unique to the interview, I tried to minimize linking transcripts at this early stage. I did, however, make note of what the connections were and returned to them later in the analysis. There is merit in analyzing each of the transcripts in and of themselves before moving onto the next step – looking for patterns across interviews.

Identifying patterns involved a "simultaneous comparison of all social incidents observed" (Goetz and LeCompte 1981, 58) – a constant comparing, noting and grouping of like perspectives and common accounts. Single quotations of a conversation were

‘classified’ into ‘categories’ based on common themes that could be drawn out across transcripts. I hesitated to make use of categories because they conjure images of fixed dividing lines between discriminately different groups, objects, events or classes that treat data in terms of a category ‘membership’ (Bruner, Goodnow and Austin 1972). Categories and categorization are, however, helpful in “reducing the complexity of the environment by giving direction with respect to how data can be identified, ‘ordered’ and related” (Bruner, Goodnow and Austin 1981, 176).

Quotations were identified, related and grouped together until themes started to cluster around patterns. Once all the transcripts had been considered individually, quotations were continuously compared across transcripts to reveal relationships between data sources. The constant back and forth movement between transcripts was part of the search for meaningful patterns (Patton 1990). It was, thus, important to engage with the text by continually going back to and re-reading previous transcripts and then going forward with reading new transcripts. With each new transcript, the ‘classification’ of information was refined and continually fed back into the data analysis. It was an on-going process of organizing and conceptualizing (Dey 1993).

The decision of where to ‘assign data’ was part of the evolution of categories and category meanings. After an initial and loose categorization of the data, some categories required further differentiation through the creation of sub-categories. Categories were not necessarily bound to assigned data, but were temporary locations wherein related data could come together (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Category development required a continuous process of refinement and flexibility in order to accommodate new observations. Throughout the analysis, categories were extended, changed or merged

together to avoid needless overlaps. Categories were permeable and allowed for the 'movement of data' both into and out of categories as the analysis progressed. The exercise proved that there were many alternate ways of categorizing and interpreting data (Dey 1993).

In the refining stages of the analysis (second and third readings of the transcripts), the criteria for categories turned from being vague to more precise (Dey 1993) and provided a path for spotting particular patterns. Previously 'unclassified' data now fit into an established category developed after other transcripts were read. Likewise, refinements also involved moving data from categories that no longer seemed to fit the 'rules of inclusion'. In some instances, the definition of the category was modified but still fit the categories' data. This was a process of bringing together final ideas and giving them some sort of order. The end result of the analysis, in its crude form, was pages and pages of loosely categorized quotations from transcripts.

While listening and re-listening to recorded interviews, I took note of not only what people were saying, but also how they were saying it. This is unique to data resulting from a face-to-face, personal interaction. The word interplay, utterances and actions involved in the social activity of talking are complex interactions revealed only through listening and are not necessarily evident/present in the written text. Not only did I need to study the content of the interview, I also needed to study the structures of the interaction itself (Schegloff 1992). This is where field notes were used in further interpret the transcripts.

After each interview (usually as I was driving home), I made voice recorded notes on my thoughts, impressions and mental observations. Field notes were useful for

describing non-verbal cues as well as my own impressions (Fade 2004). It was a place where I could reflect on my interaction with the participant and think about how I felt during the interview. Field notes were transcribed and inserted as notes into transcripts after transcription, which added to the accounts of the interview and were helpful reminders when interpreting the data in the analysis process. They also helped in memory recollection of time spent interviewing and were part of the interpretation process.

The hermeneutical tradition of scholarship argues that knowing is an interpretive act influenced by the characteristics and positionality of 'the knower'. Interpretations are never pure descriptions of reality, but rather, represent active sense-making by the researcher who is the information gatherer, constructor and communicator of meaning with which she engages (Belhassen and Canton 2009). At the same time, interpreting data involves 'giving voice' to research participants. I am reflexive of my research process and use several tactics to attempt minimizing the distance between participants and myself (this is further discussed later in the chapter), but it does not guarantee a removal of power relations altogether (England 2006). Although I endeavored to represent as many views as possible in my interpretation of participant stories, a power relationship remains because ultimately, I am the one who gives participants voice, or not.

3.5 Participant Observation

3.5.1 Researcher as Agritourist

As used by ethnographers, participant observation typically studies the everyday social life of those being studied and involves taking part in daily life to obtain meanings from interactions as experienced by those in particular situations (Burgess 1982). The

method is valuable because it provides experiential and observational access to people's realities and seeks to uncover how sense is made out of their daily lives (Jorgensen 1989). My use of participant observation is based on observing a specific social setting in which the researcher plays a role in the scene being studied (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). Rather than live on the farm with the farmer and observe the daily life of an agritourism destination, which is what participant observation might suggest, I engaged the role of agritourist. I used this strategy not only to understand the tourist's viewpoint of consumptive experiences, but also to understand the context of what specifically is being produced by agritourism operators in the spaces in which they live. As an agritourist, I did not necessarily experience the phenomenon I was studying (production of agritourism space), but rather, immersed myself in a tourist culture of consumption in order to observe production processes from the point of view of a consumer. The purpose of participant observation as an agritourist was not to understand the tourist's viewpoint or experience, but to understand what agritourism operators are producing and to witness how they produce it. In this way, participant observation supports a productivist thesis.

I visited 16 agritourism attractions in Southern Ontario between October 2010 and October 2011 – both before and during the interview process. The sites visited were selected because of their close and convenient proximity to my home (a maximum of two and a half hours drive) and on some occasions they were spontaneous, unplanned roadside stops. All farm visits took place on busy weekends during regular business hours of the 'peak season': the fall Thanksgiving harvest and Halloween time of year. Because agritourism is an activity offered to the public, gaining access to destinations as an agritourist was easy as long as I had money to pay for admission and transportation to get

there. At the farm itself there was a culture of consumption that allowed me to observe unobtrusively. Standing back and watching the scene is not an uncommon tourist practice and doing this did not expose me as a researcher. I did not interact with farmers, nor did I identify or introduce myself as a researcher. I simply participated and observed. This involved “sitting back and watching activities unfold” (Cook 1997, 127), but it also included taking part and being present in the unfolding activities.

In addition to collecting information about how tourists use the space, the questions guiding my participant observation as an agritourist were: (1) what are agritourism operators producing and how are they producing it? (2) What are the conditions under which farmers experience their everyday space as a spectacle of tourist consumption? Although I experienced the atmosphere as an agritourist, I also imagined how tourists were a spectacle in the everyday condition for the people that lived in the houses on the property (see figures 1.1 and 1.2). I tried to get a better idea of what it might be like to live in one of those houses and have people in my personal space on a daily basis at certain times of the year. This gave me a starting place to find insight and empathy into how home might be experienced as a tourism destination.

I was most curious to see how tourists interacted with the house on the property. On many occasions, crowds of people came within very close proximity of the building. This was unavoidable in most instances because the house was right in the middle of the action. I could see how some people might interpret the house as a prop on a set, and not consider that it is someone’s home. As I was swept up in the amusement of being on a farm the house blended into the tourism stage and was easy to ignore. Visiting as an agritourist, the farm did not feel like someone’s home, nor did I ever feel uncomfortable

or awkward being in someone's private space. The house was close, but it did not feel like I (or anyone else) was invading with a tourist agenda. The presence of other tourists made it easier to believe that the fun and entertainment of the farm as a public amusement was somehow separate from the house on the property as an actual place of residence and work. From what I could see, tourists were respecting the space, but it was still hard to imagine the invasiveness of so many people in your close quarters.

Despite the crowds of people and the obviously staged sets and amusements, it still felt like being on a farm. Many of the symbolic features of farming were present (e.g. barn, tractor, livestock of various sorts, hay bails, straw stacks and silos) but their use did not necessarily reflect 'authentic' farming. For example, the tractor had become a popular decorative prop in fall displays. It is also the method of choice for pulling wagon rides of people through cornfields. The alternative uses of farm equipment, buildings and farm space did not necessarily take away from an experience of being on the farm. Although I had anonymity as a researcher and my observations were covert, in some instances, I felt out of place and conscious of my identity as a single female taking pictures amongst families of moms and dads running around after children. My awareness of not being the 'target market' made me self-conscious and limited my engagement as an agritourist. I realized that a big part of the agritourism experience is sharing it with other people. At one of the attractions, I asked a mom of two kids if she would not mind taking a picture of me holding a candy apple I purchased (figure 3.2). I included the photo in the dissertation because it represents my reflexivity as a researcher in that I can literally see myself in the research.

Figure 3.2: A picture of the Researcher as Participant Observer, having a Candied Apple at an Agritourism Destination

Source: Picture taken by anonymous agritourist with the researcher's camera

3.5.2 Attending the 'Marketing Caravan'

As another form of participant observation, I attended a workshop for agritourism farmers interested in improving their product. It took place in March 2010, in Guelph, Ontario, and was organized by the Ontario Farm Fresh Marketing Association (OFFMA). OFFMA is an educational and promotional organization that revolves around 'direct farm marketing' – the focal point around which agritourism operators coalesce. Members include farmers and family farms interested in promoting, marketing, and direct sales, which includes on farm markets, 'agri-tainment' and pick-your-own operations (OFFMA 2009). In a report to its members, the President outlines that, "OFFMA members are entrepreneurs, growers and business people dedicated to increasing consumer confidence by producing fresh, top quality and healthy food in a fun, friendly and family oriented environment" (Experience Renewal Solutions 2009, 3). The organization acts as the 'voice' of the farmers but also legitimates and coordinates agritourism through social practices.

The workshop was titled 'Marketing Caravan' and was geared towards providing information about 'on-farm marketing' – how to market a farm and its products and services directly to the consumer. There were two presentations: (1) *Inside the Mind of Today's Consumer – Understanding What They Think and How They Buy*, and (2) *Building Productive Relationships with Local Media – How to Work with Reporters to Reach Your Customers*. These presentations were a window into the aspects of everyday work for the agritourism farmer. Thinking about how to influence the purchasing decisions of consumers and how to creatively spread the word about an attraction are examples of what constitutes work and are an important part of producing place.

Attending the workshop allowed me to introduce my project and myself to people *in person*. My identity was that of a PhD student doing research on agritourism in Southern Ontario and part of my agenda for attending the workshop was to advertise and see if people were interested in talking with me about my research or participating in my project. During the lunch break I approached the speaker, introduced myself and asked if I might be able to make a brief announcement about my project. The speaker was more than happy to oblige. She opened the second half of the workshop by very graciously introducing me. I had about three minutes to talk about my project and to establish myself in people's memories. In all likelihood a high percentage of the audience would be receiving a letter from me at some point in the future. In fact, there were three couples in attendance I had already interviewed. I also handed out 'brochures' about my project so people would have something tangible to take away with them. In this way, not only was attending the workshop part of participant observation, it was also part of my recruitment strategy.

At several points in the workshop I was conscious of 'being different' from other attendees. This was emphasized by the fact that, as a student, I did not have to pay the $60.00 fee. Attendees sat at round tables in groups of four to ten (seats were not assigned). At several points, we had to share certain experiences with the group. On all occasions I could not speak directly to the experience, but I could contribute something to the discussion with respect to the knowledge I had. For example, the group was asked to share the ways they packaged their tourism product. Although I do not package tourism products I was able to speak to the topic by drawing from examples I had encountered. I was also able to contribute to the team project of constructing a fake headline for a media

release as part of an imaginary marketing strategy. In the end my experiences proved to be valuable contributions to the group and relationships were established.

One of the benefits of attending this workshop was that it exposed me to some of the intimate details of agritourism production that were not evident when participating as an agritourist. As part of producing agritourism space, farmers cooperate with the competition not only for networking reasons but also for receiving emotional support. At the end of the workshop after everyone had been dismissed, some people left, but others hung around and formed smaller groups of people around tables. Some people continued to chat about the workshop topics and others exchanged information about their farms. I was able to observe this post workshop interaction by waiting in line to talk with one of the speakers. I overheard one woman ask another woman about pie boxes and where she got her labels. She also broadcast that she had been searching for 'something like that' for ages. The connection allowed the woman to come up with a solution that she may have not necessarily been able to manage on her own. The informal information sharing that took place was not necessarily directed through a formal workshop activity, but seemed to be a natural evolution of it. People were not only talking about business related issues, but discussions also revolved around personal matters, like the different ways to get the kids to help out.

Another group of people talked about how to deal with customer complaints – not logistically, but emotionally. Emotional support systems amongst individual farmers are a human aspect of producing agritourism space that is non-competitive and builds a sense of cooperation, collaboration and collective thinking about how to get through more challenging situations. The emotions around which the farmer's discussion revolves is the

‘common object’ (Jones and Murphy 2010) of mutual recognition with respect to one another’s purpose (Blumer 1969; Knorr, Cetina and Bruegger 2002; Murphy 2003; Schutz 1967). Associations like OFFMA provide a venue for exchanging emotional intelligence and gaining confidence and self-esteem by talking with others who have experienced the same thing. The informal interactions after the workshop enabled people to connect and provided a counseling function with respect to dealing with the emotional aspects of production.

Participating in the workshop as a researcher was an exercise in observing how farmers educate themselves about managing different aspects of an agritourism business. Although it was not part of the official agenda, nor is it typically associated with business management strategies, seeking emotional support by way of sharing experiences with others is a significant aspect of the business. The coming together of like-minded and similarly motivated individuals that form a support network for one another facilitates an emotional management. By observing the interactions after the workshop I got a better understanding of how important emotional management is to producing agritourism.

3.5.3 Articulation of Methods

My participant observation as both an agritourist and an attendee of the ‘Marketing Caravan’ brought additional value to interviews and helped shape the interview protocol. Although I was not an agritourist at all the farms I interviewed (nor did I interview all the farms I visited), my experiences informed the questions I asked during all interviews. My direct involvement as an agritourist provided me with a reference point for what participants might experience during their busy season. These observations formed the basis for asking questions about intrusions by tourists into their

private home space. It was important to experience agritourism first hand because I could draw from it in interviews and ask questions with a more informed understanding about the space and what goes into producing it. For example, I visited the farms during their busiest times, which was helpful when it came to understanding the conditions under which farmers and their families experience their everyday space as a tourism attraction. My experience as an agritourist allowed me to put myself closer to 'being in the farmer's shoes' or experiencing the space from the farmer's perspective. In particular, being in the space allowed me to get a sense of the crowds of people that attended these farm attractions. This influenced the questions I asked. For example: How do you deal with thousands of people in your close space? Did you consider the invasion of your privacy as a possibility when you first decided to introduce tourism to the farm? How have you planned the space to manage large numbers of people? Had I not participated as an agritourist, I might not have asked these types of questions, the answers of which are significant to understanding production from an everyday perspective. The experience of being a participant observer allowed me to ask specific questions and develop conversation otherwise undevelopable via the interview alone. My 'witnessing of this social event' (Becker and Geer 1957) gave me a better awareness of the potential challenges farmers might face with respect to protecting their privacy and I was able incorporate this into the interview.

My knowledge of agritourism that I drew from during the interviews came largely from my exposure to it. Because I was familiar with the types of activities offered at agritourism destinations, I was able to talk in greater detail about specific aspects of producing the space. During one interview I mentioned that, at one of the places I had

been, I launched a pumpkin from a pumpkin catapult. This led to a discussion about the engineering and locational logistics of a pumpkin catapult and the family effort that goes into creating this contraption. In another interview I was asked a question about hayrides. I mentioned to the participant that I had been on several (as an agritourist) and she asked me: what makes a really good hayride? I was able to elaborate on an anonymous comparison, which I think, earned me some credit from the participant. Had I not had the experience as an agritourist, this exchange would not have been possible. My ability to talk in detail about the hayride lead into a conversation about the 'behind the scenes' activities that go into its staging.

My experiences as a participant observer also influenced the interview process and the relationships I developed with participants. Talking about agritourism from my own experiences negotiated my identity as a person outside the realm of research. My experience as an agritourist was a conversational talking point around which we both had a lot to say. It showed my familiarity with the phenomena under study, as well as the area in which it takes place, which was important for relating in some way to the people I was taking to. Having place in common was a way to establish rapport quickly and played into the relationships I developed with participants – the focus of the following section.

3.6 Power Relations and Research

It is important to outline how I gained access to insider knowledge of the agritourism production process. The interview is a social encounter between the researcher and participant whom are caught in webs of power relations, which effect the way the participant and researcher think and feel about one another (England 2006). An

awareness of how I influence the study is a reflexive concern involving a "self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self conscious analytical scrutiny of the self as a researcher" (England 1994, 82). I acknowledge that my role as researcher influences my relationships with participants, and is part of the knowledge production process (England 1994; Rose 1997).

I made the assumption that my role as a researcher and the associated social power with being an academic likely constructed my identity in the eyes of participants, even before they met me in person. This power relationship was a concern because it could inhibit accessing situated knowledge specific to the individual everyday contexts of agritourism operators. This is of course a relationship in which participants could choose not to participate. Nonetheless, the knowledge shared by the participant is, to some degree, dependant on the relationship with me. I realize that being different is actually necessary for being a researcher, but there was still opportunity to reduce the 'distance' between the participant and myself in order to be able to say something about the phenomena under study 'from the inside'.

For the most part, it was not difficult to access agritourism owners and operators for interviews. Other researchers have recognized that families engaged in agritourism are characterized as being proud of their accomplishments and pleased to share the information they know about their farm (Veeck et al. 2006). Participants likely saw my research as relevant, useful and directly relating to their everyday lives. I would guess that a sense of empowerment with respect to their knowledge and expertise of the subject under study, and thus the elevation of their social power as experts during the interview, is gained by participating. On only one occasion did I experience a feeling of participant

mistrust or skepticism. The participant was unsure about the conversation being recorded (I am not entirely certain why). This was a tense moment for both the participant and myself. I was able to gain his trust by simply asking my first question, which was about the history of the farm – a clear source of pride for him. In fact, the interview turned into a show and tell where, like many of the other farmers I interviewed, the farmer could not wait to share his farm with me, nor could he stop talking about it.

My gender, age, ethnicity and education, as well as my rural upbringing are part of my identity as a researcher and position me relative to the people I interviewed. A unique characteristic of farmers in this study is their common European family backgrounds. My identity as a youngish white female of European decent likely facilitated how and what responses participants gave. From their view, I perceive myself to take on the identity of a nice white girl from the country doing research on pumpkin farms in Ontario. How non-threatening is that? Farmers were open to talking with me because of this non-intimidating identity and agenda. Despite the fact that I am not a farmer, they likely saw me to be 'someone like them', which no doubt increased my access to their views and experiences. I am not part of an 'othered' group or ethnic minority and neither were my participants. I doubt that a queer black man from the city would have got access to the same information. Researchers who share the same identities with their participants are more likely to be positioned as 'insiders', have closer access to knowledge, and more directly connect to the participant than a researcher who is considered an 'outsider' (Valentine 2002). The identity I have is part of the role I play as researcher, which shapes the quality of my engagement with participants.

Respect and understanding for academia is another unique participant trait that influenced the success of the research and is related to how I am positioned relative to participants. Many farmers had an appreciation for the value of research because they were educated with a post secondary education or had family members whom received or were receiving a university degree or diploma. This also made farmers a unique group to interview because they were very knowledgeable, especially about Ontario's farming industry and how it operates in the broader mechanics of a global food economy. As a research group, farmers understood themselves as caught in a larger system, which is a characteristic that facilitates the data.

One attempt in feminist research to lessen power relationships in the research process is to refer to those involved in the study as research participants rather than as subjects. This is what Morris et al. (1998) consider the "third tenet of feminist methodology, which is the rejection of hierarchical relationships within the research process by making those being researched into partners or collaborators"(221). In this project, collaboration took the limited form of giving the participant a degree of control with respect to choosing what they wanted to talk about during the interview. This was important to exercising sensitivity about people's livelihoods, home and life, and to establishing that they were the experts of their own experiences. Participants did not aid in designing the study nor were they sent interview transcripts for comments.

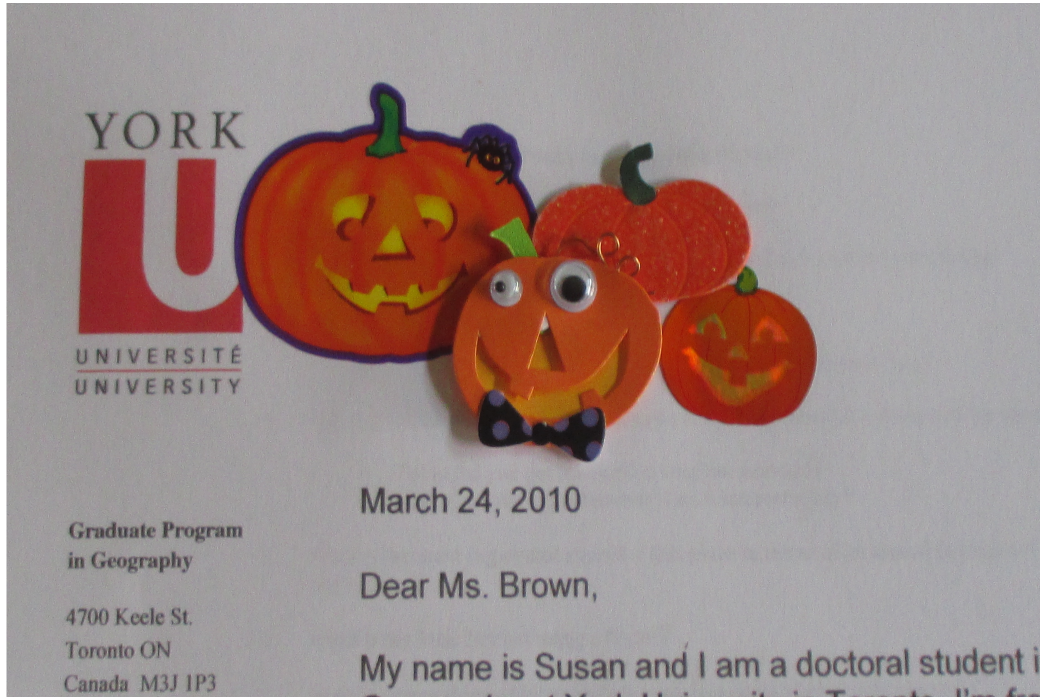
To get participants to talk openly about their experiences, a big part of my research method was to find strategies that diffused perceived power relationships between the participant and myself that might inhibit access. Although my research strategies are based on minimizing hierarchical relationships by treating participants as

human beings rather than as data sources (England 1994), in reality they are sources of data and my strategizing to treat participants with respect is, in large part, to gain access to their knowledge for a limited time and specific purpose. The following sections outline two power diffusing research strategies that helped me to accomplish my goal.

3.6.1 Googly-Eyed Pumpkin Stickers as Recruitment Strategy

As part of my participant recruitment I sent letters on official York University letterhead decorated with sparkly, orange, pumpkin, googly-eyed stickers to potential participants introducing myself, describing my project, and asking if there was interest in participating (figure 3.4). The rationale for using stickers is based on the assumption that their inclusion would elicit more responses than had I not used them in the introduction letter. This is based on another assumption that the university logo at the top of the letter would be perceived as impersonal, authoritative and intimidating, which could cause hesitation to participate. The goal was to soften the hard edges of academia and to somewhat distance, but not remove, myself from the social power of an academic institution, by counteracting the serious and formal representation of the university with an informal silly-ness. Stickers were used to disarm potential skepticism surrounding the research but also to grab attention, spur curiosity, make a friendly first impression, and convey my personality in hopes that the reader would read on, and ultimately participate. Despite the potential for being interpreted as juvenile and acting as a disincentive to participate, I assumed that for the majority of people, the presence of the stickers would increase the chances of their participation in the project, as opposed to being totally off-put by them. In large part, I am able to use this strategy because of my personality and identity as a youngish white female.

Figure 3.3: Googly-Eyed Pumpkin Pictures and the York University Logo



Source: researcher

The success of this strategy is evidenced in the study response rate as well as in participant feedback. During one interview, the participant walked over to his desk, flipped through a pile of papers, pulled out my letter, held it up and said, "this is you! I saw the sticker and I thought 'what the heck is this?" (Donald, farmer 2010) Not only was the sticker incentive for Donald to read on, it also provided a way to break the ice and quickly establish rapport during the interview. The stickers were a means through which Donald could get to know me without meeting me in person and likely influenced his perceptions of myself, his willingness to share information, and do the interview in the first place. This is important because the initial perception the participant has of the researcher, to a large degree, influences their responses (O'Connell, Davidson and Layder 1994). First impressions are important especially since "once the interviewer's presentational self is 'cast', it leaves a profound impression on the respondents and has a great influence on the success of the study (or lack thereof)" (Fontanta and Frey 2005, 707). This is an example of how I am not only part of the interaction I seek to study, but also influence that interaction (Fontana and Frey 2005). As a researcher I construct and am constructed by the research process.

3.6.2 Coffee and Conversation at the Kitchen Table

As mentioned earlier, interviews took place in participant homes, which is another contributing factor of success. Not only does it reinforce the importance of everyday space to the project but it also emphasizes that research takes place in everyday settings. Talking with people in their homes facilitated a less formal conversation than, for instance, doing the interview at a university. It made room for enabling a shift in power relations between participants and myself because it was they who constructed and

controlled where the research encounter took place. I had little control of the physical location, but participants felt at home and at ease, which I considered a desirable trade off.

The irony of doing interviews in participant homes is that I gained access to the private space of the backstage region whose very 'invasion' by tourists is problematic for farmers. This is a space that farmers try to protect from tourists and get annoyed when this privacy is breeched. As a researcher, however, I am able to gain access for the purpose of studying agritourism production. Is my invasion into the backstage region any different than that of a curious tourist?

On some occasions, coffee or tea was offered before the start of the interview. In these instances the interview was normalized through an everyday drink and non-threatening commonplace ritual over which conversation typically takes place. Sitting at the kitchen table further normalized the interview for participants because it was an everyday space around which the household functioned. The casual task of making coffee or tea before the start of the interview was an opportunity to 'chit chat' informally as well as for me to ask questions about various household items, like pictures or artwork. This gave participants a chance to get accustomed to my question style and try out response strategies. Conversational fodder about household items during the interview was also a way of getting participants to talk about their home. For example, I asked Ken and Ginger: "Is that a picture of your family hanging on the wall behind you?" It obviously was, but the question triggered a conversation about running the business as a family – a very valuable addition to the project.

An important aspect of doing interviews in participant homes was that it provided a glimpse into their everyday life. Interruptions during the interview were more than welcome because they captured what would have been taking place had I not been there. During one interview, the husband walked into the kitchen and asked a question about a bill, as if I was not there. My invisibility in this interaction between husband and wife about the everyday matters of the household made me feel more comfortable in this space and eliminated any sense that I was intruding on their daily life. More than that, it indicated how comfortable the couple was to have me in their space. They incorporated me into their daily lives, which carried on around the interview. I became part of the everyday fabric of the household.

Ken and Ginger provide another example of how my presence in the home was woven into everyday life. At one point during the interview the phone rang. Before I could say please feel free and answer the phone, Ginger, without hesitation or saying anything stood up, walked to the kitchen, and answered the phone. While she did this Ken continued talking as if nothing was happening. The conversational flow of the interview was not interrupted despite the household business. At the same time, the household business was not put on hold on account of my being present – no apologies. This instance emphasizes that research is not separate from, but rather, meets and blurs with, everyday life.

3.7 Conclusions and Limitations

The research method used is by no means perfect. There are several limitations. For instance, interviews and participant observation do not provide data that allows for an extensive mapping of the agritourism phenomenon, nor does it provide insight into the

overall economic impacts of rural tourism on local communities. The research was about the overlap of tourism, home and workspaces. The methods used targeted knowledge about production processes emerging from the scale of the household as opposed to those found at the municipal or regional level.

An obvious exclusion from the research is children's voices. Although children often played a big role in the agritourism business, ethical concerns in social science research prevented their inclusion in the project. This puts a limit on the perspective of home examined in this dissertation. Children have a different view of and would be differently impacted by the tourism production process in their everyday lives than adults. The exclusion limits the knowledge collected about the everyday aspects of tourism production.

The study could take a different direction with respect to the way data was collectred about farmers' everyday lived experiences. Rather than do interviews, and with the luxury of time and convenience, the researcher could 'shadow', or 'walk in the shoes' of a farmer for a specific period of time to get a sense of what the everyday feels like during certain times of the year. This is a different way to engage in the research process and would render a different type of 'data' about agritourism with a focus on the body. This would open the way for research on the embodiment of tourism production and how tourism production is performed. The body is central to many production tasks and is an aspect of the everyday that would bring to light another side of the everydayness of tourism production.

The selection of research sites did not take into consideration operations that failed. This is a limit because it is possible that the people who are not successful in

running an agritourism business have a different story to tell. Based on the challenges and difficulties that agritourism farmers face, however, I can speculate about the point at which agritourism is no longer sustainable as an economic or social unit (this is further discussed in chapter seven). In addition, finding failed agritourism operations could prove to be difficult. Agritourism in Southern Ontario is at a stage in which there is an increasing abundance of attractions as opposed failures. Evolutionary development models of tourism destinations (i.e. Butler 1980) suggest that farms have not failed because agritourism has not yet reached a potential stage of saturation, stagnation and decline. Regardless, the inclusion of failed agritourism farms in this study would not change the overall argument that tourism production is an everyday act.

One frustrating side to transcript analysis was reading though and realizing the participant brought up an interesting idea, but I did not pick up on it or had not probed further about it during the interview. After reading the transcripts I had further questions not addressed or answered during the interview. This could, in part, be due to a lack of systematic questioning and is another potential drawback of a conversational style approach to interviewing. Similarly, letting participants have too much control over the conversation takes away from my ability to plan for and ask follow up questions. On the positive side, the questions not addressed are the beginnings of future research.

Despite co-operative knowledge generation, ultimately it is the researcher that 'cuts and pastes' together the final narrative (Wasserfall 1993). Acknowledging this indicates an awareness of my influence in the construction of research findings. Important to this project is that "feminist research acknowledges the significance of the researcher or writer in shaping the research process and written outcomes" (Aitchison

2005b, 23). How could it not? Research can never fully be objective because it is informed by the experiences, aims and interpretations of the researcher, a human being "complete with all the usual assembly of feelings, failings and moods" (Stanley and Wise 1993, 157) that influence how the researcher feels and understands what is going on. My consciousness is ultimately the medium through which research occurs (Valentine 1997), and realizing this is a point of departure for reflexive research.

CHAPTER 4: RESTRUCTURING ON THE FARM

4.1 Introduction

There is no doubt that farmers have endured change in their everyday life in recent years. This chapter provides the empirical context in which these changes are situated. I interpret farm restructuring in two ways to show that just as the economy is restructured, so too are the everyday realities of farmers, their families and their farms. The first interpretation of restructuring continues the discussion from chapter one by further connecting agritourism and farm transformation to global changes in the agricultural industry. I provide greater historical depth into the broader circumstances in which changes to farming took place in Southern Ontario and situate these changes in the wider globalization of agriculture. The role of the state in Ontario agriculture is part of this discussion. This discussion is significant because it is the political economic context out of which agritourism eventually emerges.

The second part of the chapter highlights how changing economic conditions effect what people do in their day-to-day activities. I use the everyday to see the economy as embedded in farming as it is experienced at the scale of the farm. Restructuring at the scale of the farm addresses the changes in the practices and social relations lived by farmers and their families on a daily basis. It is in the realm of everyday life that broader socio-spatial processes are negotiated and reproduced. Global competition, acreage and land value, and generational inheritance are all aspects of a farm's functioning and I use these as examples to pinpoint how change related to restructuring is experienced in the day-to-day. These sections paint a different picture of farm transformation than the statistics presented in the first part of the chapter.

4.2 Agriculture in Ontario

4.2.1 Early Agriculture

Ontario has a long history of agriculture and in this section I highlight some of the key points by drawing from Reaman (1970). The 'Indian and French Period' between 1615 and 1776 marks an early period in Ontario's agricultural history, but it does not mark the beginning of agriculture in North America. Although pioneers and settlers brought livestock, seed grain, and tools with them to clear and farm the land, they were not the first to engage in agriculture in Ontario. Agriculture did not begin at colonial contact. Prior to European arrival, Aboriginal people of the lower Great Lakes and St. Lawrence regions had been cultivating the land. Maize was the number one crop but a variety of fruits and vegetables were also grown including strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, plums, grapes, cherries, pumpkins, potatoes, turnip, beets, cabbage, peas and carrots. First Nations agriculture was important in provisioning the fur trade until the late 18th century. Before French traders appeared, Aboriginal people traded maize for fur with woodland hunters and northern bands and, later, traded furs with the French.

When Europeans arrived, Native Americans had already cleared areas of trees so the settlers did not have to clear the land in some places. In the case of the French, agriculture was geared towards subsistence in which each farmer kept enough chickens to provide eggs and meat for the household and the surplus may have been traded at the store for sugar or tea. French settlers also introduced apples, pears, and orchards, which is significant because these fruits (apples especially) are important to Ontario's current agritourism industry.

The 'Pioneer Period' from 1776 to 1867 saw the United Empire Loyalists colonize areas of Southern Ontario in the lower Great Lakes region. These were 'upper Canada's first settlers', many of German and Dutch origin. At the beginning of this time period, agriculture becomes more formalized with the introduction of legislative acts and bills produced by the government. There is also the development of agricultural related organizations and societies interested in livestock. In an era of horsepower, these types of groups were important players in promoting new technologies, which got the 'agricultural machine going'. The start of commercial dairying in 1850 increased the production of butter and cheese, which influenced the role of women in carrying out chores on the farm. Between 1800 an 1860 wheat production dominated agriculture because it was an easy crop to grow and in demand with industrializing Europe. It, thus, became an important source of money for settlers.

With Confederation in 1867, agriculture moved out of the pioneer era and into the post-confederation period. During this time period, the Federal Department of Agriculture was established and worked with immigration to achieve growth through settlement. In 1888 the Ontario Department of Agriculture started directly supporting farmers with government sources. They also gave farm property in Western Ontario to newly arrived immigrants.

4.2.2 Rural Restructuring

Up until the 20th century, farming had been a way of life. With the introduction of the gas engine, which would replace the horse and buggy, from 1900 onward, there was a growing interest in agriculture as a way to make a living as a business venture. The adoption of machinery or off farm inputs improved farmers' economic efficiency

(Parson 1999). In the 1920s tractors were a labour saving technology widely adopted in North American agriculture (Lew and Cater 2015). Substituting capital for labour achieved a higher per hectare output (Hayami and Ruttan 1985). Mechanization also meant increasing capital costs, and farmers who could not afford new technologies could not compete with those who could (Beattie et al. 1981).

With agricultural restructuring of this nature, fewer, but larger farms, emerged, as did a change in farming from a way of life to a specialized intensive business undertaking. Mixed farming based on 'self-subsistence' was the most common type of agriculture in Ontario up until the 1910s. Families produced the living essentials and traded surplus for other things they needed. It was in the decade of 1910 that people started to realize that they needed to specialize if they wanted to make a living at farming (Bowley 1996).

The transition in farm size and production intensification is part of a larger more dramatic shift in the balance of demography between rural and urban areas in Canada since the beginning of the 20th century. Rural migration into cities to look for job opportunities coincided with the growth of an industrial-based economy and the arrival of farming mechanization in the countryside that changed the way agricultural work was done. The limited prospects in agriculture resulted in the younger generation, especially, being uninterested in staying on the farm and leaving rural communities to pursue higher education or a career (Adams 2003). In the late 1800s, with nearly 9 in 10 Canadians living in rural areas and one third of the workforce engaged in farm work, Canada was a rural nation (Bothwell et al. 1990). Before the turn of the century, Ontario could be described as a rural province with farmers as the dominant class. It was during this time

that Ontario had the most farms it ever had, the highest number reaching 216,195 in 1891 (Statistics Canada 2014).

The 1911 census, however, indicates that for the first time, Ontario's urban population (1,328,489) was greater than its rural (1,198,803) (table 4.1) (Statistics Canada 2012). Growth in Ontario's population took place in cities while rural areas experienced a decrease in population. This reflects a national trend in which the centrality of rural Canada moves to the margins with urbanization (Troughton 1992; Bryant and Joseph 2001). Growing urban forms challenged the province's rural character and diminished the role of its agrarian roots (Bothwell et al. 1990). The decreased number of census farms from 198,053 in 1921 to 88,801 farms in 1976 is evidence of rural Ontario's changing agrarian character (Simpson-Lewis 1979). An approximate decrease of 142,000 farmers between 1961 and 1976 further emphasizes the drop in farm numbers. In 1961, one out of 38 Canadians was a farmer. By 1975 this had dropped to one person in every 75.

Agricultural restructuring in Canada went through two main stages (Troughton 1992). Changes in Canada's agricultural structure were rapid in the period following World War II. In the post-war period of the 1950s and 1960s, mechanization methods in farming accelerated and reduced the need for farm labour. During this time period, agricultural industrialization dramatically shifted traditional configurations of farming (Troughton 1982). Physical adjustments were made at the farm level to intensify farm operations and raise productivity. This was made possible through the capital intensification of agriculture, which includes: investment in machinery, the use of agri-

Table 4.1: Population, Urban and Rural, Ontario, 1851-2011

Year	Population	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
		Number		*% of total population*	
1851	952,004	133,463	818,541	14	86
1861	1,396,091	258,192	1,137,899	18	82
1871	1,620,851	355,997	1,264,854	22	78
1881	1,926,922	575,848	1,351,074	30	70
1891	2,114,321	818,998	1,295,323	39	61
1901	2,182,947	935,978	1,246,969	43	57
1911	2,527,292	1,328,489	1,198,803	53	47
1921	2,933,662	1,706,632	1,227,030	58	42
1931	3,431,683	2,095,992	1,335,691	61	39
1941	3,787,655	2,338,633	1,449,022	62	38
1951	4,597,542	3,251,099	1,346,443	71	29
1956	5,404,933	4,102,919	1,302,014	76	24
1961	6,236,092	4,823,529	1,412,563	77	23
1966	6,960,870	5,593,440	1,367,430	80	20
1971	7,703,105	6,343,630	1,359,480	82	18
1976	8,264,465	6,708,520	1,555,945	81	19
1981	8,625,107	7,047,032	1,578,075	82	18
1986	9,101,695	7,469,420	1,632,275	82	18
1991	10,084,885	8,253,842	1,831,043	82	18
1996	10,753,573	8,958,741	1,794,832	83	17
2001	11,410,046	9,662,547	1,747,499	85	15
2006	12,160,282	10,351,135	1,809,147	85	15
2011	12,851,821	11,045,785	1,806,036	86	14

Source: Statistics Canada 2012

chemicals, fertilizers and other biotechnologies (Woods 2005), larger farm sizes, spatial concentration of farm production, and specialization of farm products (Bowler 1992).

Major changes in modern agribusiness in Ontario occurred in the broader global context of the Green Revolution, which transformed farming practice in North America in the 1940s and 1950s. The Green Revolution was a technological response to a looming worldwide food shortage after the Second World War, and is praised for saving millions of people from starving. It is also condemned for lowering biodiversity, introducing toxic chemicals and damaging the environment (MacDowell 2012). The emergence of industrialized farming techniques including irrigation, pesticides, synthetic fertilizers, hybridized seeds, and high-yield varieties of cereal grains are all examples of initiatives in agriculture that led to a dramatic increase in global food production and a significant re-organization of agriculture.

The second stage of restructuring in Ontario occurred post 1960s. During this time, restructuring is linked to agribusinesses: specialized farming business enterprises. These are high-cost, large-scale, intensive industrial type farming operations with significant acreage. For example, in Ontario, cattle farmers run operations with 300 or more animals, as opposed to a few dozen (Waldie 2012). Although monocultures (single product) are rare, efficiencies are achieved through such specializations. These types of large-scale operations require farming facilities with controlled environments in which light, heat and feeding can be regulated (Rees 1988).

Efficiencies are also achieved through farming practices. For example, drilling beans into cornfields without ploughing saves fuel, and planting faster growing hybrid crops that mature quicker means a sooner harvest. There has also been an increase in the

amount of farmland seeded through 'no-till' methods. Farmers no longer till the soil to plant crops, but use 'air-seeder equipment', which is faster and causes less soil erosion (Waldie 2012). These new farming practices allowed farmers to cover more acreage in a day (Manning 1997), demonstrating that large-scale farms can do more with less. Unless an individual or family is interested in running a large-scale factory farm (and many are) with hundreds of acres of mass-produced food, farming is no longer a viable option when it comes to earning an adequate income.

4.2.3 Globalization and State Involvement

Restructuring trends in Ontario take place within the broader context of the globalization of agriculture and tell part of a story of Canada's relationship to the global economy. Transformations in farming are linked to changes in the global economy of food production and commodity exchange (Ufkes 1993). Transnational agro-food corporations, for example, have improved processing and packaging, as well as refrigerated transport and low cost long distance movement of agricultural commodities, which facilitates the movement of perishable food commodities like fruit and vegetables, in the global food chain. Farmers might grow and sell produce for local consumers, but they are rapidly being replaced by food products and supply systems from the global marketplace supplied by large-scale corporations buying from industrial scale corporate farms (Klein and Kerr 1995). A sharp increase in imports since 1992 onwards is one indicator that consumers rely on fruits and vegetables from outside the province (Statistics Canada 2006). Southern Ontario's peak produce season from May to October is one of the province's most bountiful in terms of fruit and vegetable production, however, during this time small-scale farms struggle to compete with an abundant supply

of inexpensive internationally-sourced food from Mexico, the USA and South America, which is readily and inexpensively available on grocery shelves in Ontario. This is an example of the global marketplace affecting how farmers in Southern Ontario interact with other parts of the food production and distribution system.

The presence of international produce on grocery shelves is in large part a response to trade liberalization. In a neo-liberalized global economy, agricultural producers experience an increasingly competitive environment in which the state plays a less important role in the regulation of agriculture because the economy is opened up to a global food order. The system that enables food from all around the world to be sold in Canadian supermarkets is the same system that makes produce like strawberries, for instance, grown in California and transported to Ontario cheaper than strawberries grown locally (Kneen 1989). Canadians pay for food that comes from elsewhere and the money they pay goes to retailers, wholesalers and shippers with direct ties to transnational corporations. The consequence is that fewer farmers can generate income by growing food (Stabler, Olfert and Fulton 1992). They face the decision of whether to restructure in order to survive in a system based on growing food cheaply using large-scale industrial agriculture methods with high inputs and advanced technology (Krug 2003), or not.

The state plays a role in agricultural transformation by supporting trade liberalization, which opens up the country to world markets and imported food commodities (Ufkes 1993). For example, with the introduction of trade agreements, like the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Canada's spatial economic structure expanded internationally and the country's relationship with the U.S. as its number one trading partner in fruits and vegetables was further strengthened (Belanger

and Iarocci 2008; Woods 2005; Jenkins, Hall and Troughton 1998). Also, the inclusion of agricultural products in the 1994 World Trade Organization (WTO) agreements opened up Canada's marketplace to new producers from Brazil, Mexico, Argentina and China (Knox, Agnew and McCarthy 2003), which changed global trade patterns for agricultural commodities and reorganized Canadian agriculture in the global food system (Veeck et al. 2006).

International trade also impacts the dairy industry. Trade reforms calling for a reduction in import tariffs, for example, threaten the domestic quota regime in Ontario. The prices of dairy products maintained by production quotas might protect farmers, but they drive prices of supply-managed products to high levels. High tariffs are needed to protect the domestic quota from being undercut by foreign imports. This has led to the restructuring of the quota system by the government, which has capped quotas and is moving toward the elimination of the quota system altogether. The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) is a free trade agreement between 12 countries that also has potential to effect supply management. The agreement secures new market access opportunities for Canadian dairy, poultry and egg exports, but requires Canada to open its markets to duty-free imports from TTP countries. To protect Canadian farm revenues, the government has promised a subsidy in the form of an Income Guarantee Program, which would provide income protection to dairy, poultry and egg producers in the first 10 years of the TPP.

The world market also comes into everyday reach for farmers by way of foreign capital that buys up and 'contracts out' farmland. Increasingly part of Ontario's rural economy are farmers that secure contracts with multi-national corporations. Although there is no reliable data for the internationalization of farm ownership in Ontario (and

ownership by pension funds) the estimated figures are between 3% and 10%. Under these agreements the farmer often loses control over his/her independence of farm management and resources (Power 1996; Salatin 2011). The middle ground between the corporate farm and the family farm is that some family farms have the option of amalgamating and buying up acreage to create huge family run entities, some with more than one 'nuclear' family. Although they claim to be family farms, revenues are significant, which blurs the line between corporate and family farms (or creates a new category for the family farm altogether).

4.3 Restructuring from an Everyday Standpoint

But how does restructuring translate into the farmer's everyday reality? What does restructuring look like at the level of the farm? Restructuring from an everyday viewpoint provides evidence of broader economic forces embedded in daily actions. Social, political and economic relations that are constructed and negotiated at a global scale affect the everyday activities and experiences of farmers. Paying close attention to the ins and outs that are the realities of some farmers' lives reveals restructuring from an everyday standpoint, bringing insight into how farms function in wider processes of global relations. Farmer's comments reveal a qualitative aspect to restructuring that is the matter-of-fact reality and not necessarily revealed in official statistics. The Ontario Food Terminal (OTF), acreage and land value, and generational inheritance are all aspects of a farm's functioning that show how restructuring translates into changes in everyday life for the farmer. When viewed from an everyday standpoint restructuring reveals a different picture of farm transformation than was outlined in the first part of this chapter.

4.3.1 Global Competition: The Ontario Food Terminal (OFT)

The world market is brought into the realm of the farmer's ordinary and everyday life in the form of global competition. In Ontario, trade agreements are woven into the everyday acts, practices, and spaces of farm families and shape everyday life. Trade agreements changed circumstances for Ellie Mae: "It was around the time of that trade agreement; we were becoming less and less profitable because we had to compete with imports from China and other parts of the world. People could get produce from elsewhere" (Ellie Mae, farmer 2010). Ellie Mae has some sense of how larger-scale global economic processes affect changes in her farming business. Power relationships on a global scale shape her decisions, practical actions and determine her opportunities (or lack thereof). Trade agreements played a role in Ellie Mae's family farm transitioning out of wholesale farming. This is an example of how globalization not only effects the ongoing restructuring of rural economies, but also translates into lived realities that involve difficult decisions regarding the survival of the family business.

The Ontario Food Terminal (OFT) is an example of how international competition via global connectivity and associated power relations are embedded in the everyday experience of restructuring in Southern Ontario. The OFT in Toronto, located adjacent to the Gardiner Expressway, is a government-owned-and-operated fresh fruit and vegetable wholesale market that opened in 1954. It is a distribution center or point of exchange, in a global network (Lister 2007), between wholesalers and farmers, and grocers, restaurants, food distributors, caterers, farmers markets' and other food outlets. In terms of the quantity of fresh produce distributed, the OFT is the third largest wholesale market in North America, after New York and Los Angeles. It is also the only

fresh produce wholesale market in Canada. A range of produce arrives daily by truck from around the world as well as from local farms, and is sold by both wholesalers and farmers to various businesses that are licensed and registered to purchase from the Terminal.

The OFT is significant to farmers in Southern Ontario because it puts them in direct competition with international producers/suppliers. It is an example of how the globalization of food influences the economic circumstances of farmers by subjecting them to the conditions in the global market. The amount of out-of-province produce raises questions about the role of small farms in the local food economy. Farmers' experiences with the OFT translates into exposure to "cheap agricultural imports… that undermine the competitiveness of local food production" (Johnston and Baker 2005, 321). Brooke realizes that "it's getting tougher to compete pricewise especially with produce being imported from South America" (Brooke, farmer 2010). An abundant supply of cheap and accessible food resulting from the "globalization of the food supply system" (Belanger and Iarocci 2008, 210) marginalizes small wholesale produce farmers (Parson 1999). Although fresh produce is located within reasonable proximity to grocers, local farmers are unable to compete with the price of cheaply grown produce available at the OFT. Imported food products force small-scale wholesale fruit and vegetable operations into competition with a global food industry and, ultimately, push farmers out of the system because they do not have the resources to stay competitive.

Mac works out the rough math to illustrate how geographies of labor ultimately put him out of the wholesale business: "The thing with local food production is that we are trying to compete with places as far away as Chile. My labor is $150 a day; a Chilean

laborer is $150 a month. It is very difficult to compete with that. In fact, we can't" (Mac, farmer 2011). The realities of elsewhere impact differences in production costs, such as labour wages, inspection fees, and safety regulations, and contribute to the inability of farmers to remain competitive. Because of low-cost production and lack of regulation, farmers in places like South America are perceived as, "doing whatever they want" (Brooke, farmer 2010). They "get away with" selling a much cheaper product, despite the impact on human life and the environment.

Whatever the causes, differences in production costs drastically affect the difference in prices between Ontario grown and out of province-grown produce. Farmers are painfully aware of how this affects the competitive reality of the everyday operation of the farm business, but as Mac explains, some consumers don't understand the price difference: "The consumer sees an ad in the paper for cheap strawberries and then they come here and we charge $7.00 for the same box. They go ballistic because they don't understand why that is" (Mac, farmer 2011). Mac's observation indicates a disconnection between the consumer and the product they consume, namely where it is produced. He makes the assumption that if the consumer were aware of differences in production costs, then this education might help explain the extreme price differences and encourage buying local. In Southern Ontario, people are accustomed to a food economy that supports cheaply grown, imported food and not necessarily fresh produce from local farms like Mac's. Having to justify his prices to customers is a response to global competition and a result of broader economic restructuring.

In addition to differences in production costs, several farmers further elaborate on how the international position of the OFT hurts farmers in Southern Ontario. The OFT is

considered a 'catchment' area or 'dumping ground' for incoming foodstuffs in which sellers will take 'whatever price they can get for their products'. Mac provides a great geographical analysis of the process. He says:

> "Strawberries from California are available at two dollars a box all throughout our [Ontario's] growing season. I don't know if they can legitimately sell them at that price [joking], but by the time the produce has traveled from west to east; by the time their [California's] strawberries get to Toronto or Montreal, they are either sold for basically nothing, or they are garbage. That is the nail in the coffin for the strawberry business in Ontario" (Mac, farmer 2011).

The connection that Mac makes between a global food system and the end of the strawberry industry in Southern Ontario affects his everyday reality. Walter further elaborates on his understanding of how the international food supply chain from west to east works:

> "Toronto is the end of the line in terms of food from Mexico and the U.S. Food coming out of Mexico is sold in Los Angeles first. If it doesn't sell there, the next stop is New York and then Chicago. They get good prices for their product all along the line. Besides Montreal, Toronto is the last major centre to dump the product so they will take whatever they can get for their product" (Walter, farmer 2010).

Walter sees 'dumping' from out of province as the only option for sellers because there is no other market for the product and it is a way to at least make some money before the product becomes completely worthless. It is also a practice of lowering prices to hurt competitors. Farmers trying to make a living from farming cannot compete against such low prices. Walter explains in further detail what this global competition looks like by using California as an example:

> "California berries, the largest producers of berries in the world, dump their product in the Ontario market just before our season starts. Thousands of units of strawberries are available at 0.99 cents a pound. The market is overwhelmed with inexpensive berries. This year, at our farm, they are

> $1.85 a pound. We can't sell berries at 0.99 cents a pound and make money" (Walter, farmer 2010).

For Walter, neoliberal trade policy translates into everyday calculations of dollars and cents that show him how difficult it is to compete with cheaper imports. This is one way Walter encounters the global as part of his everyday life.

Large-scale retailers with substantial buying power attract international producers to the OFT, which further creates a competitive environment for local farmers. This is another example of how the global restructuring of agriculture requires economies of scale and supports an 'agro-industrial' form of farming (Marsden et al. 1993). Speaking from his experiences with 'big name' stores, Crisp is keenly aware of how he is in competition with cheaply priced, internationally sourced food. He says: "Walmart is the big new food player on the block in Ontario. Their price driven mandate has consequences for Ontario farmers because they buy everything from China" (Crisp, farmer 2011). Walmart's sourcing preferences drive which products are in Canadian stores. Similar to Crisp, Ellie Mae realizes that: "Big stores like Fortinos and Walmart are able to draw cheap produce in from the states and that has a huge effect on family farms, just huge! It has drastically changed the farming landscape in Ontario and there is still a lot more change to come" (Ellie Mae, farmer 2010). In economic terms, oligopolistic buyers like Walmart become the price setters over atomistic producers. Not only has it changed the farming landscape, it has changed the day-to-day lives of farmers and how they relate to large corporations as part of running the farm as a business.

These instances illustrate how "the industrialization of agriculture has had a political and economic impact by shifting power from individual farmers to corporations engaged in different stages of the commodity chain" (Woods 2005, 49). Larger stores are

not interested in buying more expensively priced produce sold by local farmers, like Ellie Mae. The OFT provides a convenient 'one-stop' shopping location for grocery distributors looking for cost efficient ways to stock their shelves with produce. Produce managers of large-scale retail chains save time and money by having to deal with only one supplier as opposed to multiple small independent farmers all providing different types of product. This is a reality Rex faced when he realized:

> "There is no money in being a commercial grower: procuring a lot of something and shipping it out. The big stores don't want to deal with little farmers here, there and everywhere. They don't want to make 1000 phone calls trying to stock so many pounds of this and that. They just want to call one central place; a distributor or packinghouse where they set the price and deliver the order" (Rex, farmer 2011).

In addition to illustrating how they experience connections to global competition, Crisp, Ellie Mae and Rex all make reference to a shift in a balance of agricultural activity in Southern Ontario that results from a modern food system increasingly connected to a global food supply chain. Based on the mass production of cheap food, small-scale farms in Ontario will continue to have a difficult time surviving. It is an example of how globalization reconfigures local economic relationships between grocers and farmers and ultimately affects the chain of production and consumption. This is an example of how the political economy of agriculture as a capitalist industry is present in the everyday experience of farmers in Southern Ontario.

Global competition is an aspect of farming that translates into everyday life and the OFT is evidence of how restructuring is embedded in the experiences of farmers. Similar to circumstances in the United States, "the smaller scale wholesale fruit and vegetable operations that produce some of the highest quality apples, blueberries, cherries and asparagus in the nation have had a difficult time competing in the current global

marketplace" (Veeck et al. 2006). From an everyday perspective, 'globalization' translates into farmers' struggle to maintain wholesale operations and keep the farm functioning as a viable business. Farmers are part of a global system in which a heightened inter-connectedness to other places impacts their everyday activities.

4.3.2 Acreage and Land Value

Changes to acreage and land value are also a window into how structural change translates into everyday terms. Acreage and land value are other farming factors that reveal a different picture of restructuring when the role they play in everyday life is considered. As mentioned previously, over the past several decades, farm size in Ontario has continuously increased in terms of acreage. Beth understands just how many acres she needs to stay in business as a wholesaler who sells her product in bulk directly to retail grocers. She says: "Even with 40 acres of orchards producing fruit for wholesale, it became more and more obvious that wholesale wasn't profitable" (Beth, farmer 2010). The large acreage necessary for sustaining wholesale production is a major factor that played into Beth's family's decision to get out of the wholesale produce business. Like Beth, Ellie Mae requires a significantly greater acreage than what she currently possesses in order to realize a profit from selling directly to retailers. She says: "We have 80 acres and that isn't a lot of acreage to try and make money. For cash cropping, you need at least 400 acres to make money" (Ellie Mae, farmer 2010). Sonny has a similar insight: "You are not going to support a family with 125 acres of pumpkins you sell to Loblaws!" (Sonny, farmer 2010) He is referring to the fact that pumpkin-farming operations may not be lucrative wholesale business endeavors unless they are very large in scale. As a produce farmer selling wholesale, or large quantities, to retail grocers, Sonny learned that

large-scale farming plays a role in the profitability and efficiency of agricultural operations. He, in fact, does have 125 acres of pumpkins, but he uses it as part of his larger farm tourism attraction. Beth, Ellie Mae and Sonny are all farmers that realize the trend towards large-scale agriculture and made decisions about whether or not they could continue farming according to a restructured model of industrial type farming.

Debbie's experience illustrates how restructuring translates into having the financial resources necessary for farming. She makes a comment about changes in farmland prices that are very similar to changes in Toronto housing prices during the same period, largely due to inflation. She says: "We bought our 150 acres for $30,000 in 1973. And now it's assessed at over $700,000 for 100 acres. So that's a big change" (Debbie, farmer 2010). Although compounded, an approximate change in value of $670,000 in less than 40 years is a good return.

In combination with the high cost of expanding the physical land base of the farm operation (Bryant and Fielding 1980), high property values make it lucrative for farmers to sell their farms to developers, especially near fast growing urban areas. In these areas, "the home developer is king" (Rex, farmer 2011). For some farmers, the high price offered to them by developers for their land outweighs the struggle to farm. Selling is a perfectly reasonable course of action, particularly for older farmers wanting to secure funds in their old age. Debbie confirms this when she talks about her farm that is on the edge of an expanding city. She says: "This is our main retirement fund. We don't have our money in other areas. So this place becomes our retirement fund" (Debbie, farmer 2011). She knows that developers see the potential of her land for residential subdivisions and commercial retail. Her farm is in an area bordering growing urban centers and is in

demand, which triggers speculation by developers and increases land values (Succombe 2008). Farmers like Debbie take the opportunity to sell and retire without financial struggle. For many farmers, after a lifetime spent farming, their most valuable asset is their land; it is what they have worked for all their lives. The cost of land for the farmer and the price of land offered to the farmer by the developer effects the decision to sell the farm and get out of farming.

Brooke is an example of a farmer that experienced a gradual 'whittling away' of her farm to developers: "Originally, when the farm was bought it was 1,000 acres. Over the years it has been pared back to what we have now, which is about 140 acres" (Brooke, farmer 2011). Brooke's farm is one that is shrinking as opposed to expanding. Making the decision to sell is, in part, related to the proximity of urban expansion. Farms disappear and make way for landscapes of subdivisions, industrial operations, or retail centers. Rex comments on and laments the presence of developers:

> 'With urban sprawl, the developer will come along and offer you a couple of million bucks to sever off 25 acres of the family farm for subdivisions. Heading north, there are signs: land for sale, as well as signs with big development maps of residential and commercial land uses – probably a Walmart, Canadian Tire, Shoppers Drug Mart and McDonalds – cookie cutter communities. It's depressing. I hate it" (Rex, farmer 2011).

Urban-oriented uses in the rural-urban fringe are the main reason for loss of farmland (Crewson and Reed 1982). With the arrival of retail landscapes in a once predominantly rural agricultural area, Rex refers to a changing sense of place (Tuan 1977). In addition to a physical loss of agricultural land, there is also a 'lived loss' in which people who are connected to the area experience nostalgia for what once was but is there no longer. Rex goes on to say that: "It just doesn't feel like a quiet place separate from the city. There is so much more car traffic. I liked it better when it was just tractors" (Rex, farmer 2011).

Rex demonstrates how people can experience a loss of place, especially when the 'lost' place was part of an everyday experience.

Like Rex, Nash has a farm in an area where development largely outweighs the value of agricultural land use. Nash operates a farm in the ever-encroaching shadow of urban sprawl, and is aware of how attractive his farm is for subdivision development: "We grow pumpkins on Park Place and Boardwalk" (Nash, farmer 2011). He means that the potential monetary value of his farmland for development far outweighs what he is actually using it for. There is no doubt that in the near future Nash will be made an offer he cannot refuse, and his land too will be slated for subdivisions.

Riggy's proximity to urban growth is similar to Nash's with the exception that his farm is located in the Greenbelt, in Toronto's fringe. The 2005 Greenbelt Act outlaws housing development in the Greenbelt. The result is a dramatic drop in land values because there is no potential for development (or speculation). Riggy talks about how the land surrounding his farm is being converted into subdivisions and compares it to the value of the acreage on his own farm: "The land on this side of the road went for $250,000 an acre. My 64 acres was appraised last year at $8,000-$10,000 an acre" (Riggy, farmer 2010). Although Riggy's land is protected, it is also worth substantially less, meaning that he loses out on the financial opportunities that come with selling his farm for development, which could go towards funding his retirement. It is another example of how land value is one way restructuring translates into matters of everyday life.

4.3.3 Generational Inheritance of the Farm

Changes to how the farm is inherited generationally are an everyday manifestation of restructuring. Agritourism plays a role in how the farm and farm culture is transferred to the next generation and is a way to maintain ties to the land, continue working the farm in some form or another, and keep the farm in the family. In this section I explain several ways in which broader changes to farming have effected how the farm is passed-on. Typically, children work on the farm and are socialized from a young age to take over the farm from their parents (Brookfield and Parsons 2007; Gasson and Errington 1993; Martz and Brueckner 2003). A unique aspect of farming is that it is an occupation through which a large proportion of new entrants is family, whom become involved through succession (Fennel 1981). For this reason, farms are unique types of family businesses because of the high number of farms entering the farm industry from within the family itself (Brookfield and Parson 2007). Handing down the farm ties families to the land and enables farmers to take risks in creating new opportunities for farming and to keep the family on the farm (Anderssen, Carlsen and Getz 2002; Brookfield and Parson 2007; Hildenbrand and Hennon 2008; Ollenburg and Buckley 2007).

Generational inheritance of the family farm is a tradition that continues with the farm as an agritourism destination. Agritourism is a 'mode of production' that involves some degree of passing down of the family farm, and supports the agrarian ideology of taking care of the farm resource and improving it for future generations. Motives to "maintain and develop the farm property by building the tourist enterprise on the

resources of the farm can be seen as a continuation of this ideology" (Brandth and Haugen 2012, 184). Lawne describes his family legacy at his agritourism destination:

> "My grandfather bought this farm in 1887. There have been: one, two, three, four, five generations on this farm. In its day the farm was mixed grains and hay; typical of a farm back then. There were chickens and hogs and dairy cattle. In those days people had orchards too. This was a dairy farm until twelve years ago when export became the main thrust. We went out of the dairy business and it evolved into this [agritourism] business here" (Lawne, farmer 2010).

Restructuring has affected the type of farming operation Lawne runs, but he is proud to keep the farm in the family, whatever the strategy. Harry also has deep family connections to his farm. H explains: "Dad's dad bought this land and there were no buildings, no nothing. He's the one who cleared this place with a tractor, planted pasture and raised cattle here in the summer. He is really the granddaddy of this land" (Harry, farmer 2011). This quotation exemplifies the now not so tangential point mentioned in chapter one about agritourism being part of a broader process that reproduces a normative farming family life belonging to white people. The conception that Harry has of his grandfather being the 'granddaddy of this land' excludes any histories of the land before the arrival of white settler colonialists and emphasizes a genuine ignorance and disregard of these histories.

Restructuring also effects the younger farming generation in that there is a lack of interest in taking over the family farm. Lawne is one farmer with a younger son not interested in taking over the traditional family farm operations:

> "We didn't have a son that was interested in continuing to milk cows. When we stopped milking cows, we had 50. That would be considered very, very small now. Some people have 500 head of cattle, so you have to be big to compete. And you have to have the technology; get robots to do all the milking. The growing size is one of the reasons why our kids didn't want to farm anymore. They wanted a change. They didn't want to milk cows for the

> rest of their lives, two times a day. It is unforgiving and you can't leave it" (Lawne, farmer 2010).

Despite the good price they would get for their milk quota, her children have no interest in continuing with a business of large-scale, mechanized farming in the dairy industry because of the lifestyle it demands.

Some small-scale farms are not viable business ventures to pass on to the next generation. As a result "so many small family farms have been lost; the family has just given it [the farm] up and sold" (Ellie Mae, farmer 2010). The inability to compete as a farm affects a cultural configuration of agriculture as belonging to the family and being passed down through generations. Agritourism not only allows a family farm to remain viable as an economic unit, it also allows the farm to remain viable as a social unit (Woods 2005). Agritourism is a big motivator for preserving property ownership but also for keeping familial connections to place intact. It is "one way to keep the family on the farm" (Ellie Mae, farmer 2011). It is also one way to keep the farm in the family. Although the activity on the farm changes, the family farm can still exist as a cultural and economic unit.

Passing the farm down to the next generation as an agritourism business is part of how the agritourist space functions as well. Ellie Mae makes the connection between the next generation of farmers, agritourism, and decisions to keep the farm in the family (as opposed to selling). Ellie Mae has two children whom according to her "don't seem like they will be into farming. It would be nice if one of them would be interested in taking over the agritourism business – keep it in the family. We don't want to sell" (Ellie Mae, farmer 2010). She further observes that: "it [passing down the farm through agritourism] seems to be a growing trend, especially with young people who came from traditional

farms, like cash crops or dairy or pigs, and who still want to farm. It's the only way they [farmers] can stay on the farm" (Ellie Mae, farmer 2010).

Sonny also makes the connection between generational farming and agritourism: "The next generation of farmers is coming into agritourism. If the farm were not into agritourism, there would be no farm. There would be no money there. It's really starting to keep families on the farm and keep farms going" (Sonny, farmer 2010). Harry speaks from his experience 'taking over' his family business: "It's driven by the mentality of wanting to stay on the farm, but it's also about having a farm that you want to help survive" (Harry, farmer 2011). His motivation for success is, in part, based on his familial tie to the business. As part of his generational legacy, although not following traditional farming convention, he keeps the farm in the family.

For some farmers converting to agritourism, passing down the farm to the next generation is not an option. Beth is hoping to sell her and her husband's operation to someone who wants to continue 'what they do':

> "In a way, it's like selling a tourism operation. There are people that would be interested. I know that there are people that have sold similar businesses near Toronto. If we were on the outskirts of Toronto, people would have big money to invest. There are a lot of people in the agritourism business that have property near Toronto, and they have younger generations coming along who want to carry on the business" (Beth, farmer 2010).

Beth is hoping someone like Sonny would be interested in buying her operation. Sonny identifies himself as a second-generation farm tourism owner. By this he means that he is a farmer that bought a farm as an agritourism attraction from previous owners and took over management. This is a different type of generational passing down of a farm that does not necessarily imply an agritourism operation is a family legacy, but nonetheless involves a 'passing along' of the business. Sonny talks about his experience:

> "We are second owners. We bought it like this [as an agritourism attraction] from the previous owners and we just continued with it. We added some attractions and fixed the place up. It was run down and needed improvements on the infrastructure. We got it cleaned up and now it is more than a full time job" (Sonny, farmer 2010).

Rex calls himself a second career farmer. Unlike Sonny, he has no farming background and a lot of money to invest. Similar to Sonny, Rex has no generational ties to the farm he operates as a tourist attraction. For Rex, his agritourism operation is "not a family thing. I am the third owner of this place and the trees on the farm were already planted and producing fruit when I bought this place 15 years ago" (Rex, farmer 2011). Rex's situation has 'gentleman farmer' or 'hobby farmer' has undertones in which he is an independently wealthy person who bought a farm for pleasure more than for basic income. This implies agritourism is a lifestyle choice (which is further discussed in chapter six). Sam also considers himself a second career farmer. Before buying his farm property, Sam was "a high school teacher and before that ran a flower shop" (Sam, farmer 2011). He sees himself as bringing "a range of experiences as someone who has not grown up on the farm and has not worked with their father and has not taken over the farm" (Sam, farmer 2011). Sam, Rex and Sonny's experiences illustrate a change to the characteristics of generational inheritance brought on by restructuring: it does not necessarily have to be a farmer or a member of a farm family who can do the inheriting of a farm or farm business.

Changes in the way the farm is succeeded is an example of how broader processes of economic restructuring manifest in everyday life as a decision over who in the family to pass down the farm. Farmers are faced with tough decisions about the legacy of the farm itself, which can be a stressful everyday reality amidst bigger changes to farming

itself. Despite changes in agriculture (and agricultural practices, as the next chapter will show), the long-standing connection to the land and traditional family values needed to sustain a certain way of life are not lost.

4.4 Conclusion

Restructuring is part of the changing circumstances out of which agritourism emerges and is an important aspect to consider in a broader understanding of the production of agritourism spaces. This chapter provided an empirical context of farm restructuring in Southern Ontario by talking about it in two ways. First, broader circumstances of change to farming were contextualized in a discussion of an early history of farming, shifting rural demographics, and globalization. The second part of the chapter provided an everyday account of the political economy of agriculture in Ontario by providing examples of how it is embedded in everyday actions and decisions concerning the farm as a business.

The OFT, changes in land value, and farm succession are aspects of farming effected by restructuring. Changes in these areas of farming generate new social relations and show how restructuring is directly experienced. Tourism "fundamentally restructures the relational positions of many places (whether small or very large)..." (Gibson 2008 419). This 'fundamental restructuring' is experienced in the everyday lives of farmers who struggle to earn a living through agricultural activity. Normalizing transformations in broader political economic realms translates into a restructuring of day-to-day relationships with farms and farming activities (as well as family members). The farmer's everyday life has changed with respect to who his/her competitors are, a re-valuing of land, and how the farm is inherited from one generation to the next.

Agricultural restructuring in the broader political economic realm manifests in the farmer's struggles, worry, doubt, and uncertainly about the viability of the farm. The combination of low prices and frustrations experienced with the power and politics of retailer preferences influences farmers' decisions to get out of the business. This is why the production of tourism needs to be understood from the inside; through the producer's eyes in order to understand how the logic of the market (Watts 1999) shows up in and is influenced by the perceptions of people's everyday experiences at home and in daily routines. The goal of talking about restructuring from an everyday perspective is to understand what spatial transformation looks like 'on the ground'. The next chapter continues to understand restructuring from an everyday standpoint by considering farmer adaptation as key to farm transformation.

CHAPTER 5: PERCEIVING THE FARM AS A TOURIST STAGE: ADDING VALUE TO THE EVERYDAY

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter showed what restructuring looks like at the scale of the farm in the context of agricultural change as a capitalist activity. This chapter uses added value and adaptation to show how transformation occurs in the farmer's and farm's everyday life by way of staging the farm as a spectacle for tourist consumption. Spectacle is a capitalist social relation based on mediated images that abstract the concreteness of a commodity from its representation (Debord 1967). Adding value is a practice that farmers employ in order to manipulate farm objects and their meaning. In the case of agritourism, adding value works to re-signify the ordering of traditional farming reality through strategic spatial practices. The farm as spectacle is an accumulation of changes to the farm made through the practical ins and outs of creating a landscape for tourist performance. But what does this involve? How does the farm make the transition into an agritourism attraction? How does the farmer who leads this life subscribe to certain forms of consciousness?

I use Lefebvre's social production of space (2001) to show how farmers have adapted to broader economic circumstances (outlined in chapters one and four) by altering their conception of space and changing their spatial practice on the farm. Adding value is an adaptation that requires an ability to adjust farming practices, which is a major part of agritourism production. Changing conceptions of the farm and perceiving the farm as a tourist experience play a substantial role in the production of the farm as a tourist stage. In order to accommodate flows of capital to the farm, the way the space is

conceived and perceived needs to change. This chapter shows how the farm is negotiated by way of adding value to its functioning. In doing so it uncovers what is involved in producing the farm as a spectacle.

The farm as a tourist stage reflects the constructed-ness of they everyday. The tourist stage is a highly structured and manipulated experience and many farms are carefully managed and thought out spaces, organized so that tourists can easily ‘read’ their environment, conform to behaviors, and appropriately move through the space. The spectacle of the stage conceals that the work of the farmer is part of a larger adaptation to changes in farming. Adding value is part of a ‘backstage logistics’ carried out as daily tasks that sustain the spectacle of the tourist stage. Lefebvre’s social production of space offers a way of seeing how added value is part of the production logic of preparing the farm for tourist consumption.

5.1.2 Lefebvre and the Social Production of Space

Lefebvre describes the social production of space as those meanings and significances ascribed to space that are socially produced. Lefebvre’s argument is that space is a social product or a complex social construction based on values and the social production of meanings that effect spatial practices and perceptions. Space is not an absolute, natural, pre-existing given, but is subjectively constructed in the ongoing production and reproduction of social relations produced through capitalist tendencies. Thus social space is, in part, a mental activity of encrypting reality in such a way that its representations can be deciphered and comprehended (Soja, 1996). Space is mediated through design and metaphor, between mental activity and social activity, which is deployed in space (Lefebvre 1991). Kahn (2000) clearly summarizes this relationship:

mental space, formulated in the head, is projected onto physical reality, which in turn feeds the imaginary.

The production of social space is comprised of three moments, identified by Lefebvre as: representations of space, spatial practices, and representational spaces. Soja's interpretation of Lefebvre is useful to consider for a geographer making an attempt to derive sense from Lefebvre's spatial triad. He suggests there is an interweaving of different types of spaces: the perceived space of materialized spatial practice; the conceived space of representations of space; and the lived representational spaces. In bringing together the various kinds of space and modalities, Lefebvre seeks to expose the social production of space.

I use Lefebvre (2001) to show that added value is an adaptation in the farmer's everyday conception and perception, which alters spatial practice on the farm. Spatial practice refers to how physical spaces are constructed, used and ordered in a system of space (Lefebvre 2001), and the interrelationships between spaces that are ordered for "the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation" (33). Spatial practice appears to fulfill an "ambiguous regulatory role" in that is designates how spaces are to be used and how the interrelationships between and within spaces are to be ordered. It has a commonsensical character and is fundamental to ensuring continuity and cohesion in social space.

The way farmers come to see and use space is largely determined by how the farm is conceived and perceived as a tourist destination by the farmer. Agritourism is, in large part, a product of the thoughts originating in the minds of farmers. These thoughts ultimately influence the re-configuration of spatial practice and space (Soja 1993).

Changing conceptions of the farm are, thus, part of the adaptation in spatial practice. I argue that spatial practice is evidence of how adapting on a daily basis becomes the norm for those with the motivation and entrepreneurial drive. As a response to agricultural change, some farmers choose to see and use their farms differently. In many cases space once used for agricultural purposes is re-conceptualized and re-organized for entertainment.

5.2 Changing Conceptions of the Farm as a Product for Consumption

Farmers change their conception of the farm with the realization that consumers see agritourism as a legitimate enterprise (Busby and Rendle 2000). The re-conception of agricultural space into a tourism attraction evolves with the farmer's awareness of demand for certain farm experiences and agricultural entertainment products. Tourism is, in large part, a product of the thoughts originating in the minds of farmers, but it is heavily influenced by what the consumer is in search of. Agritourists look for agriculturally related activities in which they can be entertained, stimulated, and make memories with family and friends (Che et al. 2005). With the disappearance of small family farms, the popularity of agritourism is also related to, in part, people's increasing interest in reconnecting with farm life. The rise in agritourist activities coincides with people in both urban and rural areas actively seeking opportunities to connect with the countryside in efforts to get back to their roots as well as to take in a slower paced, simpler, and safer way of life in a natural, and sometimes remote, environment (Che et al. 2005; Timothy 2005; Nilsson 2002).

The realization farmers have about their farm as an experience for agritourists is part of an adaptation to broader economic circumstances, which affects their everyday

practices as a farmer. It shows how capitalism prioritizes conceived space because it is "tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' in which those relations impose" (Lefebvre 1991, 33). Spotting opportunities for providing tourism experiences is part of a farmer's everyday work in running the business. It is also part of a producer's everyday conception – "a way of seeing and sensing the world with its own kit of technologies, techniques, and aesthetic sensibilities and pre-dispositions" (Franklin and Crang 2001, 8). A farmer who is producing tourism requires a particular way of looking at and seeing the farm as a source of entertainment. In referring to his agritourism operation Harry demonstrates this mentality when he naturally associates agriculture with fun and entertainment. He says: "I grow 40 acres of entertainment!" (Harry, farmer 2011) Beth also understands that she is producing a space in which agritourists will live out an experience. She says: "Yes, we grow pumpkins in a field, but it's for the intention of having people bring their families into it for entertainment purposes" (Beth, farmer 2010). In this way conceiving the farm as a tourism destination "dances to the tune of the homogenizing forces of money, commodities and capital" (Merrifield 1993, 517).

In talking about the origins of his agritourism destination, Ken realizes that: "People were first coming [to his farm] for the pumpkins but then they started asking 'what else can we do on the farm'? They wanted to spend more time here" (Ken, farmer 2010). Ken experiences consumer demand first hand and is exposed to an opportunity to learn about what the consumer wants in terms of the types of activities in which they are looking to participate. People are curious about farm life and rural ways of living (Brandth and Haugen 2012). Ken learns that: "People weren't shy to ask if they could go into the barn. People are interested in farm life and just want to spend time here" (Ken,

farmer 2010). By listening to the consumer, Ken is able to produce a space that allows him to grow his agritourism business successfully. In this instance, he interprets questions about things to do on the farm with the consumer's desire to spend time there. Ken's agritourism enterprise developed in large part because of the way he is able to re-think his farm in terms of guest curiosities. This becomes part of his everyday conception of space. Riggy exemplifies the type of mentality many farmers have with respect to understanding the importance of customer demand and incorporating it into the business: "We have to keep doing things that people will enjoy doing and will give us money to do! That is our challenge here" (Riggy, farmer 2010). Riggy uses customer feedback to help him create a space for tourism. Farmers have the resources to provide the types of experiences people are looking for, but, like Ken and Riggy, they first need to see their farm as an experience-based product.

Changes in conceptions of space are adaptations that require understanding space in a particular way – as a tourist. Lane realizes that: "You don't see your business until you look at it through the eyes of the consumer" (Lane, farmer 2010). Putting oneself in the tourist's shoes is one way farmers have come to understand their farms as tourism destinations. These farmers know that "the role of the tourist requires a particular way of relating to the environment that might be characterized as variously adventurous, wide-eyed and curious. The tourist is looking to be entertained, stimulated and welcomed, they are expecting to be given opportunities to buy souvenirs or to take photographs, or be led around a site while being told important and interesting facts" (Hannam and Knox 2010, 76). This is a window into the farmer's intangible and obscure liminal space in a perpetual state of transition. Zukin (1991) would describe this transition as a fact of

capitalism's constant ability to reinvent itself in advanced industrial societies. This interpretation sees the farmer as experiencing a social re-organization of space and time, reformulation of economic roles, and re-evaluation of cultures of production and consumption. The liminal experience involves crossing the imagined threshold (Preston-Whyte 2004) that separates how the farmer sees his/her farm and how s/he thinks the tourist sees his/her farm.

In catering to potential demand, farmers change their conception of what their farm is by 'growing tourism' and providing an agricultural experience to the public. As Beth explains, acting on consumer demand means "the experience on the farm is sold as the product" (Beth, farmer 2010). Another farmer realizes that "basically what we are doing is we are selling an experience" (Crisp, farmer 2011). Tourism shifts the nature of agriculture centered on food production to services and people. This is a significant shift in everyday life on the farm. The production of food is still a function of some agritourism farms, but it takes a secondary role to entertainment. The realization that Ben is selling experiences versus selling food is what shapes her everyday reality: "It's agritourism because people didn't just come to buy food; they come to have an experience in the countryside, on the farm" (Ben, farmer 2010).

Like tourists in general, agritourists engage in and form relationships with unfamiliar and out of the ordinary places that become an important and special part of a preserved memory and tradition. The memory is part of a relationship with place where a tourist connection is made. Beth understands that: "People come here for the experience and not for a perfect crop, which goes to show how important tourism is in farming. When they come for the experience, they are more willing to accept a crop that isn't

perfect" (Beth, farmer 2010). Beth insinuates that crops have different values in different contexts; in this case, they are of greater value as a source of entertainment than as a source of food. Lawne makes an insightful comment when she says: "People take on the role of the tourist once they are in that space; it becomes their mindset; they take on a different type of identity, or whatever. It is my job to make sure I deliver them a space where this is possible" (Lawne, farmer 2010). Lawne, whether she realizes it or not, has a definition of tourism that is based on the relationship one has to a space, as opposed to an idea of tourism that is based on traveling long distances. Her success is based, to some extent, on the fact that she realizes tourism can in fact take place anywhere – all one has to do is produce it, starting with an idea.

5.3 Perceiving the Farm as a Tourist Experience

Agritourism changes the way the farmer thinks about the farm, as well as the way the farmer creates the farm space materially. Symbolic meanings are objectively expressed in the built environment and intimately related to directing how space is used (Lefebvre 1991). Farmers come to see and understand the farm as an environment in which people can interact by engaging in certain agritourism activities. This is the perceived space of the farm: the material, measurable, absolute physical spatiality (Soja 1996). Part of the farmer's relationship to the farm is to understand how the space being produced facilitates an embodied experience for the tourist.

Physically changing the meaning of farm space involves finding and adding value where value did not necessarily exist before (or existed in a different form). This is part of the day-to-day planning of material space. Added value is a major characteristic of agritourism that has the goal of enhancing consumer appeal of the farm as a space of

consumption (McGehee 2007; Collins 2010). In the field of consumer culture, a considerable body of literature suggests that consumption choices are not only made around a product's utility, or use value, but also around its symbolic properties and ability to carry out and communicate cultural and social meanings, or its sign value (Dittmar 1992; McCracken 1988; Douglas and Isherwood 1979). Agritourists are willing to pay money to visit an agritourism destination because they value the opportunity to experience a farm way of life (Fleischer and Tchetchick 2005). 'Selling farming' depends on tapping into the traditional social conceptions of the countryside as a 'rural idyll' to reach a potential market of tourists in search of a farm experience (Bunce 2003; Bell 2006; Short 2006; Horton 2008; Baylina and Berg 2010; Hopkins 1998). By adding value, the material landscape of the farm takes on new meanings and becomes a symbolic space idealized through representations (Hopkins 1998).

Adding value is a strategic spatial art involving creativity and the re-use of existing resources. In many instances, agritourism consists of mundane material objects part of everyday environments, which take on new meaning because they are used in different ways. In referring to an old 'driving shed' on his property, Harry realizes that: "You have to be creative and figure out what to do with your resources. Things can be reused, revalued for agritourism purposes" (Harry, farmer 2011). Harry, like several other farmers, decided to turn his driving shed into a haunted boo barn, just one feature on his large scale fall-themed attraction. In a haunted boo barn, one is invited to lead themselves through a darkened maze of spooky scenes, sounds, and sometimes, scares. This presupposes the use of the body in spatial practice (Lefebvre 1991). It also ensures cohesion with respect to how this space is understood by all who use it. There is a

spectrum of scare-factor enthusiasm; from a "not too scary heapin', helpin', of jumpin' good fun!" to "haunts that will bring your nightmares to life!"

The boo barn is significant because it is a transformation of material space that requires the symbolic value of the highly popular and commercialized Halloween and Harvest season. Ironically, it also conjures images that reinforce an imaginary of rural abandonment and irrelevance, which is exactly what the 'boo barn' as part of an agritourism destination is trying to prevent by acting as a themed attraction. Halloween is part of a consumer culture that has arguably grown in popularity in North America over the past three decades. Farm tourism operators take advantage of this consumer trend by making it part of the themed agritourism experience. The commercialism of the season creates value in farm space for untraditional agricultural proposes. The boo barn is a good example of how the use of space changes drastically with meanings appropriated to them.

In another example, Harry explains that the bakery/restaurant on his property, "used to have chickens in it. There were 12,000 chickens in here. It was a cage system. Actually, you can still see the lines on the floor. This was a walk way and this was the gutter system; a manure conveyor that went around and through this area" (Harry, farmer 2011). The physical scars of infrastructures from previous uses are hidden in the newly purposed space, which has more value as part of an agritourism attraction than as an actual chicken coop. The function of the building changes with its new everyday use. Similarly, tractor-drawn wagon rides through fields and forests are also a way of adding value to agricultural resources, changing the use of space and how it is perceived. Many farms offer visitors the experience of taking a wagon ride in which people sit on bails of hay and take a tour of the farm. Farm machinery is not used for cultivation but as a form

of transportation and entertainment. Land is not used for growing crops, but as a stage on which people can experience a farm. This is all part of the farmer's plan to use farm space differently.

Crops also receive added value as part of an agricultural attraction. As a crop for wholesale, pumpkins have a value with respect to the price the farmer can expect to receive from a buyer. A farmer may receive $80 for a 270 kg bin of pumpkins. If each bin contains approximately 35 large pumpkins, the farmer receives the price of $2.29 for each pumpkin at a distribution centre (for example the Ontario Food Terminal). As props in an agritourism setting, their potential value goes up. The value of the pumpkin is enhanced through its jack-o-lantern alter ego, which has great popularity with the Halloween crowd. Because of the popularity of fall harvest and Halloween in consumer culture, pumpkins take on a new importance in society.

Bright orange pumpkins are a striking visual feature of October landscapes in Southern Ontario and provide a good idea of the logistics and organization involved in setting the stage. The material presence of pumpkins is part of the spectacle on Murray's farm. She says: "In September, we will fill the front yard with about 7,000 pumpkins. It takes a few days to get everything set up, but the thousands of pumpkins is an enticing spectacle for people" (Murray, farmer 2010). Murray knows thousands of carved and un-carved pumpkins laid out on her green grassy lawn has a significant impact on the tourist's psyche. She knows that the work of staging each individual pumpkin on her lawn pays off for this reason. Similarly, Lil and her family "use straw to decorate the front of the farm and go crazy wild with pumpkins. It brings people out because it is something to see. It attracts so much attention. It is unbelievable" (Lil, farmer 2010). The

appeal Lil talks about is the very definition of spectacle: a large-scale public show or display that is visually striking or impressive in some way and is able to attract attention.

Practically speaking, pumpkins are the ideal crop for agritourism because they have a good reputation as "a pretty easy crop to grow. They are forgiving. You just plant them and they grow like weeds" (Ellie Mae, farmer 2010). They are also "an economical crop to grow. They give you lots of return per acre" (Mac, farmer 2011). In fact growing the actual crop is less of a concern than creating the meanings surrounding it. Murray reports: "We put more energy into improving the fall farm fun pumpkin festival than improving our pumpkin crop" (Murray, farmer 2010). Pumpkins are integral to the materiality of fall farm festivals and an iconic symbol that represents not the food product, but an amusement. This is an instance when the value of the crop goes beyond the crop itself. In this way, as one farmer puts it:

> "We are farming tourism. We are putting in more than the cost of seed for something. We are investing much more than planting a seed and success depends on many factors. I always stress that we are not selling pumpkins; we are selling memories. People need photos of their two year old in a pumpkin patch. That makes the difference between buying a pumpkin at Zehrs" (Sonny, farmer 2010).

In talking about how people willingly pay high prices for pumpkins while at his farm, Walter points out that: "People don't see a jack-o-lantern as food. It doesn't have the same value as food. Because they are using the pumpkin for a jack-o-lantern, people are willing to pay $15 for it as opposed to $1.99" (Walter, farmer 2010).

Corn mazes are an interesting re-organization of agricultural space for tourism and entertainment uses. In a corn maze people work their way through a maze that has been cut in a cornfield. Mazes are designed in artistic patterns and usually form an image that can be seen from an aerial view. Corn mazes provide a secondary agricultural

activity in terms of the degree to which agritourists interact with agriculture (Phillips et al. 2010). Instead of being involved in the planting or harvesting of a cornfield, people are actively involved in using the cornfield as a form of entertainment and fun. The maze acts as a layer of meaning that enables a physical interaction with agriculture. The experiences that tourists have are, in part, dependent on the material reality behind the corn maze. One farmer emphasizes that: "A corn maze is an agricultural activity. Although, twenty years ago, this was not part of farming; they didn't exist" (Harry, farmer 2011). The adaptation has been to grow corn mazes as places of entertainment and education related modes of consumption. Farmers emphasize the fact that, "corn mazes for entertainment purposes require farming. It may not be cash cropping, but it requires a plant and harvest; it's combined like a regular crop" (Ken, farmer 2010). Although the end use is not traditionally agricultural, the cornfield nonetheless requires agricultural skill and knowledge to grow the maze as part of producing this space.

Pick-your-own agritourism venues including berry farms and apple orchards represent interactive agriculture in which consumers are actively involved in the production process. Marg realizes that: "Customers are actually doing the harvest. They go out and harvest the crop. It's a different type of harvest, I guess, but it is still a harvest" (Marg, farmer 2010). In referring to her pick your own apple orchard, Marg provides another example of how agricultural space is practiced by tourists. Picking your own produce is an agricultural experience and a self-harvest. Like the majority of tourism experiences, active involvement by the consumer is necessary in the process of producing the product; the tourism product does not exist until the consumer is at the point of production (the destination) and consumes the tourist experience through action

(Debbage and Ioannides 2005). Orchards are spaces that require the tourist to embody agricultural labor disguised as tourist experience by acting-out/performing a harvest. Through this performance, the tourist body develops a special relationship with space (Merrifield 2000). As part of thinking about the orchard, the farmer understands the space from the viewpoint in which people practice the orchard as a pick your own experience. Like the cornfield, the adaptation is to change the spatial organization of the farm so that it is suitable for tourist use by adding value to an ordinary farming object.

Stage management is part of the adaptation in terms of thinking about how the farm is perceived as a tourist space. It involves strategically designing and planning the material and aesthetic qualities of the environment as well as developing strategies to efficiently and effectively move or ‘choreograph’ people through space (Edensor 2000). There is a degree of planning and intent that goes into arranging the space for a specific purpose, which is part of the everyday construction of putting the space together. In this way, tourist performances are “supported by a cast of directors, stage-managers and choreographers who guide tourists along particular routes, organize their photographic performances, maintain stages in an organized state so as to minimize any disruptions and reinforce collective norms” (Edensor 2007, 204). Creating ‘photo ops’, signposting sight-seeing points, blocking entrances, chaperoning tourists, and discretely situating buildings or ‘props’ are aspects of the tourist stage around which tourist performances are organized (Edensor 2000). Setting the right stage is part of this and is important because it conveys meanings that influence the kinds of performances tourists can ‘act out’ (Edensor 2000). The way things are arranged in space sends a message to the user about how that space is to be used as a tourism destination.

Arranging places for people to sit is an example of stage management. By observing people on his farm, Donald realized that: "People want places to sit. Last summer there were these guys standing around while their wives were picking in the fields. I offered them some old plastic lawn chairs and said to them 'here, sit'. They were so happy! Now this year I have chairs, benches and picnic tables all around the property" (Donald, farmer 2010). Although he reinforces a gendered use of space in his anecdote, Donald sees an opportunity to add 'props' to his stage in order to make it more comfortable for the men waiting for their wives. In this instance the pick-your-own patch is produced as a hetero-normative space in which women do the work and men sit and watch. Nonetheless, it reveals the process behind the logistical arrangement of seating areas on his farm. This particular instance is an ad hoc arrangement from which Donald learned that sitting is a big part of enjoying the space for tourists. By observing how people used the farm he improved the space to meet the needs of visitors by increasing the number of places to sit. Likewise, Murray has planned ahead in arranging her space with the tourist in mind. She says: "We are going to bring in a tractor-trailer load of sand and we have these metal Tonka toys the kids play with. We've set up benches around the area so parents can relax and watch. We are even thinking about having a coffee stand" (Murray, farmer 2011). Her plan is all part of perceiving her farm as a tourism destination.

Another logistic of spectacle is defining the farm's boundaries. Signs are a part of staging and maintaining clear spatial boundaries in order to reduce the unpredictability of tourists. Signs, for instance, indicate how to act (i.e. the rules) and are a form of 'soft control' (Ritzer and Liska 1997). They direct people by literally helping people read

space, act as reference points for tourists, provide direction with respect to how space is to be used, and communicate information with the goal of generating greater appreciation of place. Despite his efforts in having signs to communicate information to customers, Rex says:

> "No matter how many signs you put out, you will still have people asking you questions that the signs answer. People who have never been here before are really frustrating. They don't know the rules. They say 'where do we go? What do we do?' You have to layout the place specifically for people. You need signs everywhere. You need to mark things out" (Rex, farmer 2011).

The frustration Rex feels is an emotional part of the agritourism production process (which is further discussed in chapter seven). His comment suggests the difficulty in reinterpreting a familiar and routine everyday space as a space of consumption for the tourist.

Staging also applies to dangerous areas where tourists are off limits. Referring to a water body on his property Riggy says:

> "We don't want people going back there, so we've just let the field grow in wild. We don't want some kid coming out over here and falling into the pond. So we need to control people and make sure that everyone who is on the farm is where they are supposed to be and not doing things they shouldn't be doing. This area is out of bounds. There is a sign right back under that tree that says only guided tours beyond this point" (Riggy, farmer 2010).

In letting his field 'grow wild', Riggy creates a landscape that says 'do not enter', which contrasts to the well-pruned manicured lawns and trimmed hedges in front of the barn at the front of the house. Marylou's experience is similar in that she sees the importance of spatial boundaries in restricting access for safety reasons:

> "You don't want people going into some spaces. There are dangerous spots and you want to make sure that someone's kid doesn't poke a goat or something. We want what is safe for people. There are times when my

> husband will go with yellow tape and cordon off sections – like do not pass this line. There's dangerous farm equipment in our barns. We store machinery we are not using. You can have a lot of danger if people go where they aren't supposed to go. Inevitably they do, so you always have to be watching – despite the signs that clearly state 'do not enter'" (Marylou, farmer 2011).

The way farmers use signs and barriers to keep people from entering dangerous areas is a way to 'control space' and shape the particular practices of agritourists; they are restricted access to certain parts of the property, which are demarcated by signage and overgrowth. The overgrowth is part of the intentional design of the space.

The stage has a different set of logistics when it is perceived in a literal, theatrical sense (Edensor 1998). In these cases, tourist stages include small dramas in which actors are employed to perform roles or 'small dramas' and recite loosely scripted lines – encouraging the audience to participate (Edensor 2001). Sonny's haunted hayride is framed as a drama requiring visitors to participate in a 'fantasy space' as characters on a set, and is open to ad hoc, unplanned and improvised performances by the actors. Sonny talks about how he is involved in a literal performance at his agritourism destination. He has a nighttime haunted hayride in which "people in masks run behind the wagon, and some jump on the wagon. There is a scare factor element to every scene along the ride" (Sonny, farmer 2010). Cheryl, Sonny's wife, says: "He [Sonny] goes a bit 'Wonderland'", meaning: "It is an attraction that guarantees a genuine scare factor" (Cheryl, farmer 2010). Sonny provides a 'high quality scare' and is known for his haunted attraction. It is also an important aspect of Sonny's well-being that shows how he is personally connected to the production of space (well-being as part of the production process are the topics of chapters six and seven). He continues: "It is what I love. It is my interest. I love scaring people. I built haunted houses growing up and it's weird that I

ended up doing this as a living. I love running behind the night wagon ride and scaring people; seeing the looks on their faces!" (Sonny, farmer 2010) Scaring people brings Sonny a sense of meaning into his everyday life.

The wagon ride represents the work of people who carry out a planned performance multiple times a day on weekends for approximately six weeks. Sonny's haunted hayride doubles as a family friendly ride during the day. He talks about the logistics of making the transition, which illustrates some of the practical considerations of arranging the stage:

> "We use the same pathways and sets for the daytime as we do in the nighttime. It's pretty much the same actors but they are playing out a different storyline; it's not haunted or scary or anything, but we make it fun. Characters pop onto the wagon and interact with the crowd and tell jokes; it's great. There's a scarecrow and Little Red Riding Hood; they both 'hitch a ride' on the wagon and do their 'bit'" (Sonny, farmer 2010).

Wagon rides that tour the farm property are harmonized with a storyline and characters that match a themed environment and are part of a storytelling of place for the purposes of consumption. This is part of how the destination gets reproduced daily during the busy season. In this instance, tourism production involves suspending reality for the tourist through performance and, as shocking, unexpected, spontaneous and excited as it might be for the tourist, is a routine occurrence of daily operation for the actor doing the work. This is all to say that there are many different ways in which farmers perceive their farm as a tourism destination and the idea of the stage helps to point out the material practices that are part adapting the farm into spectacle.

5.4 The 'Off-Season' Stage – Lived Space of the Farm

The 'off-season' stage is a way of perceiving the farm in a way that indirectly sustains the spectacle of the tourist stage. This aspect of the stage is not visible to tourists, nor is part of how tourists think about the space. It is, however, important to think about how the spectacle gets reproduced from year-to-year, and how logistical uses of space in the 'off-season' become part of the adaptation. The 'off-season' stage is part of the back-stage activities not seen by the audience that play an important role in the pre-formance (Andreae et al. 2013) of an agritourism attraction. Advance preparation of the stage includes tidying up the landscape, cleaning out storage buildings, setting out picnic tables kept in storage areas, stocking store shelves and setting up play features. Pre-formance is an important part of the production process because it prepares the tourist stage in advance of the arrival of tourists.

In the off-season, the nature of the stage changes because tourists are not present and the space has a different use, function and feel than during the busy season. Pointing to a large shed, Rex says:

> "This storage area is a bit of a mess right now, but we will clean it up and make it a picnic area for people. These bins are here for storage. Everything will come out of here and then we fill it with picnic tables. I set up straw structures and pyramids. I have so many things to do to get this place ready to roll" (Rex, farmer 2011).

Rex looks into his storage shed and sees work. He mentions some of the tasks he has to carry out as part of preparing the place for tourists. Cleaning out the shed is a mundane and boring chore that is central to the production of Rex's agritourist attraction. The example also shows how Rex strategically uses the space for different purposes during different parts of the year. It emphasizes the everydayness of the stage and shows that the

stage is not always a spectacle, and that spectacle is a process of daily efforts, which accumulate into a spatial transformation. The off-season stage sustains the spectacle.

When giving me a tour of her property, Ellie Mae says: "I feel bad that nothing is set up. It doesn't do you justice because all the props are in the barn with a tarp over them. It's a totally different place in the busy season" (Ellie Mae, farmer, 2011). She justifies the closed-up state of the off-season stage with the everyday reality that: "You can't have things set up over the whole year" (Ellie Mae, farmer 2011). At the end of the interview she invites me back to "experience the place when it is all done up and it will be a totally different view of the farm. In order for those 30 busy days in October to happen, we need these days of not being busy. It all equals out" (Ellie Mae, farmer 2011).

The off-season stage emphasizes the insignificance of the spectacle. For the majority of the year the spectacle is stored leaving the stage as 'nothing special' in the farmer's eyes. Harry explains:

> "Eleven months of the year, this [his tourist stage] is what it looks like; nothing happening. And then for one and a half months it will be a zoo. You're just going to have to imagine what it looks like. It doesn't look like anything now. This place needs to be tidied up. It is kind of embarrassing right now. You have to imagine the skeletons here and the picnic tables here so that people can sit during the show. We will cut the grass and weed-wacker and grade the driveways. All the paths get wood chipped too. When it's up and running it is spotless" (Harry, farmer 2011).

Harry provides a reminder that maintenance is a big part of producing the agritourist stage. In addition to his storage-shed mentioned previously, Rex also has a store that is part of the tourist stage that undergoes a transformation. He says: "People are always saying how wonderful our store is. Right now it is a bit musty and smells. But four weeks from today this place will be transformed: all cleaned up and filled up with new products" (Rex, farmer 2011). Rex makes reference to transforming his store. The

smelliness of the off-season is undetectable come time for customers to browse the shelves of his gift shop for homemade candles, silly Halloween knickknacks and crafty autumn creations.

Harry and Rex have a rather long to-do list to get through before the place is ready to welcome tourists. The empty paths and unfinished displays provide a reminder of the work and preparation necessary in the functioning of an agritourism operation. It is also a reminder that mundaneness is part of the producer's conception of spectacle. Setting the stage is part of an everyday process of doing 'this and that'. The half-built displays and tarped-over games represent tourism when tourists are not present. It is still part of the production of the staged spectacle but with an everyday reality that is void of fanfare and razzle-dazzle otherness. Harry makes references to this latter point when he says: "People liven the landscape" (Harry farmer, 2011). This statement points to the importance of people/crowds in the production of tourism places. For Harry, the quietness of the off-season stage emphasizes the absence of crowds and the dynamism that people bring to his stage. This is reflective of the fact that "most tourist places are 'dead' until actors take the stage and enact them; they become alive and transformed" (Haldrup and Larson 2010, 6). It is a reminder of how important the tourist is to tourism, as well as that the stage is a living and evolving organism that is produced by both the farmer and the presence of the tourist. This may be the same location, but it has become a new and different place with the arrival of tourists (this is further discussed in chapter seven).

5.5 Blurred Lines Between Farming and Tourism in Everyday Life

The above discussion points to how tourism and agriculture have merged through various spatial strategies. The re-conceptualization of the farm as a tourism attraction and

a shift to service based activities on the farm raises questions about the blurred lines between farming and tourism. This is significant because it points to how the everyday life of the farmer and farming have changed with the introduction of agritourism. It also challenges traditional understandings of agricultural production.

These changes are not lost on farmers. Lawne, for example, recognizes that:

> "The nature of farming has really changed with the introduction of tourism. It's a combination of the two things [tourism and agriculture] that make it work, really. It's hard to separate one from the other. Adopting all of these entertainment things is interesting because it sort of becomes a part of agricultural production" (Lawne, farmer 2010).

Entertainment as a form of agricultural production raises questions over whether or not tourism activities taking place on farmland are indeed part of the agricultural business (Busby and Rendle 2000). Some operators believe that "entertainment farms have very little to do with agriculture on the farm" (Farmer Mac, 2011). They might take place in a farm setting, but there is no 'real' level of agricultural activity (Peebles 1995). Riggy sees it as a "reduction in the complexity of agriculture" (Riggy farmer, 2010) and a disconnection from farming's original purpose. Crisp says: "Entertainment is fine for agritourism but I don't think those big farms are about farming anymore" (Crisp, farmer, 2011). Agritourism destinations are seen as increasingly not requiring "a working farm as their traditional activities are forced to change or adapt to meet visitor demand" (Busby and Rendle 2000, 640). From this perspective adaptations disrupt an agricultural ordering of space and disconnect the farm from its original purpose – a position that some farms are no longer for farming.

The comment by Sonny that: "You can't just farm" implies that an individual has to be more than a farmer if you want to farm. Agritourism more than just farming and

requires developing new skills to be competitive (McElwee, 2006). The small business nature of many agritourism operations requires the farmer/business owner to 'wear many hats' in addition to farming. In particular, marketing is required to capitalize on new consumption trends for farm experiences. Marg points out that: "You have to have marketing skills and know how to plant soya beans and field corn" (Marg, farmer, 2010). Lowel realizes: "There are different areas that you have to be aware of when you are a farmer. There is the planting and harvesting. But then there is the marketing part. Your website, for example, and answering the phones and doing that end of the business" (Lowel, farmer, 2011).

Marketing connects the agritourist to the agritourism experience and is part of the production of space. Like most tourism attractions, farms need to get creative with marketing strategies aimed at drawing customers to the attraction. Understanding who the market is and how to connect with them takes on greater importance in the overall operation of her farm than one farmer realizes: "Surprisingly, our most important farming tool is our marketing databases! Databases are a big part of our marketing. We collect emails and send out an e-newsletter three or four times in the fall" (Beth, farmer 2010). Connecting the product to the customer requires that a significant amount of annual budgets be allocated to marketing strategies. Sonny says:

> "Our investment isn't in machinery; it's in our website. It's in our marketing. We have a huge marketing budget. Much more than for a small restaurant because we need people to come out and we have six weekends to do it, and if we don't tell them where we are and that we're open then they're not coming out" (Sonny, farmer 2010).

Sonny makes reference to the seasonality of his agritourism destination and emphasizes how this puts pressure on connecting with the potential agritourist. In talking about

selling their product directly to the consumer, Marg says: “The Internet has changed farming. Farmers can directly market to the consumer through their websites. It’s totally changed the way farmers market” (Marg, farmer 2010). Marketing is a new tool kit for farmers and learning how to market their farm as a product is a new practice.

A quote from the Canadian Tourism Commission (2003) reports a rather extreme case stating that: “Farmers often know as much about tourism as most people know about farming”, implying that farmers don’t know a whole lot about tourism. It is true that “marketing is a whole different ball game compared to just growing things. It’s much easier to just plant your soybeans” (Sonny, farmer 2010). Farmers who are entrepreneurial in character, however, take on risks and are willing to go to great lengths to ‘make it work’, including continual education and updating skills that are not conventionally considered agricultural. Attending workshops and being members of marketing organizations are ways farmers improve their knowledge base about agritourism.

Agritourism experts realize that “farmers don’t usually think of themselves as being in tourism” (CTC 2003). On the other hand, Sonny struggles to think of himself as a farmer: “When we go through customs, they ask what we do and I choke back farming. I don’t think I believe it! I think of us as business owners” (Sonny, farmer 2010). Ellie Mae presents an example of how individuals have trouble extending the concept of self as a farmer: “We are not farmers. We are not big on farming. What we do is simple: we cultivate the land in the spring, plant pumpkin seeds and fertilize, and then we cultivate in the fall” (Ellie Mae, farmer 2010). Yet by Lane’s definition, this is exactly what makes her a farmer: “I consider myself a farmer because I grow food” (Lane, farmer 2010).

Other participants easily identified with being a farmer: “First and foremost, we are a farm and the other aspects of the business evolved because of the farm base” (Riggy, farmer 2010). Another says simply: “Hands down, we are farmers” (Murray, farmer, 2010).

The meeting of agriculture and tourism challenges the traditional understandings of agricultural production and farmer identity with a shift to a service based enterprise of non-traditional activities taking place on the farm. Farmers have not necessarily divorced themselves from agriculture; they have altered it. This shows that as farms make their transitions into agritourism, they increasingly do not require the traditional activities of a working farm (Busby and Rendle 2000). Re-valuing space points to the new skills and knowledge needed to be a farmer. To be a farmer means that you have to think creatively and use your resources in different ways.

Agritourism does, thus, raise questions over the nature of farming. Does tourism play a part in an ‘agri-rupture’: a transformation in the nature of farming via creative and innovative spatial practices; a multifunctional model of agriculture? Does the farm in this configuration discredit traditional notions of farming? In this representation of farming, is farming unwritten or rewritten? The question arises as to the social role of the farmer: does a farmer farm food or tourism/entertainment? Although some might perceive the farm to be artificial, especially with the increasingly entertaining experiences offered, many farmers operating agritourism destinations see it as a way of honoring farming.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the production logic of agritourism space based on adaptation and added value that is part of the everyday preparation of the farm as a tourist

space. The decision to diversify the farm translates into daily strategies of the ongoing adaptation of finding added value in the everyday space of the farm. Diversifying agricultural activity with tourism is a financial adaptation related to business decisions, but also requires physical adaptations in terms of making changes to the way the farm is run as a tourism destination i.e. as a place for tourists. Although farmers are embedded in the economy, they adapt and find new ways of surviving that raise questions about whether it is still farming in which they engage. The ability to adapt to changing economic conditions is a key characteristic of farming and for many involves merging agriculture with tourism, which is part of everyday work. People need to adapt to survive and farmers took advantage of their circumstances by changing what they do in daily life. The adaptation strategy of finding added value is a big part of what they do.

Adaptations to the way the farmer conceives and perceives the farm space as a tourist destination is part of an everyday logic in response to broader changes in agriculture and illustrates how people experience restructuring related to agritourism as part of their everyday lives. The everyday activities of farmers and how they change the way they conceive and perceive the farm in the face of agricultural decline is an avenue for understanding how farmers and their families adapt to changing economic circumstances. Perceiving the farm as a tourism destination and changing how farm space is practiced are part of farm restructuring that manifest as adaptations involving creativity on a daily basis. Adaptations are normalized through daily negotiations; negotiating change is part of daily life. In many ways agritourism is a creative livelihood suited for particular individuals who have an interest in transforming space and its use.

Although not directly related to agricultural change, Povlovskaya's (2004) findings that "the dominant discourse of transition fails to see the many 'other transitions' that accompany the restructuring of industries and regions" (330) applies to dominant tourism discourses of agritourism restructuring in Southern Ontario that might fail to see the transitions highlighted by adaptations. Adaptation reveals agritourism as a space that confirms a degree of agency for the farmer operating within a structured system that imposes forces of change beyond any farmer's individual control. As part of their everyday functioning, the farmers in this project negotiate dominant and imposing economic structures with expression, creativity and individuality that manifest in the everyday practices of operating an agritourism business.

CHAPTER 6: WELL-BEING AS PRODUCTION LOGIC

6.1 Introduction

The everyday is anchored in a spatial ordering of home (Felski 1999) for agritourism producers. This chapter uses home to humanize production and make visible alternative aspects of tourism economy not necessarily driven by financial gain, but by the day-to-day negotiation of home as a place of residence and as a place of work. The experience agritourism farmers have producing space is not completely made up of, completely based on, nor is it fully explained by, the economic logic identified in the previous two chapters. This chapter uses home to show how agritourism production is also based on the logic of well-being achieved through self-employment, involving family and friends in work, and emotionally connecting to the work. This is not to say that agritourism is not a money-generating endeavor as chapter 5 suggests, but rather that an alternative productive logic of well-being is in constant negotiation, and sometimes confrontation, with capitalism.

In many ways, the experiences of farmers producing agritourism are arguably indistinguishable from those experiences of farmers in the more traditional sense. This is largely because both types of farmers, in the majority of circumstances, work where they live: home and work take place in the same location (Brandth and Haugen 2012). Similar to farmers, farm tourism operators combine and manage self-employment and the reproductive family affairs of daily life “in a single daily activity pattern rather than in two separate ones” (Hanson and Pratt 1988, 303). In this way, a farming way of life involving the home and family as part of the working conditions is preserved through agritourism.

6.2 In the Ambiguous Boundaries of Home and Work

Agritourism production takes place in the ambiguous space between home and work. Like farming, processes of tourism production are dependent on balancing 'home life' with 'the business', which contributes to a blurred boundary between the two spaces (Di Domenico and Lynch 2007), and opens up an alternative economic space of non-traditional relations and practices of production. Work life and home life are not segregated, and on many occasions home life is work life and work life is home life (Di Domenico and Lynch 2007; Harris and McIntosh 2009). These boundaries are constantly negotiated as part of the agritourism production process. The next four sections show how the merging of home and work plays a role in the productive logic of well-being with respect to achieving a way of life through self-employment, involving the children, friends and spouses in the work, and emotionally connecting to the work, place of work, and customer.

6.2.1 Way of Life

Tourism as work can take the form of self-employment. Project based start-ups, 'micro businesses' and small-scale enterprises offer valuable opportunities for individuals to labor for themselves in order to attain economic independence. For the most part, agritourism operators are part of a petit bourgeois, or "the middle strata of advanced industrial societies" (Bland et al. 1978), who are assured the job as long as they keep creating work for themselves. This makes farmers distinct in terms of their social class because the farmer has ownership over the means of production, including property and family labour. They are owners of small capital with an entrepreneurial nature and strong inclinations towards autonomy and independence.

Self-employed work involving the home offers flexible working conditions with respect to the temporal organization of everyday life and its regulation. Time is a dimension of everyday life, and self-employment reveals how agritourism production is organized when different types of work need to be done, as well as how much they may or may not be compensated for it. Logistical considerations related to time are important because they are part of everyday cycles that make the spectacle of the farm possible as a tourism destination. In the context of agritourism, daily life is affected by variability in tourism demand as well as cycles of planting and harvest, which both require flexibility in terms of when the work is done. At certain times of the year there is more work to be done than at other times. This is significant because everyday life varies depending on the season.

Seasonality is a feature of tourism in many parts of the world (Baum and Hagen 1999; Getz and Nilsson 2004). It is characterized by a concentrated demand in a short time period, which is balanced by time periods of less or no demand during other parts of the year (Goulding 2009). Typically, the busy agritourism season in Southern Ontario ranges from May through to October. The 'off season' roughly spans from November through to April, though there are still agritourism attractions available, such as maple syrup harvest in the sugar bush at the end of March. The seasonality of agritourism is further complicated by the cyclicality of farming, which effects daily life during certain parts of the year more than others. Mac provides an example of how the 'sheer hours' required during busy times can be a challenge to his family life. He says:

> "There is always a negotiation between work and family. It can be hard on the kids because of the sheer hours it involves. But I drive them to school everyday through the winter right up until the spring. When May hits things get crazy with planting and watering for frost at night. I am working all day

> and all night and I don't see the kids until July. My wife will bring the kids by and we will have lunch, but I miss the tuck-ins. That's hard." (Mac, farmer 2011)

Self-employment demands a lot of time from farmers like Mac, especially during busy times of the year. The demand for work in the spring changes Mac's daily routine of taking his kids to school and tucking them into bed at night. Self-employment demands significant sacrifice with respect to everyday life with his family. Even though he works steps away from his house, during these busy times, he rarely gets to 'go home' with respect to spending time there with his family. He says,

> "Home is work. You don't have a nine to five life. In the spring, you will do lots of 24-hour shifts because that is just what is required that time of year. You don't get days off. That is the nature of the beast. So you can't get a separation of work from home this way" (Mac, farmer 2011)

Agritourism is more than a job. It is a lifestyle that involves the merging of work and family. It is "an interesting mix between work life and family life: it's all mish-mashed. There is no space between the two of them. There is no separation between family life and work life. It is all just mixed together" (Harry, farmer 2011).

The benefit of agritourism's seasonality is that during the off-season opportunities present themselves to 'take afternoons off' or take long weekends. This is a significant difference in the pace of daily life from the busy season. Long work hours can be required for several months and very little work is necessary in the 'off season' months. Mac provides a good example of how his everyday varies depending the time of year. For him:

> "There are times of the year when you are really busy and there are times of the year when you are not so busy so you can do other things. Like in the summer, we like to go to the beach. So we close on Mondays and Tuesdays and we go to the beach! But we certainly couldn't do that in the busy season" (Mac, farmer 2011).

Mac sees his ability to choose which specific days in the summer he is closed as an appealing aspect of self-employed work. He also thinks the flexibility he has during certain parts of the year, and the ability for him to spontaneously close for the short-term, is a fair trade off for the everyday inflexibility in the 'busy season'. This could be one reason why, despite numerous challenges that face producers, which are not financially related, they choose to stick with it. The off-season time affords the farm tourism operator with leisure opportunities (Di Domenico 2003) during which time the pursuit of family goals, like family vacations, can dominate (Getz and Carlsen 2000). This down time is no doubt a necessary source of well-being in the production of the agritourist space and an important part their quality of life.

Sonny and Cheryl provide another example of the annual cyclicality of variable tourism work. Their tourism season finishes at the end of November,

> "And then in December, it is clean up time. It takes forever to clean up and put everything away. We clean up the house from the last four months and then we go somewhere; we get away from here! As soon as you know it the whole thing starts again and we start chugging away!" (Cheryl, farmer 2010)

Work has an annual cycle in which different types of work are done depending on the time of year. Over the course of the year, Sonny and Cheryl 'ramp up' and prepare for a stressful busy season, which is immediately followed by a period of 'down time' and rest. This is not so different from traditional farming in that everyday life is effected by the seasons and suggests that the seasonality of the farm is connected to the family wanting to keep a more traditional lifestyle. Agritourism maintains the seasonal 'rhythms' that mirror the cycles of nature (Lefebvre 1991) and preserves a certain way of life and quality of life for agritourism producers. For Sonny and Cheryl seasonality is not only

associated with economic impacts, but is also a social/cultural condition in which they experience 'down time' when they can recuperate and rejuvenate for the next season by 'getting away'. Interestingly, an aspect of sustaining their everyday life as agritourism farmers involves becoming tourists themselves and 'getting away' from the tourism destination they operate. There is a cultural side to the seasonality of tourism for the producer in which seasons are socially significant periods of time outside of economic terms (Allcock 1995). This rejuvenation is no doubt essential to the next year's (re) production of the attraction.

The daily life of the farm changes depending on a temporal cyclicality, but it also depends on the work, which is not the same on a daily basis. Agritourism operations require a flexible 'jack of all trades' type individual, a characteristic consistent with the 'pluriactivity' of farm tourism operators in general (Jennings and Stehlik 2009). Although she does not connect what types of work she does in what season, Lane describes the diverse types of work required when operating an agritourism attraction. She says:

> "I wear a lot of different hats. It's because we [the business] are so small. There are times I am running the cash box and then other times I will be the owner and greet people and talk with them and see how they are enjoying themselves. And then, yes, I wear the entrepreneur hat, which is about managing and growing the business. There are different types of work. One day you're out there in the field hoeing pumpkin patches; the next day you are going to marketing workshops. These are both aspects of it" (Lane, farmer 2010).

Work is not confined to one task but a variety of tasks that can change from day-to-day, depending on the time of year. The various tasks an agritourism operator must perform is indicative of the dynamic nature of the job.

The work might be varied but it is driven by a common underlying everyday mentality about the pumpkin season. In referring to conversations between her and her husband, Cheryl says: “We talk about October everyday of the year; every single day” (Cheryl, farmer 2010). “October” is part of Cheryl’s everyday being. For Cheryl, “October” means work and is in the ‘realm of her common sense’ (Edensor 2001). Sonny is Cheryl’s husband and he provides an example of what Cheryl describes. He says: “June is pumpkin month. We get the pumpkins in the ground, hoe them, irrigate and fertilize. June is pumpkin month. We are out in that field everyday” (Sonny, farmer 2010). The fact that June is pumpkin month is part of the un-reflexive, ingrained, internalized and unquestioned way of being in the world on an everyday basis. In this way an agritourism farmer’s everyday life is different from that of their customers, who are more likely to see October as pumpkin month.

Self-employment takes a lot of work and the monetary return may not always be a fair trade off for the work put in. Lowel admits: “There is a lot of work involved. It’s to the point where it takes a lot of energy and steam. You really have to work hard at it. There are not enough hours in the day” (Lowel, farmer 2011). The need for more time in the day to complete tasks is a relatable experience for a lot of people. In addition to the number of hours worked there is an unset and inexact quantity of work that cannot be exchanged for a specific monetary value. This is in line with findings that self-employed business people pay themselves below (or above) market value for their labour (Mosedale 2007). In fact, Lane finds it difficult to put a value on the work she does. She says: “There is no way I could put a dollar figure on the amount of work I do in an hour” (Lane, farmer 2011). Lane does not receive a regulated rate of pay for the time she works,

nor does she record her hours. A significant work ethic as well as self-sacrifice in terms of not being compensated for the work done is required as part of operating an agritourism destination.

Although farmers might face challenges with respect to self-employment, the trade-off is that they are their own bosses. Beth enjoys the flexibility of the work with respect to "being able to set your own schedule – at certain times of the year – because you are working for yourself. If you need something, anytime of the day you can just go and do it. You don't need to ask for the time off" (Beth, farmer 2011). Beth finds that being an agritourism tourism operator allows her to be her own boss; set her own hours and assign herself work. Perhaps more importantly, Beth does not have to report to a 'higher up'. She is the authority to which she has to answer. This freedom contributes to a sense of well-being in that it instills in her a sense of power and control over her own life.

6.2.2 Maintaining Social Relationships

A strong association exists between home and family in everyday life (Bowlby et al. 1997; Finch and Hays 1994; Mallett 2004). Lefebvre (1991) connects this strong association to home-related work. In talking historically about peasants and crafts people in rural areas of France, Lefebvre says, "the workplace is all around the house, work is not separate from the everyday life of the family" (1991, 30). Similarly, the production logic of agritourism operations is usually dependent on family involvement and incorporating these relationships into the business is part of a way of life. Family is a key aspect of tourism work and critical to strategies of a functioning home tourism business. Producing spaces for agritourists involves human relationships with family who are part

of daily tasks. Similar to farming, the family as a 'production unit' is key to the overall functioning of agritourism businesses and production process (Torres and Momsen 2011; Miraftab 1994). The family is a distinguishing feature of agritourism production and includes values, life cycles and interrelationships among family members and friends.

It is important to note that the families involved in this project are based on the traditional hetero-normative nuclear family model. The lack of diversity in family farms suggests agritourism reinforces only one type of family unit, which merits a critique of 'family' as ideology. This is not the focus of the thesis but does connect to the discussion on the reproduction of whiteness in these spaces (mentioned in chapter one and three). It is also part of the unique character of participants in that they are descendents with a lot of capital (they own their farms), which translates into a form of power. The connection raises questions about agritourism as a cultural practice that reproduces a very narrow vision of what the family is, and highlights who is excluded from the group of people producing agritourism spaces. To produce space again and again as part of everyday activity is to reproduce the social relations that go with it and enable the production of the space in the first place. The production of agritourism reproduces the social group of the family and their relations.

When it comes to involving the family in tourism businesses, forms of unpaid labour are not uncommon (Mosedale 2006). Informal work done by family and friends may be unpaid but it still supports the logic of profit generation by creating 'surplus value' and contributing to the 'wealth' of the business. Getting the family to work on the farm is an informal way to organize labour. Family involvement is an example in which "workplace politics are not organized exclusively around more traditional Marxian

concerns of work organization or negotiations and pay/conditions" (Rutherford 2010, 774). Like farming, chores related to production in the home are often times not waged and children may not have a choice, which points to potential sources of exploitation. Although a worthy avenue for study, exploitative practices of family members related to tourism production on the farm are beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Rather, of interest is the non-economic wealth gained in the reproduction of social bonds when working with family and friends. When family is involved, work reproduces the social relations within the family as well as friendship networks. Emotional 'sociobilities' such as being together with family members and close friends are part of the dynamic of the workspace. Ginger exemplifies how agritourism on her farm encourages very close connections among her family. She says: "We really don't want to bring in anything that's not family. The family aspect of it is just so nice. We wanted it to be just us; our stuff" (Ginger, farmer 2010). Ginger associates family involvement with a sense of belonging to an exclusive club where it is 'just them'. This is typical of commercial home activity in which there are very few, if any, employees outside of family members (Lynch et al. 2009). Ginger feels this is important because: "We [the family] just want them [the visitor] to have an experience on a good family farm. We want them to feel like they get a sense of our family" (Ginger, farmer 2010). Ginger and her husband derive a deep sense of pride in their family and their work. Her family is not only important in producing the agritourism site, but is also key in how her farm is presented to visitors. The empowerment derived from sharing their farm with others is a source of well-being in the production of the agritourism space.

For Sam, running his agritourism operation is “very family oriented. Friends and extended friends come and help out too. The roots this place have are not for the benefit of the customers, but have a special meaning to our own family and friends” (Sam, farmer 2011). Family and friends are an “affective group reinforced by a sense of solidarity, the moral complement of social security” (Lefebvre 2008, 53). In Sam’s case, the motivation to ‘help out’ is not monetary but sentimental. Work brings family members together through the time they share with one another doing the work. Unpaid labour receives no monetary compensation but is ‘paid’ in other ways, for example, with friendship or a sense of self or achievement (Mosedale 2011). Labour might be ‘paid’ but is not compensated accordingly in monetary terms. For Sam, this work reproduces social relations with family and friends who exchange their labour for a meaningful experience with people and place. For Ellie Mae, “friends will come over and help do stuff when it’s busy. I will put the coffee on, work and then shoot the breeze” (Ellie Mae, farmer 2010). The emotional sociability of being together with family members and close friends are part of Ellie Mae’s work dynamic. Work does not necessarily need to be a separate area of life, but rather, is incorporated into time to socialize with family and friends (and vice versa).

Donald describes an example wherein working together to create a ‘photo op’ for tourists lets him spend time with his daughter:

> “Every year my daughter and I develop displays with straw bales and pumpkins. Last year we used an old wagon and I don’t know what we are going to do this year but she has a lot of creative ideas. We have a sign that says our name and people love to stand in front of it and take pictures” (Donald, farmer 2010).

Creating the photo opportunity for tourists to create a memory is a memory he creates with his daughter. The straw bales, gourds and sign, however, do not tell a story of family bonding that went into producing the space. This aspect of the backstage region is concealed because the aesthetic qualities of the environment bear no relation to the lived reality of the work. In the staging of his attraction, Donald is able to spend quality time with his daughter, which enriches his overall well-being. Although Donald and his daughter constructed an attraction as part of the front stage, the time and energy he spends with his daughter building the attraction belongs in the backstage region. In building something for the public, they find a personal and meaningful moment in the privacy of the production of that space.

Another benefit of having family members willing to work in the business is that "responsibility is shared by everyone and not just one person has to carry the load. It is a way to ease the burden" (Rex, farmer 2011). Ellie Mae describes such an example:

> "On the busy weekends we need a lot of people; we need a lot of family on those weekends. In this business, family helps on those weekends because you can't hire enough staff and train them for what they need to do in such a short period of time. So your family is crucial on those big weekends" (Ellie Mae, farmer 2010).

Similar to mass tourism, agritourism's seasonality can create problems in terms of assembling labour (Ball 1989). Like farming, agritourism has a seasonal demand for labour, and family is important in filling that demand. This view sees the family as 'propping up' a capitalist enterprise by providing a 'reserve army' of labour to help when the need arises (Aitchison 2005a). In these instances, family is a handy and cheap way to fill labour needs. Involving family and friends might preserve a way of life, but it also conserves cash by taking advantage of a family member's labour and not compensating

long work hours, which points to the exploitative nature of working for family. This is also a point made by Ekers and Charles (2014) with respect to organic farming.

6.2.3 Raising Children

For some, agritourism is not only a form of self-employment, but a way of raising a family. Agritourism production often involves the work of children whose living and playing take place at a worksite. It is typical for farm children to work on the farm from a young age and is part of a 'taking over' of the farm business from the parents (Brookfield and Parsons 2007; Gasson and Errington 1993; Martz and Brueckner 2003). On traditional family farms, children participate in work because there is a need for labour, but also because it teaches valuable skills, responsibility, work ethic, problem solving and teamwork (Zepeda and Kim 2006). It is also attractive for parents because it allows time and space for having a family as well earning a living. The very unfortunate downside is that dangerous working conditions, exposure to hazards, and lack of safety regulations lead to injury or death while working or being in the workplace for various reasons. Approximately 20% of fatalities on Ontario farms are children under the age of fifteen (Farm Safety Association 2014).

Like farming, agritourism work is compatible with domestic responsibilities (Buttner and Moore 1997), such as raising a family. For Beth, it allowed her "to be a mom, but also to still work and earn an income. It is a good position to be in when you want to raise a family, have kids, be a mom, but also run a business" (Beth, farmer 2011). The flexibility of being self-employed can allow for a range of possible living and working options (Beynon 1997). Murray says:

> "I could get a smaller house and get a 9-5 job and have my weekends, but I am thankful that my kids can grow up on a farm, and that they are at the age now where they are fun and they enjoy working with me in the fields. It's nice to spend time with them. I wouldn't get that otherwise" (Murray, farmer 2010).

The flexibility of this lifestyle is particularly attractive for parents with younger children because it allows time and space for having a family as well as self-employment. There is a joint production in terms of the use of time for work and time for domestic chores at home.

Agritourism leaves room for people to multitask work with "conventional reproductive activities and generate income through home-based activity" (Torres and Momsen 2011, 8). As Lane has discovered, this is a matter of daily management and planning for the week ahead. During the long hours of the fall season Lane has this plan:

> "The kids go to the babysitter for three days a week. When they are with me I'm doing laundry, calling suppliers and paying the bills in the hour they are napping. I obviously don't get as much done in a day when they are home, but we do fun stuff together. We will go to the library and go grocery shopping together. At home we go out picking strawberries in the morning. The kids like to put the quarts in the boxes. They think it's fun. The older ones drive the golf cart around together and inspect the apples. They make a list and see what needs to be done. I think they like that too. It's fun, but you are still teaching them and best of all spending time with them while also trying to get some work done" (Lane, farmer 2011).

In conjunction with childcare arrangements, Lane is able to look after her kids and get them involved in farm work by making it a game. This is a good example of how the flexibility of the work is compatible with domestic responsibilities (Buttner and Moore 1997). This is part of the flow of Lane's everyday life, which makes it easier for her to incorporate her work schedule into her home life and vice versa. She is not only able to do some work while the children work, but more importantly, she gets to spend time with her kids which is an important contributor to her well-being. Lane successfully finds a

way to balance home life with work life, which is part of her lifestyle. As a self-employed entrepreneurial-minded farmer, she can choose to have a lifestyle in which she can raise her family.

Part of producing agritourism is teaching the values of hard work and discipline to children by letting them run part of the business. For example, involving children in the business gives them a sense of independence, responsibility and autonomy and a chance to make their own mistakes. It is also a way of learning responsibility and accountability. For Lowel, agritourism organized the way he raised his family and instilled worthwhile values and work ethic in his children: “The kids grew up with it [agritourism business] and they learned how to work. They did a lot of work here” (Lowel, farmer 2011). Ellie Mae describes a system of work values she wants to pass onto her children. She speaks from her own experience saying:

> “I have farmed all my life so I know how hard it is and what the sacrifices are. You have to work really hard. I want the kids to have freedom, but also learn hard work on the farm. When it’s time for them to be hired by other people, people know that if you were raised on a farm, you are hard working” (Ellie Mae, farmer 2011).

Like Ellie Mae, Beth also sees the value of farm work put into practice off the farm. For Beth, her kids:

> “Definitely grew up working. They had to help do all of the chores: cutting the grass in the orchard – that’s a big job, thinning little fruit off the trees, pruning in the winter and going to markets. They’ve been doing that since they were four or five years old. They’ve also learned from early on how to engage with a customer – such an important skill to have! They are old enough now to go by themselves [to market] and we [the parents] stay at home!” (Beth, farmer 2011)

Everyday tasks related to maintaining the farm are the norm for these children because it is part of the way they were raised. The market is especially important from Beth’s

perspective because it allows 'the boys' to learn customer service – a valuable skill to pass down to her children in this business. Life lessons embedded in the production process teach children the importance of hard work and discipline. These are aspects of success "born from seeds contained in everyday practice" (Lefebvre, 2002 44). Parents might give their children responsibilities to keep them busy as part of everyday life, but the lessons children learn doing the tasks will serve them in the long run later in life.

Involving children also fosters a sense of collective familial work that is not necessarily monetarily motivated. Ginger demonstrates this point when she says:

> "Our kids don't get an allowance. The understanding is that this is a family business so when the kids want to go to camp in the summer, we pay for it – that is part of their wages. Same thing for the investments we make in their education funds. We are all contributing to our family" (Ginger, farmer 2010).

Ginger's kids might not receive a wage, but money is reserved for them when they need it at some point in the future. Working in the business also gives children and young people a chance to build themselves with respect to transitioning into adulthood and gaining independence from their parents. More specifically: "It lets them get a taste of owning their own business and what is involved in dealing with costs and the rest of it. It gives them a sense of ownership" (Murray, farmer 2010). Murray's description sounds like involving the children is, to some extent, an extension of mothering in that it organizes a family and nurtures and instills values like accountability and hard work. In passing down these skills, farmers set up the possibility of a generational turnover (Rilla et al. 2011) in which younger family members take over and manage the agritourism operation (this is discussed in chapter four). The social life of the family farm, farm culture and way of life are reproduced through agritourism.

Similarly, agritourism is reproduced through the social life of the family farm, farm culture and way of life. Involving children as part of the production process is not necessarily monetarily motivated. It is a form of economic organization in which "the distribution of surplus as profit maximization is not always the underlying reason for engaging in exchange transactions" (Mosedale 2012, 197). Ginger explains that the whole reason she and Ken started selling pumpkins by the side of the road was because of their children:

> "We knew the kids would eventually grow up and we wondered if selling pumpkins at the roadside was something the kids could do. So that's really how it started. We grew pumpkins and put them in a wheelbarrow and we knew it was something the kids could do when they got a bit older. It was something that the kids could help with. They could help with the planting and the picking and it was in an area that was all contained" (Ginger, farmer 2010).

The reasons motivating Ken and Ginger to involve their children are less related to earning money and more centered around finding a way to occupy them in a productive and supervised manner. Not only that, Shelly realizes that their involvement in the process is "teaching them [the kids] that you can make a living off the farm" (Shelly, farmer 2010). This is an important lesson especially in the context of declining small family farm activity in Southern Ontario (discussed in chapters one and four). It also encourages the younger generation to remain on the farm and work in the family business as opposed to leave the farm in search of outside work (Torres and Momsen 2011).

Ken and Ginger expanded from selling pumpkins to other produce for the reason of further involving their kids in activities on the farm. Ken says:

> "We started growing cucumbers and sweet corn with the kids because they could sell them with the pumpkins. Picking is something the kids look after. They'll take the four-wheeler out and pick them, count them and keep track of how many are sold" (Ken, farmer 2010).

In giving their kids tasks, Ken and Ginger instill a sense of responsibility, ownership and pride in work. Ginger says: “But they’re kids. And sometimes they don’t want to work. That is typical. But we know that eventually they will look back and be glad about what they did on the farm” (Ginger, farmer 2010). Although the kids might not appreciate the work they are doing at the time, Ginger is confident that the experience will serve them well in the future.

Involving her children in the business provides Murray with an opportunity to improve her communication with them. She says:

> “Kids can spend up to ten hours a day in front of the TV screen and people wonder why families break down! There’s no chance for communication and connection with your kids. That’s how the farm has been incredible – I get to spend time and interact with my kids” (Murray, farmer 2010).

The interaction Murray has with her kids is a result of “alternative economic practices [that] create spaces in which the principles of the capitalist market system are transformed into alternative forms of production by way of employing different exchange mechanisms and valuing labour differently from conventional wage based labor” (Mosedale 2011, 105). Murray might employ her children in the business, but it is not their labour, per se, that she values as much as it is their simple presence. It also points to another source of well-being in the agritourism production process that impacts Murray’s everyday life. Being able to spend precious time with her kids as they grow up is an important aspect of producing agitourism for Murray and no doubt contributes to her overall well-being.

Children are not always part of the farm’s production story. Penny and Donald provide an example in which there is a lack of interest amongst their children with respect to being involved in the business. Their children live “two and a half hours away

and only come down a couple of weekends during the whole season, so it would be stretching it to say that they are of any help" (Penny, farmer 2010). Although Donald and Penny feel the strain of not having any help from their adult children, they take advantage of the newest generation's interest in earning money to elicit labour on busy Saturdays and Sundays during the fall season. Penny says: "My one grand daughter is starting to help. She is ten. I put her to work because money motivates her. She likes spending it! I know if I need her for a few hours I can depend on her to help without having to coax or cajole her" (Penny, farmer 2010). Although there is often opportunity to pass down the business to the next generation, in some cases, the next generation does not see the agritourism business as an opportunity.

Riggy provides another scenario of how children are incorporated into the family business. In his case, Riggy's son and daughter became involved in the agritourism business in their adult lives. His children left and came back home to 'work on the farm'. He says:

> "Our son and daughter are full time. They worked off the farm for five years, during their school. They were interested in working here so we are thinking about transitioning; getting them to take over. Now that we are getting older it's great to have the kids come back. They ease a burden off our shoulders" (Riggy, farmer 2010).

With Riggy's children returning to live and work on the farm, there is an increased need and capability to support more family members with the business. There is also less worry over farm succession and becoming too tired to 'keep it going' (Rilla et al. 2011) as Riggy gets older. Knowing that the farm has a future with his children takes a huge pressure off of Riggy's shoulders and follows the production logic of well-being in that it is a long-term plan that takes a degree of stress out of his everyday life.

6.2.4 Spousal Relationships

Agritourism production is a way of building relationships between spouses. Previous research suggests that, in many countries, farm based tourism is run mainly by women (Garcia-Ramon et al. 1995; Sharpley and Vass 2006; Jennings and Stehlik 2009). However, in Norway (Brandth and Haugen 2007), as in Southern Ontario, agritourism is largely a joint project involving both husband and wife. This is, in part, due to the fact that the work at home generally involves direct spousal participation (Beach 1989). In fact, in Norway, "the farm tourist business is very much a joint project with both husband and wife involved in the business" (Brandth and Haugan 2012, 181). More than that, the decision to transition into agritourism is jointly made between the farmer and the spouse (Haugen and Vik 2008; Hildenbrand and Hennon 2008; Phelan and Sharpley 2010).

Spousal involvement ranges from full-time work to helping with portions of the workload when needed. The latter is true for Brooke. In talking about her husband she says: "Nash does his own thing; he has a full time job. I just steal him away for a few months. It's difficult to find such cheap labour to work odd hours for such a short time span. He loves it and I love that he's here. Besides, he'll do anything for me [wink]!" (Brooke, farmer 2011) Her husband holds unrelated work outside the home but is still involved in the agritourism business, which appears to strengthen their married relationship. Her husband is a clear source of happiness and working with him puts her in a positive disposition. The presence of work in the home provides an opportunity for spouses to assist in and share the workload, as well as to engage in deeper forms of

bonding. In addition to being a convenience for Brooke, Nash's involvement is a common ground for mutual endeavor in their relationship (Berke 2003).

Sonny speaks to the team-like nature of his relationship with his spouse when he says: "In many instances it [running an agritourism operation] takes a partnership between spouses to run the business. We decided we could run it. We had to grow the business. It is ours" (Sonny, farmer 2010). For Sonny and Cheryl, their business is one of equal opportunity in which work is distributed and shared based on their collaborative skills, and there is equal ownership, both financially and emotionally. They operate as a team and feed off of each other's strengths. Spousal relationships are a big part of what structures everyday life. The daily decisions made by one person are not without consideration of the other, which is doubly important in the context of running a business together (in addition to a household). This is a significant aspect in the production of agritourist space.

Although a collective effort, spousal involvement leads to a discussion of the gendered nature of agritourism work. Marg recognizes that: "Often spouses will work as business partners, but usually the male will do the agricultural end of things and the female will take on a lot of the marketing; they are the ones getting their names out there" (Marg, farmer 2010). Many agritourism operations rely on female labour inputs and entrepreneurial inclinations. In this instance, there is a division of labour with respect to gender and type of work, which brings light to the traditionally hidden labor of women on farms. The claim that "there has been a feminization of farming through tourism activities that have served to diversify farm income and contribute to the bottom line viability of small family-based producers" (Torres and Momsen 2011, 8), supports Marg's

observation. This contrasts with images of the farm family being “treated as an organic entity accessed through, and represented by, a single individual – the farmer, or the head of the household, both masculine-defined” (Whatmore et al. 1994, 3). There is evidence that agritourism production serves to break with traditional gender relations and roles, which demonstrates the importance of building gender into an analysis of agritourism operations (Whatmore et al. 1994). It also shifts the balance of power within the farm household, giving women access to equal opportunity to engage in non-domestic work (Hall 2004).

6.2.5 Emotional Connections to Home, Work, and the Customer

Emotional connections to home and work are part of the production logic of well-being. Home is an emotional space (Blunt and Dowling 2006) and agritourism farmers are emotionally engaged in the business because it is home (Brandth and Haugen 2012). Work has an emotional significance and there is a heightened reflexivity – an inclination towards an emotional attachment to place. The home as the basis for an agritourism enterprise plays a big role in putting individuals emotionally closer to their work, their place of work, and, in some instances, the people who visit.

The work involved in agritourism production gives meaning to the everyday lives of farmers and because work is mingled with farmers’ personal lives, in some instances, it is not treated as work. For example, Ken says: “Working on Sundays is a different kind of work for me. I try to stay away from doing work related things. I like being out and walking around and seeing and meeting people. I just wander around the property and chat and say hi. I can watch my kids too because they are usually running around doing this and that; helping customers” (Ken, farmer 2010). Ken enjoys his home on busy

weekends and interacts with customers – chatting and forging relationships. Interacting with customers in the way he does re-creates lost connections between producers and consumers of food. He does not count this as work, although it is one of his jobs. Socializing and meeting new people, and educating the public about agriculture is a major aspect of developing agritourism (Getz and Carlsen 2000; Maude and van Rest 1985; Weaver and Fennell 1997). It also allows him to spend time with his kids. He does not see this as work but as part of a leisurely activity in which he can spend quality time with his family – at home. Work does not necessarily undermine Ken's well-being because he is able to blur work and leisure space. Lefebvre (1991) would consider this an ambiguous form of leisure because it resembles work and entails some form of obligation. Work is both leisure and necessity. He may not consider this work, but it does potentially shorten the working day for Ken,

Emotional connections are not necessarily motivated by profit/profit oriented but are driven by a desire to engage with the affective, emotive, and cathartic dimensions of a job as a creative pursuit. After all, "tourist sites are places where people work, live and operate in intimate ways with space…"(Edensor 2007, 205). Mac has an emotional connection to his work, which he reveals in talking about what his place means to him. He says: "I am doing this for the love of producing the product and not for the love of the business. I love dealing with people and making the product. I would be one of those people that do it for the art, more than the business itself" (Mac, farmer 2011). Mac's passion for his art seemingly trumps monetary motivations of the business. He finds happiness in and freedom through his work. Work is not necessarily an oppressive power. This is not to say that this has always been the case. Mac has a successful agritourism

business and he is at a point in his career where money does not necessarily speak louder than feelings of self-worth and a sense of accomplishment – an important aspect of tourism production from an everyday standpoint. In addition to monetary payment, farmers are compensated with an increased sense of self and sense of achievement that comes from hard work.

The relationships farmers have with customers can also be very personal and are an emotional aspect of producing agritourist space. Similar to the way tourists seek out 'emotional tourism' (Bialski 2006), agritourism producers experience emotional relationships with their customers, as is the case in many businesses. Sam provides one example:

> "It just takes a second to stop and see the people with smiles on their faces. I remember seeing a dad and his little girl running around and throwing straw – stuff that doesn't cost me a cent, but they are getting so much self-fulfillment and having so much fun, just being with one another. There is something special about that stuff. That is what you want to see" (Sam, farmer 2011).

The 'moment' Sam has watching this father and child playing will not bring him a monetary gain, nor is the feeling related to financial motivations. The relationship Sam has with this customer goes deeper than an exchange of money. In these moments, everyday work is extraordinary and is located outside of an economic imperative. This is important in the way place is produced in relation to an emotional connection outside the realm of dollars. These types of moments "marvelously overturn structures established in the everyday, replacing them by other structures, unforeseen ones, and fully authentic" (Lefebvre 2002, 66).

Some farmers also feel a connection to their customers because their customers have made a connection to them and their farm. The connection visitors have with

agritourism destinations are often part of a tradition for the people that visit. Agritourism is aligned with being a family space for the consumer; a space where families can come and be with family. Family traditions are important aspects of farm tourism (Brandth and Haugen 2011), not only for the tourist, but also for the farmer providing the product. For the farmer, there is a sense of being part of family tradition in which visitors return year after year. Murray knows that: "Some families return year after year to pick pumpkins. They bring their kids when they are young and then when the kids grow up, they come back with their kids" (Murray, farmer 2011). Beth understands that people visiting her farm are "building a family story. It's a tradition of coming to the countryside. Every year families come back and they are part of our story too. It's like they become part of an extended family" (Beth, farmer 2011). The customer's family traditions are a rewarding aspect of the work for Shelly:

> "Some days I think, 'why am I doing all this'? But then I think of the customer that came up to me and said, 'Do you remember me? My dad used to take me here'. This girl came with her dad, who passed away, and now she brings her own kids [his grandchildren]. So this place really matters to people" (Shelly, farmer 2011).

This moment with a customer's personal story compensates for the difficulties of everyday life. Shelly's farm not only represents her family's legacy, but is also a legacy for the people that visit. Emotionally connecting to the customer by way of place is part of the production logic of well-being.

Interactions with customers fuel an emotional relationship in which farmers derive an identity. Ken talks about being recognized by visitors to his farm when he is out walking and observing the crowd on a busy Sunday afternoon:

> "If I am out and people see me and recognize me they will say, 'oh this is your farm! We just love it here and it's great that you do this!' It's just so

> great! I just tell people to call me 'Farmer Ken'. And if I am out in a grocery store, people will come up to me and say, 'hey Farmer Ken'!" (Ken, farmer 2011)

For Ken, the farmer identity is part of the tourism product, and the recognition Ken receives for this identity brings him closer to his customer. The 'myth' of the farmer and the farmer's lifestyle is perceived to play a role in the interactions and relationships between 'host' and 'guest' and is sold as an idea: the farmer is the person behind the farm. Positive feedback from face-to-face interactions with customers contributes to an identity politics in which Ken gains a sense of self-worth and self esteem (Jennings and Stehlik 2009) through a celebrity-like status. Positive feedback is a powerful tool because it can instill a sense of confidence and empowerment that legitimates the farmer's livelihood. Visitors to the farm can positively impact a farmer's emotional mentality, which affects their well-being. The basis of the farmer's personal identity is through the work they do. Lefebvre (2002) says "in his [sic] work, man perceives and becomes conscious of his own self" (1163). These moments are found in everyday life and provide rejuvenation to a person, and a validated and renewed sense of purpose. These are important instances of self-making because they sustain the production process; they are moments that make the struggle seem 'worth it'. It is also a part of his job that involves minimal stress and acts as a 'buffer' to more serious issues, like financial hardships, and strengthens the incentives that justify his work. Diversifying his farm into a tourism attraction most likely changed the meaning of being a farmer for Ken and has created a new occupational role for him in his community as part of his everyday being.

Rex has an emotional experience that is outside of customer interactions. He describes a bodily connection to his work in his description of putting his hands in the

dirt: “I just love coming out of my house in the morning, especially in the spring when it is starting to get warm – one of those first nice days when you realize that winter is finally over – and digging a hole in the dirt and putting my hands in the ground, and it is cold and wet, and planting a tree” (Rex, farmer 2011). The feel of the earth on Rex’s hands while he plants trees is an embodiment of tourism production that fosters his relationship to the land as a farmer. Lowel has a similar connection to the land. Every year he looks forward to plowing the field where he will plant his corn maze: “I feel so connected to the dirt when I’m in the tractor in the fields. I just love it. I love knowing that this is the beginning of the corn maze. I plant the corn and I watch it grow up” (Lowel, farmer 2011). In talking about his cornfield as if it were one of his children, Lowel removes notions that planting and maintaining the field are work in a traditional sense. He sees the corn in a very different way than would a tourist.

It is in the ambiguous space between the home and work that that production takes on different forms and operates according to the logic of well-being. When work and home are merged, production becomes about a way of life, having close social relationships, raising a family, spousal relationships and emotionally connecting to work. These are all cultural aspects of the production process that operate according to a logic of well-being.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter showed how the logic of well-being that stems from the home and the family is an integral part to conceptualizing the production of agritourism space. Domestic life plays a big role in how work is organized, and the merging of work and home in the context of agritourism reveals how production becomes about sustaining a

way of life, having a social life, raising children, spousal relationships and emotional connections. Like farming, agritourism involves family life as part of the productive activity. The evidence suggests that in an environment of economic change in which agricultural practice is transformed, the family is a cultural constant of the farm in which a certain way of life is maintained.

Alongside the quest for profit, and in constant negotiation with capitalism in general, are the non-economic factors of production like morals and values, human relationships, emotion and feeling, connectedness and meaning. Well-being is achieved in the relationships between family and friends, the sense of community the farmer creates for patrons, and in the close connections to the environment and nature. These are all aspects of the home, as well as aspects of the human condition, which are not all dominated by economic relationships. There is a social and emotional significance in agritourism production that stems from farm tourism operators integrating their work into their family life, and their family into their work life. In combining family, work, and home, capitalist endeavors are sustained through nurturing activities. The gains of running a business out of the home can transcend the obvious monetary gains of the commercial realm (Sloane-White 2009). Non-monetized values of the economy help people to achieve a balance of life and work and a state of well-rounded meaning, happiness and fulfillment (Gibson-Graham et al. 2013).

Money does not always necessarily speak louder than everything else and this chapter has outlined several examples of what might speak louder, or just as loud. Agritourism production is not entirely based on a capitalist logic and not all activities that go on at agritourism sites are based on an economic rationale. As part of the tourism

production process, these activities challenge a wholly “capitalocentric understanding of tourism” and supports arguments “for an economy that is constituted of complex and dynamic relationships between a variety of economic practices” (Mosedale 2011, 194). A way of life, close relationships, raising children, spousal relationships and emotional connections characterize social aspects of production that get away from dominant ways of thinking about production related to an economic endeavor. The evidence shows that not all aspects of tourism production function according to the logic of capitalism, which suggests diverse economic representations in tourism geography.

CHAPTER 7: WELCOMING STRANGERS: THREATENING EMOTIONAL TRANSGRESSIONS

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter considered the role of home in agritourism as a workplace by presenting evidence of the production logic of well-being that supports a certain way of life, organizes familial relationships and sparks an emotional connection to work. This chapter adds an additional layer to the agritourism workplace: tourists. The farmer can produce a place for tourism, but "tourism cannot exist independently of the tourists that perform it" (Franklin 2004, 205). A tourist space does not become a place of tourism until it is populated with tourists. Adding tourists changes the emotional dynamics of home as a workplace by threatening the logic of well-being to which it contributes in the first place. Home plays an important role in the production logic of well-being but it also makes farmers emotionally vulnerable when the tourist discounts its presence at the tourist site. The emotional logic of production emerges as a strategy to manage the emotional transgressions experienced in the realm of the everyday. It is a non-economic production logic essential to the survivability of the farm as an agritourism destination.

This chapter identifies how, with the introduction of tourists, the production logic of well-being is violated. The invasion of privacy occurs in everyday encounters and reveals the emotional aspects that are part of the production process that need to be managed by the farmer in order to successfully run the agritourism business. The first section of the chapter outlines emotionally transgressive transactions between farmers and tourists, which impact the farmer's well-being. The second part of the chapter

identifies the ways some farmers have learned to negotiate the intersection of public and private space of home through the emotional logic of production.

7.1.1 The Threat

With the introduction of agritourism on the farm, having to deal with customers is one of the biggest changes to the farmer's everyday life. Unlike farmers, agritourism operators are in direct contact with the customer, who is also a tourist. The presence of tourists on the farm makes the work of agritourism operators different from that of farmers. Tourists are a big part of the production process and their presence as part of the workspace makes life more complex than farming alone. It requires the farmer to have a different type of relationship with home because the farm's backyard is opened up to the public.

Sharing home with strangers is often a necessary component of tourism production for those engaging in agritourism. Interacting with people is a big part of the job, and part of the production of agritourism space involves being able to cope with people. In fact, Crisp argues: "To be successful at the farm tourism thing, you must enjoy people". From his own experiences working with people he has learned that: "If you don't enjoy working with people, then being in a people business will drive you around the bend – you have to want to interact with people". Face-to-face sociability is required with customers as a daily interaction, especially during the 'busy season'.

As illustrated in chapter six, on some occasions this interaction has a positive impact on the farmer's emotional well-being and is a very rewarding aspect of the job. In other situations it puts the emotional well-being of the farmer in jeopardy. Tourists can act in inappropriate and disrespectful ways towards a place that is very meaningful to the

farmer. They can be unpredictable and difficult to negotiate with home. The tourist is an inescapable aspect of the work that requires farmers to manage the unplanned and sometimes uncontrollable behaviors and actions of tourists. Emotional transgressions connected to negative customer encounters are a major barrier to sustaining the way of life preserved through the production logic of well-being described in chapter six.

Welcoming strangers is part of the agritourism production process in which the farmer must negotiate private space with the consuming public. There is no question that "when farmers diversify their production into tourism using their homes as a commercial arena for hosting visitors, new challenges regarding boundaries between public and private, home and work arise" (Brandth and Haugen 2012, 179). The physical tourism attraction itself (front stage area) is literally in the farmer's back yard (back stage area) – a spatial overlap that is destined to effect the way the farmer enjoys (or does not enjoy) privacy in everyday life. The first part of the chapter considers the emotionally transgressive transactions involved in the daily running of a tourism operation. Emotional transgressions are a central non-economic factor in the production of the farm as a tourism destination. The second part of the chapter considers coping with crowds as an emotional logic of production that supports well-being and enables a successful marriage of home and agritourism destination.

7.2 Emotionally Transgressive Transactions

7.2.1 Socializing with Strangers

For agritourism farmers, the everyday involves socializing with strangers – relating to and interacting with customers, which is common to frontline service work. This is one major difference in everyday life for the farmer that comes with the transition

out of more traditional farming activities into agritourism. For the most part, farmers generously welcome their guests – the majority of whom are complete strangers. The relationship between producer and consumer is complex especially given that the interaction between the customer and the farmer providing the tourism service takes place where the farmer's family lives (Brandth and Haugen 2012). The family is put into an emotionally vulnerable situation if tourists disrespect the property or the experience. For this reason, home as a site for tourism has a "set of social rules and obligations more extensive than if it were a pure business relation" (Brandth and Haugen 2012, 189). For example, Murray forms a tense relationship with an angry customer via email and takes it very personally. She explains her experience with 'hate mail':

> "When I get hate [e]mail, I will cry. We're trying our hardest to make this a fun experience for your family. They could be a bit more kind and not so cut throat; but because you are not talking face to face they feel free to type whatever they want. I know that you can't make everyone happy, and that is the hardest thing for me" (Murray, farmer 2011).

Murray has not been able to build an emotional barrier between herself (her home) and her customers/visitors. Because work is home, work life is very personal and feelings of worth attached to place influence the way work is viewed and how it is carried out. Many agritourism producers manage their agritourism operations in negotiation with the intimate relationship they have with home. In these ways, 'selling home' is an emotional transaction part of the production experience and not necessarily a reflection of a monetary value/exchange.

Hosting tourism in her home requires Murray to deal with managing her emotions when it comes to her customers (Brandth and Haugen 2012). Not only do "the everyday dealings between hosts and guests include issues of physical separation" (Brandth and

Haugen 2012, 191), they also include a mental separation; the ability to 'leave work at work', or to 'not bring your work home with you', which is virtually impossible for Murray because it is embedded in her sense of self. She takes complaints and criticism very personally because she and her family put a lot of energy and money into making an enjoyable space for people. Ben puts it this way: "You've spent all summer building this place and then someone comes in and complains about this and that. You just have to try and shake it off. But you take it so personally because there is so much ownership behind it" (Ben, farmer 2011). Home is bound to identity and sense of self, which makes for a place with emotionally charged meanings (Lynch et al. 2009). When these feelings are hurt an individual's well-being also gets damaged.

Socializing with strangers can be difficult when tourists act, often times unknowingly, in inappropriate and disrespectful ways towards a place that is very meaningful to the farmer – home. For example, Lowel has a tough time managing his emotions when interacting face-to-face with customers, which is part of the agritourism work. He emotionally displays his private feelings with respect to his private home, in a public setting. On one occasion he "lost patience with this one customer who was letting his dog run around freely. I know they [the customer] probably won't come back, but that is fine with me" (Lowel, farmer 2011). He saw this instance as one in which he did not act appropriately, but because this dog person was violating a social barrier (i.e. the fact that it is Lowel's home and people cannot just have their dogs run around off leash wherever they want), Lowel felt justified in 'putting that person in their place'. Even if they are customers:

> "People can't come to my home and be rude and get away with it. It's like people don't consider how their [the customer] actions affect other people

> [the host]. This is not a park and I think people tend to forget that. You have people come by and although it's like a public space, people forget that it is a privately owned property" (Lowel, farmer 2011).

Lowel's moral obligations to his home trump service industry protocol in which the 'customer is always right'. He does not suppress his emotions so that his behavior aligns with customer expectations of how an owner/manager of a business should behave. Being a host does not necessarily imply that a person needs to overcome reactions like anger and frustration in front of customers – these emotions are part of the production process. Lowel is not afraid to forego the social niceties inherent in tourism related service, and displays his emotions in light of the visitor's disrespectful actions towards his home.

Lowel has a liminal experience in that, in this time and place, he lives in a space of constant transition with no clear identity. His world becomes unordered and he feels the need to protect his home. In one space, he lives in-between two realities and occupies an ambiguous position with respect to protecting his privacy and welcoming the public into it. Lowel finds it difficult acting in a professional manner because he oscillates between commercial and non-commercial interpretations of his home (Lynch et al. 2007). Perhaps it is inevitable that these kinds of tense encounters happen – they are pre-determined by the situation, i.e. welcoming strangers onto private property. Like Murray and the hate email, Lowel does not emotionally detach himself from his home, despite the fact that it is his work place. This tension arises from the meeting of home and workspace in the context of tourism and is an example of how the norms of hospitality influence the meanings surrounding home (Lynch and MacCannell 2000; Tucker 2003).

Unlike Lowel's angry encounter with a customer, Shelly's experience interacting with guests illustrates how her role as host prevents her from saying what she really

wants to say. Her advice is that: "There will be times when you will want to tell the person to get lost! But you have to be polite. If you can't keep control over your own feelings then you are not in the right business" (Shelly, farmer 2011). The 'business' she speaks of is the hospitality/tourism business. Suppressing feelings is part of an emotional labour characteristic of service industry workers because it is expected that they create a customer-oriented atmosphere (Hochschild 1983). It is expected that the 'host' (i.e. the farmer) must not do anything to make guests uncomfortable (Brandth and Haugen 2012). Similar to front line employees in the service industry, farmers do 'emotional labour' (Hochschild 1983; Guerrier and Adib 2003; Ritzer 2007), which is the attempt to create a quality interaction and manage an emotional climate in the relationships between producer and customer (Forseth 2005a, 2005b). In doing this, conflict arises between Shelly's own feelings and how she portrays them to her guests. Shelly is attempting to establish a 'commercial friendship' (Price and Arnould 1999; Lashley and Morrison 2003) and develop a customer loyalty, but experiences conflict within herself in doing so. Shelly knows that "good customer relationships are closely linked to the performance of the hosts" (Forseth 2005a, 441). To an extent, the exchange she has with customers is a 'phoney front of friendliness' motivated by profit/commercial gain (Mottiar and Laurincikova 2009, 38).

Both Lowel and Shelly's experiences illustrate how power plays out in a 'host-guest' relationship when the home is a site of tourism. Although it is their home, there is the question about who holds the power in the relationship, if the farmer is the one having to suppress her feelings. On the other hand, Lowel's example of yelling at the guests shows how the host can take power over the guest. Ultimately Lowel sets the rules with

respect to what is acceptable behavior on his property. He determines the 'rules of conduct' based on his personal values, which can have a significant impact on a guest's experience.

7.2.2 Undervalued Work

Some farmers feel that visitors do not appreciate their work, which is a source of emotional transgression. In referring to an incident in a 'pick-your-own' strawberry patch in which: "Some kids were throwing fruit and being a distraction to other pickers" (Walter, farmer 2011), Walter sees not only the space being disrespected, but also the work that went into growing the fruit they are throwing. The work they disregard belongs to Walter. He therefore takes it very personally when the literal fruits of his labor (also his passion, his life) get treated in such a disrespectful way. Rex has another example that demonstrates the invisibility of his work. He says:

> "People don't understand that, sure they come and buy stuff, but they don't understand that it requires human energy and input all the time. It's my labour and they don't see that; they don't understand that. Even though they are picking it right from the tree; ok yes, yes they are getting back to nature and seeing where their food comes from but no, not really. They don't know how that tree got there in the first place; they don't consider it" (Rex, farmer, 2011).

The visitors see the apple tree, but they do not link the tree to human means and energy through which it got there. Their perception of the orchard does not include an explanation as to how the order of the apple orchard was established in the first place. Like a commodity, the orchard "simultaneously contains and conceals the social relations that made its production possible" (Lefebvre 2008, 53). Rather, the work on the farm manifest in the tree producing apples becomes the object of play and entertainment.

Ironically, the people picking apples in the orchard cannot identify with the apple production process. Walter's sentiments reinforce this point:

> "It's important for people to come to rural areas so that they can be connected to where their food comes from, but do they understand that someone planted that tree? You can pick an apple and see where your apple comes from, but there is so much more. Like, an apple tree – it takes seven years of looking after that apple tree before you can start picking the fruit from it. It's disheartening because people don't appreciate my labour because they don't see it" (Walter, farmer 2011).

Industrialization of the agri-food system has isolated people from their food source (Power 1996), and 'getting back to nature' and seeing where food comes from does not necessarily equate to enlightenment on how food is produced but reinforces its alienation. Individuals harvesting food for their own consumption, as part of an experience, is not a guarantee they will make the link between the apple and the farmer's labour because it is not part of the consumptive experience. The contradiction is that pick your own experiences maintain a separation between labour process and the growing of the apple. As people seek to 'get back to the land' as a way of addressing their own alienation in advanced capitalist urban economies, it reinforces another form of alienation between people and their food source. Although the labour of farmers sustains agritourism spaces, it is removed from how tourists think about these spaces. The labour of these individuals is usually invisible to the tourist eye (Edensor 2007) and yet it is one of the most integral aspects of reproducing the tourism experience. This is an instance when relations between things replace relations between people, and human labour is de-materialized.

The relationship between the apple and the work that went into growing the apple is further complicated by the fact that tourists, to some degree perform the work but are

often charged an admission price for the experience. This does not escape Mac who realizes that:

> "People are coming in and doing the labor. Strangely enough, their entry admission is like we are charging them for their labor. Some people really get offended when we charge them a price because they are doing the work, but excuse me! I planted the tree and did all the work so that you could pick that apple off the tree!" (Mac, farmer 2011)

Pick-your-own is an experience good based on the tourist's performance of labour, which works to erase the farmer's work that is central to the farm's functioning. This is significant because bringing people in contact with the farm does not necessarily mean their understanding of farming and where food comes from will improve. The farmer's work that went into growing the trees are not part of the pick your own product's imaginary.

Another way the work is undervalued is that, although the farmer can have more work than they can manage in a day, the job itself is insecure with respect to being a form of employment that is not protected by labour laws and policies. Unlike standard employment relationships (Cranford, Vosko and Zukewich 2003; Fudge, Tucker and Vosko 2002), agritourism operators do not enjoy benefits and entitlements, nor are they covered under the collective bargaining of a union. Harry has been at his business for 35 years. When asked if he plans on doing it for many years more he replies: "Yeah, I am part of the freedom 95 club" (Harry, farmer 2011). Although he responds in a joking manner, Harry touches on a risky aspect of self-employment – having a retirement plan. There are also no guarantees of standard benefits, pensions, or drug and health plans. Agritourism is inherently risky for the farmer and despite the amount and intensity of work that goes into producing a tourism space, success is never guaranteed.

The connection farm operators have to the farm is also often lost on visitors to the farm. Ben has this conclusion:

> “People don’t consider this our home. When people complain, I get my back up because I have a personal interest and stake in this place. I take people acting badly as an insult. How would they [the tourist] like it if I came and had a party on their lawn next week?” (Ben, farmer 2011)

From the perspective of the tourist, these spaces are seemingly without limits or rules. They are spaces where anything goes. Similar to Ben, Walter is disgusted by people that disrespect his farm. Walter has “problems with people who have a blatant disregard for the property and who are disrespectful to the fruit” (Walter, farmer 2010). Sam also feels frustrated with people that don’t respect his home. They will:

> “Throw garbage anywhere, change a diaper and leave it. Every night there will be a lot of garbage lying around and we even have garbage cans. I’m sure people don’t litter like that at their own homes. I was picking up litter just yesterday. I don’t find that acceptable for someone to have a picnic in my yard and then leave their trash. People just don’t realize” (Sam, farmer 2011).

The months and months of hard work that went into the planning, setting up and operating of the agritourism destination is consumed and sometimes damaged in just a day. Common to these farmers’ experiences is their perception of customers not acting respectfully towards the place they visit. In these examples there is a distinction with respect to how the farmer sees the farm and how the tourist sees the farm. For Lawne, negative interactions are:

> “Hard for my husband. If he sees people doing things that he thinks are rude he gets very upset. If he sees people throw garbage or kick a tree he says, ‘how could anyone do that in such a beautiful place’? But you have to keep your cool. We took their [tourist] money and now we have to deal with it. There are sacrifices you have to make (Lawne, farmer 2011).

These farmers take offense because they have a special relationship with the agritourism site: it is their home. The home is tied to an individual's psychological development and meaningful emotional relationships with the physical environment (Lynch et al. 2009). It is clear that for these farmers, home takes priority and is positioned as the primary function of the premises. The farmer experiences home, in part, through the actions and behaviors of the tourist. The emotional stress of interacting with tourists makes it difficult for farmers to effectively do their work and receive emotional rewards.

7.2.3 Invasions of Privacy

Home-based work, regardless of the industry, brings the domestic and public spheres together (Miraftab 1994) and usually require a negotiation of public space and the home (Felstead and Jewson 2000). This suggests a false binary in that although public and private spaces are perceived as opposites the distinction between them is not precise, and to separate them is not necessarily productive from the standpoint of an agritourism farmer. Farm tourism operators change the rules of space by opening their place of residence to the public. Home is no longer private in the same way because the public is invited into private space. Although home is a commercial enterprise, the home itself is not part of the tourist object. Opening up the home to commercial tourism activity is likely to disturb the meanings and experiences of home: home as a site of privacy, domesticity, intimacy and comfort, and is likely to disrupt the notion of home as a "haven, or refuge, as a private place" (Lynch et al. 2009, 12). It is inevitable that the commercial aspect of home will disrupt home as a "private place that people can retreat to and relax in" (Lynch et al. 2009, 11). In the case of agritourism, privacy of the home is

often breached and having to deal with the invasiveness of the tourist is part of the production logic of well-being and emotion that protects the home.

Marylou recalls a frustrating experience related to an intrusion into her private time. She says:

> "People would come when we were clearly not open. They would ask if they could get strawberries and I was like, 'no you can't' get strawberries! I would be sun tanning and then I would have to throw some clothes on. It was really invasive. I just wanted to close the door and not have people around" (Marylou, farmer 2011).

The intrusion is unexpected, unwelcome and creates an embarrassing situation for Marylou. This disruption in her day evokes an emotional response. Her frustration comes from people who are not reluctant to enter into private space and disturb her personal leisure time. She is forced to change her plans and cater to the needs of customers during a time and space that she allotted to be customer-free.

Having private life intruded on is a common experience for many agritourism producers (Sharpley and Vass 2006). Lane provides one example of how her everyday life is intruded and how she manages the engagement. She says:

> "I am sitting in the living room, playing with the kids and there is a knock at the door. I know it's a customer and all of the sudden I need to be on; I have to be like, 'Hi! Can I help you?' It's like I put on a front for people and talk differently to a customer than with a family or friend. I don't like the appearance of somebody having to come to the door for change and I am there with the kids" (Lane, farmer 2011).

Lane willfully crosses a physical and social boundary when she opens the door of her home to let work interrupt the time she is spending with her children. She is not particularly happy with the impression that blurring home and work leaves with the customer. Lane would rather her children and domestic life remain hidden in order to preserve the professional image of her farm as a business. She perceives the presence of

her children and her private family space as impacting the customer's experience in a negative way, but it is the reality of how the space functions. Lane provides one example of how farmers negotiate and find a compromise between public and private space when home is open to the public and operates as a tourism enterprise. The merging of home and public space re-shapes and re-defines the home (Felstead and Jewson 2000) and inherently involves a change in personal/individual spatial practice for the agritourism farmer.

Physical boundaries are used to create distance and avoid tensions between home and work in the production of a tourism destination. Opening the home to the public in the context of agritourism requires farmers to set boundaries that allow them to "police the conditions by which the front door remains open or closed" (Molz and Gibson 2008, 12). Riggy uses time and physical gates in confronting, negotiating and managing boundaries between home and work (Felstead and Jewson 2000). He honours his operation's daily five o'clock closing time and marks this boundary between home and tourism destination with physical gates. He says:

> "I enjoy my solitude when five o'clock comes around. In the mornings the gates are opened and they close at five. People think it is okay to walk here when the gates are down and then I have to deal with them. I have to tell them we are closed" (Riggy, farmer 2010).

Despite the physical barriers used to try and separate home from tourism destination, boundaries are still breached. Not all patrons recognize spatial boundaries and it is more than a little bit annoying. Commercial activity disturbs the meaning of home as "a space of security, intimacy and reproduction free from public scrutiny and free from the stresses and strains of working life" (Brandth and Haugen 2012, 182). With agritourism, home is, in many instances, the source of stress related to working life. The rest and relaxation

Riggy gains from 'being closed' is part of his operational day and acts to physically, but also temporally and mentally, separate home from the business. He does not want to have to 'deal with the headaches of the day', but to recover from them. Riggy looks forward to a break from his work at the end of the day, indicating that, for him, although work time and family time are often merged, there is life outside of work. This indicates that Riggy's operation is guided by values influenced by a sense of well-being. The sense of time that structures his day suggests there is a 'tempo' (Lefebvre 2002) to his everyday life – a faster pace when his business is open and a slower pace when the day is done. The tempo varies between work and non-work parts of the day but takes place in the same space.

Ben provides another example of how customers violate boundaries separating home and tourism destination:

> "For pick your own we open at 9:00 in the morning. We would have people banging on the door at 8:00 because they knew we lived here. They wanted to get into the field to pick before we were open. And we would say 'no! We open at nine!" (Ben, farmer 2011)

Although a physical boundary is crossed when customers knock on Ben's door, she does not give into the pressure of demand and insists on keeping the distance between her and her customers by adhering to the time boundary she established. Murray gives another example of how her time is invaded:

> "There comes a time when you just need to spend time with your family. Even though the sign says we're closed, we get people that will come around the fence and ring the doorbell and ask if they can pick a pumpkin. And I think to myself, well, can you go to Zehrs [grocery store] after they're closed and knock on their door and say, 'oh I just need some milk'? But we still need to be a family friendly place. I usually send the boys out. They are good and don't mind customers after we're closed, whereas I am done" (Murray, farmer 2011).

Murray maintains her well-being by sending her sons to deal with invading customers. This is not a strategy that everyone can use but it emphasizes the role family plays in diffusing potentially tense situations that could affect Murray's emotional state of mind.

For Ken and Ginger, family and religious values help to set boundaries between home and tourism destination. Their everyday is guided by a belief system, which influenced how they operated their agritourism farm. In the early years of their operation, Sundays were set aside as a day their family would take a break and close the farm to the public: "We were closed on Sundays. That was our big thing. We'd go to church and we just needed a day" (Ginger, farmer 2010). This temporal boundary reflects a value system around which spatial order is established and reinforced for this family. It is part of the functioning of their operation. To maintain a balance in their lives, the family stuck to its tradition of going to church, which reinforced the regularity of their life. The problem with this plan is that weekends are the most popular time for visitors to take part in agritourism activities. One Sunday morning, Ken and his family arrived home from church to find that "people had parked in front of the closed gates and were walking all over the place. They just ignored the gates! I closed everything off and put out signs that said we were closed but there were people all over the place!" (Ken, farmer 2010) Although they attempt to set limits around their work, they end up crossing the boundary and open their farm on Sundays to meet the high demand for their product on that day: "We decided that if you can't beat 'em, join 'em. At the very least it's still a family day" (Ken, farmer 2010). The social and spatial order Ken imposes in order to keep home separate from work is challenged by visitors' expectations that his agritourism attraction

should be open on Sundays. Ken and Ginger are up against consumer demand and as a result, experience an invasion of private space in terms of infringement on their core family values.

Rex talks about how the invasion of his private space is due to the layout of his commercial retail operation in proximity to his house: “Most people understand that the parking lot is part of the store and the trampoline and lawn chairs on the other side of the tree line, in our backyard, is not part of the store” (Rex, farmer 2011). Rex assumes his visitors have a collective spatial awareness and understanding of the spatial boundaries on his farm. He also assumes that boundaries, like tree lines, act to adequately separate the private house and yard from commercial tourist activity. Although attempting to act as a barrier between public and private space, the tree line is not a winning strategy for Rex. He says: “Certain people let their kids go on the trampoline and they start setting up lawn chairs and having a jolly good old time in my backyard! And I am like ‘what is going on here?’” (Rex, farmer 2011) Although space is carefully managed to ‘choreograph’ and direct tourists, tourists fail to read the space, even if it is clearly marked for them, and do not adhere to certain norms. Rex’s ‘living space’ in the ‘back region’ (Goffman 1959; MacCannell 1976) is forfeited, and becomes part of the ‘front stage’ region for the people having fun in Rex’s private (and out of bounds) backyard.

Rex needs to negotiate the violation of his privacy as part of the ongoing production of the space. Part of producing an agritourism space is being able to endure the strangeness of strangers in familiar space. Rex experiences ‘extrovert performances’ by tourists, which disrupt the ‘backstage’ privacy of his home. Although this space is private and managed as such, it is “transformed by the presence of tourists who adhere to

different norms" (Edensor 2001, 64). Tourists share un-reflexive, embodied assumptions about appropriate behavior in particular contexts, and despite the fact that there are "culturally coded patterns of tourist behavior" (Edensor 2001, 60), tourism producers need to expect individual spatial explorations/deviations by tourists. Although space can be managed to influence tourist behavior, tourist behavior itself can be an unpredictable component over which the producer has very limited control.

Although the ignorance of some tourists frustrates Rex, he realizes that it is not all their fault. He blames the invasion of privacy on the way the site is staged suggesting:

> "It's just the way it is set up. The store should be 500 feet back and the laneway should come around to the other side and into the back where there is another huge parking lot. So when it is busy in the fall, people can drive back. The way it is set up now, it is a nightmare" (Rex, farmer 2011).

The layout of the attraction influences the ease, or lack thereof, with which people can move through space – an issue related to staging. Rex wants to make it easier for people to park and enter the store, but at the same time he wants to protect his family's personal space. Changing the layout of the parking lot is one option, but in the meantime, Rex is thinking about "putting up a fence so that people will get the point" (Rex, farmer 2011). A fence sends a social message to 'keep out' and is a way of building an expectation into the site with respect to how people are to behave in that space. In addition to the attraction Rex offers at his farm, part of his everyday planning of the space involves protecting his private life.

Inviting the public into private space comes with limitations to the freedoms enjoyed at home. Walter says:

> "There are some things we can't do when we are open to the public. I liked to target shoot, but I don't do it any more. It's just not possible. You never

> know when some dumb ass customer is going to come over the hill and through the gate and past the closed signs" (Walter, farmer 2011).

Aside from the obvious safety concerns related to his hobby, Walter nonetheless puts the activities he enjoys doing at home, in his leisure time, on hold because he cannot trust customers to follow instructions. This is an example of a tradeoff made between a place of private life and public consumption. Similar to places like hotels, restaurants, service stations, stores or museums, a boundary might be marked with a gate and a sign, but it is a fruitless battle in keeping out apathetic, unaware, or compulsively curious people who will inevitably cross the line. Walter says further:

> "There are some major interruptions sometimes, but we try to make clear boundaries. But some people don't seem to understand boundaries at all. Like, people picnic right in front of the house sometimes. I am like, 'hey guys, is there no respect for private space'? People don't realize that just because this is a farm open to the public, it doesn't mean that you can go and have a picnic in my backyard. Because it's agritourism people get the idea that the farm is public property! During business hours we have lots of different people on the property. But then there is the closing point. We are making signs this year that will say, 'when these gates are closed, please no trespassing'. We will put them on the gate so people will understand that this is our space after hours. We are open the rest of the time. In fact, I can't wait to see you tomorrow. But after hours please stay off the property. Respect the sign" (Walter, farmer 2011).

Walter's perspective and expectations of the customer are not unreasonable. As another participant pointed out previously, agritourism operations are no different from other retail grocery stores (like Zehrs) in terms of when the customer can and cannot enter a store. This boundary is less obvious in the context of a commercial home.

In the case of agritourism, the producer needs to ultimately accept and adjust to the reality that private life is less private. Lawne is conflicted because she loves to:

> "Come down here [the farmyard] but hates when people come into our private space. When we open the gate, as long as everyone pays to come in, we will try to be welcoming. But it's very difficult to give up your privacy.

> We are private people and we want to maintain that sense. I've accepted it because it is part of the decision; this is how I am going to support myself. So by doing this [agritourism] I have to give up a piece of myself and a piece of my farm" (Lawne, farmer 2011).

Despite the difficulties Lawne has with giving up her privacy, she knows that this is part of the decision she made to run an agritourism business out of her home. This attitude is part of the everyday experience of continually producing this space. Agritourism is a consumptive experience and visitors play a big role in the functioning of an agritourism destination. The host-guest relationships that emerge are both integral and detrimental to the productive logic of well-being for the farmer. The problem is that not all customers see beyond the consumptive space of the tourist destination and into the realm of the home. When customers 'act like tourists' it creates emotional tensions for the farmer and challenges the successful incorporation of well-being into definitions of non-economic forms. Uninformed tourist perspectives and actions challenge the successful achievement of well-being as a production logic.

7.3 Coping with Crowds

The acceptance or at least tolerance of tourists represents a successful negotiation between the privacy of home and sharing a domestic space with others so that it becomes public (Lynch et al. 2009). The success of agritourism destinations is, in large part, based on this successful negotiation. There is a constant need for farmers to manage the distinction between their private lives and their commercial operations. Managing the distinction between private and public space is an important aspect of the production logic of well-being. When a farmer is unable to do this, their privacy is more likely to be invaded and an emotional tension is more likely to arise between home as a place of

residence and home as a tourism destination. This section outlines three strategies farmers have adopted to help them manage the transgressive emotions they experience by way of the tourist. They are strategies that are part of the production logic of well-being in that they attempt to protect the farmer's emotions.

7.3.1 Short-Term Relationships

Beth says:

> "On a busy Saturday in October we have over 3000 people on our farm. It's unbelievable to have 3000 people in your close space. When we started, we knew that we would lose our privacy. After 5:00, if somebody comes down the driveway we don't go out. That is our limit. We advertise and post our hours everywhere so that people will know. We knew we wouldn't have much privacy, except for at night. I guess we don't mind because we feel that we can share what we have been blessed with. We enjoy doing this and we know that this is a part of it. We also know that it ends. We know it is not year round" (Beth, farmer 2010).

There's no doubt that 3000 people in your close space is unbelievable. With this many people Beth has reasonable expectations of tourists invading her privacy. Similar to the strategies used by other farmers, she counters this by imposing a rule related time barrier that separates home time and work time and the activities she carries out in each space – a strategy that seems to work for her. The inconvenience of people in her close space for a few months of the year is a fair trade off for knowing that it doesn't last, and she doesn't have to endure it on an everyday basis year round.

Privacy is an aspect of seasonality in that the levels of privacy experienced in everyday life vary depending on the time of year. During the busy season, crowds are the norm, and in fact, expected. But, as mentioned in chapter six, the nature of the everyday changes with the seasons. Sharing private space with the public in this way is, more often times than not, a temporary situation. Overall, Beth has a pretty positive attitude towards

tourists that allows her to successfully negotiate the meeting of public and private space. Beth has an interesting take on crowds. She says:

> "We love the buzz of the fall when people come and it's super busy. It's such a neat atmosphere. People just come to chill and I love that. It [the buzz] lasts for two very intense months. But there are times when we can just sit back and see people chilling and we say, we did this; we created a spot that people love" (Beth, farmer 2010).

Beth does not seem to have a problem welcoming strangers. Her positive attitude is part of the production logic of well-being and is a factor of success in running her operation. Personality factors are important to well-being and positive attitudes are more likely to bring on well-being (Costa and McCrae 1980). It is something that makes the everyday easier. Beth loves what she does and finds meaning in and connects to place through the 'buzz' coming from the crowds during her busy season. Beth has an appreciation for the short-lived but intensive dynamic that tourists bring to the stage. She knows it only lasts for two months, which is a tolerable amount of time for having people in her private space before the 'buzz' gets on her nerves. This suggests that agritourism destinations might be difficult to sustain or endure as a year-round business.

A factor that contributes to Beth's positive attitude towards welcoming strangers is that she knew what she was getting into before she got into it. She had the expectation that her privacy would be breached. This suggests that an awareness of the implications of merging public and private space in the context of agritourism better prepares people for when the inevitable happens. When it does happen, it may not be easy to deal with but at least it was not a surprise. In any case, Beth has a personal connection to her place of work via the crowds of people that come to visit. Crowds of strangers in her backyard are a normalized component of everyday life during the busy season. It is something that

Harry has also "gotten used to. The secret is to ignore people" (Harry, farmer 2011). Harry's easy disposition comes from years of learning to adapt to the public-izing of his home.

7.3.2 The 'End Game'

Lowel tolerates the crowds because he has his eye on the 'end game'. He says: "People don't bother me as much because I know the dollar I am getting back from them being here" (Lowel, farmer 2011). People translate into dollar signs, which is enough to 'override' their presence as a nuisance. Lowel has disconnected himself personally from the consumer by seeing them not as people but as profit. Walter has a similar mentality in which money neutralizes his feelings towards a breach of privacy during non-working hours:

> "Yes there are strange hours. When a customer comes in and wants to buy something but we are closed I say, well, might as well make a sale and get dinner paid for. So I take care of it. My wife likes some level of privacy after hours. She is not from the same background as me. She defiantly gets miffed about the experience, but that is the price you have to pay when you are surrounded by this type of operation [agritourism]" (Walter, farmer 2011).

Walter understands the trade-off that needs to be made between running a successful agritourism business from home and his family's privacy. Walter chalks up his tolerance to privacy invasion to his many years in the business, and understanding that it is part of the job and lifestyle. From his experience, he knows that when it comes to money, there are no boundaries. He incorporates customer transactions during closed hours into his everyday existence because there is a monetary trade-off to be had.

Harry has a similar attitude to Walter. He is aware of and accepts the reality of the business, which is that it is hard to escape from people showing up at your door:

> "I get 8000 people come through in a weekend. I don't mind it. You lose your privacy, but I don't mind having to give something up. I really don't mind people knocking on my door too much. It's a good thing to have people because that's what you want" (Harry, farmer 2011).

This farmer knows there is a payoff to putting his privacy at risk. Just like tourists are hard to escape, so is money. Getting people to come to the farm and spend money is the whole idea of agritourism as a capitalist business venture. Harry is willing to give up a big part of his privacy because he knows there are monetary gains to be made when there are crowds of people on the farm. This is part of the productive logic of well-being – knowing that privacy is something you have to give up and you live with it. This mentality puts the farmer in a better emotional state when his/her privacy is violated because s/he expected it.

In response to a question about how thousands of people coming to her property affects her everyday life, Cheryl asks herself:

> "Does it affect my daily life? We spend so much time hoping and planning and preparing for people to come that when they finally get here I don't say, 'oh people are here'! I don't have a knee jerk reaction. I don't look out in the backyard and go, 'oh there are people walking everywhere!' [in a disgusted tone] I look out into my backyard and I go 'oh there are people walking everywhere!' [in a happy tone]. That is what we wanted. I just expect people to be here. It's weirder, almost lonelier when there are no people here. I don't like that" (Cheryl, farmer 2010).

Farmer's lives are not necessarily negatively affected by the presence of visitors in their backyard. For Cheryl the presence of people doesn't seem to adversely affect her everyday life. It seems to relieve stress because she knows that crowds of people mean money. Even though the physical presence of people is part of her everyday life for only two months of the year, this is what drives her work for the other ten months. She, like Harry, sees people as part of the life of the landscape. Preparing for people to come and

be part of this space in the fall is part of her everyday life throughout the entire year. These farmers have successfully incorporated tourists as part of the production logic of the agritourist space, and in doing so they have an easier time with merging public and private space.

7.3.3 Un-Staging the House

Un-staging the house is another strategy used in negotiating home as an intersection of public and private space. It is one line of defense in protecting the privacy of the home. Ironically, welcoming visitors to their home involves down playing the presence of the actual house. Beth sees it this way:

> "We work hard to make this a place for people to visit, but I don't want people thinking they are visiting our house; I mean, they are visiting our house, I guess, because it is right there, but I'd rather that they not see it as that. I want them to see an attraction, not my house" (Beth, farmer 2010).

Beth's house is inherently part of the tourism landscape, however, it is not part of the constructed stage for tourist consumption. The house is physically present, but not part of the attraction. Although most times the house is a prominent feature of the front stage areas of agritourism sites, they belong to the backstage regions of the private household and are off limits to tourists. Beth tries to separate these overlapping spaces with a perceptual barrier of the house not being part of the farm attraction. The house might be on the stage and act as a prop, but the physical entity itself is not part of the tourism product.

The role of the house in the agritourism product is unlike agritourism related to bed and breakfasts, and farmstays that are popular in Europe, which involve an overnight stay in a farmhouse of an 'authentic' working farm and participating in everyday

activities based on rural ways of living. Farm tourism operators in this study are more interested in providing a day excursion in which families can experience the farm via interactive agricultural related activities like corn mazes and hayrides. Although it might be part of the tourist imaginary of farm space, the home/house is not part of the tourist object like it is for smaller accommodations offered by 'farmstays' that try to convey and sell a 'sense of home' to visitors. The home, as home, is left in the background and is not featured in the tourist stage. Beth, like other agritourism operators, has to walk a fine line between exposing her house (the physical property; the backyard) and home (the social and cultural base) to the public and not drawing attention to the house and home as part of the attraction.

7.4 Conclusion

How is everyday life organized for the farmer? It is organized around the tourist. Although staging the farm as spectacle is part of the daily activities of getting private space prepared for public consumption, it is the successful negotiation of tourists in private space that ultimately determines if the spectacle continues. For the producer, spectacle is broken down into daily tasks and emotional coping, whereas for the tourist, spectacle is far outside the realm of these everyday considerations. Tourists are inescapable and farmers need to come to terms with the inappropriate behaviors, actions and words that are an uncontrollable and unpredictable aspect of agritourism production. Throwing fruit, littering, breaking tree branches, walking off trails, and abusing animals are just some examples of how tourists can act inappropriately and create emotional tension for the farmer. Annoyance, frustration, rudeness, disappointment and disrespect are all sources of tension entrenched in everyday practice when tourists are present,

which is evidence that tourists "change the attraction through their very presence" (Williams and Lew 2015, 256). Tourists are the ultimate wildcard in effecting the standardization and sameness of everyday life on the farm.

Tourism's invasive inescapability is an everyday reality for many farmers who sacrifice their privacy. While the 'back region' is supposed to be inaccessible to tourists, it is a region that is easily invaded. The invasion of privacy by tourists is a metaphor for the aggressive non-discriminating force with which capitalism enters and produces the home in contemporary society. The invasion is connected to a profit seeking activity and is evidence that "the economic prevails even in a domain that seems to elude it" (Lefebvre 2002, 82).

Managing emotional transgressions is part of the successful negotiation of public and private space, and is part of the production logic of well-being that manifests in the daily movements of preparing private space for, and protecting private space from, public consumption. Not only is it a major factor in establishing well-being but it is a factor of a successful agritourism business. Several strategies can be used to help farmers cope with crowds as part of the production logic of well-being. The negotiation takes a good attitude, foresight, planning and acceptance that tourists are part of the production process.

Understanding how public disruptions in private space occur and how they are managed is informative because it is an aspect of tourism production logic largely overlooked by mainstream agritourism studies interested in economic diversification. Tourism changes the spatial organization of the home as well as the binary distinctions between public and private activity (Lynch et al. 2009), but "the farm tourism literature

has only to a very small extent discussed issues of hospitality, service provision and conflicts of private/public distinctions" (Brandth and Haugen 2012, 181). If agritourism is to be sustainable, programs and policies need to be put in place to educate the farmer on emotionally managing the invasion of their private space. These are further considered in a section on policy implications in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

8.1 Argument Summary

This dissertation made the argument that the everyday is a framework for studying tourism production that reveals the logic of well-being not entirely based on an economic mentality of making money but on the day-to-day negotiation of the home as a private place of residence, a place of work, and a tourism attraction open to the public. Agritourism is an economic response mediated by the cultural practice of the home. Dollar figures are an important aspect of producing space, but not all activities involved in the functioning of the space directly relate to producing a profit. Tourism production needs to be understood by its 'imbrication in the everyday' and studied in terms of more general life experiences, values, everyday practice and spaces of individual 'life contexts'.

This dissertation has used an everyday framework to interpret aspects of an economic activity related to both economic and cultural forms. It contributes an approach to tourism knowledge that allows for a work-able tension to exist between economic and cultural analyses. The everyday is a way of 'walking down the middle' theoretically because it sees economic activity as both an economic and cultural form – equally as important in the tourism production process. Not all forms of tourism production are economic in nature but related to sustaining a certain quality of well-being. Critically, this raises an awareness of how people survive economic forces in their everyday life and how individuals find freedom to move within structural constraints.

In Southern Ontario, agricultural transition has changed the everyday life of the farmer. Chapters four and five see farm restructuring as embedded in daily life. These

chapters show that although livelihoods are implicated in a structural system, farmers are able to adapt by changing the types of activities and tasks they do on the farm. Agritourism is, thus, an example of how space emerges for small operators and entrepreneurial-minded individuals to seek livelihoods through tourism (Shaw 2004; Gibson 2007; Turner 2007). These chapters show the 'ins and outs' of farm transition, which is a critical part of agritourism production.

Chapters six and seven see well-being as a non-economic aspect of production. This production logic is found in the ambiguous intersecting spaces of home, work, and tourism destination. The successful incorporation of well-being as production logic, however, is challenged by the emotional vulnerability related to the blurring of home and tourism related work. Farmers produce the stage for tourist consumption while the tourist is absent, but the production process changes when tourists themselves are physically present. Tourists are an invading force in farmer's lives, but farmers have adapted; there are circumstances and resistances that make the intrusion livable, but not escapable. As much as people try to adapt and exercise agency in the face of structural force, they cannot escape it.

Is agritourism a sustainable way of life? Although some farmers have achieved success in operating an agritourism business, is the everyday of a tourism operator more preferable to farmers than the traditional life of farming? Agritourism is not a bad alternative if producers can come to understand that everyday life, in large part, becomes about the customer – a significant change from traditional farming. In many instances, farmers strive for a certain way of life only for it to be brought down by tourists – the very people for which they are creating the space. Can this conflict be resolved? This

research suggests, yes, especially if production is not confined to an economic question. Although a farm might be economically viable as an agritourism destination, it may not mean it is socially viable because of the changes farmers have to endure as part of their everyday life, namely tourists.

8.2 Agritourism According to the Production Logic of Well Being

Some farmers have figured out how to derive a sense of well-being from the lifestyle of being an agritourism operator. Tourism production takes on many forms, and success can be measured in forms other than money. The question is: how is success defined in business, if not with money? What are the other indicators? More specifically, what are they key performance indictors of successful non-economic activities that loosen the tensions of a spatially overlapped home, work place and tourism destination, and enhance the lived sensibilities of 'dwelling' within that space? This requires thinking differently about success. Economic indicators might be important in the early stages of agritourism development, but as the destination evolves other factors like societal relationships and enjoyment in work become just as, or more, important.

The question driving this dissertation was: to what extent does the everyday reveal alternative forms of tourism production that are not driven directly by profit? The following sections reveal what tourism production looks like from an everyday perspective. I identify the culturally embedded aspects of production the everyday reveals, which are necessary for an agritourism site to successfully function as an economic space. According to the logic of well-being agritourism is based on: adaptation, personal growth, family bonds and legacy, emotional connections, value systems, and protecting the home. These are non-economic characteristics of tourism production that

are about the embodied doings of day-to-day tasks and social relationships that keep the destination running in the long term by preserving the well-being of the farmer. Although farmers have the choice to take off farm work to keep the farm financially afloat, those choosing agritourism instead do so because of everyday lifestyle benefits, in addition to monetary motivation. This is part of the bigger lesson of this dissertation that can apply to tourism production more broadly.

8.2.1 Adaptation

What factors undermine the success of an agritourism operation? The inability of the farmer to adapt! Adaptation plays a big role in the production logic of well-being. An everyday approach highlights the remarkable ability of farmers to adapt to new situations and to cope with existing and on-going challenges related to agricultural change. Tourism as a capitalist practice might invade home space, but people adapt and in these moments of adaptation, people change what tourism production is.

Adaptations are more than financial and technical business decisions. They are also very personal and related to the private realm of the producer's family life. The conditions of happiness for these farmers are, in large part, based on coming to terms with the realities of running a tourism operation out of their home. Adapting the farm as a tourist stage for consumption is one part of the process, but operators also have to be able to adapt to tourists. People may love their farm, but it may not be worth keeping as an agritourism attraction if the operator cannot emotionally and mentally deal with the tourists. In this way, agritourism is not about loving the farm and keeping it in the family, but it is about being able to adapt and tolerate crowds of people as part of the

production process on the farm. Successful tourism operators are experts at bringing together tourism and agriculture as well as tourism and the home.

8.2.2 Personal Growth, Identity and Self Making

Tourism production is more than work. It is about personal growth and in some cases, self-expression. The production process involves the development of human individuality and capacity, which includes finding oneself through their work. A big part of this is the availability of opportunities for farmers to better themselves through various forms of learning. This is motivation for engaging in the work in the first place. Being an agritourism operator allows people to get to know who they are, develop as an individual and shape their sense of self through work. Work plays a big role in shaping people's identities and it is through their everyday work and in their everyday life that they create themselves.

8.2.3 Reproducing the Family

Family life is attached to work and part of the production logic of well-being. Agritourism production involves and encompasses reproduction by way of raising a family and organizing family life and everyday living conditions on the farm. The production logic of well-being is based around a value system outside of money. Values that inform the decision making process include: prioritizing the family and the home over the tourist and the space of consumption. The principles that guide daily life are related to teaching children, finding balance, honoring family and respecting the environment. The meaningful personal affairs amongst family members are part of the production process. Recognizing the home and family in the production of tourism

supports findings that agritourism is important for maintaining the cultural form of the family farm (Ainley 2012). Although the accumulation of capital still plays a role in the functioning of agritourism destinations, surplus is not necessarily reinvested in traditional aspects of the business. Farmers with growing families realize that they have a responsibility that goes beyond profits and this is where they need to make their investments. For example, the farm as family legacy is identified as an important reason why farmers engage in agritourism (Ainley 2012). Family itself is a legacy preserved through agritourism production. Families that operate agritourism attractions have a certain way of living out the link between work and family life. In thinking about agritourism as a social formation it is evident how agritourism is part of how people reproduce themselves both as a family and as a family farm.

8.2.4 Emotional Management

Production is an emotional transaction and, thus, an important aspect of well-being. The experiences of production involve an appreciation for the poetic, sensual and non-rational. Especially in the case of agritourism, or other commercial home enterprises, work elicits an emotional response. Agritourism requires emotional management and support as part of the work – managing one's feelings is part of the job. In many instances the best way to learn is through experience. Creating a sense of emotional well being within oneself is central to the success of the work the farmer does.

Concentrating on guests is important – making sure guests are happy with their experience is no doubt of top concern for farmers. The tourist's happiness, however, according to the production logic of well-being, puts the tourist's happiness as second to the producer's. Before people can treat their customers well, farmers themselves need to

be happy with their circumstance. A sincere genuineness towards customers emerges when this is achieved. Guests need to feel significant, but so too do the farmers. This is key to confidence and can be part of preventing emotional distress. It is true that a positive interaction between the farmer and the customer is central to the successful and continued functioning of the destination. However, the successful and continued functioning of the destination is also dependant on the successful negotiation of emotions. The farmer's happiness plays a significant role in the successful ongoing functioning of the farm. Farmers need to provide good service, but they deserve to receive respectful patronage from the visitor in return.

8.2.5 Protecting Home

Negotiating the ambiguous boundaries between public and private realms is part of producing agritourism space. Part of the production of agritourism space is protecting home and family values from the very force it invites in. Farmers are in constant negotiation with invasive capitalist forces (tourists) and protecting private home life is an important aspect of maintaining and achieving their well-being. Nowhere is this negotiation more obvious than when considering how farm tourism operators experience their home as a tourism destination, especially with respect to the invasion of privacy.

8.2.6 Producer Personality and Tolerating Tourists

Not just anyone can be a tourism producer; you need the personality. A big part of producing the space according to the logic of well-being is to recognize, understand and tolerate the unpredictability and uncontrollable nature of some of tourists as part of the tourism production process. Farmers need to have the expectation that it is inevitable that

people will disregard or disrespect their home in some way at some point in time. The social interactions farmers have with customers are an inseparable aspect of the production of space. People's willingness to 'put up' with this lifestyle of intrusion into private space, in part, is what keeps agritourism surviving. Getting easily irritated by people is a red flag that the agrioturism business might not be the business to get into.

8.3 Theoretical Contributions

The dissertation contributes to the study of tourism by connecting everyday life to production. The everyday reveals tourism production as a source of well-being not related to making a profit, but not disconnected from it either. The everyday is a starting place for making the non-economic aspects of production visible. Without the everyday it would be difficult to see the role well-being plays in the tourism production process. The production logic of well-being can be extended outside of an agritourism context to uncover the non-economic practices and forms in other types of tourism. For example, how does a middle-aged casino cocktail waitress in (old) Las Vegas, Nevada, experience the production of tourism from an everyday standpoint? What role does tourism play in her everyday life? How does she interpret the Las Vegas spectacle and how does it intrude on her private everyday life? This tourism context is also entirely removed from the home and would render a different angle on the everydayness of tourism production. Like this dissertation, findings could provide evidence that, in some circumstances, consuming tourist products does not necessarily come "at the expense of someone else's welfare" (Bianchi 2009, 495).

Production logic of well-being could provide insight on understanding tourism apart from capitalist classifications of the economy that dominate popular perception. The

logic could provide evidence that the economy is an array of differential possibilities and requires a move beyond thinking about the economy as merely capitalist. There is the possibility for “a multifaceted, flexible and open-ended economy of non-capitalist practices that is able to take over from the current thinking and representation of the capitalist economy” (Mosedale 2011, 103). More broadly, it contributes to the development of “more sophisticated theoretical frameworks that may actually better hear the voices of people involved in the practices and processes of tourism development and management” (Hannam and Knox 2010, 5).

In addition to the familiar and habitual characteristics of the everyday, the everyday is also emotional, sensorial and involves the unexpected. What happens when the world of the familiar is disrupted by the unfamiliar? The unexpected is not always good and the shock it brings to familiar environments shakes the everyday, but also becomes a part of it. When the everyday is interrupted and routine is altered, is the familiar still recognizable and familiar?

8.4 Policy Implications

It is important for politicians to “know the life and the needs of the people whose immediate or essential interests he [sic] is defending” (Lefebvre 1991, 233). The alternative way of looking at tourism production as the logic of well-being is a good starting place for developing policy around the private life of the family and the home in the context of a commercial enterprise.

For starters, home becomes visible as a space in need of protecting. Because tourism is hard to separate from the broader social and cultural practices of the home, policy needs to help farmers manage these circumstances. In many instances tension

arises when the two are separated suggesting there needs to be a way of managing a successful intersection of the spaces. To engage in tourism and involve your home in the tourism product is to sign over your privacy; your home becomes a ‘public figure’ so to speak, and it is open to the public. As obvious as this might be, it is a significantly hidden point in programs, workshops, and guides of best practices offered to help those engaging in agritourism. In the 2009 OFFMA On-Farm Marketing Report in Ontario, the challenges listed by farmers include liability of the public on the farm, increasing costs in production, business taxes, food safety regulations, labeling regulations and product marketing. Invasions of privacy or the difficulty in managing a public activity on private property are not listed. If the interaction of public and private space is not identified as a challenge by official reports, then the likelihood of the issue being addressed it very small.

Although workshops are available to agritourism operators, they focus on the business skills needed to turn the farm into an economic opportunity, and not the personal management skills needed when turning the home into a tourism business. In addition to holding workshops about learning how to successfully merge agriculture and tourism, workshops should provide information on how to successfully merge home and tourism, as well as home life and work life. Social policies need to be evaluated with respect to impacts on well-being, not just economic or job-related outcomes. Policies around agritourism should not only be influenced by issues related to people’s well-being – about people’s feelings and evaluations of their lives, but also influence and contribute to people’s well-being in return. This is an area of possible research that could explore the kind of non-economic related assistance needed by farmers. For example, what are a

family's strategic emotional plans? How can agritourism be used as a tool for empowerment? How can the emotional well-being of the farmer be protected? How has the family prepared for the inevitable intrusions of their privacy? Where do they receive emotional support, or do they?

Those who thrive as agritourism operators do so because, to some extent, they are able to adapt by building a tolerance to people, more specifically, tourists. Their strategies need to be shared with others experiencing similar frustrations related to privacy invasions. The public nature of agritourism taking place in private space demands that those involved know how to manage both their business, as well as their homes. For those making the decision to 'get into the business', workshops on the theme of 'this is what you are in for' would be helpful resources for others. Guidebooks could also be developed for the purpose of sharing experiences of others who have successfully managed the merging of home and tourism space.

From this study a 'Best Practices Overview' of how to manage the merging of public and private space can be developed, as well as a model that measures the non-economic elements of production or a quality of life metrics. Successful agritourism operators manage the merging of public and private space in several ways. Research focusing specifically on how the barriers separating this spatial merge are effectively erected and maintained would be beneficial for policy documents around best practices in agritourism. Building a collective knowledge gathered in one place could include systematically surveying farmers with questions about what has worked for them and what has not worked for them with respect to successfully finding a balance in the merging of home, work and tourism space.

Understanding the agritourist's point of view could also be valuable. How does the tourist interpret the blurred line between home and tourism? Their interpretation is useful for developing strategies that educate tourists and generate awareness that the place they are visiting is someone's private residence. Successful strategies of 'un-staging' the home could be further operationalized through effectively delivering this message.

As part of the agritourism production process, there is a need for consumers to understand that, as agritourists, they are visiting someone's home. This highlights the importance of researching the producer's experience. Farmers need to have a certain degree of trust in the customer created via communications to the tourist before they enter the destination. For example, some farmers use marketing campaigns not to advertise to, but to educate the consumer. A 'conservation' strategy akin to those applied to the environment is needed for private family space. This points to an area in which policy and education programs related to agritourism need to be developed and delivered as part of the tourism product. Developing such a program would include creating a learning atmosphere that facilitates learning how to be an agritourist at a destination that is also someone's home. Improvement in communication between farmers and agritourists is key, but finding a way to facilitate the transaction requires creativity. Although not always effective, one place to start is to put up signs indicating that visitors are not just engaging in farm entertainment, but that they are doing so on private property. The counter-intuitive act of pointing out private space to the public in order to protect its privacy could be effective in generating awareness and sensitizing tourists to the impacts of their behaviors.

Much needs to be done in the area of policy for agritourism. This involves bringing in the state in a comprehensive way. The state plays a big role in marketing rural tourism attractions, but there is an absence of the state in agritourism policy. Part of the problem is that, currently, agritourism as a commercial enterprise is not recognized as an acceptable normal farm practice (Canadian Farm Business Management Council 2002), suggesting that agritourism has yet to find home with the state in the realm of agriculture. Before policy can be implemented, the state needs to recognize agritourism as a form of farming.

8.5 The Bigger Picture of Agritourism

The nature of farms today as agritourism attractions were unimaginable a generation ago. While agritourism is a relatively successful strategy for maintaining personal livelihoods on the farm, this does not necessarily translate into agritourism being a savior of rural space, nor does it represent a re-birth of rural life. It does, however, represent some sort of temporary fix for people who do not want to sell out to developers. It is also a way of preserving an economic activity and thus a strategy of rural development, but has by no means stabilized rural Ontario, and I doubt it will. It has, however, preserved a lifestyle. In this way agritourism farmers are perhaps among the last survivors of a certain farming way of life. The livelihood of agritourism is a lifestyle for the family and a lifestyle for the family is a livelihood of agritourism.

Southern Ontario is at a stage in which there is an increasing abundance of attractions as opposed failures, which makes the permanence of agritourism difficult to determine at the point. Evolutionary development models of tourism destinations (i.e. Butler 1980) suggest that farms have not failed because agritourism has not yet reached a

potential stage of saturation, stagnation and decline. It is unlikely that in the next ten years agritourism will enter into a stage of decline, which suggests the transition from production to consumption on the farm is more than just a ‘moment’. As long as tourists are still interested in going to the farm to be tourists and consume the farm in this way, there is little reason to believe agritouirsm is going to decline.

Saturation, however, could be a possibility. One trajectory is to see more farms and farmers enter the business. A different format could emerge as well. For example, the farm could run solely as a commercial space, which would mean the family would live off the property. In this instance it could be a situation in which big capital, like Disney, get into the commodification of the farm and the agritourism business. This is not an unreasonable speculation if the popularity of agritourism is sustained.

The failure or success of an agritourism business does not exist independently of the people who do the work to produce it. Without this realization there is a danger of accepting these spaces, or any space, as unquestionably natural. This dissertation has addressed the human element in the production of tourist space and has provided a reminder that tourists can consume tourist sites as part of a leisurely activity because people spend their lives producing it as a space of consumption.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

1. Can you tell me the story behind this place? How did it started as a farm tourism operation? Why did you get involved in tourism activities? Did you have expectations? If so, what were they?

2. Can you tell me how you are involved in agritourism?

3. Can you describe what you are selling to people? What are people purchasing? What is the appeal of this place to people?

4. How has what you are selling to people changed over time?

5. What is the most important aspect of this place in terms of its appeal to tourists? Of its smooth functioning? Of its success?

6. What is the logic behind using a theme?

7. How have you diversified your farm operation into a tourism business?

8. How do you consider yourself an agricultural operation?

9. Do you consider yourself a farmer? How do you consider yourself a farmer?

10. How do you consider yourself a tourism operation?

11. How would you describe the relationship between agriculture and tourism in Ontario?

12. How important is this relationship to OFFMA?

13. How do you see the future of farming in Ontario?

14. Who works on the farm? What roles do employees play?

15. How has selling to people changed over time? For example, the use of marketing practices.

16. Added value: what does this mean to you? How do you try an incorporate this on your farm?

17. What does a yearly planning process look like?

18. What suggestions for improvement do you have for OFFMA or other government agencies that could lend support? What does the support system for your business lack?

19. Do you consider yourself as part of a broader network of agri-tourism operations?

20. How do you communicate with your customers?

21. What is it like to live in a place that is open to the public? How do you feel about the public coming onto your home?

22. Do you consider tourism as an aspect of your everyday life? If so, how?

23. Do you have plans to expand?

24. What is your biggest challenge?

25. What is the most interesting thing that has come out of this experience for you?

26. Is there a key message that you want visitors to the farm to walk away with?

27. What is the question most asked about the farm?

28. What ia the most rewarding aspect of running an agiroturism operation?