

The Experience of Ontario Farm Families Engaged in Agritourism

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

This phenomenological study explored the experiences of farm families starting and operating agritourism. Many extant studies of agritourism have privileged positivistic methodologies and quantitative approaches. To better understand the lived experiences of farm families who have started and embrace agritourism and to fully appreciate the intertwined and complex nature of the various factors involved within the family, a more interpretative approach was required. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) guided the design, analysis, and overall implementation of the study. Phenomenology allowed meaningful experiences and essential structures associated with the phenomenon of agritourism, from the perspective of those directly involved in it, to be fully and deeply explored.

In this study, three multi-generational farm families actively engaged in agritourism within Ontario participated. Unlike previous agritourism studies which just involved one family member, usually the farmer, as many members of each farm family as possible were included in this study. A total of 17 members across the three families participated and data were collected through a combination of on-site observations and active interviews. Beginning with a simple introductory question of each participant, “*Can you tell me how agritourism got started on your farm*”, a number of themes emerged. By taking an interpretative stance, the individual themes were further baled into six super-ordinate themes:

- *Retailing, Educating, Entertaining*– describing agritourism;
- *Being the Face of Farming* – the re-connecting of farms and farmers to consumers;
- *We are the farm* – impressions about how agritourism is retaining and sustaining a farming identity while introducing unique challenges associated with embracing agritourism on the farm;
- *Family Comes First* – speaking to the prevalence of economics as a reason for embracing agritourism, while also further exploring agritourism’s role in sustaining the family farm;
- *Coming Home*– focuses on the inseparability of the farm as a place of residence and work where new challenges, opportunities, and attitudes towards intergenerational transfer of the farm emerge; and finally,
- *Becoming an Agritourism Farm*– captures the incremental process and key watershed moments associated with switching into agritourism.

By exploring the experience of agritourism from the perspectives of the families, our understanding of agritourism has been expanded, while some of our pre-existing beliefs and assumptions about agritourism are also challenged. Getting involved in agritourism was articulated by farm families as occurring through a series of smaller, incremental decisions usually over several years as the farm naturally took on new and additional activities and eventually evolved into an agritourism enterprise. The transition revealed the place – the farm, and the people integral and historically associated with it– as a productive agricultural space was changing into being consumptive spaces. The unplanned transition into agritourism affected the farmer as well as other members of the family. However, the transition also sustained a farming identity and way of life in an era of intense globalization and agricultural intensification. This study sheds light on how different members of the families have been involved in the process, as well as illuminated new perspectives on: how

agritourism sustains key characteristics defining a family farm, how the farm re-engages with consumers, how an entrepreneurial spirit is fostered, and how continuous adaptation on the farm ensures its viability for future generations of the family.

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Chapter 1

Is Agritourism Farming?

*Over the years, the Tuttle's have nurtured the land they love, doing what has been necessary to provide a place for future generations to carry on the family tradition.
~ Tuttle's Red Barn, America's Oldest Family Farm, est. 1632*

1.1 Introduction

Tourism in rural communities is nothing new, but the socio-economic shift occurring in rural areas from one centred on predominately primary resource-based industries (i.e., farming, fishing, mining, and forestry) to one embracing opportunities in service-based and experience-based economies is impacting the character of rural areas and people (Brookfield, 2008; Essex, Gilg, Yarwood, Smithers & Wilson, 2005; Gartner, 2004). Indeed, in many rural communities throughout Canada the promotion of tourism as a panacea has reached fever pitch. Rural tourism is championed for creating employment, reducing dependency on primary industries, and revitalizing depressed rural communities. It is seen as an alternative economic development strategy able to overcome the impacts caused by decades of modernization and globalization in rural communities; while it subsequently seizes opportunities emerging with a rising demand for rural experiences (Beshiri, 2005; Gartner, 2004; Koster & Lemelin, 2009; Ollenburg, 2006; Sharpley & Roberts, 2004).

Initial interest in these new rural experiences can be traced to the advent of the independent traveller, an increased awareness of and desire for sustainable, environmentally-conscious holidays, and wanting to experience authenticity while traveling (Gartner, 2004; Lane, 1994; Roberts & Hall, 2001; Timothy, 2005). Further, as our society became more and more urbanized our personal connections to rural areas were severed. No longer did we have the family farm or country cousins to go back and visit enabling us to escape the hustle and bustle of hectic city living. Even so, Canadians continued to have a deeply rooted agrarian sentiment connecting them with a certain mystique and romantic impression of rural areas

and people (Bunce, 2003). At the core of this sentiment, nostalgia for the iconic small-scale mixed family farm; yet, such farms are inefficient and impractical production units due to advances in modern and industrial agricultural.

It is ironic that at precisely the time family farms were becoming attractive tourist destinations they were also in great danger of disappearing. City folks want to escape the hustle of the city, connect with their cultural heritage, be with family, be in a natural environment, and enjoy a richer and authentic leisure experience (Che, Veeck, & Veeck, 2005; Experience Renewal Solutions, 2009; Kline, Cardenas, Leung & Sanders, 2007; Oh & Schuett, 2010; Roberts & Hall, 2001; Sznajder, Przeborska & Scrimgeour, 2009). Increasingly, as food production and distribution becomes of greater public concern, parents want their children to know where their food comes from (Sznajder et al., 2009; Veeck, Che & Veeck, 2006), and related concerns over food sovereignty has created the conscientious consumer who wants to re-connect with farmers (Che et al., 2005; Veeck et al., 2006). At the same time, tremendous concern relates to the stress and uncertainty within agriculture threatening the future of the family farm in Canada. The major concerns are the replacement of the family farm with corporate farms, financial barriers prohibiting young people from entering farming, increasing regulation burden on farms, farming and farmland, and a lack of understanding about the importance of agriculture and the benefit it holds for society (Martz & Brueckner, 2003, p. iv). A specific rural tourism niche, commonly referred to as agritourism, is growing in popularity and may help the family farm persist. Agritourism might fill a gap by offering nostalgic rural experiences and connectivity to farming which is currently desirable and sought after by people living in urban areas (Che, 2010; Hillyard, 2007; Sznajder et al., 2009; Veeck et al., 2006).

Coincidentally, as the family farm engages in agritourism it may find itself better positioned to counteract the negative impacts caused by modern and industrial agriculture. In particular, engaging in agritourism might increase farm income or create rural employment, especially for family members (Barbieri & Mahoney, 2009; Sznajder et al., 2009).

1.2 Changes in Farming

At one time, small mixed family farms were sufficient to support a family while also being the heart and soul of local rural economies (Fuller, 1990; Smithers & Johnson, 2004). Up until the mid twentieth century, rural communities throughout Ontario grew and prospered based on strong relationships forged between local farm families. However, during the past half century agriculture has transitioned into modern, industrial practices heavily dependent on mechanization, specialization and cheap labour. Along with this change the traditional small-scale mixed farm became impractical (Essex, Gilg, Yarwood, Smithers & Wilson, 2005).

Agricultural productivism compromised the delicate balance traditionally found between the farmer, his/her family, and the land (Power, 1996; Salatin, 2011). Increased farm output coupled with globalization accumulated in providing cheap food while decreasing farm revenues. For many farmers this economic reality no longer made it feasible for them to make a decent living from the farm alone. Census data demonstrates that since the early 1950s, the number of farms in Ontario and Canada has steadily declined. Statistics Canada (2008; 2012) reported there were 149,920 farms in Ontario in 1951 and by 2011 only 51,950 farms remained. Similarly, since data on farmers began being collected in 1991, the farm population in Ontario has declined 25% (100,910 farmers in 1991 to 74,840 in 2011). The steady drop in farm incomes resulting from changes in agricultural practices has slowly eroded the long-standing independence, control, and connection to the land valued and critical to sustaining an autonomous farming *way of life* (Brookfield, 2008; Gasson & Errington, 1993; Martz & Brueckner, 2003). The traditional farming way of life had already crumbled by the time the 1980s farm crisis hit and showed multi-national agri-businesses and banks were firmly in control of the Canadian farm population.

Modern farming practices and the need to expand the size of a farm necessary to take advantage of economies of scale led many farmers into becoming heavily indebted. Farm consolidation and expanding the farm holding to compete globally further threatens the autonomy of small mixed family farms (Power, 1996; Salatin, 2011). On average the size of a farm in Ontario has increased, and in 2011 the average Ontario farm was 244 acres up from

233 acres five years earlier (Statistics Canada, 2012). Expanding their farm holding and further specializing allows farmers to secure contractual agreements with multi-national corporations. However, under such agreements farmers compromised their independence and lose control over how the farm is managed, effectively becoming mere hired hands as corporately-controlled growers (National Farmers Union [NFU], 2010; Power, 1996; Salatin, 2011).

Beyond the loss of control over farm management and resources, technological advancement has made farming less labour intensive. With machinery and computers it is now possible to operate a large farm with a fraction of the work force that would have been required to keep a much smaller mixed operation running less than a century before. Freed up from having to help on the farm, farm wives find they can now work off the farm (Gasson & Errington, 1993). In fact, with declining incomes earned from farming, her salary often became crucial to the wellbeing of the family and survival of the small farm (Gasson & Errington, 1993). Likewise, limited prospects in agriculture resulted in young people being uninterested in staying on the farm and many left rural communities completely to pursue higher education and/or careers elsewhere (Adams, 2003).

Until very recently, working off the farm challenged the self-identity of a farmer and was an indicator that the farm was unable to make ends meet (Fuller, 1991; Phelan & Sharpley, 2010). The competitiveness of agriculture and technological advances resulting in members of the farm family, or even the farmer, seeking employment off the farm in order to keep farming has now grown into a common and accepted practice (Fuller, 1990; Martz & Brueckner, 2003). In fact, it is now considered poor farming practice not to combine farming with other employment or additional income generation activities located directly on the farm (Mendoza, 2008; Phelan & Sharpley, 2010). Statistics again illustrate that an ever increasing percentage of Ontario farmers are farming part-time. In 2011, 48% of Ontario farmers indicated they farmed part-time, up from a reported 37% just ten years earlier (Statistics Canada, 2008; 2012).

As farming provides fewer full-time jobs or the means for making a decent living off of a small or mixed farm, why do family farms persist? The culture of farming, embedded in

historical ties to the land and families placing considerable importance in keeping the farm within the family, may be important considerations (Brookfield & Parson, 2007; Martz & Brueckner, 2003). Farming has been described as an unusual occupation because such a large proportion of its new entrants come from within the farm family through succession (Fennel, 1981). It is typical for farm children to work on the farm from a young age and be socialized into taking over the farm from their parents (Brookfield & Parsons, 2007; Gasson & Errington, 1993; Martz & Brueckner, 2003). In addition, others advocate that ties to the land and maintaining a rural or farming *way of life* enable farmers to take unprecedented risks necessary to change, innovate, and create new opportunities necessary to keep farming and to keep the family on the farm (Anderssen, Carlsen & Getz, 2002; Brookfield & Parson, 2007; Hildenbrand & Hennon, 2008; Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007).

1.3 Farm Diversification

Farm diversification, or the adding of new business enterprises on the farm, is a promising strategy for returning independence and autonomy of the farm to the family. It also helps create much needed new revenue streams for the farm household therefore brightening its future (Alsos, Ljunggren & Pettersen, 2003; Gasson & Errington, 1993; Martz & Brueckner, 2003; Veeck et al., 2006). Further, being able to continue leading and living a rural lifestyle in unpredictable agrarian times has become the catalyst for why many farmers have diversified their operations.

Mendoza (2008) in his study of farm diversification strategies in Canada found the predominate enterprises being started were those related to the marketing of farm produce directly to consumers and providing entertainment activities. In addition, his study found that wanting to increase farm profitability, assuring the survival of the farm and enhancing the family's income, were all top reasons stated by farmers for starting value-added operations on their farms (Mendoza, 2008). Statistical evidence also demonstrates Canadian farms are diversifying and further it is the small-scale farmers who are most inclined to start up and operate new enterprises. For example, it is reported that approximately 13% of Canadian farmers operate non-farm enterprises (Bollman, 2001). However, amongst farmers earning

less than \$100,000 in gross farm revenue the percentage of farmers operating non-farm enterprises rises to 20%; whereas it drops to below 2% when gross farm revenue was above \$250,000 (Bollman, 2001; Mendoza & Johnson, 2009; Statistics Canada, 2006)

The generating of extra income from non-farm enterprises as well as from off farm work are strategies that family farms use to make ends meet (Martz & Brueckner, 2003). There is emerging, however, family farms who look to their farm assets and lifestyle when identifying new entrepreneurial opportunities. The rising popularity of rural recreation and tourism over the past decade or two has provided avenues for some innovative farmers with opportunities in what is becoming commonly referred to as “agritourism”.

1.4 Agritourism

Although agritourism has often been described as synonymous with rural tourism, it is in fact a niche rural tourism segment involving “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, Veeck, & Veeck, 2006, p. 98). Nevertheless, some have speculated that “in the future the term agritourism will be used more frequently than rural tourism” (Sznajder et al., 2009, p.6). However, one of the characteristics making agritourism different from rural tourism is it occurs on a working farm and not just in a rural area (Barbieri, 2009; Barbieri & Mshenga, 2008; Fennel & Weaver, 1997; Phillip, Hunter & Blackstock, 2010; Roberts & Hall, 2001). A working farm is described as a place where agricultural activities are currently practiced (Phillip et al., 2010). In addition, the types of agritourism activities developed are in part determined by the traditional and specific rural characteristics and types of agriculture within a particular region (Mendoza & Johnson, 2009; Sznajder et al., 2009). Farms involved in agritourism within Ontario add pick-your own operations, farm tours, farm markets and scratch bakeries, or more staged “agritainment” activities (*e.g.*, corn mazes, haunted barns, farm animal petting areas, or shows) to complement their existing agricultural operations, typically growing commercial fruits, cash cropping, or raising livestock. Unlike other areas where agritourism is growing in popularity (*i.e.*, United Kingdom, Eastern European counties), overnight

accommodations on Ontario farms is non-existent (Experience Renewal Solutions, 2009; Sznajder et al., 2009). Ontario agritourism is also heavily dependent on day visitors and is highly seasonal, starting mid-summer with the ripening of strawberries through the harvesting of other crops and includes events and festivals celebrating the Canadian Thanksgiving and Halloween in October (Experience Renewal Solutions, 2012, 2009; Jayeff 2004). It is not unusual for successful agritourism enterprises in Ontario to welcome upwards of several thousand people a day on a sunny and busy September or October weekend.

Regardless of how a farm family combines agritourism and its working farm, agritourism is credited with adding new revenue streams and much needed income to the farm household (McGehee & Kim, 2004; Nickerson, Black & McCool, 2001; Williams, Lack & Smith, 2004). Agritourism might also provide new employment opportunities for members of the family right on the farm itself (Eckert, 2004; McGehee & Kim, 2004; Veeck et al., 2006). Not surprisingly, given the reasons cited by most of the extant research for why farmers get into agritourism, the results have focused on the economic perspective and have pointed towards farmers being motivated by economic factors (Barbieri, 2009; McGehee & Kim, 2004; Nickerson et al., 2001). However, a few more recent studies suggest the motivation for starting agritourism is a pragmatic one involving numerous economic and social factors, rather than being dominated by any one reason (Haugen & Vik, 2008; Schroder, 2004; Wilson, 2007). In addition, it is being recognized that when a decision is made about getting into agritourism it is often a joint one made between the farmer, his spouse and perhaps even their children (Haugen & Vik, 2008; Hildenbrand & Hennon, 2008; Phelan & Sharpley, 2010).

Given that some studies are unearthing other motivational factors and family members involved, perhaps it would be worthwhile to investigate in greater detail why farm families choose to engage in agritourism. Additionally, if the decision was purely economic then other options might be given greater consideration by these farms choosing to get into agritourism, for instance, selling off farmland for urban development. The best locations for running successful agritourism enterprises are typically in close proximity to cities (Veeck et al., 2006) and therefore, selling farmland to developers would result in quicker and greater

profits. The mere fact that agritourism operators chose not to sell out may suggest other factors are equally or more important when making the decision. Further, newer studies have found that agritourism is not an economic powerhouse as it only brings in modest returns (Hjalager, 1996; Sznajder et al., 2009). The effects of globalization on agriculture, the growth of tourism, and a desire to continue the family legacy on the farm may be just as important to the farm family as the economic motives for engaging in agritourism.

1.5 Agritourism Transforming the Farm

Alleviating financial concerns is vital and diversification of the family farm through combining numerous businesses on the farm may be keeping family farms autonomous and viable. However, it may also be changing farming and the farm family in the process. At our current juncture, agritourism is a commercial enterprise and not accepted as an extension of acceptable or normal farm practice (Canadian Farm Business Management Council, 2002). The juxtaposition between being a farm and a tourism business is difficult and presents many challenges. As family farms transition out of predominately agrarian activities into new opportunities found in service-based and experience-based economies, it needs to recognize the family and its farm might be transformed. Moreover, there is a need to delve more into the dynamics occurring within the family as it starts up and operates its agritourism enterprise (Haugen & Vik, 2008; McGehee & Kim, 2004). Knowing more about family dynamics, decision making and changes to the farm may shed insight into how best to support other farm families as they consider and get into agritourism.

An area where family dynamics might be changing when agritourism is included on the farm is the intrusion of business activities directly on the family's home environment (Andersson et al., 2002). Family farms already see an overlap between their farm business and the family's place of residence (Brookfield & Parsons, 2007; Gasson & Errington, 1993). Unlike agriculturally-based businesses on the farm involving livestock and crops, agritourism relies heavily on direct customer interactions and this may bring new demands and expectations upon members of the farm family. Modern farming and its methods for marketing have, over time, physically separated food producers from food consumers

(Pollan, 2006; Salatin, 2011). A growing interest in looking to re-connect with where our food comes from through the local food movement as well as tourists wanting authentic experiences brings about new expectations on farm families engaged in agritourism. For instance, how will family members negotiate their roles and to what extent will the agritourism enterprises added to the farm allow visitors to intrude into the family's private space?

Somewhat associated with how the family becomes integrated into the agritourism enterprise is determining how visitors will participate in the working farm (Phillips et al., 2010). Farmers, their families and the farms themselves are critical components in agritourism for the creation of an authentic experience (McCannell, 2001). One has to remember that much of Ontario's agriculture is off-limits to the general public because it is producing food. Industrial agriculture, intensive feedlots, biohazard secured barns, and acre upon acre of mono-cropped fields discourages visitors and is unappealing to the public. Visitors to agritourism farms, on the other hand, expect a pristine idyllic pastoral rural landscape where they can get up close with animals, farm processes and natural areas safely (Roberts & Hall, 2001; Veeck et al., 2006). However, the modern working farm does not offer the types of interactions being sought by potential visitors. In addition, farmers need to be mindful that when they operate agritourism they are inviting the general public into an environment that contains numerous health and safety hazards (Phillips et al., 2010; Sznajder et al., 2009). Individuals visiting the farm may not be familiar with farming or aware of hazards or risks inherent to a farm environment. Farm families developing agritourism enterprises on their farms need to recognize potential hazards and how they will reduce the risk of illness or potential injury of visitors. At the same time, the farms need to provide an enjoyable and authentic farm experience. To accomplish this balancing act between having a working farm and providing an authentic experience for visitors, farms might actually stage activities and create interactive areas where the risks and dangers of modern farming can be controlled, reduced or eliminated.

Although an effective risk management strategy, staging of activities on the agritourism farm may also be related to underlying motives. For example, some agritourism

operators have indicated getting into agritourism to share their rural lifestyle and farming practices with visitors (McGehee & Kim, 2004; Nickerson et al., 2001; Veeck et al., 2006). Altruistic motives of educating farm visitors have been linked to wanting to raise public awareness of modern farming so that public empathy gets generated in support of farmers and agriculture (Veeck et al, 2006). An operator's interest in educating visitors through agritourism should result in the activities undertaken being quite different from another farm motivated by increasing the sales of berries.

Further, the personal motives for engaging in agritourism might be combined with external incentives or influences being extended by governments. For instance, many government agencies already foster tourism as an alternative form of local economic development in rural communities (Beshiri, 2005; Fennell & Weaver, 1997; Hall, Roberts & Mitchell, 2003; Koster & Lemelin, 2009). Tourism promotion has accompanied the recognition of the need to perpetuate family farms as part of a rural strategy to sustain and reinvigorate rural communities. In particular, over the past decade the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs (OMAFRA) has created the Beyond the City Light Rural Tourism Conference series and Grow Your Opportunities Workshops as vehicles for showcasing the success of farmers diversified into agritourism. More recently OMAFRA has offered training workshops (*e.g.*, Growing Your Farm Profits) for individual farmers interested in taking on a more business-like approach to their existing farm management or those farmers looking to expand their farm enterprises. The government has also funded province-wide marketing strategies for increasing consumer awareness and spending on the purchasing of local produce within the province (*e.g.*, Ontario Culinary Tourism strategy, Pick Ontario Freshness campaign). Ontario government initiatives might be encouraging farm diversification into non-agricultural enterprises and an increase in the number of farms joining organizations such as the Ontario Farm Fresh Marketing Association (OFFMA).

For family farms an alternative to remaining in today's highly competitive and global marketplace could be being entrepreneurial by starting up new enterprises on the farm. These new enterprises might also retain independent control of the farm so it can be transferred to the next generation (Hall et al., 2003; McGehee & Kim, 2004; Nickerson et al., 2001). Other

community advantages of supporting farm families starting new enterprises is the creation of new jobs, rural community revitalization, broadening the local economic base, and the potential for building brand recognition of regional products through collaborative partnerships (Bollman, 2001; Koster & Lemelin, 2009; Mendenzo, 2008).

Although increasing numbers of farms are getting into agritourism as a farm diversification strategy based on its economic returns, it is more likely the decision is based on a more complex web of factors. Furthermore, those farm families active in agritourism have begun encountering new concerns related to sustained growth and development of their farm businesses, including farm succession. These new concerns may highlight the reality that in its earliest manifestation, starting agritourism on the farm occurred more organically and evolved slowly over time rather than it being a consciously planned decision or strategy. Through having a stronger indication and understanding of the various motivations and how these intertwine and relate to one another may illuminate how government agencies might support farm families in agritourism and, more generally, when farms diversify. Also, becoming aware of the challenges and barriers faced and how these were negotiated by farm families as they embraced agritourism may be helpful to other farms now getting started. Consequently, government ministry programs, farm organizations and local community development agencies would then be in a better position to assist farm families with diversifying their farm operations.

A need to further explore in greater depth the family dimension and dynamics involved when starting and operating agritourism enterprises on Ontario farms may elaborate upon what previous studies into agritourism carried out elsewhere have already found. Further exploration may also help enhance the development of government policies and programs able to support the start-up and growth of successful agritourism enterprises. For instance, knowing what precipitated the decision to engage in agritourism; how easy or difficult the transition was; what the experience of being engaged in agritourism has been like; what are the challenges; what does the family think about its' future, and a general understanding of the farm family's experience in agritourism would go a long way to better preparing farm families in the process of transitioning from a purely agrarian economy into

agritourism, or more broadly, perhaps into other innovative enterprises based on providing services or experiences on the farm.

1.6 Purpose of the Study

It was while working in community economic development (CED) in rural Ontario that I became perplexed and fascinated by farmers who were diversifying into agritourism. In my capacity as a CED professional I looked at linking social and economic development with a wider political strategy of social change and empowerment. My first impression, similar to that reflected in many agritourism research studies, was adding tourism onto the farms simply added revenue potential keeping the farm family solvent. I soon came to realize that economic gains were too simplistic and intrinsic a rationale. In reality, a more complex web of reasons, many of them altruistic or pragmatic, I further realized were involved. Even though some research has alluded to the complexity of factors involved as a farm diversifies (*e.g.*, external factors and social motives – farming as a way of life & farm legacy, sharing rural experience & educate visitors, civic mindedness, to help the local community, pursuing a hobby, observing others success, urban encroachment, loss of government agriculture subsidy programs, to meet a need in the recreation/tourism market), the focus remains on the economic ones (Barbieri & Mahoney, 2009; McGehee & Kim, 2004; Nickerson et al., 2001; Ollenburg, 2006). Meanwhile, we remain largely ignorant of the lived experiences of farm families who choose to diversify into agritourism. Further, are we sure agritourism is sustaining the family farm or transforming it? Therefore, the purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of farm families starting and operating agritourism enterprises on their farms. In particular this study probed in-depth into the family dimension, the dynamics and relationships as these farm families diversified and operated agritourism on the family farm.

1.7 Research Questions

Unlike previous studies examining agritourism, which tended to take an economic perspective and typically only surveyed the farmer or agritourism principal (*e.g.*, Barbieri & Mahoney, 2009; Fennell & Weaver, 1997; McGehee & Kim, 2004; Nickerson et al., 2001),

this study started from the premises that the decision to embrace agritourism was motivated by a variety of factors and the decision affected the entire family and the farm. Both of these premises are critical, in my opinion, for moving the discourse forward on the future of the family farm in rural communities. In particular, two principal research questions guided the study along with a number of second-tier research questions (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). Second-tier questions are described by Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) for Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) in this way:

Second-tier research questions may be used to explore theory-driven questions. Quite often it is useful to have a few more refined or theory-driven questions, but to treat these as ‘secondary’ – because they can only be answered at the more interpretative stage, and because, given the open nature of qualitative data collection, you can’t be certain that you will be able to answer them. (p. 48)

In this study, the first principal question was: *How do family members describe their experiences with agritourism on the family farm?* The second-tier questions in support of this principal question were:

1. What reasons are given for starting an agritourism operation on the family farm?
2. To what extent did economic considerations motivate the decision to embrace agritourism?
3. How do the farm family members describe the complexity of factors motivating their decision to embrace agritourism?
4. How do the experiences of embracing agritourism contrast and compare among different members of the farm family?

The second principal question was: *To what extent has the farm changed since the introduction of agritourism and what do the families feel will happen with their farms in the future?* Again, the second-tier questions were:

1. What have been the impacts on the family, the traditional farm operation, and any other aspects of the family members’ lives from inviting visitors onto the farm? What changes have there been within the family?
2. How have specific changes, challenges, and impacts of having agritourism on the family farm been addressed?
3. To what extent is agritourism thought of as a potential mechanism for helping with farm succession?

1.8 Implications of the Study

This study will help further elaborate upon the existing body of knowledge on agritourism through introducing the personal experiences of farm families engaged in agritourism. Understanding these experiential issues on the farm would go a long way to better preparing farm families for similar transitions. This study may either confirm or challenge commonly held beliefs on why farm families diversify into agritourism. It may also help describe and increase our understanding of the roles and responsibilities assumed by individual family members when operating agritourism enterprises on the farm. It may also shed new insight into how changing from a predominately agrarian economy to emerging new economies based on providing services and experiences are impacting farm family dynamics and affecting rural areas.

It is further hoped the findings of this study will contextualize the motives and experiences of farm families in agritourism and these will be useful to policy- and decision-makers to inform and influence new programs, policies and government supports for family farms.

Last, but not least, I also hope that an implication of this study will be in providing farm families with a chance to reflect on their own experiences.

As a closing thought on why now more than ever before we need to understand more about the farm families in agritourism, I leave you with the following except taken from a message posted on the Tuttle Farm website in July, 2010:

We have been wrestling mightily with a decision that we have now most reluctantly but realistically taken: to put the business, the farm and the farmhouse up for sale. There are many reasons for our decision, all having to do with exhaustion of resources: our bodies, our minds, our hearts, our imagination, our equipment and machinery, our finances. (www.tuttlesredbarn.net)

Chapter 2

Rural Change & Family Farms: Modern Agriculture, Entrepreneurship & Agritourism

“We need viable family farms, where families can earn a decent income from just the farm operation.”

~ Karen Hutchinson, Executive Director, Caledon Countryside Alliance

2.1 Changing Rural Areas

Canada has become a predominantly urban society (Statistic Canada, 2006; Weeks 2012) and rural areas are not immune from becoming “urbanized”. Increased mobility, improved technology, better communications, higher affluence, and increased amounts of leisure time in our society are compressing space and time, lessening historic separations between rural and urban (Hall & Page, 2006; Lane, 2009; Lew, Hall & Williams, 2004; Roberts & Hall, 2001). The allure of rural as something different from urban is based more on nostalgic myths than on the true reality of living in modern rural communities (Hall et al., 2003; Roberts & Hall, 2001; Urry, 2002). A nostalgic view of rural, as a simpler, slower, and closer to nature way of living, in contrast to city life (Bunce, 2003; Hall, Kirkpatrick & Mitchell, 2005), does little to describe the goodness and wholesomeness embodied in how a modern and highly urbanized society, like Canada, understands and gives meaning to what is rural. Nonetheless, a rural viewpoint such as this is continuously reinforced through how rural areas and people are portrayed by the media, popular culture, and through marketing (Bunce, 2003; Edenson, 2005; Hillyard, 2007; Hopkins, 1998).

In addition, the very scale and diversity of Canada has defied accepting a single rural representation and this has fortunately provided Canadians with a myriad ways of defining, knowing and experiencing rural places (Bunce, 2003; du Plessis, Beshiri, Bollman & Clemenson, 2002; Timothy, 2005). Nonetheless, as Canadians, it remains important to recognize and distinguish that rural is meaningful due to its dichotomous relationship with what is “urban” (Bunce, 2003; du Plessis et al., 2002). However, as Canada has become a

predominantly urban society (Statistics Canada, 2006, 2012), the divide between rural and urban has blurred. Increased mobility, improved technology, better communications, higher affluence and increased time for leisure have compressed space and time lessening the historic separation between rural and urban (Hall & Page, 2006; Lew et al., 2004; Roberts & Hall, 2001). Mormont (cited in Shucksmith, 1994) captures the complexity and dynamic nature of the blurring of distinctions between rural and urban by asking not *who* or *what* is rural but how one might *feel* rural and how different people *feel* rural.

Murdoch (2003) also argues that the social construction of rural happens through the interrelationships among humans, animals, and the natural environment. Rural places, landscapes and environments sustain and nurture rural people in a highly symbiotic relationship. Perhaps the best depiction of this symbiotic relationship of ruralisthe family farm. The unpredictable future of agriculture, competing uses for rural land, the rise of rural recreation and tourism, and economic restructuring are profoundly changing rural economies and communities. The traditional rural economy centred on the family farm dominated rural places in Ontario only half a century ago but today the farm's role in the local economy has weakened or disappeared completely (Power, 1996; Smithers & Johnson, 2004). Britton (1991) argues that "the typical process of accumulation taking place in the late 20th century, in which tourism plays a major role, has been one of the most important elements in the shaping of popular consciousness of places and in determining the creation of social images of these places" (p.475). The changes to agriculture, as well as emerging new economic opportunities, many based in rural tourism and recreation, are expanding the ways that rural places are known and experienced. Recognizing and accepting that rural is not static but rather in a constant state of flux is paramount as rural places and people change to seize experiential expectations (Halseth, Markey, Reimer & Manson, 2010).

The remainder of this chapter provides greater details on the concepts providing a textual background for conducting this study on the experience of Ontario farm families engaged in agritourism. The concepts have been informed through an extensive review of the literature across numerous disciplines and fields, including: economics, sociology, geography, rural studies, leisure studies, tourism studies, entrepreneurship, business studies,

and family studies. Each disciplinary perception and knowledge of a particular concept has contributed to establishing a foundation of the phenomenon of agritourism on family farms. In particular, I begin by briefly describing the crisis in farming. I then outline characteristics distinguishing a family farm. The next concepts covered are farm diversification and entrepreneurship. Finally, the chapter turns to a detailed examination of tourism and the affects new consumer expectations are having on rural areas. Then, at last, the discussion focuses on agritourism.

2.2 Crisis in Farming

Crisis on the family farm in Canada reached its pinnacle in the 1980s with rising debt loads, farm foreclosers and a fundamental shift in the practice of agricultural. Agriculture was now dominated by a global system favouring international agri-food and agri-business (Essex et al., 2005; Timothy, 2005). Further, globalization has increased market competitiveness leading to cheap food and declining market prices resulting in an uncertain future for those involved in small-scale farming. The rise of corporate farming in order to remain competitive, and its capital intensive nature, led many family farms to become corporate agricultural growers to multinational agri-business corporations where farmers are better described as contract managers or, quite simply, mere hired hands (National Farmers Union, 2010; Power, 1996). When a farm becomes corporately contracted, the autonomy, independence and control traditionally valued as part of the “farming way of life” are compromised and lost (Hildenbrand & Hennon, 2008; Machum, 2005).

As farmers *owe* more and more and *own* less and less, and as farmers are forced more into the arms of corporations and investors, farmers lose control of Canada’s farms and food land. And as autonomy and ownership are taken from our farmer citizens, Canadians lose their grip. In [farm] sector after sector, we’re seeing autonomous farmers displaced by corporate-linked or corporate-controlled ‘growers’. (National Farmers Union, 2010, p. 2)

Fundamental changes in agriculture and their affects on farming have further led to the decline in the number of farms, a decrease in the number of farmers, as well as intensification, specialization and increased size of individual farm holdings (*i.e.*, the ‘*get*

big or get out' trend) on the remaining farm operations in Canada. Since the 1950s the number of individuals farming in Canada has declined and less than 3% of rural Canadians now live and work on farms (Machum, 2005). The nostalgic idyllic countryside characterized by traditional, small-scale, mixed family farm handed down within the family is being replaced by corporate farms. Factory farms, intensive feedlots, mono-cropped fields - all dependent on petrochemical inputs, expensive technology and oversized farm equipment - compromise and undermine natural ecological systems, but this is the current state of the intensive and highly productive industrial system dominating agriculture (Brookfield & Parsons, 2007; DeLind, 2003; Pollan, 2006; Salatin, 2011; Singer & Mason, 2006; Smithers & Johnson, 2004). There are; however, some family farms who have resisted the trend of consolidating farmland to grow big enough to remain competitive. It is to these unrelenting family farms that opportunities available through the new rural economy may be appealing, not only to save the farm, but to help these families thrive.

More recently an interest in procuring local foods has provided fertile ground for entrepreneurial farm families to engage in alternative marketing channels. Successive food-health scares have also heightened awareness of the plight of the family farm. Alternative marketing channels are bridging the chasm which grew between food producers and consumers through industrial agriculture and agri-business. It is also fulfilling a growing consumer demand for wanting to know where food comes from. Entrepreneurial farmers may simply say they got into new markets because “farming was in their blood”; but such a simple explanation inadequately captures the complexity of why these decisions were made.

2.3 The Family Farm

As Canadians we have deeply rooted agrarian sentiments connected with a certain mystique and romantic representation associated with rural areas and people (Bunce, 2003). Rural landscapes throughout Canada have been shaped through utilitarian values and in many cases our society idealizes the family farm (Hopkins, 1998; Timothy, 2005). At one time, not that long ago, family farming was the engine and life-blood of local rural economies in Ontario and Canada (Fuller, 1990; Smithers & Johnson, 2004). However, family farms have

struggled to remain economically viable with the changes happening in agriculture. The steady loss of family farms since the 1950s has, in turn, led to the depopulation and decline of many rural communities (DeLind, 2003; Machum, 2005; Singer & Mason, 2006). Concerns about the demise of family farms and the associated impacts to rural communities has raised speculation that “family farms are worth saving because they are the cornerstone of the rural landscape and contribute to the picturesque, rural vistas that are becoming increasingly valued in our society” (Machum, 2005). However, with modern industrial agriculture dominating the rural landscape this new rural appreciation may be short lived. Mono-cropped fields, intensive feedlots, and bio-hazard secured barns, better described as food and fiber producing “factories”, smear pristine rural vistas. In addition, our modern industrial agricultural system is coming under even greater scrutiny for its detrimental impacts on the environment and socio-economic wellbeing of rural communities (Pollan, 2006). Family farms, on the other hand, are recognized as good stewards of the land (Brookfield, 2008; Ikerd, 2006; Machum, 2005) and the farming practices of small mixed farms do create the rural landscapes enticing new comers and tourists to rural communities. As Machum (2005) notes, “small family farms fit harmoniously into the visual, the social and the ecological landscape” (p. 384) of what visitors expect of rural places.

We might intuitively know what a family farm is (Smithers & Johnson, 2004); however, the family farm is constantly evolving to accommodate the dynamics of its family members as well as the needs of society (Brookfield, 2008; Gasson & Errington, 1993; Ikerd, 2006; Machum, 2005, Smithers & Johnson, 2004). While farming today is described more as a business than it was historically (Martz & Brueckner, 2003), certain “*farming ways of life*” resist changing. Therefore, the common characteristics used to describe a family farm include:

- 1) The farm and land are owned by the family living on it,
- 2) There is autonomy and control, where the family is free to make important management decisions about the farm,
- 3) The family provides most of the labour on the farm,
- 4) The farm and the family are inseparable, and
- 5) The inter-generational transfer of the farm is crucial.

2.3.1 Farm and land ownership

The basis of family farming is ownership of the land. Land ownership creates a paradox for many farm families, as land has two purposes; one during the farmer's life time to earn a 'living'; and on death, as an asset distributed to other family members as an inheritance (Brookfield, 2008; Gasson & Errington, 1993). Families that farm are indebted to the soil where they derive their livelihood. Such a sense of being tied to the land across generations has been indicated as a key reason why farm families persist.

In their study of Canadian farm families, Martz and Brueckner (2003) noted that on average respondents owned 58% of the land they farm and the remainder rented. Their study also found that most of the farmland was jointly owned by husband and wife (Martz & Brueckner, 2003). Further, the study suggested that owned land and rental land are viewed differently by the farm family: "while owned land is part of the capital base of the farm and the heritage of the farm family, the negotiation of land rental and lease agreements are shorter term production decisions" (Martz & Brueckner, 2003, p. 5). As a business decision, the farmer negotiates rental agreements for additional farmland. Further, DeLind (2003) notes farmers are more likely to invest in and preserve land that they have clear title to over acreage that they rent. While Brookfield (2008), suggests ties to the land enable farmers to create new and innovative businesses in order to perpetuate the farm legacy.

2.3.2 Autonomy

The serious threat of extinction of the family farm "goes beyond mere land ownership," according to the NFU, "the core issue is one of autonomy and control—ensuring that the men and women who produce our food have stable, resilient bases from which to make good, long-term decisions for their farms and for our food systems." (National Farmers Union, 2010, p. 1). Hildenbrand and Hennon (2005) argued that the more embedded a family farm is in the industrial, corporately controlled agri-business model, the more difficult it becomes to maintain autonomy of the farm which is critical to maintaining a farming way of life. Brookfield (2008) adds that the more power exerted by external interests (e.g., corporations, financial institutions) over the decision-making processes on the farm the more

it depresses the family farming system. We have seen example after example of where autonomy has been taken away, for instance with concentrated animal operations, multi-national seed and chemical corporations, and the signing of contractual agreement with agri-food companies (Brookfield, 2008; Pollan, 2006). High stress levels, family break-ups and increased suicide rates among farmers have been some causes linked to the loss of farm autonomy. Further, the NFU (2001, 2010) advocates corporately-owned, multi-million dollar, vertically-integrated agri-business operations are not family farms but rather industrial corporate enterprises, and as such these enterprises should be treated as industries and not farms.

2.3.3 Provision of labour

Farm families are typically comprised of a heterosexual married couple and their children living together in a single household (Brandth & Haugen, 2007; Gasson & Errington, 1993; Hill, 1993). There are circumstances where extended family or hired help may also be included as part of the farm family household (Brandth & Haugen, 2007; Hill, 1993; Ikerd, 2006). Martz and Brueckner (2003) found that the Canadian farm family has on average 4.2 people, with children on average accounting for 2.1 members of the household, and grandparents (4%) or hired help (3%), when they also living in the household, making up small percentages.

Although the amount of work provided by the farm family is an area where debate continues in the literature, it is widely accepted that family members take care of the majority of the operations and management of the farm (Gasson & Errington, 1993; Hill, 1993; Ikerd, 2006). Brookfield (2008) believes that about half of the annual work required on the farm must be provided by members of the farm family or other unpaid helpers (often other farmers on a reciprocal basis). The farm family is seen as a highly efficient and flexible workforce, able to allocate labour between on-farm and off-farm work as required, an option not available to larger corporate farms reliant on paid staff (Brookfield, 2008; Brookfield & Parson, 2007).

The division of labour on the farm is organized by gender and a heterosexual partnership (Brandth & Haugen, 2007). The farmer is assumed to be a man and typically it is the husband/ father. Women often enter into farming through marriage and their work has been linked to the ideology of wifeness, always defining them in relation to their husbands (Brandth & Haugen, 2007). For example, farm tenure results in Martz and Brueckner's (2003) study concluded that men had lived considerably longer on the farm (average of 40.2 years) than their female counterparts (29.3 years) as the majority of the male respondents grew up on the farm compared to about half of the female respondents. These findings confer the traditional practice of transferring the farms to sons and women being more likely to marry into a farming family (Martz & Brueckner, 2003, p.6).

The role of farm wives has traditionally been confined to domestic duties, such as being responsible for the household and the wellbeing of members of the family, as well as looking after records and accounts for the farm business (Brandth & Haugen, 2007; Brookfield & Parsons, 2007; Gasson & Errington, 1994; Wilkening, 1981). Men provide the physical labour and manage the running of the farm business. Within this arrangement, the patriarchal hierarchy of the family farm values the work done by men over women's work, which is undervalued and invisible (Brandth & Hangen, 2007). Martz and Brueckner (2003) concluded there is beginning to be some evidence of a blurring of gender roles within the Canadian farm family.

Men [in farm families] define their work roles as focused on the farm operations, while women define their work roles more broadly, encompassing both farm household work and various types of farm work. Women have the highest rates of involvement in the care of livestock, picking up supplies and parts, accounting, business correspondence, supervising the work of family members and farm household work. Men have the highest rates of participation in farm field work, livestock care, farm maintenance, farm management, farm household maintenance and child care. It is evident that the traditional division of labour still holds on farms, however, women are engaged in farm work as part of their regular duties in greater numbers and men are increasingly involved in child care and some aspects of work within the farm household. (p. 140)

In the situation of involving children there is an expectation that they will participate in farm work from a young age (Brookfield & Parsons, 2007; Gasson & Errington, 1994). However, parents' expectations of their sons and daughters on the farm are different. Farmer's daughters in Canada are less likely to be involved in farm work, and are also less likely to participate in farm decision making or have their opinions considered (Martz & Brueckner, 2003). In addition, daughters were more likely to indicate "the work they do on the farm was of their own choosing and for enjoyment" (Martz & Brueckner, 2003, p. 141). On the other hand, sons learn alongside their fathers and grandfathers about farm work from a very young age and are in a sense being trained. Boys were "more likely to participate in decisions about the farm and to be asked about their opinions; they are more likely to be encouraged to take over the farm and they have little discretion over whether they do farm work or not" (Martz & Brueckner, 2003, p. 141).

When new enterprises are introduced on the farm economic and monetary interests change family dynamics. For instance, when farm women instigate the start up of new businesses their work becomes visible and their status and power within the household increases (Brandth & Hangen, 2007; Sorensen & Nilsson, 2003). Others have suggested family solidarity and professional rivalry are brought to the surface within the farm family through family-business tensions (Barthez, 1994; Gasson & Errington, 1994; Rosenblatt & Anderson, 1981). At this point, each person may act not only as a member of the farm family but also in consideration of his or her own personal and professional interests.

2.3.4 Inseparability of farm and household

The physical overlap of the family's place of residence with where it works is an unique characteristic of the family farm (Adams, 2003; Brookfield & Parsons, 2007; Gasson & Errington, 1993). The interdependency of the economic and social domains is an integral and central aspect that makes families that farm different from most others (Brookfield & Parsons, 2007; Gasson & Errington, 1993; Hill, 1993; Smithers & Johnson, 2004). The family household and farm business are essentially parts of an inseparable social organization -the family farm. When considering the needs of the family and making decisions and

capital investments, the family will consider the needs of the land, the animals, and the overall well-being of the farm (Ikerd, 2006). The farm is a reflection of the family and the family is a reflection of the farm in the local community and in society as a whole.

It has been noted that the way the farm business and the household members coincide enables the farm family to easily adapt and change (Brookfield & Parson, 2007; Johnson, 2004). This feature is not a quality inherent in corporately-run farms where long-term contractual agreements decrease flexibility (Brookfield & Parson, 2007). Adaptability in part explains the family farm's uniqueness and accounts for its resilience.

A particular example of the farm family's adaptability is in how the farming operation changes to suit the needs of the family. As different constraints and opportunities exist at different stages in the family lifecycle, the farm reacts (Gasson & Errington, 1993; Smithers & Johnson, 2004). For instance, a young single farmer unencumbered by family responsibilities is able to work long hours, perhaps even working as a paid labourer for other farmers; whereas once he marries his focus is on the family and he may no longer work for other farmers. Also, each member of the farm family will have different aptitudes, skills, and aspirations and the farm is well positioned to provide unique opportunities for each of them to use their skills and talents. Ikerd (2006) argues that within the family farm, some members will:

Accept responsibility for stewardship of the land, others for quality and efficiency of production, some will take the lead in community matters and public relations, some will like the details of finance matters, marketing, or distribution, while others will be at their best with people, facilitating good customer relationships. (p. 1)

2.3.5 Inter-generational transfer

Fennell (1981) stated that farming is an unusual occupation because the majority of new farmers come from within the family through succession. The inter-generational transfer of the farm is integral to describing a family farm. Children are socialized from an early age into taking over the farm from their parents (Brookfield & Parsons, 2007; Gasson & Errington, 1994; Martz & Brueckner, 2003). Canadian farm families place a lot of importance on transferring the farm to the next generation. It is important to "keep the land in

the family because farming is a good lifestyle” (Martz & Brueckner, 2003, p. 141). Indeed, the self-identity of a farmer views giving up the farm as a failure (Hildenbrand & Hennon, 2005).

Historically, the custom of the eldest son taking over the family farm, primogeniture, was common practice (Brookfield & Parsons, 2007; Gasson & Errington, 1994; Martz & Brueckner, 2003; Wilkening, 1981). Primogeniture remains a prevalent practice amongst Canadian farm families according to Martz and Brueckner (2003). However, a desire of providing equal inheritance amongst children has devastated farming legacy within farm families (Rosenblatt & Anderson, 1981; Smithers & Johnson, 2004). Equal inheritance leads to one child having to buy-out siblings to continue working and living on the farm. Young farmers frequently start out heavily indebted through having to compensate other non-farming siblings (Brookfield & Parsons, 2007). The high cost of land and farm assets makes it difficult for one sibling to buy-out others members of the family or in-fighting within the family about who should stay on the farm accumulates in the farm being auctioned off to satisfy the monetary conditions of the will.

Finally, the literature suggests three characteristics being necessary to determine if the farm is taken over by the next generation:

- family characteristics – are there children; if so how many; how strong is primogeniture in determining succession; are any of the children interested and willing to take on the farm?
- farm business characteristics – can the farm business provide an adequate standard of living for more than one generation at the same time?
- health of the economy - are there alternative jobs available for consideration by the prospective successor? (Fennell, 1981; Gasson & Errington, 1994; Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007).

To summarize the five characteristics distinguishing the farm family, throughout each characteristic is a sense of independence, flexibility, ability to accommodate, and the gender roles associated with family farms. In addition, farm succession and inheritance of farmland are extremely important to the farm legacy and longevity of farming within the family

(Brookfield, 2008; Gasson & Errington, 1994; Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007). Each of these features imbues the farm family with its resilience and adaptability as the farm can be transformed by the family members to seize opportunities and remain viable.

2.4 Farm Diversification

Keeping control and management of the farm within the family is critical. To this end, farm diversification and pluriactivity have been readily taken up by farm families (Alsos et al., 2003; Brookfield & Parson, 2007; Fuller, 1990; Smithers & Johnson, 2004; Veeck et al., 2006). Pluriactivity includes the generating of income off-the-farm through non-farm employment, whereas farm diversification is the adding of new enterprises and activities on the farm to generate additional income (Brookfield, 2008; Haugen & Vik, 2008). Farm diversification transforms and expands traditional farm activities by using under-utilized resources on the farm in new types of enterprises (Fuller, 1990; Haugen & Vik, 2008). For example, a farmer doing auto or machinery repairs in an un-used drive shed, or using his expertise in hog farming to raise rare-breed Berkshire pigs is diversifying. Likewise, a farmwife baking pies or running a catering business out of the farmhouse kitchen, as well as siblings setting up a road-side stand selling farm produce, are other farm diversification examples.

Farm diversification has been credited with increasing the profitability of small-scale family farms and counteracts the tendency to intensify the farm operations into modern industrial agriculture (Smithers & Johnson, 2004). Further, technical innovations in farming and improved farm equipment have also decreased the number of people needed to work on farms. Consider that at the beginning of the twentieth century one farmer produced enough food for two or three people, whereas one person now produces more than enough food for 70-100 people (Sznajder et al., 2009). The extent to which it is now necessary to farm full-time to be a “farmer” has dramatically changed from only a few decades before. In the past, a farmer who pursued non-farm activities on the farm or worked off-the-farm was presumed to be on his way out of farming (Fuller, 1990). However, not to diversify is now concerned to

be poor farming practice (Mendoza, 2008; Mendoza & Johnson, 2009; Phelan & Sharpley, 2010).

The productivity of modern agriculture and its decreased reliance on physical labour has resulted in members of the farm family now find themselves freed up from farm work. No longer required for carrying out farm chores, these members can work at jobs off-the-farm or are able to start new enterprises on the farm (Adams, 2003; Brookfield & Parsons, 2007; Fuller, 1990; Gasson & Errington, 1993). Both men and women in Canadian farm families have indicated they take on other work besides farming to increase farm income, but women also described engaging in non-farm work for interest and enjoyment (Martz & Brueckner, 2003). However, it should not be lost in the discussion that many farm families rely on the income generated from farm diversification or earned off-the-farm to supplement declining farm revenues (Brookfield & Parsons, 2007; Martz & Brueckner, 2003).

Further, Mendoza's (2008) study into why Canadian farmers diversified into non-farm activities hypothesized it would be to increase incomes. What he actually found was farmers' motivations were to save the farm, make better use of farm resources, and to provide opportunities to socialization with urban consumers (Mendoza, 2008). Others suggested saving the farm is important, similar to Mendoza, but have expressed it in broader terms as a desire to continue leading a "farming way of life" (Adams, 2003; McGehee & Kim, 2004; Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007).

In looking at the global perspective of the role of farm diversification in rural economies, the OECD (2009) found non-farm activities on family farms consist of either moving down the food chain into processing and selling agricultural goods, or using farm resources to move into activities such as contracting, cultural and recreational activities, and social services. The OECD has; however, singled out tourism on farms as a special circumstance because tourism is increasingly becoming the focus of public and government attention. For instance, tourism development is perceived as a good avenue for economic growth and stability; and it is becoming recognized for providing a range of functions in rural communities, such as promoting local products, preserving the agricultural and natural

environment and raising regional reputation (Kline et al., 2007; McGehee & Kline, 2008; OECD, 2009).

What remains unclear from the literature is if farm diversification is a means of survival or if it is an act of entrepreneurship (Brookfield, 2008; Hildenbrand & Hennon, 2008; Knowd, 2006; McElwee, 2006; Mendonza, 2008; Phelan & Sharpley, 2010). What is not disputed is diversification accepted as part of normal farming practice. Nonetheless, recognizing entrepreneurial attributes in farmers as they develop new skills, capabilities or access new markets outside of traditional agriculture to remain competitive is a growing area of interest (McElwee, 2006; Mendonza, 2008; Phelan & Sharpley, 2010).

2.5 Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship referring to the rapid growth of new and innovative businesses and is associated with individuals - either on their own or in combination with others - seizing opportunities and pursuing them without regard for resources under their control (Carsrud & Brannback, 2007; Fayolle, 2007; Getz et al., 2004; Stevenson & Jarillo, 1990). Simply put entrepreneurs create new enterprises (Phelan & Sharpley, 2010). The entrepreneur has been described as: creative, innovative, opportunistic, risk tolerant, smart, flexible, resourceful, independent, dynamic, and growth oriented (Carsrud & Brannback, 2007; Dabson, 2007; Fayolle, 2007). Entrepreneurs are valued in our society because of the contributions they make to economic development, for example, jobs, business start-ups and wealth (Casson, 2003; Fayolle, 2007; Lee-Ross & Lashley, 2009; Lordkipanidze, Brezet & Backman, 2004; Schumpeter, 1989).

Schumpeter, an economist who lived between 1883 and 1950, focused increased scholarly attention on entrepreneurs. Schumpeter recognized that economies developed as actors in the economy responded to changes and events in their environment (Casson, 2003; Lindgren & Packendorff, 2003). These responses could either be adaptive or creative, depending on whether the actor made changes to something within existing practice or created an entirely new practice. Creative destruction, as described by Schumpeter, resulted when an entrepreneur disturbed existing market mechanisms and market share to generate

gaps and opportunities that could then be identified and exploited by the entrepreneur (Bjerke, 2007; Carsrud & Brannback, 2007; Fayolle, 2007; Russell & Faulkner, 2004). Morrison (2000) adds that entrepreneurship is an instrument of change. For example, throughout history entrepreneurship has been found to be important and meaningful in society at points of transition to solve dilemmas, break old, stable and hierarchical traditions and institutions, and to introduce new, innovative ways of behaviour (Morrison, 2000, p.63). The entrepreneur has the strength and the courage to challenge the accepted ways of doing things and to sweep aside the forces of tradition (Ogbor, 2000).

2.5.1 Farmers as entrepreneurs

Entrepreneurs being described as individuals who manage their own business and take risks may lead us to conclude that farmers are entrepreneurial because farming is a risky business (Dudley, 2003). In addition, farmers participate in a market system that rewards risk-taking, innovation and competitive individualism which would also suggest they are entrepreneurial (Mendoza, 2008). Finally, it has been speculated that when farmers diversify it is after they recognize a market opportunity which they can then exploit (Haugen & Vik, 2008; McElwee, 2006; Phelan & Sharpley, 2010)

In particular, farmers have been classified as portfolio entrepreneurs (Alsos et al., 2003; Carter, 2001; Haugen & Vik, 2008). Portfolio entrepreneurs are owner-managers of existing businesses who, when they discover and exploit new market opportunities, use resources from the existing business to start up the new enterprise (Alsos et al., 2003; Carter, 2001). It can also be added that these types of entrepreneurs may be particularly adept at discovering new opportunities because running another business gives them access to information and knowledge which becomes the basis for other valuable and innovative business ideas (Alsos et al., 2003; Haugen & Vik, 2008). A question raised by some in the circumstance of farm diversification is whether the resources transferred to start and operate the new enterprise compromises the operation or drains capital from the established farm business (Busby & Rendle, 2000; Haugen & Vik, 2008). Some have even suggested that when farmers diversify into tourism they quit actively farming when the tourism business

grows, because it is difficult to effectively combine simultaneously a productive farm with commercial tourism activities (Brandth & Haugen, 2007; Busby & Rendle, 2000; Hildenbrand & Hennon, 2008).

Another aspect raised in the literature is farming culture dissuades the farmer from identifying himself as an entrepreneur (Hildenbrand & Hennon, 2008; Phelan & Sharpley, 2010; Richards & Bulkley, 2007). The prevailing culture recognizes luck as marking individuals who are successful in farming. Dudley (2003), found in her study of entrepreneurship and farmers in the Midwest that:

The difference between those who fail and those who succeed is, in this sense, less a matter of cultural values than it is one of luck. For the truth is that a majority of American farmers happily took advantage of the economic opportunities presented to them during the 1970s. Had inflation continued into the 1980s and had interest rates not gone through the roof virtually overnight, and had export demand and commodity prices remained high – the tables would now be turned. (p. 182)

However, indications are pointing to the family farmer who diversified rather than the ones who leap at industrialized that are currently perceived as being entrepreneurial (Alsos et al., 2003; Carter, 2001; Phelan & Sharpley, 2010). Often related to entrepreneurship is the farmer engaging directly with consumers a market channel lost through industrialized agriculture (Pyysianinen, Anderson, McElwee & Vasala, 2006). Further, in situations where farms transition out of a predominately agrarian economy into service-based and experience-based economies may be entrepreneurial because diversification occurs in a sector completely unrelated to agriculture (Alsos et al., 2003; Haugen & Vik, 2008; McGehee & Kim, 2004; McGehee, Kim & Jennings, 2006; Nickerson et al., 2000; Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007). Perhaps, family farms looking to engage with consumers are also instigating creative destruction through adapting current farm products into tourism experiences thereby challenging the status quo of modern industrial farming practices.

2.5.2 Lifestyle entrepreneurs

The common portrayal of an entrepreneur as the heroic individual grasping opportunities and developing businesses to create jobs and build wealth is giving way to new ideas of what it is to be entrepreneurial (Holmquist, 2003). Slowly being introduced over the last decade has been the idea of entrepreneurship being embedded in social relationships, in particular the family (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003; Gartner, 2001; Holmquist, 2003; Steyaert & Hjorth, 2003). The embedding of entrepreneurship in social relationships has given way to a diversity of new types and ways of understanding entrepreneurs beyond those only motivated by economic gains (Bjerke, 2007; Dabson, 2007). The lifestyle entrepreneur would be one such example.

Lifestyle entrepreneurs are people who “create opportunities for personal fulfillment through economic activity” (Morrison, Rimmington & Williams, 1999, p.3). The lifestyle entrepreneur is the business owner-operator commonly found running tourism businesses in rural areas (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Dewhurst & Horobin, 1998; Getz et al., 2004; Getz & Carlson, 2000; Shaw & Williams, 1998). To help distinguish the lifestyle entrepreneur from other more growth oriented types, Bjerke (2007) states:

The lifestyle entrepreneur sets-up a firm to undertake an activity that the owner-operator enjoys while also providing an adequate income to support their family. To the lifestyle firm, in contrast to the growth firm, expansion is not an issue. Once a level of activity is reached by the lifestyle firm that provides a reasonable income, management of the firm becomes routine. Growth firms; however, are set up with the intent to expand. At start-up the entrepreneurial qualities of the owners of the growth firm and the lifestyle firm may be very similar. Both have been innovative, adept at recognizing a market opportunity, and have created a new business venture. As time passes, the lifestyle firm owner becomes more conservative and managerial in his/her qualities; while the growth firm exhibits more risk taking behaviours and remains entrepreneurial. (p. 95)

Lifestyle entrepreneurs have been assumed to contribute little to economic growth and may, in fact, consciously reject certain economic and business growth opportunities (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2001; Getz & Carlsen, 2000; Getz & Petersen, 2004; Roberts & Hall,

2001). In extreme cases, lifestyle entrepreneurs are perceived as being barriers to improving tourism products or developing tourism destinations (Getz & Carlsen, 2005). However, these types of entrepreneurs that consciously limit growth as part of their business strategy express a desire to keep the business under control so it does not overwhelm family life, for example, avoiding debt and financial burdens associated with the business but which would be detrimental to the wellbeing of the family (Andersson et al., 2002; Getz & Petersen, 2004). Concerns with preserving the natural environment have also been provided as reasons why lifestyle entrepreneurs limit growth of their tourism businesses (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2001).

Lifestyle entrepreneurs and their enterprises are not as insignificant to local economies as some critics may lead us to believe (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2001; Dabson, 2007; Getz & Petersen, 2004; Lee-Ross & Lashley, 2009; Olson et al. 2003). Collectively the actions of businesses operated by lifestyle entrepreneurs contribute to the overall entrepreneurial climate and social wellbeing of the area where they operate (Getz & Carlsen, 2005; Getz & Petersen, 2004; Kline et al., 2010; Olson et al. 2003). They also provide much needed jobs in communities, and the revenue earned by these enterprises tends to get spent within the local economy (Getz & Carlsen, 2000, 2005; Getz & Petersen, 2004).

It should also be added that the vast majority of rural tourism enterprises are run by families (Getz & Carlsen, 2000, 2005; Morrison, 2006). Starting family-run tourism businesses in rural areas involves a combination of entrepreneurial motives and goals, but location preferences, lifestyle and creating a legacy, are all very important factors in making this decision (Andersson et al, 2002; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2001; Getz et al., 2004; Getz & Petersen, 2004). As an interest in studying tourism entrepreneurship grows (see for example the proceedings from the Tourism Entrepreneurship conferences held at Laurier in April, 2010 and September, 2012) it has also been pointed out we need to better understand the family dimension involved in the running of tourism businesses (Getz & Carlsen, 2000, 2005; Hall & Williams, 2008). Further research would also help deepen our understand so that policies and supports could be instituted to help tourism businesses develop as well as the destinations where they operate (Kline et al., 2010; Morrison et al., 1999; Roberts & Hall, 2001, 2004).

2.6 Rural Tourism As The Panacea

Although visiting rural areas is not a new phenomenon, since the 1970s rural tourism has grown steadily (Beshiri, 2005; Frochot, 2005; Hall & Page, 2006). A growing demand for rural tourism experiences coincides with the advent of the independent traveler, an increased awareness of and desire for sustainable environmentally-conscious holidays, and experiencing authenticity while traveling (Gartner, 2004; Lane, 1994; Roberts & Hall, 2001; 2004; Timothy, 2005). It has been estimated that rural Canada hosts 211 million visitors per year (Beshiri, 2005). Indeed, rural tourism is being promoted as an alternative strategy of economic development in previously resource-dependent and depressed communities throughout Canada and other developed countries (Beshiri, 2005; Gartner, 2004; Koster & Lemelin, 2009; Ollenburg, 2006; Sharpley, 2009; Sharpley & Roberts, 2004). Although it remains difficult to define, “rural tourism” products and activities need to be more than just located physically within a rural area – their inherent character needs to complement and integrate with the rural, natural surroundings (Hall & Page, 2006; Lane, 1994; Roberts & Hall, 2001; Sharpley, 2004). In an early perspective, Lane (1994) argued that in its purist form, rural tourism must be located in rural areas; functionally rural, meaning built upon small-scale enterprises, open spaces, contact with nature and the natural world, heritage, “traditional” societies and “traditional” practices found in rural areas; it must be rural in scale; and traditional in character, growing slowly and organically, and connected with local families; and be of many different kinds, representing the complex pattern of rural environment, economy, history, and location (p. 14).

More recently, Roberts and Hall (2001) and Frochot (2005) questioned what rural meant in Lane’s (1994) often-quoted foundational paper which has informed much of the extant research on rural tourism. The meaning of rural has become increasingly contested given recent transformations occurring in many rural areas (Frochot, 2005, Roberts & Hall, 2001). Further complicating our understanding of rural tourism is its fragmented nature, which makes difficult the collection of solid statistics separating rural tourism from other forms of tourism (Beshiri, 2005; Lane, 1994; OECD, 2006).

The socio-economic transformation occurring in rural areas from one centered around predominantly primary-based industries (i.e., farming, fishing, mining, and forestry) to one embracing new opportunities in service-based and experience-based economies, has impacted the character of most rural areas (Brookfield, 2008; Essex et al., 2005; Gartner, 2004). In cases where tourism becomes the panacea, the urbanizing influences of tourists (Lane, 1994) have profoundly altered rural communities. As tourists become more influential in rural communities than its local residents, the types of services and retailing provided shifts towards the desires and whims of the tourists and away from the daily necessities of local residents. This shift contributes to changes in shopping, loss of services (e.g., churches, schools, post office), increases in the local cost of living, and potentially perpetuates stereotypes of rural locals and urban tourists (Bunce, 2003; Urry, 2002). At the same time, the benefits of visitors coming to struggling rural communities cannot be dismissed. Visitors have reversed rural decline through their spending habits, by creating jobs, attracting new comers and repopulating rural communities, and by providing new tax revenue to pay for upgraded infrastructure, local services and public amenities (Hall & Page, 2006; Hall et al., 2005; Hall et al., 2003; Shaw & Williams, 2002).

More recent perspectives suggest rural areas are places of consumption and are becoming extremely diverse as destinations for a wide range of new opportunities (Frochot, 2005; Oh & Schuett, 2010; Roberts & Hall, 2001, 2004; Sharpley & Roberts, 2004; Sharpley, 2004). The emerging economic forces impacting rural areas, of which rural tourism is a part, are leading to consumers perceiving, consuming, and using rural places in radically new ways (Frochot, 2005; Gartner, 2004).

2.7 The New Rural Paradigm

An emerging new rural paradigm grounding local rural economies in place-based assets, rather than more general spaces or sectors is being suggested for creating sustainable futures for rural communities (Halseth et al., 2010). Although still relying on many of the traditional assets of rural places, such as open spaces, natural features, and cultural attributes, these assets are combined differently to satisfy new consumptive demands. As places, rural

areas offer valuable amenities, specifically for leisure, tourism, and specialty food products (OECD, 2006; Saxena, Clark, Oliver & Ilbery, 2007). The transition out of predominately agrarian economies has introduced new exchange values on some rural places. For example, when farmland's only value is based on its ability to produce food the cost of the land is determined per acre (i.e., in Ontario an acre of unimproved farmland is worth approximately \$3,000). In contrast, when a farm is valuable for its rural character, natural aesthetics and location rather than its' productivity, its value potentially increases 10 fold.

The new rural paradigm has not occurred in a single shift but rather relies on there being a constant state of flux (Halseth et al., 2010). The defining characteristic of the 21st century rural economy is fast-paced change and to remain successful one has to be continually modifying and adapting (Halseth et al., 2010; OECD, 2006). The implication of this paradigm requires continuously revisiting what works and being attentive to revamping solutions for ensuring on-going prosperity. As such, rural areas are becoming characterized as a mosaic of economic activities and where the pre-eminence of farming as the foundation of the rural economy is no longer assured (OECD, 2006; Smithers & Johnson, 2004; Sznajder et al., 2009). As a mosaic there are endless possibilities but the local rural economy has to be inextricably linked to the resources upon which it depends (Hall et al., 2005; Roberts & Hall, 2001; Sharpley, 2004). It is also critical that these new opportunities use sustainable approaches of development, marketing, planning and management (Cawley & Gillmor, 2008; Sharpley, 2004).

The rise of consumerism in contemporary society has offered rural areas multiple avenues to restructure local economies (Britton, 1991; Cloke, 1993; Roberts & Hall, 2001). As already discussed, it has often been tourism that has quickly been taken up as a panacea and alternative strategy in many rural areas. However, in rural areas where returns from agriculture are questionable and other economic opportunities possible, transition to the new rural paradigm is prudent. Some rural areas are changing their image and aggressively marketing rural ways of living and nostalgic traditions to urban consumers who are keen on acquiring rural experiences. Urban consumers are seeking to experience the countryside ranging from day-trips through to long-term purchases (e.g., second homes, cottages,

seasonal properties, weekend hobby farms), as well as through a variety of niche tourism markets. To capture the range and increasing importance of new comers to rural communities, a broader concept is being proposed, the “*visiting economy*”, to better reflect the wide array of individuals and interests converging and imposing new meanings and values to rural places (personal conversation with Richard Sharpley, April 26, 2010).

2.8 Agritourism

At a micro-level, the *visiting economy* coming to farms is an interesting concept, and one that may enlighten us on how consumerism is impacting and changing rural areas and meanings. To begin, agritourism must be characterized as distinct from other types of rural tourism, with which it has, unfortunately, often been equated as synonymous (Barbieri & Mshenga, 2008; McGehee & Kim, 2004; Roberts & Hall, 2001). When viewed as synonymous with rural tourism, agritourism could be any tourism activity occurring in rural areas where agricultural production and farming occur (Barbieri & Mshenga, 2008; Bushy & Rendle, 2000; Henderson, 2009). For instance, this view would include community-based attractions, such as farmers’ markets, agricultural fairs, or culinary events (i.e., local food festivals, harvest celebrations), as well as activities and products offered in an agricultural setting (i.e., wine tourism). A more precise view of agritourism as a niche rural tourism segment expressly requires it to be offered on working farms and not just in a rural location (Barbieri & Mshenga, 2008; Henderson, 2009; Kline et al., 2007; McGehee & Kim, 2004). A working farm is described as a place where agricultural activities are currently being practiced (Phillip et al., 2010). In their recent examination of agritourism, Sznajder and colleagues (2009) argued that three features differentiate agritourism from more general types of rural tourism:

- 1) Participation in the process of food production,
- 2) A chance to learn about the lives of rural people, and
- 3) Having direct contact with domesticated animals and experiencing the countryside.

In a Canadian resource manual for farmers interested in agritourism, the following aspects are outlined as being important: open spaces, low levels of urban or industrial development and opportunities for visitors to directly experience agriculture and rural or natural environments (Williams et al., 2004). More specifically, agritourism as defined by the Small Farm Program at the University of California, Davis as “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” (cited in Che, 2010, p. 108; Che et al., 2006, p. 98) is often referenced in studies on agritourism. Even with this definition and acceptance of key characteristics, agritourism continues to lack consistency and it can take on a variety of forms (Bushy & Rendle, 2000; Phillip et al., 2010; Rozier Rich, Standish, Tomas, Barbieri, & Ainley, 2010). A comparative analysis looking at the recent interest in agritourism research within the U.S. found that 9 different definitions were used in 13 separate state-wide agritourism studies conducted between 1999 and 2009 (Rozier Rich et al., 2010). In Scotland, a country-wide agritourism study proposed a typology of five discrete agritourism types as a comprehensive framework integrating the broad range of products and activities identified as agritourism (Phillip et al., 2010). Each of the discrete types is determined by three factors. The first factor is based on whether or not the tourism activity occurs on a working farm. The nature of the contact tourists have with the working farm, as direct, indirect or passive involvement, makes up the second factor. The third and final factor in the agritourism typology is based on the tourist having an authentic experience or it being staged. The agritourism typology can help differentiate between enterprises causally connected to agriculture (e.g., retail farm stores, farm B&Bs), to ones providing an experience (e.g., corn mazes, themed attractions such as haunted barns at Halloween). It can further distinguish between circumstances where the visitor has direct contact with the farm by purposefully staging farming activities to optimize tourism experiences through how they are reproduced or organized (e.g., farming demonstrations, farm educational programs or the timing of interactive activities to coincide with scheduled feeding of animals). In contrast, tourists can authentically experience farming through being actively and physically involved (e.g., pick-your-own operations, assisting with farm chores). Within Ontario examples of all

the discrete agritourism types suggested by the Scottish typology can be found. However, the most popular agritourism activities in the province include: pick-your-own operations, retail farm stores, farm demonstrations, and educational farm programs (Experience Renewal Solutions, 2009; Williams et al., 2004).

A series of studies commissioned by OFFMA demonstrates a growing trend of direct-farm marketing and agritourism on family farms in Ontario. For instance, in 2005, an estimated 400 farms in the province were involved in these new markets and accounted for approximately \$116 million per years in sales (Jayeff Partners, 2005). A subsequent study in 2009 reported the number of farms involved in agritourism had increased to 750 and annual sales were now into the \$210 million range (Experience Renewal Solutions, 2009). Preliminary results from its 2011 provincial study has the number of farms involved in this type of farming increasing ten percent each year since the last study and annual sales have also continued to rise, now estimated in the \$313 million range (personal conversations, Doug Vallery, Experience Renewal Solutions, February 22, 2012)

Agritourism is growing as a niche market because it meets the needs of modern Canadian families. Farms are becoming increasingly attractive tourist destinations because visitors are nostalgic for a simpler time (Che et al., 2005; Timothy, 2005). They want to escape the hustle of the city, connect with their cultural heritage, be with family, be in a natural environment, and enjoy a richer and authentic leisure experience (Che et al., 2005; Experience Renewal Solutions, 2009; Kline et al., 2007; Oh & Schuett, 2010; Roberts & Hall, 2001; Sznajder et al., 2009). Increasingly, as food production and distribution becomes of greater public concern, families want their children to know where their food comes from (Sznajder et al., 2009; Veeck et al., 2006), and related concerns over food sovereignty has increased public interest in experiencing the farm (Che et al., 2005; Pollan, 2006; Veeck et al., 2006).

The Canadian Farm Business Management Council (2002) believes that agritourism should be added as an acceptable farming activity:

[A]gritourism as a form of farming requires farmers to manage land resources to provide a safe and enjoyable environment for visitors to purchase an experience rather than a product. As the global food system changes,

agritourism may become as vital to the North American rural economy, the livelihood of farm families, and the management of open spaces and the environment as production of apples, milk and vegetables. (p. 30)

Many farm families now engaging in agritourism did not start out that way. Many started as commodity producers but with the changes and volatility of agriculture they found new ways of generating income at the farm. Throughout history farms have evolved in response to societal needs and to remain relevant (Gasson & Errington, 1993). An expansion of “acceptable farming” to include agritourism and other non-farm activities which re-connect people who produce food with those consuming it may be another evolutionary stage for the family farm. It would also recognize more farms opening up to the public as a means of gaining a competitive advantage by capitalize on the uniqueness of their farm and the farming lifestyle. On the other hand, non-farm activities such as agritourism may ultimately overwhelm and out-compete the working farm. Busby and Rendle (2000) suggested as farms transitioned into tourism they no longer require a working farm as the traditional activities of farming are forced to change and adapt to meet visitor demand. Nonetheless, many farmers are turning to agritourism as an entrepreneurial response to increase on-farm sales and to generate revenue through engaging with consumers via recreational and tourism activities (McGehee, 2007).

2.8.1 Motivations for starting agritourism enterprises

Agritourism undoubtedly brings in extra revenue to the farm household which helps keep the family on the farm (McGehee, 2007; Nickerson et al., 2001; Pyysiainen et al., 2006; Wilson, 2007). Not surprisingly many of the earlier studies looking at what motivates the start-up of agritourism concluded it was for economic reasons. While there is no doubt that the challenges of making a decent living from farming influences the pursuit of other income generating activities, it is possible other factors are considered. For instance, social factors as well as external influences may be considerations. Although economic motives seem to continue to dominate the discourse, it is beginning to be acknowledged that engaging in

agritourism is based on a complex web of factors, without any one factor (e.g., economic, social, or external) predominating.

One of the earliest North American studies focused on the motivations behind farmers diversifying into agritourism was conducted in Montana. Nickerson, Black and McCool (2001) found from their survey results of about 300 farmers and ranchers in Montana that there were six motivating factors for starting-up agritourism enterprises, being: to provide employment for family members, generated additional income, to meet the needs of the market, providing companionship with visitors/guests, extending an interest or hobby, and making better use of farm or ranch resources. McGehee and Kim (2004) replicated the Montana survey in Virginia a few years later and results were similar. In particular, farm families operating agritourism enterprises in Virginia indicated they were motivated by the chance to increase income, fully utilize farm resources, and educate consumers (McGehee & Kim, 2004). In situations where farming was conducted as a hobby or a secondary source of income, the Virginia study also found that employment for family members was yet another motivator (McGehee & Kim, 2004). Both these studies recognized a variety of factors involved when a farmer decides to get into agritourism; however, economic motivations were found to be more important than any of the others. In contrast, a conclusion drawn by Schroeder (2004), when he interviewed 27 agritourism operators in North Dakota was the motivations varied and were multiple in nature. However, the drive to make a lot of money or to have great financial success was not evident: “[A] few acknowledged the potential for their business to someday lead to significant financial success, but this did not appear to be a major motivator” (Schroeder, 2004, p.7).

There is a longer recognition of farm vacationing in Europe, particularly in the United Kingdom, and subsequently more studies investigating this phenomenon than there are in North America. UK studies have generally found the principle reason for diversifying into tourism on the farm being economic, for instance, the need for extra income or to provide employment for family members (Ilbery, Bowler, Clark, Crockett & Shaw, 1998; Sharpley & Vass, 2006; Wilson, 2007). Likewise, an agritourism study carried out in Norway reported that farm diversification into tourism is an entrepreneurial strategy for increasing income

(Haugen & Vik, 2008). Not surprising, government incentives and policy in the European Union are attempting to re-orientate farming to be more entrepreneurial (Busby & Rendle, 2000; Phelan & Sharpley, 2010).

In Australia, Ollenburg and Buckley (2007) examined motivations of farm tourism operators using the survey instrument developed by Nickerson and colleagues (2001) and refined by McGehee and Kim (2004) in the United States of America (USA). An added element in the Australian survey was a free-text question where respondents were asked to describe their motivation in their own words (Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007; Ollenburg, 2006). Ninety-four percent (94%) of respondents described their motivations for starting the agritourism operations in the free-text question. The results of the Australian study found five motivational themes: economic issues, utilizing spare rooms, educating people about farming, provision for retirement, and maintaining a farm lifestyle (Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007; Ollenburg, 2006). Ollenburg and Buckley concluded that social motivations were marginally more important overall than economic motivations (2007, p.444), a contrast from previous results from other studies conducted in the UK and USA.

The economic reasons why farmers start agritourism enterprises follow a profit driven rationale based on classical business growth principles (McGehee & Kim, 2004). The economic motivators included: off-setting falling incomes in agriculture; increasing incomes; providing employment for family members; to meet a need in the recreation or tourism market; to fully utilize farm resources; and government incentives. Agritourism enterprises are seen as adding extra income to the farm family household.

The social reasons found by previous studies included: sharing rural experiences with visitors; companionship with visitors; to educate the public; civic mindedness, to help the local community; and a desire to pass the farm onto the next generation to continue a farm legacy. The notion of being tied to the land, where farmers are self-employed small business owners who rarely view agriculture as a “job” or “career”, but rather view farming as a way of life plays into the social motives. Although economic survival of the farm in order to continue this farming way of life still needs consideration (Veeck et al., 2006).

The final set of reasons are the external factors, which are the aspects affecting the farm *beyond the farm gate*. These include: the decline of agriculture; global competitiveness; urban encroachment; and the observed agritourism success of others.

Diversification into agritourism has the potential of adding much needed income to the farm family's household (McGehee & Kim, 2004; Nickerson et al., 2001; Williams et al., 2004). However, more so than its economic returns, farm families may be diversifying into agritourism because of the effects of globalization on agriculture, the growth of tourism, and choosing to maintain a chosen lifestyle (Haugen & Vik, 2008; Ollenburg, 2006; Wilson, 2007). In fact, some studies indicate the economic returns from agritourism are quite modest, for example, Fennel and Weaver's investigation of Saskatchewan farms indicated they derived gross annual incomes from agritourism under \$10,000 (1997, p. 469), the comparative analysis of USA agritourism studies reported annual incomes of \$15,000 or less (Rozier Rich et al., 2010). For most farms, agritourism does not bring in large revenues; rather it provides income able to make the difference between viability and bankruptcy (Busby & Rendle, 2000; Ilbery et al., 1998; Veeck et al., 2006). Fluctuations due to seasonality, the globalization of agriculture, as well as unstable markets can be alleviated somewhat for farm families by combining tourism or other diversification enterprises on the farm. These may generate revenue at time of the year when income from farming is low, or they may provide economic returns year round. In addition, the desire to share life and farm practices with urban consumers might be motivators. If visitors to farms understand farm life better then support for agriculture may be easier to garner when needed (Veeck et al., 2006).

A leading expert on agritourism marketing, Eckert (2004) has stated the essence of agritourism for the family farm is "all about opportunity ... the opportunity to keep the family farm alive by creating new revenue streams" and a way "to keep the younger generation involved through creating new business roles and challenges" (p. 5). However, very little in-depth research has been undertaken into the phenomenon of agritourism to really reveal the complexity or the experience of farm families engaged in agritourism (Haugen & Vik, 2008, McGehee, Kim & Jennings, 2006).

Chapter 3

Methodology & Study Procedures

The phenomenological movement was launched under the battle cry of 'Back to the things themselves'!

~ Crotty, 2003, p. 78

3.1 Phenomenology

The power of using a phenomenological methodology lies in exploring in-depth what meaningful experiences and essential structures are associated with a phenomenon. In the case of this particular study the phenomenon is the experience of farm families whom have diversified into agritourism within Ontario. As a bottom-up or inductive approach for understanding reality which emphasizes the role of the “things themselves”, phenomenology presents what is meaningful to individuals in everyday experience (Berglund, 2007; Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003; Jordan & Gibson, 2004; Szarycz, 2009). Phenomenology has been found to be especially well suited for investigating the gaps between real-life occurrences and theoretical concepts on the one hand, and individuals’ interpretations of these occurrences on the other (Berglund, 2007; Smith, 1996). Van Manen (1997) argues that phenomenology contributes to the discursive tradition by providing detailed illustrations of how prevailing discourses are interpreted and made sense of, or by constructing novel narratives based on how individuals think about and deal with specific issues. Phenomenologists acknowledge that researchers are provided with privileged access to meaning and their capacity lies not in measures and numbers but in understanding and finding meaning in other people’s stories and experiences (Berglund, 2007). The complementary function of this approach may permit more thoughtful actions to be taken by the participants themselves as well as policy-makers (Berglund, 2007). For instance, Jordan and Gibson (2004) in studying the experiences of women travelling solo suggested that the research process may make participants think about things they have never thought about before or might result in participants thinking about things in a different way. By looking at a phenomenon from a new perspective we may expand our understanding of what that phenomenon is and how it occurs, we may also find clarity about our taken-for-granted beliefs or assumptions of it.

From a policy perspective, the use of phenomenology has been limited (Murphy, 1986). When phenomenological research in the public interest does get carried out, its quality and usefulness for informing and influencing policy is often brought into question (Brown, 2010; Fade, 2004; Murphy, 1986). Murphy (1986) suggested four reasons why policy-makers steer away from phenomenological informed research:

- 1) It is time consuming,
- 2) A reluctance to get involved with the philosophical underpinning of phenomenology,
- 3) Research traditions are preponderantly influenced by positivism and empiricism, and
- 4) An affinity for *hard* data and numbers/statistics regarded as superior.

In a more general but up-to-date account, Brown's (2010) study of the experience of researchers commissioned by the public sector to lead qualitative research studies found a prevailing sense of disenchantment and questioning:

Does my client understand qualitative research, in particular, the questions of 'representativeness' and 'generalizability'? Does my client value qualitative research, at least as highly as quantitative work? If not, I feel that my skills and integrity are also devalued. Does my client trust me to use appropriate methods and to produce quality work? Or do they try and control the process in a way that undermines my professional expertise and good faith? Might the client misuse or disregard qualitative findings? This arises in the context of a relationship between research and policy that was unsatisfactory, in that research was not as influential as it was proclaimed to be. (p. 244)

Also, a *soft* versus *hard* distinction continues to persist amongst policy-makers as does an impression that qualitative methods are less scientific (Brown, 2010; Murphy, 1986). When qualitative methods are commissioned by policy-makers these approaches primarily become part of larger mixed methods studies, either to help with design or the refinement of findings. Alternatively, small sample qualitative studies are perceived as a cheap way of doing quantitative analysis to inform policy (Brown, 2010).

The valuing of quantitative data and many of the extant studies on agritourism having been conducted by economists has privileged surveys and statistical approaches. I believe there is a gap in many of the previous studies and they have disembodied the more complex experience of changes happening in farm families as well as in rural communities. Both traditional farm families and rural communities are being threatened of becoming obsolete at precisely the exact time they are emerging as places for recreation, leisure and tourism. A desire to get at the thick, deep understanding or essences and compare what I discover to dominant discourse may either confirm or challenge underlying assumptions about why farm families diversify into agritourism. I believe that going directly to the individuals for information and exploring their experiences is an appropriate course of action for informing rural policy development.

Jordan and Gibson (2004) point out that the interpretative paradigm is increasingly being adopted by tourism researchers as opposed to the positivist orientation dominant in the field. Further Szarycz (2009) argues there has been renewed interest in a phenomenological standpoint amongst tourism researchers. Likewise, within the field of entrepreneurship, Berglund (2007) suggests phenomenology could prove to be a powerful tool for exploring and enriching theoretical constructs, by investigating how entrepreneurs actually interpret and enact strategies associated with different entrepreneurial situations, such as when they decide to start a venture or seek assistance. Similar to these other researchers, I do not believe interpretive methods of research are superior or should replace more quantitative approaches or mixed methods. Rather, it is imperative that the method chosen for any research project be appropriate for the goals of the study (Jordan & Gibson, 2004).

The scientific investigation of how individuals actually interpret and make sense of their world through phenomenological techniques, frequently being interviews and observations, can be very powerful. The task of phenomenology is 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, p. 36). Further, we must keep in mind that “phenomenological research aims not to statistically generalize but to understand experience” (Valle & Halling, 1989 cited in

Szarycz, 2009). Phenomenologists constantly emphasize the ideas of meaning, uniqueness, and lived experience. Hence, phenomenology is the methodological approach I intent to use.

3.2 Sample Selection

Even though a single case study has been suggested as being especially powerful in phenomenology, I embraced the suggestion made by Smith and his colleagues (2009) that increasing the size of the sample offers multiple perspectives on a shared experience. Therefore, I involved adult members of three farm families within Ontario who were actively engaged in agritourism on their farms. With three sites and several individuals, points of similarity and difference in the experiences of participants could be revealed.

As a first step in determining the sample for this study, the Ontario Farm Fresh Marketing Association (OFFMA) was contacted. Founded in 1973, OFFMA is a membership based non-profit educational and promotional organization comprised of approximately 280 Ontario family-owned farms dedicated to and enthusiastic about direct-farm marketing, as well as another 40 associate members (i.e., individuals or corporations providing services, support or products to farm members, as well as out-of-province farm families). More specifically, its farm members operate on-farm markets, agritourism enterprises, and pick-your-own operations. In the introduction of a report on opportunities for its members the OMMFA President outlined 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, p.3). Connecting with OFFMA and eliciting knowledge from its Executive Director simplified the initial step of purposefully selecting farms appropriate for inclusion in this study.

The OFFMA Executive Director provided insight and expertise in identifying potential farms for inclusion in this study (Smith et al., 2009). Previous agritourism studies outside of Ontario have not been as fortunate with support from an organization similar to OFFMA and those researchers had to start their studies by first compiling a comprehensive list of agritourism enterprises from a variety of sources and organizations (McGehee, et al.,

2007; Nickerson, Black & McCool, 2001). Since 2008 I have been an associate member of OFFMA and have attended a number of OFFMA events. Although I do not own or operate a farm, I believe I have established a rapport and OFFMA members know me. My interactions and conversations with OFFMA members at events proved helpful when I approached members to have their farm families participate in this study.

The OFFMA Executive Director was asked to recommend members who met two basic criteria and whom she felt would be interested in potentially participating in this study. The first criterion identified farm families operating established and successful agritourism enterprises. The aim of this criterion was to ensure the study participants were all long-established and active farm families and filtered out agritourism enterprises operated by newcomers to farming, amenity migrants, as well as farm operations run by corporations. This criterion also intended to identify successful enterprises, such as those farms recognized for best practices, their popularity with visitors, as well as ones having received awards. Further, it excluded members solely involved in direct-farm marketing (e.g., selling freezer beef from the house, strictly vendors at farmers' markets) and instances where the agritourism activities were very marginal in scope (e.g., members just starting-up, those winding down operations as part of their retirement, those actively selling the farm). The second criterion involved identifying potential candidates where inter-generational transfer and succession had begun for the family. By identifying farms where the next generation of the family had recently been brought into management or administrative roles on the farm, this study would provide an opportunity to focus on the role of farm succession in agritourism. Based on these two criteria, the OFFMA Executive Director provided me with a purposive sample (Babbie, 1992) of ten candidate farms.

In purposively selecting three farm families to participate in this study to ensure they offered meaningful and various perspectives on the phenomenon of agritourism, I next prioritized the ten farms based on a number of additional characteristics. This was accomplished by reviewing content on the websites of each of the potential candidate farms, such as background information about their agritourism activities, farm history, and family involvement. The following four characteristics were used to prioritize the farms:

- 1) The extent to which the working farm is combined with agritourism,
- 2) Length of tenure of the family on the farm,
- 3) The farm being a multi-generational operation, and
- 4) Seasonality.

The prioritizing of the ten candidate farms is shown below in Table 3.1:

Table 3.1: Prioritized Ranking of Suggested OFFMA Farms

	Combined with working farm	Tenure length	Multi-generational (Yes=1; No=0)	Seasonality	Total	Overall Ranking
Farm A	8	9	1	8	26	1
Farm B	9	8	1	6	24	2
Farm D	7	7	1	5	20	3
Farm E	6	4	1	9	20	4
Farm C	4	10	1	4	19	5
Farm F	10	5	1	3	19	6
Farm G	5	2	0	7	14	7
Farm H	1	1	0	10	12	8
Farm I	3	6	0	1	10	9
Farm J	2	3	0	2	7	10

Notes: following a nominal grouping technique, 3 of the 4 characteristics applied in the ranking were scored from highest to lowest ranking, with the highest rank farm assigned 10 and the lowest 1 for each characteristic. The “muligenerational” characteristic was the exception, and for this criterion, each farm was assigned either a “1” if the farm had at least two generations currently active on the farm, or “0” if it only had one generation working/living at the farm.

3.2.1 Working farm combined with agritourism

Specifically, each candidate farm was assessed on the extent to which they combined agricultural operations with commercial tourism enterprises or tourism activities intended to attract visitors to their farms. This satisfied the basic characteristic of agritourism needing to

combine a working farm with commercial tourism activities. In situations where the only services being provided catered more so to rural neighbours and not tourists, such as property maintenance, snow removal, Community Share Agriculture (CSA), or boarding horses, the farm was given a lower ranking. If a farm offered direct-farm marketing through an on-farm retail store or as a vendor at a community farmers' market, it received an average ranking. Farms that offered visitors an authentic, hands-on experience while at the farm received the highest rankings. For example, farms that included pick-your-own operations, educational farm tours, agritainment, and special events received the highest rankings on this characteristic.

3.2.2 Length of tenure

Family stories are commonly provided on websites of agritourism enterprises with the expectation that agritourism visitors are interested and attracted to a particular farm by the history of the family in farming (Veeck et al., 2006). The websites provided information about each of the farm families and indicated either directly or implicitly the number of generations who had farmed this land. The length of tenure characteristic suggested the family had strong ties to the land.

The highest ranking was assigned to the family who noted its ancestors had been on the same farm for the longest period of time. In contrast, lower rankings were assigned to farms where the family currently living on it had only been there for comparatively shorter periods of time. Although the lower ranked farms were long-established farm families, there were instances where the information on their websites indicated they might have immigrated to Canada to continue farming or had sold the family's original *home* farm and moved to a new farm due to urban sprawl. In these circumstances of a relatively short tenure on the current farm, it suggested weaker ties or rootedness to the land.

3.2.3 Multi-generational

In wanting to see if diversification into agritourism played a part in keeping the family farm viable and it was part of farm succession planning, I wanted to ensure the farms selected for this study involved at least two generations of the family.

An assessment of the farm family's history and related information on the websites concerning who was engaged in the day-to-day operations helped identify if at least two generations were currently active at the farm. This criterion identified different members of the family across generations, specifically parents and their adult children, as being responsible for aspects of the farm and the agritourism enterprise. In instances where the farm's website articulated clearly the active involvement and a division of roles and responsibilities amongst at least two generations of the family, these farms received higher rankings. Lower rankings were assigned to farms where it appeared the parents' maintained exclusive control of the farm's operations. These lower rankings were typically given in situations where no mention of adult children being involved in the farm was given.

3.2.4 Seasonality

The final characteristic for ranking the farms determined if the operating of the agritourism enterprise coincided with peak season for visitations. Studies have consistently demonstrated that the majority of agritourism enterprises are operated on a seasonal basis and the peak season runs from mid-summer to the end of the fall (Experience Renewal Solutions, 2012, 2009; Jayeff Partners, 2005). A further review of OFFMA market studies, illustrated that August, September, and October are, in fact, the months when the highest level of agritourism activity occurs in Ontario. The farms that noted their agritourism operations ran over the entire peak season were ranked as being fully engaged in agritourism. The beginning of this study, in the fall of 2010 was also at the end of a full agritourism season in Ontario and meant the daily management of agritourism was fresh in the minds of family members I met. Those operators running their agritourism enterprises over multiple seasons, inclusive of the peak season, were given the highest rankings. Other candidate farms offering only limited agritourism activities or only during non-peak months of the year (e.g., u-cut Christmas trees, maple syrup producers and pancake houses, single season early summer berry pick-your-own operations) were assigned lower rankings.

3.3 Recruiting Participants

Once the list of potential farms for inclusion in this study had been prioritized, the actual recruitment began. I used the contact names and coordinates (i.e., telephone numbers, mailing addresses, and email addresses) provided to me by OFFMA to contact the agritourism principals (i.e., owners/operators) of the three farms at the top of the ranked listing. Initially contact was made by sending an email (see Appendix A) to the agritourism principals of the three top ranked farms. I received a positive response from one of the three agritourism principals within a day of the first email contacts being sent. A plan had been devised in advance to follow-up with a phone call to any agritourism principal I had not heard back from after two weeks of when the initial email invitation had been sent. I ended up calling the agritourism principals with the other two potential farms initially contacted after two weeks. The phone calls helped secure participation and the setting up of the first visit to one of the other first three farms contacted.

After leaving several messages for the agritourism principal at the third farm and not receiving any reply, I contacted the fourth ranked farm on the prioritized list to see if they would be interested in participating in the study. The fourth ranked farm declined via email five days later that due to them being very busy they were not able to participate. The fifth farm off the prioritized list was then emailed an invitation and within four days I received a positive email from one of its family members. By early November the three farm sites had been secured from the prioritized list of 10 ranked farms. Once the principal had confirmed his/her willingness to participate in the study, I followed-up with telephone calls and confirmation emails setting dates and times for the first visit to the farms.

It was vital for this study that interviews be scheduled with the agritourism principals at each farm. It was also hoped the farmer (where s/he was different from the agritourism principal) as well as all other adult members of the family actively engaged in operating and making decisions about the farm and/or the agritourism enterprise agreed to participant in this study and be interviewed. Therefore, from the outset of this study, the actual number of individuals who were eventually involved in the study was unknown. The actual number of individual participants ultimately reflected the composition of each of the farm families as

well as the willingness and availability of each adult family member to be involved and interviewed. An estimate of between 12 and 20 individuals was expected to constitute the final sample size.

At the first visit to the farm and when meeting the agritourism principal I got a much better idea of who within the family was involved in the farm. I asked the agritourism principals while I was interviewing them if they thought other members of the family should or would be interested in being interviewed for my study. This is how I gained names and contact information for those members of the families working off the farm.

Individuals participating in the study were asked to sign consent forms (see Appendix B) at the beginning of their interview. Informed consent covered the data collection and data analysis stages. In the consent form, participants were made aware that the interview would be audio-taped to ensure an accurate recording of our conversation. In addition, participants were informed that verbatim extracts from their interview may be included in the dissertation and any other publications arising from the study. Prior to any publication, participants would be contacted (see Appendix C) and provided with an opportunity to review and comment on the direction of the study as well as the verbatim extracts to be used in research publications and presentation from their interviews. Participants were informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any time as well as to withdraw any particular comments that they did not want to appear in any publication that would be in the public domain. Confidentiality of the participants was ensured and pseudonyms were used for the participating farms and each of the family members interviewed.

3.4 Data Collection

When collecting data, it is important to be flexible enough to accommodate the richness inherent in the experiences of the participants while also staying focused on the research question and the phenomenon being explored (Berglund, 2007). Phenomenological research always begins with a description of an experience and this is most likely to occur through in-depth interviews with participants (Fade, 2004; Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003; Santos & Yan, 2010). Interviews were the key technique I used for collecting data; however,

observations were conducted in conjunction with the interviews. Through the data collection process, I also kept a reflective research journal.

The data collection process occurred in two phases. The first phase included a visit to the farm where I became familiar with its operations and the family members. The second phase was comprised of a series of face-to-face interviews with family members. In the following sub-sections I provide greater details on the two phases and the techniques that I used for collecting data.

3.4.1 Farm visit phase

Once one of the agritourism principals contacted for the study indicated their willingness to participate and we established a convenient date to meet at the farm, I had a tour of the farm to become more familiar with it. The running of agritourism in Ontario has shown the fall harvest season and Halloween to be one of the busiest times on the year, especially on the weekends. Where possible, the initial visits and tours of the farms took place during regular business hours so I was able to see agritourists engaged in the activities and services being offered. I felt seeing and knowing the dynamics of the operations while doing the familiarization farm visits would provide me with a better feel for the places than seeing them when it was less active or inactive during the off-season. However, I needed to be mindful that this is the principal's livelihood and that I might be interfering with their roles and responsibilities on the farm (i.e., taking them away from minding the cash as the store, or conducting educational sessions for paying customers).

This first phase of data collection was exploratory in nature. When setting up the date for the initial meeting, I asked if it was possible for me to have a tour of the farm when I arrive. A tour helped me become familiar with the farm, the agritourism enterprise and the family involved. During the tour, I observed and listened. Santos and Yan (2010) treat observations as information to assist in providing further probes for interviews as well as helping *make sense of* interview findings. Somewhat related, observations during the farm visit were later used to support, supplement, and put in perspective data I obtained later during the interviews. The visit was captured in my reflective research journal as field notes.

In documenting the farm visit the systematic route taken around the farm was mapped identifying different spaces by activities type (e.g., farm, tourism, family), highlighting significant waypoints where the tour guide told interesting or pivotal stories, or simply points where I felt there had been interesting and informative discussions along the way. I was able to refer back to the transect walks (Chambers, 1992) mapped and described in my reflective research journal to help corroborate stories or put other data into perspective later in the research process. Further, the informal chats along the way assisted with diffusing the formality of conducting research and helped build rapport. I also knew farm families engaged in agritourism are often extroverts (Veeck, Che & Veeck, 2006) extremely proud of their accomplishments and would be very pleased and keen to show me around. Finally, in meeting other members of the farm family during this initial farm visit, I was able to plan and schedule convenient dates with some of them for conducting individual interviews with them.

3.4.2 Face-to-face interviews phase

The second phase was face-to-face interviews with members of each of the farm families. The conducting of the two phases in this study was only sequential in association with each of the farm sites. Therefore, I did not finish up both phases of the data collection with one of the farm families before I proceeded on with data collection from the next farm site. In other words, the visit to farm site #1 has to precede the face-to-face interviews with family members at farm site #1; however, not all the interviews at farm site #1 were completed prior to me visiting farm site #2 and #3 and beginning interviews with family members at these subsequent farms. There was considerable overlapping and going back and forth between the farm sites and family members throughout the data collection phase.

In the interview phase, the intention was to conduct the first face-to-face interview with the agritourism principal on the same day as the tour of the farm. After the initial visit to the farm, I returned to the farm as needed to meet with other adult members of the farm family to complete interviews. The individual interviews with family members sought input from each of them on their personal experiences with agritourism on the farm.

Described by Berg (1989) as simply a conversation with the purpose of gathering information, interviews are especially effective for collecting information when researchers are interested in understanding the perceptions of participants or learning how participants come to attach certain meanings to phenomena. The purpose of the interviews in this study as in other phenomenological studies was to have the participant describe in as faithful and detailed a manner as possible their experience of the situation (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003).

I looked to keep the interviews casual, akin to informal encounters, more like conversations. A more conversational environment put the participant at ease. Further, I wanted the interviews to be active and a site of knowledge production and discovery rather than a conduit for extracting answers (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003; Holstein & Gubrium, 2003). Berg (1989) suggests a more informal or chit chat feel to interviewing helps establish rapport. In such an approach the interviewer begins with the assumption that s/he does not know in advance all of the questions and therefore cannot predetermine a full list of questions. It also assumes that not everyone involved in the interviews will necessarily find equal or shared meaning in like-worded questions. This approach specifically advocates the interviewer to adapt and generate questions and follow-up probes appropriate to a given situation in keeping with the overall purpose of the research.

Silverman and Marvasti (2008) provide a similar explanation where the interviewer and interviewee in concert generate plausible accounts, or artifacts, of the world through their dialogue. The central artifact created is the data provided as stories or narratives through which participants describe their world (Silverman & Marvasti, 2008). Active interviewing, as described by Holstein and Gubrium (2009), are social encounters where knowledge and meaning are constructed collaboratively. Further, the production of meaning is as important as the meaning produced. Active means attending more to the ways in which knowledge is assembled than is usually the case in traditional approaches. Understanding how the meaning making process unfolds in the interview is as critical as apprehending what is substantively asked and conveyed. The interview and its participants are constantly developing. Holstein and Gubrium (2009) argue that “from the time one identifies a research topic, to respondent

selection, questioning and answering, and, finally, to the interpretation of responses, (active) interviewing itself is a concerted project for producing meaning” (p. 75).

Active interviewers converse with respondents in such a way that alternative considerations are brought into play (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003). The participants in concert with the researcher actively construct and assemble knowledge and meaning. In the broadest sense, the interviewer attempts to activate the interviewee’s stock of knowledge and bring it to bear on the discussion at hand in ways that are appropriate to the research agenda.

In this study, the interviews began with one pre-determined question, “Can you tell me the story of how your family got into agritourism?” From the descriptions, stories and narratives told by each participant, the interview evolved and touched on three areas being explored in this study: 1) getting into agritourism, 2) operating the enterprise day-to-day, and 3) future aspirations or visions for the farm, family and the agritourism enterprise. Although I anticipated that probing questions would allow me to ask participants to elaborate on what they had already said or to help elicit additional information, a very loose interview guide (see Appendix D) was prepared to help conduct the earlier interviews or when it appeared the interview was stalled or getting off-track. However, I realized allowing the conversations to evolve and shift into new areas was important to explore alternative perspectives and encourage the participant to share their knowledge and experiences (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003). The interviews were not confined to answering predetermined interview questions. The idea of the interview was to provide an environment conducive for eliciting and highlighting experiences that address concepts and issues of relevance to this study. It was an added responsibility for me as the interviewer to direct and harness the participant’s constructive storytelling to the research task required (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003; Silverman & Marvasti, 2008).

Also interwoven into the interviews were observations. In phenomenology, interviewing and observation frequently go hand in hand (Fade, 2004; Smith et al., 2009). Zealand (2007) notes “observation is as much a part of the interview as interviewing is part of observing” (p. 106). A major advantage of observation as a technique is its directness and when it is unobtrusive it is non-reactive between the observer and the observed (Robson,

2002). By being open to the non-verbal cues during the interview, I became aware of areas that elicited emotional responses and could steer the interview in ways to either capitalize or re-direct our conversation to get a deeper understanding about a particular experience. In addition to helping guide the interview, observations also complemented or challenged information I was being told.

The interviews were audio-taped so they could be transcribed verbatim. Audio-taping of the interviews also allowed me to return to the raw data in its original form as often as necessary during analysis (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003; Silverman & Marvasti, 2008; Smith et al., 2009). The capturing of the stories and narratives shared between the participant and the researcher in a verbatim transcript is critical in phenomenology. Once the data were transcribed, data collection and analysis merged.

3.4.3 Transcripts

After each of the interviews was completed a transcript was prepared within two weeks (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003; Smith et al., 2009). Beyond capturing all the words spoken during the interview, the transcripts included notes of notable non-verbal utterances (e.g., laughter), significant pauses, and hesitations (Smith et al., 2009). Also, upon first reading the verbatim transcripts I inserted, where appropriate, any observed non-verbal cues I captured immediately after the interview in my reflective research journal.

Each of the transcripts and subsequent analysis was saved into its own Microsoft Word file. Each file had three columns with the first column on the left being the largest one where the raw transcribed interviews were copied, the middle and far right columns to start remained empty but were used during data analysis.

3.4.4 Reflective research journal

The purpose of the reflective journal was two-fold. In the first instance, it was a place to capture observations from the farm visits and during the face-to-face interviews. Fade (2004) indicates that it is helpful to keep field notes describing non-verbal cues or communications and the researcher's general impressions, such as the tone of the interview and the participant's ability to retrieve information during the conversation. Through

capturing the non-verbal cues in a journal, these could then be inserted into the raw verbatim transcripts immediately after transcription. These notes provided a richer account of the interview and were helpful when interpreting the data (Fade, 2004).

The second purpose of the journal was to document the research process and my practices as a researcher while reflecting critically on those processes and practices (Ortlipp, 2008). Smith and colleagues (2009), recommended a diary or research journal be used to document and regularly record descriptions of the analysis process actually followed. Ortlipp (2008) states, “keeping self-reflective journals is a strategy for facilitating reflexivity, whereby researchers used their journal to examine personal assumptions and goals and to clarify individual belief systems and subjectivities” (p. 695). For example, such self-reflection prompted me to make changes in my approach, to use different methods not initially planned for, or to discard pre-determined lines of inquiry that I had anticipated were critically important at the outset of this study while developing new probes and lines of inquiry.

Reflective practice is also associated with learning from experience and is a continuous process. Gibbs’ (1988) reflective cycle is fairly straightforward and encourages a clear description of the situation, analysis of feelings, evaluation of the experience, analysis to make sense of the experience, conclusions where other options are considered, and reflection upon experience to examine what you would do if the situation arose again. In this sense, the journal was the place where I could note specific issues that arose or for recording impressions, opinions and thoughts. In doing this it kept my personal perceptions separate from the transcripts so these did not interfere or biases the meanings and essences offered by the participants (Hycner, 1985; Smith et al., 2009). However, the initial thoughts and impressions I captured in the journal, for instance from the farm visits or interviews, turned out to be useful during the analysis stage of the research process.

3.5 Data Analysis

Although analysis is without question the most difficult aspect of any qualitative research project, it is also the most creative. Qualitative analysis cannot be undertaken

quickly, neatly, or lightly, but this should never be viewed as a liability or limitation, rather this characteristic is perhaps its greatest strength (Berg, 1989, p.42). In phenomenology, there is a reluctance to be prescriptive or to advocate a single or correct method/process of data analysis (Hycner, 1985; Smith et al., 2009). In fact, a central tenet of phenomenological data analysis is healthy flexibility (Smith et al., 2009). As such, phenomenological data analysis is characterized by a set of common processes (e.g., moving from the individual to the shared, and from the descriptive to the interpretative) and principles (e.g., a commitment to an understanding of the participants' point of view and a focus on personal meaning-making in particular contexts) which are applied flexibly (Smith et al., 2009).

It was anticipated the data collection and analysis steps within this study would overlap considerably. For instance, many of the interviews with family members occurred while preliminary data analysis was occurring. The overlap between steps in the research process had its benefits because it allowed me the opportunity to probe deeper in the interviews carried out later in this study and elicited further details on preliminary ideas I believed were emerging. This additional probing helped confirm and further develop essences, it also raised questions or illuminated variations when insights from subsequent interviews disagreed or expressed difference experiences from those elicited in earlier interviews. The final stages of analysis; however, were concerted effort taking place after all the interviews were done and transcribed, in what Halldórsdóttir and Hamrin (1997) explained as analysis “for bringing final order to previously developed ideas” (p. 122).

Smith and colleagues (2009), in drawing upon suggestion by others, describes phenomenological analysis as an iterative and inductive cycle. I used the following strategies suggested by Smith and colleagues (2009) for Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) for conducting the analysis:

- The close, line-by-line analysis of each transcript for experiential claims, concerns, and understandings of each participant.
- The identification of emergent patterns (i.e., themes) within this experiential material, emphasizing convergence and divergence, commonality and nuance, usually first for single cases, and then subsequently across multiple cases.
- The development of a “dialogue” between the researcher, their coded data, and their inter-disciplinary knowledge, about what it might mean for

participants to have these concerns, in this context, leading in turn to the development of a more interpretative account.

- The development of a structure or frame which illustrates the relationships between themes.
- The organization of all this material in a format which allows for analyzed data to be traced right through the process, from initial comments on the raw transcripts, through initial clustering and thematic development, into the final structure of themes.
- The development of a full narrative, evidenced by a detailed commentary on data extracts, which takes the reader through the interpretations, usually theme-by-theme, and is often supported by some form of visual guide.
- Reflections on one's own perceptions, conceptualization and processes. (p.79-80)

Next, I provide greater detail on the steps I ended up carrying out as the data was analyzed.

3.5.1 Listening, reading and re-reading

As a first step, I immersed myself in the original data, specifically the raw transcripts. This included listening repeatedly to the audio-recordings of an interview and then once the transcribing was completed reading and re-reading the transcripts over and over. It is at this point that I added into the raw transcripts any observed notes I recorded after the interviews in my reflective journal. The researcher should read and re-read again the entire description and perhaps also listen to the audio-recording of the interview to get a sense of the whole (Berglund, 2007; Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003). The phenomenological perspective is holistic and it is necessary to know the overall sense of the description before embarking on the next step (Berglund, 2007, Smith et al., 2009).

3.5.2 Exploratory comments /Establishing meaning units

As the most time consuming step in the analysis, establishing meaning units was one of the most critical (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003; Smith et al., 2009). This step looked at the description, language and content use by the individual. By maintaining an open mind, I noted anything of interest within the transcript. In this step, my familiarity with the transcript increased and I began to identify specific ways the individual participant talked about, understood and thought of the experience. While reading through the transcripts I underlined specific phrases or words being used by the participant when describing their

experiences with agritourism. I also used different coloured highlighters to note sections of the transcript that provided descriptive characteristics of the participant's experience and another highlighter for text related to conceptual comments.

Conceptual comments were aspects of the transcripts where I paused to think about the phenomenon personally, either in context to what I already knew about agritourism and family farming from the literature and previous studies as well as from my own personal experiences. The idea was to separate out and capture any personal thoughts, impressions or feelings I had towards the data in the reflective research journal. In this way, the transcript would remain true to what the participant describes, not what I thought or believed might be true. Later, when carrying out the final steps of analysis or while writing up the findings, these reflections proved beneficial for interpretations and meanings (Hycner, 1985; Smith et al., 2009). On each transcript comments on concepts and key language and phrases used by the participants were then captured in the middle column in the Microsoft Word file.

Engaging with the text was pivotal in this step and I continually went back and re-read sections of the transcript from within the perspective of the phenomenon being researched. Every time I noted a shift of meaning in the reading of the description, a notation was made in the exploratory comment column as appropriate along with a brief indication of the meaning. These notes, known as *meaning unit*, are purely descriptive terms that contains specific meanings relevant for the essence (Berglund, 2007). Moreover, meaning units are not theoretically-based, they are merely practical outcomes used for analysis (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003). I continued working line-by-line though each transcript underlining linguistics characteristics, highlighting descriptive sections and finally making notes in the exploratory comment column until the whole description was delineated with specific meaning units.

3.5.3 Developing emergent themes

As the ultimate outcome of a phenomenological analysis is to determine the meanings of experiences, in this step, the whole is parceled down to its essential parts. From this point onwards I worked more with the exploratory comments and meaning units than with the raw data. From here on I began identifying the emergent themes. However, this did not mean I

lost sight of the whole through focusing on the parts of the transcript. The main task at this step was turning notes into themes and this involved producing concise statement of what was important in various components of the transcript (Smith et al., 2009). Themes were usually expressed as phrases which spoke to the essence of the piece and contained enough detail to be grounded while at the same time enough abstraction to be conceptual. The focus is on capturing what is crucial in the text, but inevitably you are also influenced by the whole text (Smith et al., 2009).

The emergent themes were captured in the far right column of the Microsoft Word file for each transcript.

3.5.4 Searching for connections across emergent themes

Focusing on the chronologically developed and ordered themes in the far right hand column of the files from the previous step, I then moved on to analyze how these might fit together across a single case. Effectively, Smith and colleagues (2009) note that you are looking for a means of drawing together the emergent themes and producing a structure which will allow you to point to the most interesting and important aspects of this individual's account. This can be accomplished through reviewing the emergent themes and seeing if some cluster together through looking for patterns and connections between emergent themes through various ways. Smith et al.'s (2009) helpful suggestions were looking for themes which might be *polarizations* (i.e., oppositional relationships between emergent themes by focusing on differences instead of similarity), *numeration* (i.e., taking account of the frequency with which a theme is reported), or *function* (i.e., examining the emergent themes specific function within the transcript, for example, positive or negative presentations). The organizing of themes in more than one way can itself be creative and push the analysis to a higher level (Smith et al., 2009).

In searching for connections across emergent themes, I prepared a graphic representation of each transcript and participant showing the structure of the emergent themes. This showed the analytic thread connecting the themes which had been identified back through the process to specific quotations essentially giving structure to the experiences

of the phenomenon being studied (Berglund, 2007). Further, I wanted to determine what was truly essential about the experiences associated with the phenomenon and then carefully described the most constant, connected meanings belonging to the experience of starting and being in agritourism on their farm for each participant. Giorgi and Giorgi (2003) note it is quite possible that terms not found in the transformed meaning units will be required to describe the structure. Although I attempted to use the language and terms provided by participants for the meaning units and themes where-ever possible, at times improvising and using more generic terms was required.

3.5.5 Moving onto the next transcript

Upon completing analysis of the transcript for one participant, I moved onto another participant's transcript and repeat the process. It was important to treat the next case on its own terms, to do justice to its individuality. Therefore, as far as it was possible, I bracketed the ideas which had emerged from the analyzing of the first (previous) case(s) while working on the next. Allowing new themes to emerge with each case is an important skill and characteristics of phenomenology (Smith et al., 2009).

Although each transcript is treated on its own terms and individually, I soon realized there was merit in carrying out analysis of the transcripts from within each of the family units consecutively. In other words, I carried out the individualized analysis of each of the transcripts for one of the farm sites then moved onto the next step of *looking for patterns across cases* from within one farm family before moving onto analyzing the transcripts for individual members in the next family. Although phenomenology privileges the individual's experience, through pulling together of shared experiences and meaningful structures from across all the family members interviewed essentially created three family-unit cases. This helped to quiet down the volume of data I had to work with. A focus on the "family", rather than the individual, as a unit of analysis is gaining momentum in family business and entrepreneurship research (Rogoff & Heck, 2003; Wright & Kellerman, 2011).

3.5.6 Looking for patterns across cases

Looking for patterns across cases occurred at two levels within this study. The first level included the individuals within each of their families as I looked for patterns across intra-family cases. I did this by laying out all of the graphic representations for only the members of one family developed during the fourth step of analysis and reviewing these to each of the others within the family. While reviewing the intra-family cases I asked: What connections are there? How does a theme from one family member help illuminate it for a different member? Is there a theme from a family member that contradicts another theme in a different case? Which themes are the most constant, compelling, frequent and salient? Asking these questions led to a reconfiguring and relabeling of themes. Once I had completed this step I then created an intra-family graphic representation.

The second level of looking for patterns across cases then relied on the intra-family graphic representations, but continued to privilege the individuals, by looking for patterns across the three families. Again, asking similar questions about connections, contradictions, and which themes were the most salient or different between the families. Asking these questions again lead to a reconfiguring and relabeling of themes and the development, or baling together, of super-ordinate themes (Smith et al., 2009).

These super-ordinate themes were summarized and represented graphically. The graphic representations were shared with each of the farm families. Sharing these with the families helped with verification. Verification confirms whether the participants recognized the phenomenon in its analytic description and if it accurately described and acknowledged their own experience (Halldórsdóttir & Hamrin, 1997).

3.6 Establishing Validity

In the past decade, both tourism and entrepreneurship research have expanded their deployment of qualitative approaches (Berglund, 2007; Pernecky & Jamal, 2010; Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). Nevertheless, both fields of study remain strongly rooted in positivism and continue to show a fondness for more quantitative approaches. As such, determining the validity and reliability of qualitative, and specifically phenomenological, research within a

quantitative dominated climate is challenging and problematic (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Pernecky & Jamal, 2010; Smith et al., 2009). Simply evaluating qualitative research using criteria which are applied to quantitative research is inappropriate (Smith et al., 2009), so ways of evaluating the validity of qualitative research is nonetheless desirable, but “must be radically reformulated if it is ever to serve phenomenological research well” (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, pp. 179-80).

As such, in order to establish validity in this study, I laid out from the outset a systematic procedure for collecting and analyzing data which followed IPA. Further, during the study, I documented in my reflective research journal what actually occurred in relation to what was envisioned. I believe following IPA and then further documenting my own experience has addressed the need to see behind the scene of how this research really occurred therefore helping others build on existing knowledge and approaches in their own studies (Berglund, 2007; Ortlipp, 2008; Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). The limited use of qualitative research for policy development may also be dispelled through demonstrating a systematic procedure was followed and making it transparent for scrutiny. Furthermore, in being transparent about the process actual followed it made apparent the evidence found or any biased views I might have held which could have possibly influencing the direction of the findings.

In addition, the participants themselves were asked to review and provide feedback on two occasions. In February, 2012, while attending an annual OFFMA event I provided a representative of each of the families with preliminary findings (see Appendix E for follow-up cover letter to family representative). Handing the preliminary findings over in person also provided an opportunity to reconnect with the participating families. I asked the family representatives to review this material with other family members and to provide me with any feedback or concerns they might have by no later than March 15, 2012. No feedback or concerns were received.

Once I had completed the entire analysis I prepared packages for each individual participant in the study. In July, 2012, I visited each of the three farm sites and delivered these packages to the individuals interviewed. Each package contained a copy of the

preliminary findings, a copy of the dissertation abstract, and finally the narratives I wished to include in the findings (see Appendix F for follow-up cover letter to individual family members). Each interview participant was asked to review this material and provide me with any feedback or concerns. Again, I received no comments or concerns back from any of the participants.

Chapter 4

The Participating Family Members and Farms

*If farming is in my blood can I have a transfusion?
~Anonymous Farmer*

4.1 Introduction

A total of 17 individuals from three different family farms engaged in agritourism participated in this study. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce and make you familiar with the participants and their farms. In doing this I provide an overview of the demographics of the participants and then give a narrative description of each of their farms. Finally, the chapter is summarized by a few final thoughts about how the demographics of the participants and the characteristics of their farms might influence the start up and embracing of agritourism.

4.2 The Family Members

As intended in the study design, three farm sites were recruited for this study and combined within the three families were 22 immediate family members. From the total number of people possible for inclusion in this study 17 individuals ultimately agreed to participate. Table 4.1 provides characteristics oneach of the 17 individualswho participated in the study and were interviewed between October, 2010 and February, 2011.

The final sample included seven individuals out of a possible eight family members from Farm A, four of seven family members from Farm B, and six of the seven members from Farm C. All of the family members across the three farms who were principal owners and/or actively engaged in managing agritourism on their farms at the time of the study were interviewed. I had a mixture of success in contacting and securing participants amongst the family members not employed or living on the farm. My success in contacting family members off the farm or marginally involved in the farm were contingent on being given names and contact information (*e.g.*, emails or phone numbers) by other family members.

Table 4.1 Characteristics of the Family Members Participating in the Study

Farm	Individual Family Member	Sex	Age	Education (area of study)	Married/ Children	Lives on farm
A	Father – Co-owner Agritourism Principal	M	62	College (Agriculture)	M/5	No
	Mother - Co-owner Agritourism Principal & Teacher	F	60	College (Education)	M/5	No
	Son 1– Farmer	M	37	College (Agriculture)	M/4	Yes
	Son 3 - Self-employed off the farm *	M	32	University (Agriculture)	M/3	No
	Third son’s wife/ Daughter- in-law *	F	32	College (Interior Design)	M/3	No
	Daughter 1- Employed off the farm/	F	29	University (Business)	S/0	No
	Daughter 2- Agritourism Successor	F	29	University (Speech Therapy)	M/0	Yes
B	Father - Farmer *	M	65	Post-grad (Agriculture)	M/4	Yes
	Mother - Teacher *	F	64	College (Education)	M/4	Yes
	Son 2- Agritourism Principal	M	36	Some University (General Arts)	M/0	Yes
	Daughter-in-law/Second Son’s wife	F	34	College (Design & Marketing)	M/0	Yes
C	Father - Agritourism Principal/Farmer	M	51	University	M/5	Yes
	Mother - Agritourism Principal/Farmer	F	51	High school	M/5	Yes
	Daughter 1 - Agritourism Successor	F	25	University	S/0	No
	Son 1- Agritourism Successor	M	20	High school	S/0	Yes
	Daughter 2 - Employed off the farm	F	24	University	S/0	Yes
	Daughter 3 - Student	F	22	Some University	S/0	No

Notes: 1. * indicates individuals who were interviewed together, as couples.
2. The family members highlighted in red where the members who were not contacted or refused to be interviewed as part of the study.

Ultimately, I was not provided with contact information and therefore was unable to connect with three family members living off the farm at Farm B, as well as the youngest son at Farm C who does live on the farm. In the fifth and final case of an immediate family member not being part of this study, I was given contact information for the second son at Farm A. The second son was contacted but he declined to participate. Table 4.2 provides characteristics on each of the five family members who were not interviewed as part of this study. It was unfortunate I was unable to secure interviews with these five family members who are less engaged and/or living off the farm in the final sample. I am sure their insights would have added other dimensions to the findings.

Table 4.2 Characteristics of Family Members Not Interviewed

Farm	Individual Family Member	Sex	Age	Education (area of study)	Married/ Children	Lives on farm
A	Son 2 – employed off the Farm/Partner in Winery	M	35	University (Business & Agriculture)	M/2	No
B	Son 1– employed off the farm	M	Late 30s	University (unknown)	M/2	No
	Son 3 – employed off the farm	M	Mid 30s	University (Computer Science)	S/0	No
	Daughter – employed off the farm	F	28	University (Nursing)	S/0	No
C	Son 2 - Student	M	18	High school	S/0	Yes

The final sample when divided up amongst the founding and succeeding generations revealed possible connections between starting up agritourism and life stages. The founding generation, being the parents, included six individuals in this study. The founding generation had an average age of 58.8 years and was equally split between men and women (*e.g.*, fathers/husbands and mothers/wives). The husbands/fathers were all full-time farmers and their average age was slightly higher at 59.3 years, than the average age for the founding generation. Two of the three wives/mothers had been teachers, with the third

wife/mother at Farm C had farmed full-time along with her husband. All three of the mothers had split their adult lives between work and staying home on the farm to raise their families.

The other eleven individuals participating in this study formed the succeeding or next generation. The succeeding generation could be further sub-divided into immediate familial children (9 siblings) comprised of four sons and five daughters; and two daughters-in-law. Six of the nine siblings have taken on active roles at their family's farms as adults. There were three brothers and three sisters working amongst these three farms. The average age of the siblings in the succeeding generation working on the farm was 28.2 years. The remaining three siblings (2 daughters and 1 son) who I interviewed had full-time jobs off the farms. These siblings working and living off the farm did state during their interviews that they do come out to the farms to help out on occasion, however, they did not derive their livelihood from the farm, as did their siblings who were working at the farm.

Overall farm operators in Ontario, as in the rest of Canada, are getting older with the average age of Ontario farm operators being 54.5 years (Statistics Canada, 2012). The 2011 Census of Agriculture found that 48 percent of all Canadian farmers are 55 years of age or older, the highest percentage it has been since data on farmer characteristics began being collected in 1991 (Statistics Canada, 2012). Meanwhile, the percentage of farm operators under 35 years of age has fallen to an all time low of 8.2 percent (Statistics Canada, 2012).

While the demographic information provided is consistent with the 17 individual family members from the three farms who participated in this study, their real names and that of their farms' have been omitted. To ensure the anonymity of the participants each person is defined by whether s/he was part of Farm A, B or C as well as her/his family position. Thirteen of the 17 individuals who participated in the study were interviewed one-on-one. The remaining four preferred to be interviewed as couples. One of the couples interviewed belonged to the founding generation, being the husband and wife at Farm B; while the other couple interview involved the third son and his wife at Farm A, and they are part of the succeeding generation. I interviewed each participant only once. On average interviews were 56 minutes in length and ranged from the shortest interview being 28 minutes and the longest

lasting 2 hours and 20 minutes. In total, eighteen and a half hours of audio recorded data were collected from all of the interviews.

Interviews with the agritourism principals did not always occur on the same day as the initial farm site visit as I had anticipated. The initial farm visits occurred in the fall of 2010 while these farms were still open to the public. My initial visits occurred during the weekdays often while school groups were visiting the farms. The amount of time required from one person to show me around the farm as well as to be interviewed on the same day was very difficult. As such, only at Farm B did the initial farm visit and interview with the agritourism principal occur on the same day. All other interviews with the family members occurred on separate days when and where it was convenient for each one of them. Interview locations chosen by those family members who either owned or were managing the agritourism farms occurred in the farm markets. Whereas the interviews completed with the other family members were held in farmhouse kitchens or at coffee shops and cafes.

4.3 The Farms

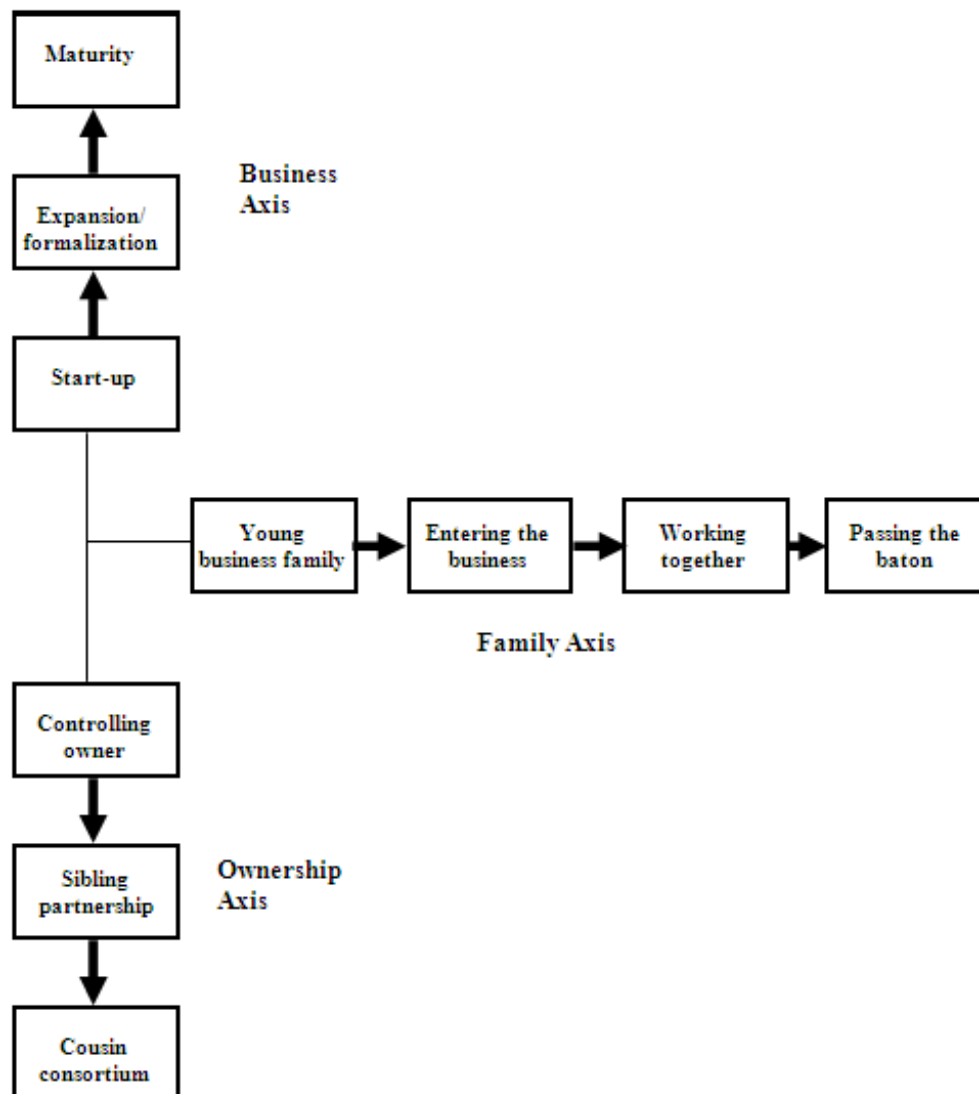
Gersick, Davis, Hampton and Lansberg (1997) developed a complex family business development model based on three dimensions represented along different axes of the model. As shown in Figure 4.1, the model had three axes – ownership, business, and family. The individual stages along each of the axis correlate to basic characteristics or components important to the family business. The stages are connected to various stages of the family lifecycle, which are captured along the family axis, as well as phases of business development, captured along the ownership and business axes.

Although it was not my original intent to employ this model within my study, it proved useful during the initial phase of the analysis. The model helped contextualize the stage of business development of each of the agritourism enterprises and where the families were positioned along the ownership and family axes.

All of the farms were entrenched in the “working together” stage found along the family axis. Unsurprising perhaps, given the multi-layered criteria and robust selection used in this study to identify multi-generational farm families who were working together. Gersick

et al. summarized some of the potential challenges faced by family businesses at the “working together” stage as: fostering communications and productive conflict management across generations, and managing the roles and responsibilities of work between the generations working together (Gersick et al., 1997; Getz et al., 2004).

Figure 4.1: Family Business Development Model (Gersick et al., 1997)



Along the ownership axis the farms were again fairly homogeneous, although they straddled the “controlling owner” and “sibling partnership” stages. The farms where these agritourism enterprises operated have been and continue to be clearly owned jointly between spouses. However, management and control of the agritourism components on these farms at present are shared between multiple members of the family.

Interestingly it was along the business axis where the greatest diversity between the three farms occurred. I felt Farm A was at the “maturity” stage as it actively re-branded itself into a destination and considered substantial capital re-investments necessary to renew and update its agritourism product. At the “expansion” stage, Farm B was focused on professionalizing and beginning to strategically plan its agritourism component. Then finally, Farm C, with the sibling partnership, is at the “start-up” stage.

Following each of the initial farm visits I wrote descriptive summaries on each of the farm sites. Each of the descriptive summaries were compiled from background materials off the farm’s website, observations and discussions during the initial farm visits and impressions captured in my reflective research journal throughout the study to provide context for others on each of the farms. In the following sub-sections of this chapter are the descriptive summaries. Along with the written summaries I also developed visual representations, or what I call conceptual illustrations, of each of the farm sites.

After visiting each farm, the conceptual illustrations (see Figures 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5) I constructed portray if one or multiple farms were included at each farm site; showed all the businesses operated at each farm site; and finally, show family members involved in the farms and business activities. In the conceptual illustrations, family members are either embedded when they live and/or work at the farm, or alternatively in circumstances where family members did not live at the farm and are not actively part of its business, they are shown as being off the farm. However, these off farm or inactive family members continue to have some relationship with facets of the farm or its businesses. In the illustrations, any connection these family members have is shown and for each of the farm sites, colours are used consistently to highlight various business entities. For instance, the productive farming entities at each farm site are shown as green spheres. Red is used to depict the agritourism

related activities or distinct agritourism businesses operating at each of the farms. Blue represents other businesses operated at the farm where either facilities or customers are shared between businesses.

Overall, constructing these conceptual illustrations helped show differences from one farm site to another in how family members and farm resources were being incorporated into creating agritourism. The conceptual illustrations also helped me to visualize the farm sites and how the individual family members are involved. These were especially useful as I moved further into stages of the analysis utilizing the interview data.

4.3.1 Farm A– Maturity

I am along for the farm tour with about 30 students from a local urban high school. As is typical of the growing urban area encroaching upon this particular farm, the majority of the students are new Canadians. I listen, as we bump along in the wagon being pulled by a Massey Ferguson tractor on this perfectly crisp fall day, to the students talking about their memories of farms they knew of back in their home countries. Observing the students reactions as the tour continues we moved into a farm animal enclosure where cows, sheep, goats, and chickens can be petted and fed, further demonstrating the cultural divide between how new Canadians and Canadian-born children act and interact with animals when visiting a farm. This particular farm has been in the business of agritourism for a very long time and is considered one of the earlier adopters of agritourism within the area. However, the family members are recognizing that the demographic of their visitors are changing and it is also time for them to consider renewing their product. Renewing products at this farm would not only appeal to new Canadians but also to update and refresh the image of the farm as a destination. The past success of the farm has largely been based on its location along a busy commuter corridor running in and out of Toronto, Ontario's largest city. The construction of a highway by-pass has drastically dropped the number of cars traveling by the farm on a daily basis. As a result, sales in their farm market have plummeted. The encroaching city, changing demographics, and rising competition are all factors causing this farm to re-position itself as an agritourism destination.

With over 200 acres, this farm is located 6 kilometres away from the nearest Tim Horton's, on a regional road at the northern fringes of a fast growing urban area. The farm has been in the family for generations and immediately prior to getting into agritourism in the late 1980s, the agritourism principal milked a small herd of dairy cows and raised cash crops. His wife stayed home while the children were young but professionally she was a teacher and spent most of her career supply teaching. In the 1980s she and the kids sold sweet corn from the farm gate and at local farmers' markets. A desire to get out of the daily chore of milking and seeing the success his wife was having in selling corn directly to the public, the milk quota and dairy herd were sold in 1991. It took about a year after selling off the herd to renovate the ground floor of the dairy barn into a farm market, bakery, and gift shop. The core agritourism enterprise operated by the parents and daughter 2 is depicted as one of the red business entities in Figure 4.2, on the parent's farm. Later on a winery with its own retail outlet was added and is represented by the blue circle in Figure 4.2. Although the winery shares part of the barn for its retail space, it is a separately owned business. Owners of the winery are the father and three sons.

The barn loft has also been renovated and is available for parties, corporate events and school groups. Outside the barn an entrance gate was erected. Visitors wanting into the farm's corn maze, pick-your-own fields, petting area and play structures pay admission. Also, the farm runs by admission only themed events throughout the year. The farm market, agritourism activities and themed events run seasonally; typically opening at Easter and closing December 24th. However, the peak season, when the farm is open 7 days a week, starts with the ripening of strawberries and the pick-your-own (typically mid to late June) through to the hosting of the fall festival in September and October.

As represented by the two red circles representing business entities on the parents' farm, as shown in Figure 4.2, the founding generation own the agritourism farm but jointly manage the agritourism enterprise along with their youngest daughter. The youngest daughter and her husband moved into the farmhouse on the agritourism farm after they were married and the parents shifted their residence to a bungalow situated just down the road from the farm. Other members of the family are involved in different capacities with various

businesses operated at the agritourism farm and another farm within the family. The eldest son and his family live across the road on another farm. The eldest son is the farmer and he grows produce for the farm market, and wholesales produce elsewhere. The farming business within this family is managed by the eldest son and in Figure 4.2 is shown as the green circle, or business entity. The eldest son also owns and manages the pick-your-own operations located on the agritourism farm, as illustrated in Figure 4.2 as one of the two red circles overlapping the core agritourism business entity, the other red circle, operated on the parent's farm. The red circle to the left is the eldest son's pick-your-own and the one on the right the farm store and agritourism enterprise managed by the parents and the youngest daughter in the family. A visitor picking berries at the agritourism farm would be unaware of the separate businesses operating and the arrangements between family members when offering a complete farm experience.

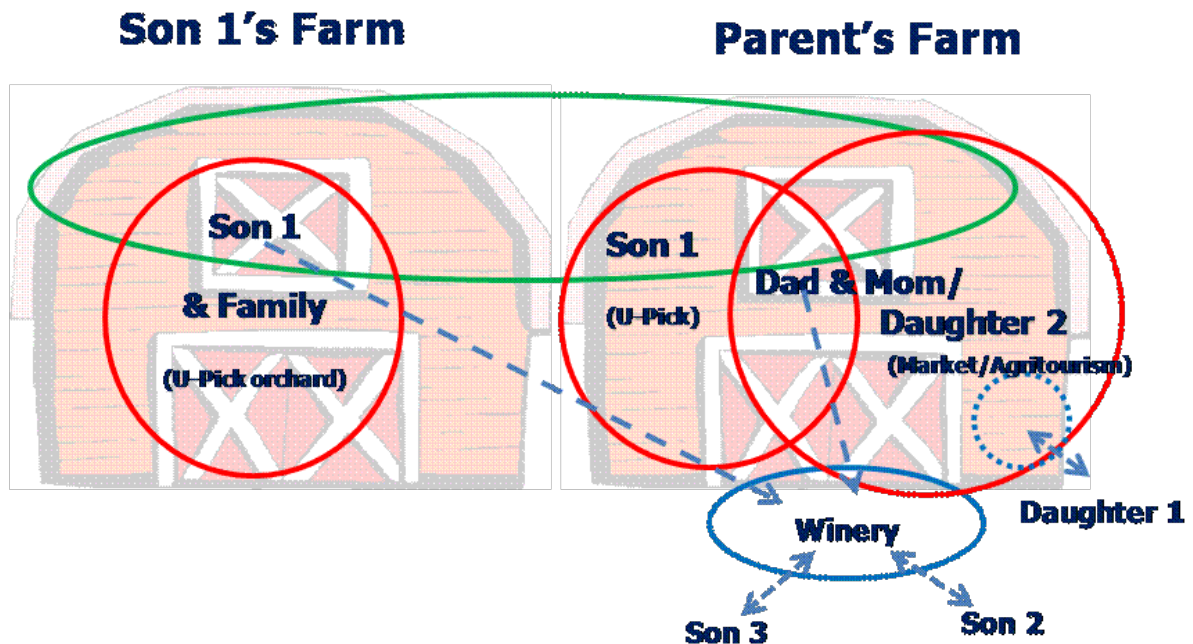
The eldest son also has another independent farm business he recently started on his own farm including an orchard with a pick-your-own apple operation and roadside stand for selling apples and pumpkins. This newest agritourism business operated by the eldest son is represented by the third red circle located solely on the eldest son's own farm.

The other two sons pursue their own careers off the farm, although both have expressed interest in being involved in agritourism at the farm in the past. At the time of this study, however, neither of them had an active role in managing or running agritourism at the family farm. The non-farming brothers, as well as another sister, help out at the farm on occasion. All three of the sons are married and have young children of their own. As already mentioned the eldest son and his family live on a separate farm across the road from the agritourism farm. The second son and his family live about an hour's drive from the farm. The third son lives with his young family in a house he built on a parcel of land still legally tied to the overall ownership of the farm currently worked by his elder brother. In other words, the third son built his house without having clear title to the land it sits on.

The other daughter living and working off the farm is single. She lives about an hour from the farm. A lot of her spare time is spent at the farm. She helps out with agritourism and has in different seasons also operated concession stands and sold specialty products as her

own independent business ventures at the farm. The independent businesses operated by the eldest daughter on occasion at the agritourism farm are illustrated in Figure 4.2 by the dashed blue entity within the core agritourism enterprise.

Figure 4.2 Farm Site A



4.3.2 Farm B - Expansion/Formalization

It is a fall day, mid-week, about noon when I visited Farm B. As I arrived there were numerous school buses loading up young students in the parking lot. The morning school groups had been at the farm to learn about where food comes from, as well as having free time to spend in the corn maze and to play in the farm's new and expanded play area. A turning point in this farm's agritourism offering was creating a fall festival. The festival originally focused on a haunted wagon ride and barn. After a few years the haunted themed events were discontinued and a new farm storyline was introduced. Along with the new story line, the family created a number of different entertainment opportunities and shows on the farm.

Agritourism is run seasonally on Farm B with the opening of the season having been moved earlier into the summer over the past several years. This season the farm opened in June and close at the end of October. The farm has a seasonal farm store, large pick-your-own berries operation, and more recently it has also started selling at local community farmers' markets. The agritourism enterprises, as represented by the red business entity in Figure 4.3, is run on one of the farms owned by the family and is where the one son who owns and manages the agritourism enterprises lives with his wife.

The farm is located 16 kilometres away from the nearest Tim Horton's and is situated at the cross roads of a county road running north-south and a paved concession road traveling east-west. Access to the parking lot for the agritourism farm is off the paved concession road, about half a kilometre from the cross road intersection. The farm is not readily accessible from the more major county road and it is dependent on customers making plans to visit the farm rather than relying on passers by coming in by chance. On the other side of the county road adjacent to the farm is a rural village which over the years has become a bedroom community for commuters heading into Toronto. A new housing subdivision was being built within the village during the time of this study and it was visible for the agritourism farm. However, other than the expanding subdivision to the west of the farm, the area surrounding the farm is very rural. The immediate area is made up of farms and the area has been designated as part of the Ontario Greenbelt.

The family has been farming here for over 125 years and the parents currently live on the original home farm situated across the concession road from the farm used for agritourism. The founding generation moved back to the family farm in the mid 1970s after having worked off the farm for a few years. The father had worked for the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture and the mother was a teacher. The parents settled into farm life and the raising of their family of three boys and one girl. Similar to other farmers at the time, the founding generation purchased other farms as they were sold and secured contractual agreements with local landowners to increase the acreage they had under cultivation. Consolidating farmland built up a good cropping business for the founding generation and as shown in green in Figure 4.3 the father continues to operate his own farming business. He cultivates

approximately 500 acres in a mix of grains and oilseeds, as well as tending to the berries, fruits and vegetables which are sold at the agritourism farm. Several years ago the father hired a local farm boy to help him with planting and harvesting crops. As agritourism has developed as a component of this family's overall farm operation, the hired hand also works directly with the son on his agritourism business. A close relationship with the hired hand has developed and he is very much considered an honorary member of the family. The various businesses run independently by the father and the son do overlap considerably and specifically through the father being the primary producer, or farmer, and him and his hired hand growing the produce marketed and sold by his son.

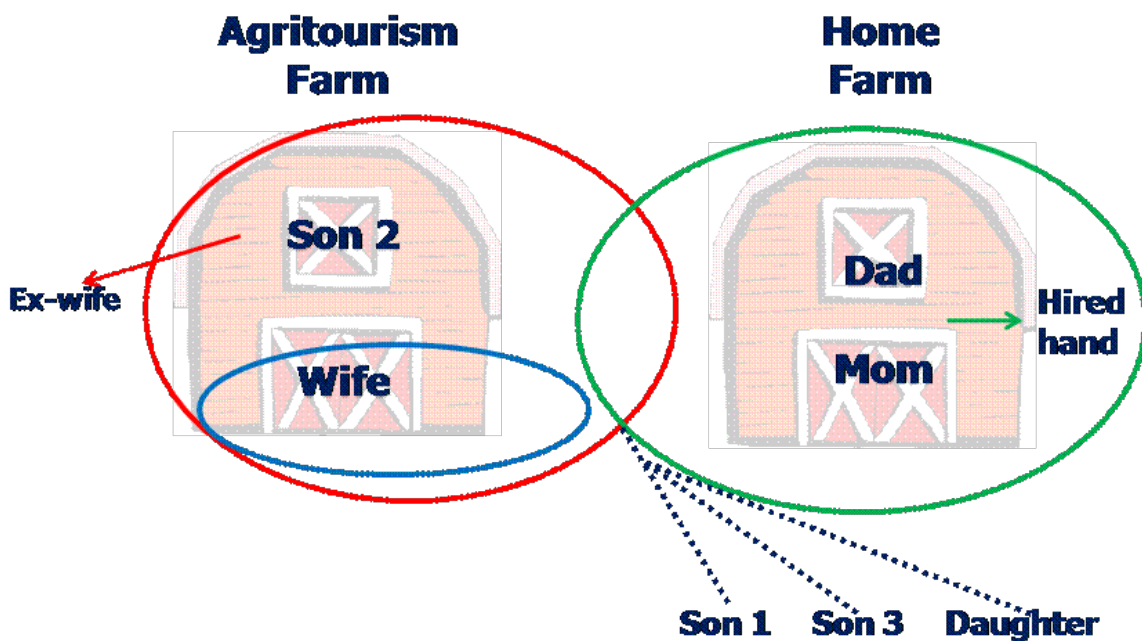
The agritourism principal, who is the second son in the family, decided to return to the farm full-time in the mid-1990s. At the time, he was in his early 20s and had been away from the farm at university for a year. Upon his return the son soon expanded the pick-your-own operation and began developing the agritourism enterprise now operated at the farm. The agritourism principal lives with his family on a farm located to the north of the home farm. This agritourism farm was previously owned by an aunt and uncle. It was purchased by the parents in the 1980s as part of them consolidating farmland they were leasing and farming at that time. The agritourism principal is divorced but his first wife continues to have a silent business interest in the agritourism farm. In the past year the agritourism principal remarried and he and his second wife are expecting their first child in the spring.

The eldest son in this family has settled in the southern United States with his wife and two children. Other than being interested in the farm doing well the eldest has no involvement in the farms. The other two siblings have professional careers off the farm, were unmarried when this study was carried out and each one lives about an hour's drive away from the farm in the city. Both the third son and the daughter help out when they are available and make concerted efforts to be at the farm on busy weekends in the fall.

Within this farm family there are numerous businesses operating. As already described and shown in Figure 4.3, the father cultivates approximately 500 acres in cash crops. The agritourism enterprise is operated as a partnership between the founding generation and the second son and his wife. The son's ex-wife maintains a limited interest in

the agritourism enterprise. In Figure 4.3 another business entity, shown in blue, was owned solely by the current wife/daughter-in-law. Six years ago, when she began working at the agritourism enterprise, she had sole proprietorship of another business she had created years earlier. As she became more involved in branding and co-managing the agritourism enterprise her own business began to be combined and cross-promoted with the agritourism enterprise on the farm. Just in this past year the two businesses were formally merged.

Figure 4.3: Farm Site B



4.3.3 Farm C – Start-up

Fresh baking mingles with the sweet smells of chocolate as I sit and talk with the father and then the eldest son in the midst of the newly renovated and restarted farm market at Farm C. After a decade of downsizing and essentially discontinuing agritourism on their farm in order to concentrate on the needs of a growing family and attend to the requirements of producing a profitable cash crop, agritourism is being restarted at this farm. The cash crop business owned and managed by the founding generation on this farm is shown in green in Figure 4.4. The agritourism business is shown with the red business entity in Figure 4.4. The

eldest daughter and son were the catalyst for the family getting back into agritourism.

Although other siblings were interested in the agritourism side of the farm, it was the two of them who initiated the idea with their family of re-establishing the farm market as their own business. The children's own fond memories of growing up on the farm and playing with their friends in the corn maze, getting their faces painted and other fun agritourism type attractions on their farm were influential in getting them interested in re-starting the business. Although it was two of the five siblings who were interested to start, family conversations lead to establishing a collaborative partnership between the five siblings for a trial period of three years. The temporary business structure allows all the siblings an opportunity to be part of the business and involved in different capacities. There is also an understanding that at the end of the trial period the family will re-evaluate their own situations and collective interest in continuing the partnership.

This farm is located on a very well traveled paved county road and it is less than 4 kilometres away from the nearest Tim Horton's. The family has farmed this land for five generations. In the early 1980s when the father returned from university to farm full-time he planted the first raspberry canes and a temporary farm stand was put up. When the founding generation took over the farm from his parents they added a pick-your-own. In 1990 a permanent farm market was built on a separate lot a short walk away from the farm house. With the permanent farm market a fall festival, pumpkin patch, school tours and other seasonal agritourism activities were quickly added; however, as demands on the founding generation increased as the children were growing up and the cash crop took off, the agritourism component was downsized. Eventually, by 2003 only asparagus and sweet corn were being sold from the building for a few weeks each year, and often the children were in charge of managing the marketing.

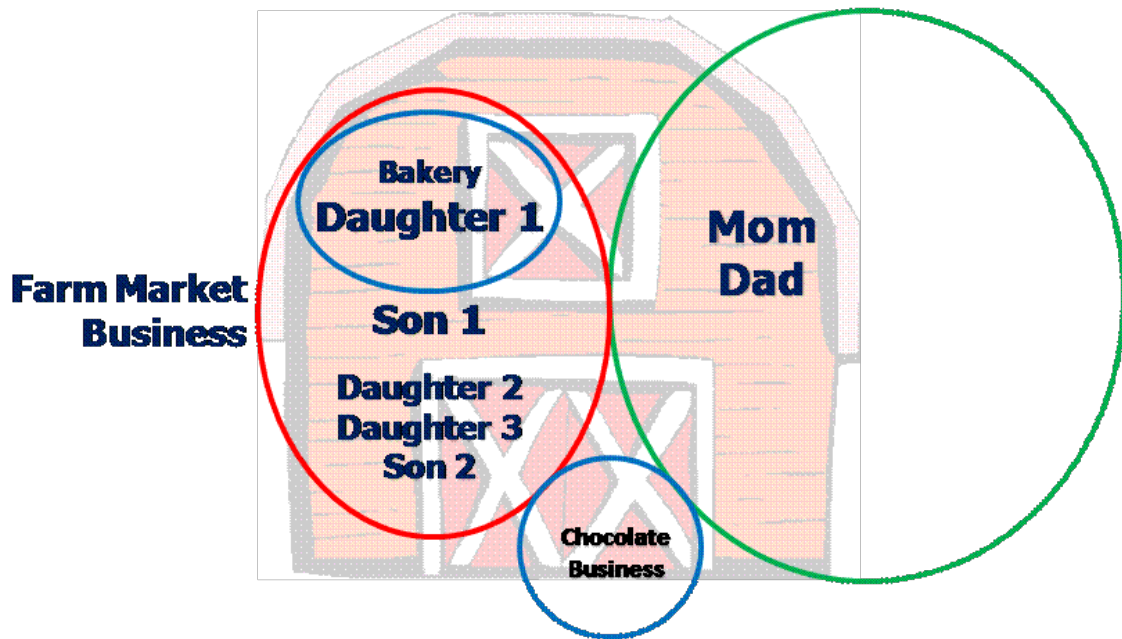
When the eldest daughter finished university and the eldest son returned to the farm after a year away at college the idea of re-starting the farm market materialized. Discussions amongst the family quickly lead to forming the five-way sibling partnership. The agritourism business currently operated on Farm C is managed by the siblings. A financial loan was provided by the parents to renovate the building and for start-up capital. There are also lease

agreements between the sibling partnership and the parents on the farm market building and use of some farmland for the re-starting of the agritourism business.

There are five children in this family and at the time of the research they were between their mid teens and late 20s. The eldest daughter had finished her university degree in a non-agricultural field, she was engaged to be married and lived off the farm in a house in town. The second daughter has a degree in agriculture, lives on the farm, has a job off the farm in agriculture and when she is free she also helps in the agritourism enterprise. The third daughter is currently at university completing a degree in agriculture. During the summers she works in the agritourism business and is planning on working there full-time after finishing her studies. The eldest son has taken on the farmer responsibilities for the agritourism enterprise and he lives on the farm. He also works at various times of the year in the cash crop side of the farm operation. The youngest son is still in high school and lives at the farm. He has been an employee of the agritourism enterprise in the summers and on weekends.

At this farm a seasonal chocolate business is also factored into the overall make up of the farm and it is shown by one of the blue business entities in Figure 4.4. The parents started the chocolate business originally as a way to bring in extra income and utilize the slower months of the year when they were not actively farming. With the restart and renovations to the farm market some cross utilization of equipment is occurring between the bakery and chocolate making activities. While growing up the children were employed by their parents in the chocolate business. Finally, the eldest daughter has year round wholesale orders for baking from local cafes. Again, the scratch bakery in the farm market is being used for her secondary business, as shown by the other blue entity in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4 Farm Site C



4.4 Concluding Thoughts

A detailed examination of the demographic characteristics of the participants involved in this study might suggest that the embracing of agritourism on these farms could be connected to different life stages of the founding and succeeding generations. For the founding generation embracing agritourism could be part of their retirement plans and could factor into how the parents might eventually transfer the farm to their children. For the succeeding generation, interest in returning to the family farm might be connected to them choosing a career path. The children in these families, at least temporarily, left the farm for post-secondary education. A few have even worked off the farm for a period of time. However, a desire to return to the family farm, as adults, to settle down and start their own families might coincide with when agritourism started up or grew on their farms.

The aging of Canadian farmers and the decline in young people interested in staying in or getting into farming concerns Canadian agricultural economists and the agricultural community. The historic trend of young people leaving rural areas for education and careers is well documented and has had devastating effects over the last 50 years on the health and

vitality of rural communities (Essex et al., 2005). The founding generation farming at these farms was older, 59.3 years, than the provincial average (54.5 years). Further the interest and active role six members of the next generation within these families were taking in the farm in their 20s and 30s is encouraging. It is also interesting that both sons and daughters were expressing an interest in having careers on the farm. Perhaps this suggests the founding generation is dealing with or at least giving due consideration to how it might transfer the farm to the next generation within the family. The children returning to these farms might also suggest sons and daughters of this next or succeeding generation are confident they can have fulfilling career in farming and are optimistic about the future of the family farm.

The conceptual illustrations created for each of the farms also were quite revealing. The operating of multiple businesses and the overlapping and intertwining of the different enterprises on these farms showed how highly individualistic and varied the structure of diversified family farms actually are. How agritourism was configured differently within each of these farms and how it was interdependent or separated from other activities on the farm suggests agritourism farms are heterogeneous. Therefore, it is misleading to assume all farms involved in agritourism are structured the same way or that they resemble more traditional family farm structures.

The degree of separation and autonomy between the various enterprises operated at each of the farms is dependent on the unique characteristics of the family and the resources it has available to put towards the development and growth of new activities or distinct enterprises on the farm. The continued operations of large, profitable working farms, in conjunction with or alongside agritourism brings into question the survivalist concept of why farms might diversify into agritourism. The ownership and management structures at each of the farms were also very different. Differences could be attributed to the types and extent of resources available for operating multiple enterprises on the farm as well as how many members of the families were directly involved in operations on the farm.

It also appeared, completely by chance and unintentionally, that the farms participating in this study reflected the distinct stages along the business axis of Gersick et al.'s (1997) family business development model. Farm A with its re-branding and re-

investment into a destination fits in with the maturity stage. At the expansion stage, Farm B is focusing on professionalizing and beginning to strategically plan its business for the future. Then finally, Farm C, with the sibling partnership is in effect in the start-up stage. However, the unique advantage of the sibling partnership drawing upon the resources, knowledge and experience of their parents while it re-starts the agritourism business at this farm might be affecting their business and management approach.

The running of multiple enterprises, some directly tied to conventional agriculture, while others were completely unrelated to farming, should not be lost. Starting and operating numerous enterprises from each of the farms may be an indicator of an entrepreneurial spirit and mindset within these families. Or perhaps a farm family's experience in one business activity can be informative and a catalyst for it starting another one. The conceptual illustrations of each of the farms illustrated, nonetheless, that when agritourism is added to a working family farm its integration, incorporation and management in conjunction with the rest of the farm is different from one farm situation to the next. The substantial difference and heterogeneity in how agritourism gets established, integrated, and embedded into each of these individual farms must reflect on how the families perceive agritourism.

Chapter 5

The Experiential Bales Farm Families Associate with Agritourism

Admission was our best crop this year.

~Ernie Muzylowsky, Apple Land Station, 2010 OFFMA Bus Tour

5.1 Introduction

Providing feed for livestock involves decisions between making bales or silage. To ensure a sufficient supply of fodder, farmers must stack bales undercover in a barn or store silage in a silo. Similar to storing livestock feed, conducting research into a phenomenon poses choices, for instance, between following quantitative approaches which essentially compartmentalize ideas through counting, frequencies and statistical testing, or alternatively, choosing a more qualitative approach. Many extant studies into agritourism have followed the quantitative approach and in so doing have essentially put into silo the most frequent reasons found causing farmers to diversify into agritourism. As a socio-economic response the act of diversifying a working farm is actually more complex and dynamic. Like baling, where cut grasses are exposed to the elements to dry out before being bundled together to form bales, qualitative approaches can address the complexity and dynamic nature of agritourism. As such, a qualitative approach and in particular a phenomenological one was used in this study and 20 themed experiences have been bundled describing the lived experience of the three families embracing agritourism on their farms. These themed experiences were further baled into six super-ordinate themes, or “experience bales” found to be experiences and essential structures recurring across the three farm families.

The six super-ordinate themed “experience bales” provide a deeper understanding of the distinct experiences these families associated with agritourism on their family farms, and are as follows:

- *Retailing, Educating, Entertaining* describing agritourism;
- *Being the Face of Farming* the re-connecting of farms and farmers to consumers;

- *We are the farm* covers impressions about how agritourism is retaining and sustaining a farming identity while introducing unique challenges associated with embracing agritourism on the farm;
- *Family Comes First* speaks to the prevalence of economics as a reason for embracing agritourism, while also further exploring agritourism's role in sustaining the family farm;
- *Coming Home* focuses on the inseparability of the farm as a place of residence and work where new challenges, opportunities, and attitudes towards intergenerational transfer of the farm emerge; and finally,
- *Becoming an Agritourism Farm* captures the incremental process and key watershed moments associated with the switch into agritourism on the family farm.

Although I have attempted to keep each “bale” distinct as I outlined the findings and further took an interpretative stance on what these findings might illuminate about the phenomenon, at times it proved difficult, and, to some extent undesirable, to keep the themes separate and distinct. Similar to transporting and storing bales, the strength, stability and integrity of the haystack comes through overlapping individual bales with one another. Ultimately, through the overlapping and interconnecting of the experience bales a more robust understanding of the dynamics of embracing agritourism on the family farm was revealed. Further, the impacts agritourism is having on the farm and the family became apparent and more easily understood.

5.2 Retailing, Educating, Entertaining

To begin, the language and terminology the family members used when describing the diversified activities undertaken on their farms more often than not involved common everyday terms - retail, education and entertainment. It was uncommon for the family members to refer to these activities as “agritourism” or even broadly as tourism. They also catered to “customers” and not visitors. The activities were viewed more as everyday occurrences possibly because agritourism is new, unfamiliar or unreflective of what these farms are doing:

It's agritourism now. Back when we started agritourism wasn't even thought of, it was your Halloween haunt. Yeah, agritourism you can put a spin on it to whatever you want it to be. Is it having honey bees and letting

somebody come in and see the hive and having an observation hive in the corner of your store? Is it doing school tours, birthday parties. Is it what we got? ... Agritourism's big. It's pretty broad. (Dad - Farm A)

The large range of activities and events possible as agritourism can be confusing. More rudimentary to these families was that their diversified operations were first and foremost a way to attract the public back to the farms.

It's like coming back into farming which I think is crazy It's really good because it's how to get people interested and you can teach people and everything like that but that only interests fifty percent who want to learn and fifty percent want to just have fun. (Son-Farm C)

New activities had to appeal to a variety of customers, some identified as visiting the farm to have fun, others to learn, while still others might only be interested in purchasing farm fresh produce. The ability of agritourism to attract people to the farm and turn them into loyal, returning customers departs from tourism visitors. Unlike basic farming, farm families in agritourism are involved in customer service and need to be people oriented:

You have to be customer ready You can't really be in this business unless you enjoy being with people and working with people. (Dad- Farm B).

The disconnection between producers and consumers perpetuated by modern farming precludes knowing your customer let alone the possibility of building relationships with them.

These farm families relished the opportunity of re-engaging with people and the local community. They quickly realized they had to be responsive and customer-ready in their outlook when they opened their farms up to customers. The easiest way to re-engage was through offering an everyday activity to - shop, learn and have fun at the farm.

5.2.1 Retailing

Providing retail and shopping opportunities was definitely amongst the primary activities identified at these farms. The direct retailing of produce is an integral component, either through farm stores, scratch bakeries, pick-your-own operations, or even

off the farm activities, such as selling at local community farmers' markets. All the agritourism principals as well as most of the other family members directly involved in agritourism strongly identified with retailing: "I hate to use the word romantic but there's something about this retailing farming that was really attractive," (Dad - Farm C).

The launch into retail was often a result of not wanting to continue wholesaling farm grown produce. Rather, selling direct to the public was viewed as offering better returns and a chance to make connections with the people eating your farm's produce and goods. Through his observations of others that had switched into agritourism, and the degree of interaction with the public involved, this father explained it took him quite some time before he finally felt ready to take on agritourism:

I have to admit I sat on my hands for two or three years over that. Yeah, I just thought do I really want all this, THIS? You have to analyze yourself a little bit and say well once you open your farm for pick your own you're, you're on the front line here 24/7 it seems like for 18 hours a day. (Farm B – Dad)

Once started into retailing their own produce, chances were good additional products would be added, for instance, jams, preserves, baking, crafts, or giftware. Nonetheless, shopping at the farm had to remain different and unique from simply going to grocery stores:

I think when you have that kind of thing it's the whole farm experience because a lot of people are so withdrawn from agriculture now. It's just something that people come and see the whole farm experience. It's not like shopping at a grocery store. (Daughter 3-Farm C)

On the other farms various opportunities were identified where new product lines or complimentary goods had been added. Conversations with existing customers were often the sources of suggestions for new ideas:

.....you're talking to them about what's going on with the farm. That happened when I started to sell corn to the public. I was selling it and people were coming inThey were all interested in what was going on here. (Mom – Farm A).

By building relationships with their customers the family members would discover that some of their regular customer did crafts, preserves or ran their own businesses. Knowing their customers might eventually lead to collaborative business arrangements. After the tape was turned off during my conversation with the eldest son at Farm C he pointed out items in their store which they sell on behalf of friends/customers. “It just makes sense”, he said, “to provide others with an avenue to sell their goods in the farm’s retail space” (Research Journal, December 1, 2010). Likewise, he added that their own farm preserves are sold in other shops around town to get exposure for the farm. When I spoke to one of his sisters, she indicated customers often make good suggestions leading to new ideas and business partnerships:

Several people have said “You should teach a bread making class or a baking class.” We’ve got a facility to accommodate five or six people. So we could do it in the evenings or in the off season.....I have tons of ideas. We’re always looking for something else but I’ve got local girls who are doing crafts. My mother in law is sewing so she’s got some items in there. There’s some home décor type stuff. Just trying to use it as other business and other local people is great. I’m not going to make tons of money on it but it’s a draw for people if they come in for something else. I use your stuff to make gift baskets with our food products. I think there’s a lot of little partnerships we’re looking to build because we have the advantage of having that retail facility. (Daughter 1 - Farm C)

The relationships built and new connections forged between producers and customers creates synergies where the on-going potential to continue innovating and come up with the next ideas is fostered. Farm families considering getting into agritourism should ask themselves if they have the right personalities to be involved with people and be receptive to their customers as potential business partners.

Although the selling of their own produce and farm goods was a catalyst for diversifying into retailing, it was mentioned several times that revenues from direct sales of produce was declining. Decreasing sales of produce were highlighted by two of the farms long established in agritourism. Purchasing habits of customers at both Farm A and B have changed over time. In their early days of being in agritourism, customers were more likely to

come to the farm specifically to pick berries. Whereas today's customers combine picking berries with spending time with family:

We used to have families that would come in and buy baskets and baskets. They'd take them home and make jam, they were for preserving. but as the old people get older and the young people are picking with their children and families, they're only picking a basket. 'Oh, I just want a quart'. They just want to be out there with their kids. People don't freeze and make jam the way they used to. There's still some that do, but when we first started, you'd like, you'd have people come in with baskets and baskets.(Mom - Farm B)

Noting the change in who is visiting their farms as time passed showed that agritourism providers need to be in tune with their customer base. Knowing their customer and being responsive to them also enabled new directions to be taken on the farms to address and meet expectations of customers visiting, such as to learn or have fun. The decline in produce sales may be a result of other activities becoming more popular with the public than going to a farm to purchase produce. Retailing also may be taking on an auxiliary or secondary role due to the development trajectory of agritourism on these farms. This said, two salient components of retailing are currently challenging farm families engaged in agritourism. The first being a need to shift their mind-set to become "price makers", and the second, the local food movement.

5.2.1.1 Price making vs. price taking

Wanting to direct market their own farm grown produce remains an important driving force for starting agritourism. Notwithstanding that, observations made by the families show those entrenched deeply in agritourism are selling less produce per customer. Providing good quality, fresh and tasty farm produce remains important; more so than maximizing farm efficiency through growing or raising large quantities of any one product. As agriculture becomes more specialized and managed through integrated wholesale supply chains, those farm families diversifying into agritourism operate multifaceted operations where selling direct to consumers rejects normal or traditionally accepted farm systems:

We were, we had gone up to quite large berries and we were doing wholesale,but they couldn't pay enough.... to make us happy. You know it seems like, I remember one weekend we had eight hundred flats, and it might have

been the big flats too, in the cooler and they all went. But, oh my gosh we didn't make that much money on them on this wholesale thing (Dad - Farm B).

Farmers recognize they have to change their mind-set to become "price-makers" where they get a fair price and make a decent living.

Yes, entertainment is very profitable when you have volumes of people but really the whole reason that I'm working so hard is just, just to market food. We grow so much of it and you can wholesale it and get half the price for it or you can sell it yourself and get a fair price. (Son – Farm B)

Farmers selling direct to consumers cut out the middleman intrinsic in modern agriculture. However, they also need to re-engage with consumers as customers. Often one member of the family would continue being the farmer while another member becomes responsible for marketing. The importance of the difference between being a price-taker and a price-maker became significant through the telling of this family situation where her brother, who grows the pumpkins sold at their agritourism enterprises, watched a customer buy a very large pumpkin at the father's farm market:

So my dad and brother are sitting there talking. This customer said "How much for this pumpkin?" My dad said "\$25"the customer said "That's a great deal". [The customer] reaches in his pocket and hands my dad the money. [My eldest brother] is sitting there smiling like this is a pretty good deal; never in a million years would you think you'd get that for a pumpkin. Then Dad reaches into his other pocket and grabs out a toonie and says, "Here you go. Thanks for all your hard work." [to her brother]. That's the difference between a producer and retail. (Daughter 1 – Farm A)

5.2.1.2 Local food

More recently, the local food movement might be providing support for the growing and selling of farm fresh produce. Public interest in local foods is seen as a benefit to these farms which are engaged in agritourism:

Yep, and we've in no uncertain terms in the last four years in farming has been our most productive. That's what's fuelling this new market which is this project here. It definitely is because suddenly our prices go up. We can charge a little bit more. People don't balk at the price when you say you grow it yourself. (Son - Farm B)

However, a cautionary undertone was heard about buy local campaigns, the 100 mile diet, foodies and government support promoting Ontario grown produce:

Local, where your food comes from, is a very important, hot topic right now. Like, hopefully it continues to stay that way and it's something you can build on. I hope it isn't a fad that just rolls in and out. But you always wonder that.
(Dad – Farm C)

The local food movement is also increasing the level of connection consumers are seeking with farmers:

It's crazy that people really want to shake hands and know the farmer. So that's really where I feel it's been extremely rewarding. Who knew?(Son – Farm B)

The ability to remain in control of the farm through stepping out of conventional wholesaling and beginning to market their own farm grown produce directly to the public seems to be sustaining autonomy of these farms. However, when taking on retailing, where strong relationships are forged with customers, it leads farm families to take on a price-making mind-set and them accepting new customer service roles. Perhaps, as a result of being responsive to retail customers, or utilizing different skill sets available within the family, another type of activity emerges, being education.

5.2.2 Educating

When open to the public, these farms also provide opportunities for consumers to learn about food production, farming and rural life. Broadly grouped together as “educating”, this was another primary activity identified by these farm families to describe what they were offering:

They have no idea when any of the crops are being grown. Or they come in April and they want sweet corn. People have no idea. They go to the grocery store and they see food all year round. So we're educating the public on what's going on here. (Farm A – Mom)

Hosting school groups was often a stepping stone in how they got into adding educational activities and tours at the farm. Moreover adding opportunities to learn appeared to be directly related to members of the family being teachers. On Farm A and B both mothers were teachers and they had a big part in combining education with agritourism on their own farms as well as in developing school tour programs:

I had been a teacher so I thought, you know, we should have school groups. We should have, you know, we should be teaching about where food comes from, and I'm not just sure when, probably we started the school groups shortly after that, but not in a big way. (Mom - Farm B)

Wanting to educate the public and increase awareness about the importance of farmers, agriculture and rural areas is an altruistic motive identified as why some farms engage in agritourism: "I feel strongly about educating the public about where their food comes from and making sure that we talk about how important Ontario farmers are," (Daughter 2- Farm A). A desire to further dispel misconceptions about farming was also noted:

People are starting to think that farming is turning into a corporation. That farming is commercial now and it's not family rooted. It's not related to a lifestyle anymore, but it is, I'd like to take it back, so to say. [Farming] is important to me and I feel it should be important to people. (Son - Farm C)

Further, interacting with animals on the farm helped customers make the connection about where food comes from:

The parents they don't know. We have a goat walk and the parents thought that was a calf walking to the top. They wanted to know the names of them. I was kidding and I saying well this one's Dinner and that one's Supper. You have to get it across to them that's where your food comes from. They think that where you get eggs from is from the store. They don't realize that it's from the farm. (Mom - Farm A)

Opportunities to educate their customers were important for the family members directly involved in agritourism. Other than hosting school groups, however, education seems to be a relatively minor part of agritourism. For professional educators within the

families adding educational components allowed them to combine their personal skills, as teachers, to agritourism at the farm.

The last activity these farm families were increasingly becoming involved in was entertainment. Farm-themed entertainment is becoming the predominant type of activity associated with agritourism.

5.2.3 Entertaining

As farms progress in providing agritourism the potential to combine their retailing and education components with activities aimed at entertaining their customers, already coming to the farm, was identified. Entertainment, such as organizing special events, shows, festivals or by offering play areas or mazes were all specific activities identified as expanding upon what the farm might already be providing:

We'd run a fall festival and people would come for more than just getting their vegetables and going home. That's what it evolved into once we had the building here. Once we were bringing people for more than buying groceries I guess is how I looked at it. It was an entertainment kind of thing where they'd maybe, [pause] entertainment can be picking your own. Certainly more so with the pumpkins where you walk the whole field and get a wagon ride out to the field. You can get what you want. But still everyone's having fun and you're bouncing along on a wagon. It's all part of the experience kind of thing. (Dad - Farm C)

Entertainment kept current customers at the farm longer, helped attract additional people to the farm and also provided a basis for charging an admission fee. It was not uncommon to hear that the growth or success of agritourism was directly attributed to returns these farms were getting from providing entertainment:

Our growth really started to change after we got into what we call our shows That really started to put us into a different league in terms of our success suddenly our numbers went from, you know, modest numbers to then we started getting large groups of people in and yah now, we are going to have a least 30,000 people out for the Fall. (Son - Farm B)

Adding entertainment increased what customers' children could do at the farm. It was about creating fun places appealing for families:

.... we're trying to do more things and have more events because people come here for the events. They come here with their families, when they think of [our farm] they think of family and family fun. So we need to do more stuff and even more eventsto bring more people here with their families.
(Daughter 2 – Farm A)

5.2.3.1 Disconnected from tourism

In my conversations with the families, the term entertainment came up more often than tourism or agritourism. To the point where I often felt I was imposing the term “agritourism” on these farms rather than the participants recognizing they were truly engaged in creating and operating agritourism.

I think our business is that big and there's a lot of potential, that one person could take on like the agri, like the tourism, or sorry the entertainment portion of it. (Daughter2-Farm A).

The only direct connections to tourism were made while interviewing the principals at Farm A and B as each made reference to their farms being destinations. The locations of each of these farms off major roads might be one of the reasons for them referring to their farms as destinations. A more probable reason, however, was both had the same agritourism marketing consultant in to provide them with advice on their farm business. The advice from this marketing consultant has resulted in this son articulating:

My goal is to be the number one farm attraction in Southern Ontario. That's like my goal. I defined that a few years ago that when we started to get this new buzz and because we are breaking boundaries in terms of marketing. (Son – Farm B).

Connecting the new buzz and the setting of the personal goal were both a basis for offering a combination of all three activities, retail, education and entertainment, at this farm. However, entertainment is becoming increasingly important and is making up a bigger component of what is offered at two of the three farms.

A disconnection with the tourism sector was common. In a few of the interviews family members compared their agritourism farms to theme parks, specifically Wonderland and Disney World. Although these farms have borrowed and incorporated into their farms practices and aspects of what might be found at a theme park to be more professional, the family members were quick to add agritourism remained unique because:

It's still a farm. It's still...like, people they still want that farm experience. Like, we're never going to be Wonderland obviously. But like, taking elements of like how they do things and knowing how we can improve. (Daughter-in-law – Farm B).

Their observations of other farms that had provided more theme-park like attractions were perceived as taking agritourism to another level:

Saunders' Farm, that was just a whole other level of agritourism. (Son – Farm C).

Listening to observations about “theme-park like” farms an uneasy feeling arose of it being a less desirable direction:

This fellow outside Omaha his place is just a mini Disney world. It's a big attraction. He's got an electric or diesel train. He's got a mine shaft with a black hole vortex in it rolling and rumbling. A lot of animation and a lot of stuff. (Researcher: Do you see your farm being like that at some point?) No, it wouldn't get the support. (Dad – Farm A)

A lack of support for developing farms as theme parks extended from the government, down to the local community, and I believe further to the family itself. Diversifying one's farm into agritourism to the extent where the family finally ceases working the land, as has happened at Saunders' Farm, raised this unease. Needing to continue having a working productive farm in relationship to whatever other activities the family was doing is vitally important:

For me as long as it comes back to the promotion and the sale of what we grow we're laughing. (Son – Farm B).

Nonetheless, this son wanted to get better representation and promotion by tourism agencies for his farm:

I'm trying to align myself better with tourism.....Tourism is still kind of on the backseat in terms of what farms are doing. When you see a tourism Ontario pamphlet you never see farms on there, yet. Like farm attractionsif you add up how many people visit a farm in a year I'd bet they'd overwhelm zoos, parks and all that stuff easily. (Son – Farm B)

While in conversation with the family members, I often felt I was imposing agritourism on what they were doing. For the farm families diversifying into agritourism, be it play areas, mazes, wagon rides, special events, pick-your-owns or retail shops and bakeries, these activities are all useful for attracting people and additional customers to the farm. Once people start coming, more activities are added. Some activities directly respond to what customers are asking for. Other activities are complementary and designed to keep customers longer to encourage them to spend more. For farms engaged in agritourism the building of relationships with customers is critically important. Retailing, educating, and entertaining were the three primary activities specified on these farms. Focusing agritourism in everyday tasks rather than as tourism makes the farm more accessible and inviting. The disconnection with tourism might have been partially due to observations by these families of other farms, where the land was no longer being productively worked. Retaining a connection to farming for one's livelihood remained vitally important. Their own observations of other agritourism operators, who had developed their agritourism enterprise predominately into entertainment and then ultimately eliminated agricultural production, were offered as situations where a line had been crossed. A desire to sustain farming and be a farmer continued to be important for these families.

5.3 Being the Face of Farming

At times it might appear those farms seriously engaging in agritourism have more in common with theme park attractions than farming. Enthusiastically taking on entertainment activities appeared to be a slippery slope out of farming. However, in this study the farm families continued to strongly identify with being farmers. It is obvious they did not want to

lose their farming *way of life* or lifestyle. At numerous times, during various conversations, others questioned the legitimacy of what these farms were doing. Essentially, challenging their identity as farmers because of agritourism. For example,

....they got a real stink on about it; they didn't like what we had done. They felt it breached the line of agritourism and in some ways they were correct; in some ways they weren't. We were ahead of our time in a sense.
(Son - Farm B)

The innovation and ideas integrated on these farms made them different from other, more conventional types of farms. Ontario farming remains very much based in a productivist model which excludes the public from coming onto farms. Taking a market-orientated approach to farming makes farms in agritourism unique. Their uniqueness can often lead to the families feeling they are alone and isolated. Feeling alone can be compounded through conflicts with neighbours or government bureaucrats when the farm does something unfarm-like and different:

We went through a lot of political BS and minor variances and more political BS. Lawyers and all that kind of stuff. (Dad- Farm A).

Their innovative behaviours takes a lot of energy just as they get enthusiastic and excited, as the Dad at Farm A added to the above scenario:

We had some severe meetings over putting the addition on We had quite a discussion on that too when it got down to the hammer and nails. Then when we did get it cleared up they wouldn't give us an occupancy permit. (Dad - Farm A).

Having to fight hard to allow innovations on the farm deter many farm families. The difficulties of diversifying the farms into agritourism might be entrenched in narrow views and policies held towards agricultural lands. Policies and planning on what is considered acceptable and normal farm practice. The farm families, in actual fact, could be changing outlooks and mind-sets quicker in response to societal changes than government policies on how farms diversifying:

We have to change, like, we know we're never going to make the money that, like, his parents made off of farming. It's just not there for us. So we, [pause] we have to do our own version of farming. (Daughter-in-law - Farm B)

The legacy of being on the farm and maintaining ties to the land for their family's livelihood was essential to continue for these families. It was tied to their identities as farmers and a family in farming:

The family is all working together, and because we still have all the crops that we grow. That's our major thing, the crops. (Mom- Farm A)

The physicality of remaining on the farm and continuing to support the rural landscape and community was hypothetically connected to them being a family farm and genuine:

Well, I think there will always be a component of farming attached to it, and I think, to be genuine there has to be that component..... But there will always [pause] I will always consider it a farm, I think. Like, I don't think even if it becomes removed, where like the farm becomes separate, and the market is buying from the farm, it's still. It's still sitting on a piece of farm land and it's still surrounded by all the crops that are coming into it. So I look at it as still farming, yeah. (Dad- Farm C)

However, some family members felt uneasy when considering situations in which active farming had been abandoned elsewhere. For instance, prior to re-starting the market at their farm, the siblings paid a visit to another place where farming had been discontinued at this agritourism enterprise:

....it seems to be working out pretty well for them. But I think the agriculture and farming will always be part of something we do, like, never say never, but it's, I think it's, we'll continue to grow stuff,but, yeah, it seems to have worked out pretty well for them, like they've got a splash pad there and a little amusement park. (Daughter 2- Farm C)

Over the past decade this other agritourism farm has decreased its acreage under cultivation and most recently removed its last remaining strawberry patch. It now purchases all the produce sold. When I asked the daughter if she thought this other agritourism farm should

still consider itself a farm, she added with a laugh: “Well if they aren’t really farming anything, then not really. I guess.” (Daughter 2- Farm C).

To be in farming one has to work and be tied to the land for their livelihood. The sentiment heard from members of these farm families upholds the importance of this characteristic. Sustaining a farming way of life is critically important:

Oh yeah, big time. I promote farming more than a thousand of our neighbours. I’m the one who is the face of farming to the publicwe do know there’s neighbours like kind of ‘oh, are they really farmers anymore?’ But I don’t see them producing and selling 100% of what they grow to the public. (Son – Farm B)

The balancing act of self-identifying as a farmer while also having your farming identity challenged, not just by neighbours but also by policies, may be a barrier preventing other farms from diversifying and further innovating into new areas of agritourism. What these families started at their farms challenging what is accepted as normal farming practices. Through farming differently by being market-orientated and innovative puts them at the forefront as early adopters. Again, the building of relationships and the level of interaction with the public is paramount within the overall experience of being in agritourism. Nonetheless, wanting to retain strong identities as farmers is critical. The human consequences of being in agritourism are further explored in the next baled theme.

5.4 We Are The Farm

When this study was conducted, the majority of the family members deriving their income from agritourism lived on the farm. The exceptions were the parents on Farm A, who had recently moved off the farm to a bungalow down the road, and the second exception was the eldest daughter at Farm C who lived in a nearby town. Living and working on the farm maintains a farming lifestyle:

I like that part of it. The lifestyle of being here and living right where you work. (Daughter 2 – Farm A).

In contrast, her parents now live off the farm and have found the separation between home and work an advantage:

It's so nice to be off the farm now. If you're here You don't seem to have any private life at all. it's hard to split those two. It's a lot better [living off the farm]. It's hard when everything is all at once together. It's hard to separate those two. (Farm A – Mom)

The loss of a private life when you live and work on an agritourism farm emerged from most of the conversations as a disadvantage of being in agritourism. Feeling like you are never closed when operating agritourism was picked up when speaking about the early days of this pick-your-own operation:

We barely closed the gate. If we're supposed to be closed at 8:00 and there were still people out there in the field picking, did we ring the bell and say go home? No, we didn't. If somebody comes in for some berries and you're not really open, you say "Go pick them and bring them up to the house". You don't turn them away. (Mom- Farm B)

Feeling it was difficult to separate the business of being in agritourism from one's personal life on the farm goes beyond not closing. With the addition of new activities to attracting more people, the heritage of the family and its connection to farming get interwoven into what is offered. Family members are inseparable from the front line positions they take on the farm:

I went away to a gala event and someone at the table said the only time she's ever seen me was in the bakery. (Mom – Farm A)

To be authentic and genuine the people living and working on the farm need to be seen doing farm things.

The family being integrated into the farm product further happened through sharing stories and images of the family. Definitely stories about the family and its legacy in farming were found in promotional materials, on websites and in brochures. Photographs of relatives placed around the farms helped share the family's story and history with customers. This

further helped build relationships with customers and personalize the experience of visiting the farm:

Well the family pictures and things here peak people's interest..... We used to have a picture of my great grandfather up over there and someone came in and said "I used to know that guy." Every time someone looks at those pictures I want to show them the rest of the pictures that are hidden in the back. (Son – Farm C)

When the daughter-in-law at Farm B was designing the label for their farm branded preserves she chose a picture of her mother-in-law to portray the history of the family on the farm and in the process the mother became a bit of a farm celebrity:

I put together this label called Barb's Best since 1976 because that was the year she came to the farm and started jamming. It's, like, a picture of her from 1976 And our sales more than doubled. It's awesome. And, like, we've creating a whole little following for her. So like when they come they ask is this Barb'sBest? And we're like totally. (Daughter-in-law - Farm B)

Deciding to share their story and history with customers adds another level of how the family intertwines into its agritourism business. However, needing to find ways to separate the family from agritourism or, more so, the family from the new demands imposed on it by the public coming to the farm is needed. Different strategies were noted for creating a separation, including physically locating agritourism away from the farmhouse, as demonstrated here when they decided to construct a permanent farm store:

So I just said "I'm not doing this anymore. ...", 'cause I didn't want people driving in my lane. And you have no privacy whatsoever. So that whole thing of having a public life and people don't care. They don't care if it's eight o'clock at night. Like, they come in here and they're like "I don't, I don't have a pumpkin." But it was like there's no privacy. So once the building was there you could keep it a little bit separation. (Mom-Farm C)

At another farm mobile technology provided relief from customers calling at all hours in comparison to when her parents were on the farm. She uses her cell phone for personal calls and the long-standing *family* phone line is now only for the business:

Somebody always wants something. The phone goes into the house. I happen to answer the phone and people are saying, "Oh are you still open?" So now [the daughter] doesn't even answer our family phone at all. She has her own cell phone. So that's how she's disconnecting. But to get away from it you almost have to go away. (Mom - Farm A)

For yet others, the taking on of personas and being in character while working, especially where engaged in entertainment, helped define work from personal time:

.... he's got this, ahhh, this persona during the fall festival. Like, it's hilarious, I'm like, you're like your own little cartoon! (Daughter-in-law – Farm B)

Being in character might seem extreme, however, being on and performing – either as a baker, farmer, or entertainer, becomes part of the new working lives for family members directly involved in agritourism.

It can be more shocking and an adjustment coming to grips with the invasion on one's privacy when involved in agritourism.

We are the farm. Even if I don't want those people on the front porch, I think "No, it's all good; you stay as long as you want". It took some getting used to..... People will literally come and peek in the window! I'll be on the computer and there will be someone right there looking in the window. They want to look at the house. If I catch someone I'm like, "you can come in. It's a mess but come on in". (Daughter-in-law – Farm B)

A fun strategy attempted by her to discourage people from peaking in the windows ended up turning into yet another attraction. The dressing up of a mannequin and posing it in windows of the house was to make people feel self-conscious of overstepping the invisible boundary between the public and private spaces on the farm, however:

..... people started to know this mannequin. One year I hadn't put her out yet and people started asking about her. ... Everyone now looks to see where [the mannequin] is in the house. (Daughter-in-law - Farm B)

It was felt the family members working in agritourism resigned and accepted losing their privacy. The families also recognized they were part of the product and even went as far

as purposefully integrating themselves into the farm's goods and services. The pervasiveness of being in agritourism on the farm is a trade off and price to be paid:

I feel sometimes and I don't want to generalize this, ahum, but some people from the city maybe think that since it's the farm and since it's the country anything goes or belongs to them too, because this is wide open space, and to a point, but like we've had people wander up by our house. I've got people knocking on my door (laughter). Because even when you have that closed sign up there's people coming through..... And even, it's just even adapting what we do to our house. Like we built a larger fences for our pool area and like we've kind of lost the front part of our house, you know there's not like that freedom to go out there and do whatever you want because you do have customers all the time, that's the business. (Daughter 2- Farm A)

Living off the farm; fences or other physically barriers constructed between the business and the farm house; where ways of making visitors feel self-conscious of invading the family's space. The taking on of personas was also a strategy attempted to separate working in agritourism from one's home being the farm. But at the same time, farm families engaged in agritourism welcomed and encouraged customers to feel like they were part of the family. The pervasiveness of always having customers around is perhaps best handled through keeping agritourism on the farm seasonal operations.

5.4.1 Keeping it seasonal

Visitors want to see and experience the farm when it is active and at times of the year when it is busy – during harvest. The seasonal nature of when agritourism is at its busiest mirrors traditional agricultural cycles. Therefore, it was unsurprising to find agritourism on these farms shared a similar seasonal tempo as traditional farming relying on good weather:

We had a tremendous fall, weather wise this year. Ahumm....We probably had our best pumpkin festival that we've ever had in the fall..... Again, a lot of it has to do with weather. (Dad – Farm A)

Although some of the farms involved in this study have extended their agritourism season and now open as early as Easter, in the spring, and operate into December, up to Christmas, all recognized the importance of being open in the autumn. Visitation peaks on

the weekends in September and October. Special events and celebrations staged in the fall, such as pumpkin festivals, fall festivals, Thanksgiving and Halloween brings in people and this translates into the majority of revenue derived from agritourism being captured during a short period of time:

Over fifty percent of our income was made in the last half of September and the whole month of October, for the year. That part is scary. Why did I work this hard to be this far in the red to have to get bailed out in October?..... Which makes me think some days that we should just close and only open in October, for that month. (Dad – Farm A)

Agritourism is not dissimilar from more traditional types of farming as it is very demanding and hard work during the peak season. During the peak of the agritourism season it is extremely busy to the extent that the families are doing nothing more than working in their businesses:

We're all getting pretty tired ... We all see the end in sight. ...You're feeling it, the whole year. Yeah, we hit full throttle when we start and like we don't stop.(Son – Farm B)

The intensity of working non-stop during the short, peak time period of the agritourism season is off-set by closing for at least part of the year:

You work really hard from let's say, the middle of April until December, and then you've got a few months off to recollect and do all of your admin work and concentrate on that. But, it's definitely a lifestyle. I think it's just the difference of having the public here all the time and not. Like, that makes a massive difference. (Daughter 2 – Farm A)

Further, the farm gate being closed to the public gives the family much needed time to focus working on their business rather than in it: "There's going to be two to three months where we can sit down and talk," (Son – Farm C). It is vital to realize that when the farm is closed to visitors the families are not sitting idle: "But even in the winter we're still working. People say "oh are you going to Florida for the winter?" No. There's lots of planning we have to do," (Mom – Farm A). The family continues working in the off-season planning and managing their farm business:

It is a long season and even though that we're quieter in the winter. There's no one saying "Oh I can't wait to get my three months off." No we really get back at it. I try to take from the middle of December to the middle of January. Just to take it easy a bit. But still you've got to keep things going inside. You've got to get projects done. (Son – Farm B)

The seasonality of agritourism also provides much needed respite from the demands of visitors. This compensates for having no privacy or time off when it is the peak season:

I usually tell them at four o'clock on December 24th I'm smiling. That's a break. I'm happy. It's nice to see the people, but after a while you get tired of the people too. (Mom – Farm A)

Although choosing to get into agritourism re-engages the farm with the public, having a break and respite from their demands for at least a few months was extremely important. Having time off was heard repeatedly throughout the interviews with all of the family members directly involved in agritourism on their farms. Nonetheless, it was stressed that they work year round. The time away from the public allows for catching up on administrative work and to focus on management and planning of the businesses. It also provides space for family members to refresh, recoup, and recharge for the next season.

The seasonal flow of agritourism also seemed to retain connections with a more traditional farming lifestyle. Many of these farms could have easily operated year round, in particular those having retail stores and bakeries. Although it is currently operated seasonally, the newly developed operation at Farm C could run year-round:

The bakery is a non-seasonal thing, if we decided we wanted to go full time. We're still seasonal this year..... Simply because it's just mentally and physically exhausting. It's been seven days a week since April. (Daughter 1-Farm C)

When asked if she would ever consider being open year-round the daughter at Farm A quickly responded, "*Nope!*" Although many acknowledged ways they could remain open throughout the year, protecting downtime was more important and valuable to them to remain effective agritourism operators:

.... there are activities that I see we could do, like maple syrup or Geocaching, but for right now, no. No, because that few months gives us time to re-coup and look at everything..... Because you don't get time off per week in the summer so when I get my three days off in the winter it's nice. And I have a life again. (Daughter 2- Farm A)

Retaining the seasonality of a more traditional farming way of life by being in agritourism, rather than in modern intensive, industrial agriculture, was also revealed. Agritourism, based more on horticulture, growing fruits and vegetables, was perceived to provide a better quality of farming life than raising livestock:

That's when he was having the cows and he saw what I was making. So he decided that we'd better switch. Part of that reason was he didn't have to work 365 days of the year. He could have some time off in the winter. (Mom - Farm A)

The possibility of adding other events and activities on the farm to extend the season or even operate it year round was possible, but not favoured. For instance, growing and selling Christmas trees, maple syrup in early spring, or adding other recreation activity or special events, however, would cost the family its personal time and was not considered worth it. The long hours and long days associated with agritourism is incredibly fatiguing. Having time off from the public was very important.

Agritourism farms remaining open year round would additionally be at the expense of the seasonal connections these farms have with traditional types of farming; namely dependence on climatic conditions and agricultural cycles. As agritourism works to sustaining a farming *way of life* it seems counter-intuitive to remain open year round as doing so would ultimately weaken the uniqueness of the product and its connection to farming.

5.5 Family Comes First

Families engaging in agritourism can anticipate good economic returns. However, this father was not alone in his sentiments when asked if agritourism was operated on his farm out of economic necessity:

Probably not..... I guess we felt there was going to be an economic return right from the start. But we just looked at it as an additional part to our business. Rather than we have to do this because we're not making any money on that.
(Dad - Farm C)

In fact, it was often through observing other farms involved in agritourism which first influenced these farmers to give it a try:

.....first of all we didn't know what we were getting into! WE were going to start a roadside stand and I had seen what my neighbour had. (Dad - Farm A)

Likewise, the father here also observed what his neighbour was doing and speculated on how profitable agritourism must be as an influencing factor:

You get into it because you're looking at your neighbour and you see a hundred cars there on a Saturday. You think wow; he's just making a ton of money! (Dad- Farm C)

However, none of these farms alluded to get into agritourism for their survival. In fact, two continued growing conventional cash crops alongside operating agritourism. At the third farm there was a 15 year overlap with it continuing its dairy operation while agritourism got going and before a final decision was made to discontinue dairy farming. Continuing conventional agricultural concurrently with agritourism does not diminish the need for agritourism to turn a profit.

It's a whole combination of things there's no doubt about it.there was too many other businesses going on. Five kids growing up and they needed your attention too. So it was a combination of things. I guess, if it would have continued to be successful and roll along with employees in charge of it then we might have kept it going. I don't know. But it just wasn't happening.
(Dad - Farm C)

The running of both conventional agriculture and agritourism has more to do with continuing to have a working farm. Or trying out agritourism prior to making it a total commitment. Incidences were spoken about where the families tried new activities then

either modified or discontinued these. Often because they did not find the activities enjoyable or worth the effort:

So that was the beginning of the fall festival, yeah but the haunted barn and a haunted ride we did for, I don't know, how many years..... so Friday night we're doing that, then we'd work all day Saturday and Saturday night it would be the haunted ride. All the actors would come in, [big sigh] it was quite a commotion and all. (Mom-Farm B).

The agritourism principals themselves quickly dismissed ideas of initially getting into agritourism for economic motives alone. Economically, reasons were tied to providing jobs for members of the family:

.....plain and simple it was an effort to make it so we could pay them for something that was useful. (Father - Farm B)

More often than not, there was a combination of reasons for starting agritourism. Indeed, economics was an underlying factor but not necessarily a predominant one. In looking back, this father recognized that had he been motive by making a profit he would have made different decisions:

If I was doing it over again. No. Let's say if I liked chickens and was doing it over again. [laughter] I would have bought chicken quota. But I didn't. I wasn't smart enough and I didn't like chickens. I hated chickens! In the long run if I looked back and thought I wanted all this, similar to all this, then I'd have bought a Tim Horton's. [laughter] I'd have had more staffing problems but I'd probably be making a whole lot more money. [laughter] Then and now. (Dad – Farm A)

Early on in their farming careers the Farm C parents established another business making chocolates. Its objective was clearly identified to bring in extra income:

I'm just trying to think the first couple of years when we grew [cash crop] we had a couple of tough crops. But that forced us more into the chocolates than it did into this. Like it made us say okay let's take those two or three months that we're not busy with the farm, in November and December, and see if we can do something then. (Dad – Farm C)

Recognizing from the outset that agritourism would turn a profit, and continue a farming lifestyle made sense. The economic motives for getting into agritourism were embedded in wanting to sustain the family's wellbeing, by choosing to do something they enjoyed rather than making a lot of money:

You can see a good side in everything and try to enjoy doing it. Or you're just not going to be having fun and what are you doing it for? Money's not worth that much, to me anyway at least. (Son – Farm C)

For these families the desire to remain on the farm, be rooted in farming, and do something enjoyable were important factors associated with deciding to add agritourism. Personal choice and the wellbeing of the family lead them to diversify into agritourism rather than economics. The additional businesses were added by choice not necessity. Running multiple businesses on these farms fostered an entrepreneurial spirit.

5.5.1 Operating multiple businesses

The family members often related that getting into agritourism helped sustain their way of life. The extent to which agritourism intertwined and built off other farm businesses varied from one farm to another. For instance, it was common for an individual member of the family to be the farmer, responsible for growing the produce, while another managed the store where the produce was sold: "He [eldest son] has his own business. He grows the crops for us and we buy them off him." (Dad – Farm A). Businesses on the farms were often inter-related and dependent on one another. The father at another farm has his own farm business. Produce for it goes to the farm store to be sold. However, agritourism is a partnership between the son, his wife and the parents:

Yes, we are both partners, the families are both equal partners in this business as well, and he has his business as well. He [Dad] does all the cropping still and I help occasionally but mostly my focus is more on farm marketing. (Son – Farm B)

Separate businesses, or more likely, dividing up roles and responsibilities between family members where the farmer in the family sold their produce to the farm market as one

business, and then the farm marketer sold it to the public as another business were clearly evident within Farm A and B. At Farm C, for the time being, the business is all one but the responsibility for farming and marketing also rest with individuals in this family.

Nonetheless, there was some speculation within Farm C that as their business developed there would be potential to separate the roles more formally. At each of the farms there were multiple businesses, and not simply the working farm and agritourism.

The extent to which the businesses were intertwined varied greatly between the farms and the types of businesses. Many of the businesses were complimentary to agritourism. For instance, the eldest son at Farm A also managed the pick-your-own operation at his parent's agritourism farm as a separate business, whereas the winery, although physically attached to the farm store, is legally a partnership between the father and three sons. Both the pick-your-own and the winery compliment agritourism. A separate business would be the chocolate making business at Farm C. But facilities are shared between numerous business. The eldest daughter at Farm C utilizes the scratch bakery year-round to wholesale bake for local cafes, in November and December this same space is used for making chocolates. At Farm B the daughter-in-law's own merchandizing business she started and ran independently for 15 years was at first cross-promoted with the farm but more recently her company merged with the agritourism business:

For, I guess, about fifteen years now I've had my own business with these little characters. I had that business and I don't know we just kind of incorporated the two. as strange as it sounds, to run into a farm that needed like an image and this brand, and the two of them, like, being that we cater to kids, it was like a perfect fit. (Daughter-in-law – Farm B)

Members of the family also operated their own independent business with each one building off the synergies of being together. This was often the case. The daughter here: "wanted to try something different..... So she had her own stand out there. So whatever she made that was her part. So she really had her business on the side," (Mom - Farm A).

Customers, however, are totally unaware of all the different businesses operating at these farms. It was often through existing customers where new business ideas came. These families were also very adept at continuing to innovate:

It's funny what customers will suggest to you. We've had a tearoom suggested to us, or lunch or soup or sandwiches and stuff like that. So it shows you what the potential to grow is too. How you can do that. You'd have a customer base already because people are asking for it. You'd have to establish it but you wouldn't be starting from nothing. (Son – Farm C)

Continuing to evolve and be innovative in response to customers can be a double edged sword:

Yeah, yeah, but people, you know, our regulars, they do kind of look for us to change too now, because we are feeding them that. 'Cause they do see other places that aren't and I think we've become first choice because we are evolving. (Dad – Farm B)

The multiple businesses operated at these farms supported the family. In fact, the operating of numerous businesses, including agritourism, often responded to the need to provide many members of the family with jobs and meaningful livelihoods at the same time.

5.5.2 Employing your family

At all of the farms agritourism provided meaningful employment for family members right at the farm. In an era where on-farm jobs are disappearing and a single farmer can easily manage a farm operation of considerable size through mechanization and technology, keeping young people on the farm is difficult. Agritourism seems to be an adept strategy for keeping more people within the family employed on the farm.

Well back in the 90s the very early 90s our children were getting very close to university age, and there weren't a lot of jobs off the farm. Around locally, you know you might have had to drive them somewhere. (Mom– Farm B)

Further the different types of skills employed through agritourism appealed to individuals within the family not utilized in conventional farming. Agritourism being more service and market-oriented also offers new roles and responsibilities for family members, especially the children as they grew up. Children often helped out with agritourism by being cashiers, assisting customers, or training staff, for example, at Farm B their young daughter: “was on the cash at nine years old with a little cash box and she learned to do cash,” (Mom-

Farm B). Her older brothers helped customers in their pick-your own operations and also picked ready-picked berries. Exposing their children to the business provided the opportunity to learn life skills:

Well our kids are all good with the public. Maybe some children wouldn't be able to talk to adults. Well ours from a young age they knew how to interact with other people from our business. All our kids know how to make change. I have kids here from university and if the hardware goes down they don't know what to do. I've had to teach university kids how to count backwards. Whereas our kids they've been used to the money right from the beginning and they don't have to rely on a calculator. They've been used to talking to people, making change and using their head. (Mom – Farm A)

Farm children traditionally socialized into farm work as they grew up has been lost. The fact that much of conventional agriculture has become so mechanized means farm children are now more likely to be excluded from working on the farm. However, the labour intensive and manual work involved in planting, tending and harvesting smaller scaled market gardens and pick-your-own patches appeared to be a way of getting the children back involved in the farm once again:

Even back when we were kids.....Mom got an order for four flats or four quarts So we'd run out and we'd pick them. The lady would come in and she would buy them. It was just something that was just an extra bonus for the farm. Mom was definitely in charge of a lot of pick your own stuff in the beginning. (Son - Farm B)

Parents still wanted to instil in their children a strong work ethic, as the mother at Farm B so eloquently stated:

From the time they were old enough to do something, I wanted them to work. I didn't want them staying in bed in the morning, you know, like on Saturday morning or Sunday. I wanted them to have a job. I think it is important.(Mom - Farm B)

As the children grew up around agritourism the types of interactions they had with the enterprise varied, however, interacting with customers was a very common occurrence.

Through this socialization the children worked on the farms while learning skills, attitudes and behaviours transferable to other life situations:

It's so rewarding. But I definitely think that agritourism was...It definitely got us involved because....[her brother] would be in the maze. We were always involved and when we had pick your own I'd show people to where their rows were. We were always doing something related to the farm. It's hard to pick a job based on your lifestyle but it's just the way we all grew up. I don't know any other way obviously. I just love the way that we were raised. My parents were always there whether they were in the field or around. The skills kinds of things that we learned it enabled us to decide that we wanted to farm or we wanted to run the market. I felt that I had enough, not business [pause] I can bake so I can run a bakery. That's one of the best things we had growing up because I don't think any of us are afraid to do anything. We can drive a tractor or bake. I can figure it out. I think there's this attitude of well I don't know how to do that but I can figure it out.
(Daughter 1- Farm C)

Likewise, the work ethic instilled on these farm children stayed with them into adulthood.

Regardless of them continue to farm or not:

Yeah like growing up working from home, you're so use to working 7 days a week with the cows and stuff. I still remember going to my first job and during my first week we'd stop working for a coffee break and I'm like wow? What are we stopping for? And like they say we're stopping for a 15 minute coffee break and I'm like wow, we are? 'Cause we'd never stopped on the farm. There was always things to do, and Iahh, my upbringing was great, I just loved it. (Son 3- Farm A)

The younger generation had fond memories of growing up and being involved in agritourism.

They also expressed wanting to provide similar upbringings for their own children some day.

Fond childhood memories and want to replicate this for their own off spring could be influencing decisions about returning to work on the farm as adults:

I always wanted to help out. Just making pie boxes and putting them on the shelf. I wanted to be involved and that kind of thing. I always loved the fall festival. We had corn mazes. We had face painting and all that kind of stuff. I always loved being here. There was always so many kids there too. I don't remember too much of the agriculture side of things because I wasn't too involved with that kind of thing. (Daughter 3 - Farm C)

In a few instances the younger or succeeding generation also felt obliged to work at the farm. This being more of a sense of duty: “Growing up you were always required to work. And you always had a job,” (Daughter 2 – Farm A).

It has become the trend that farm children grow up and leave the farm. Fewer and fewer farm children return to positions in farming. At each of these farms at least one member of the succeeding generation had returned to work at the farm. Therefore, work opportunities and livelihoods are becoming available on farms again. The path of taking over the family farm is changing and the founding generation challenged returning sons and/or daughters to come up with their own livelihood:

He decided he was going to come back home from university and work on the farm full time. His dad said to give us both an income to live off of you’re going to have to come up with your own shtick. (Daughter-in-law - Farm B).

On the other hand, foresight shown by the founding generation had them identifying and expanding the farm business in hopes it attracted sons or daughters to return to the farm:

Wife - I think it was because your Dad had the foresight to see the dairy wasn’t going to support five kids, that’s what I think.

Son – Yeah.....like....that’s right. Dad got out of farming because....ahhh..... he saw better opportunities elsewhere and he didn’t want to do it his whole life and he, aahhh, didn’t think his kids wanted to do it so.... He thought the fruits and vegetables would be a lot better, more money and opportunities there. (Son 3 and his wife – Farm A)

When the succeeding generation returned to the farm it often coincided with when agritourism either got started or expanded. Changing the types of farming they were involved in expanded opportunities to accommodate more family members on the farm:

With dairy there was only enough room for one son or daughter to come home when you look at what income you can make off it. There are lots of different ventures you can get into with the fruits and vegetables because we have the market, bakery and winery. There’s just more. (Son 1 – Farm A)

After university, college or having worked off the farm for a time was when adult children returned to the farm. It was as young adults looking to settle down and start their family. Moreover, knowing they could have autonomy and be independent to run their own business at the farm also influenced adult children's return: "There's that sense that you're working for yourself. We all have these different ideas about what we'd like to do," (Daughter 3-Farm C). Agritourism is a scalable and flexible business which expands quite easily to accommodate extra family members choosing to return to the farm. Agritourism definitely appears to create opportunities for more than one person:

I think this is probably an ideal business where a number of different people can be involved and have different responsibilities and grow the business.
(Dad-Farm C)

5.5.2.1 Mothers and Daughters

In particular, mothers and daughters were central in agritourism on these farms. During the starting up of activities the mothers were often identified as the original instigators. The ability to combine their roles as wives, mothers with young children and also to contribute financially to the farm household simultaneously by adding pick-your-owns or small scale retail was apparent. From the mothers' perspective their involvement in the agritourism enterprise in the earliest days combined easily with domestic roles:

For the most part we'd only be open every other day and I'd just be in the house here so when somebody would knock on the door, I'd say, Go out and get some, just come back and pay me. So that worked out pretty well.
(Mom - Farm B).

The mother at Farm A was also identified as the one who got them started in agritourism. From her perspective the seasonality of agritourism allowed her to continue supply teaching:

Well really I was the one that started it. I did everything in the store and [her husband] was working out in the fields. I managed the whole things.
And then I did my supply teaching mostly during the winter months so from maybe about November till the beginning of May. Then I would help here on the farm. (Mom - Farm A)

Traditional divisions of labour in the farm family based on gender have essentially excluded daughters from the opportunity of returning to the farm as successors. Had her farm not diversified into agritourism this daughter explained she would not have even considered returning:

If we still had the cows, there's really no question. It would have been more which one of the boys might take over. I think in some respects that's something my dad is trying to get his head around. There's things that I wouldn't even dream of touching. There's no way I'm going to get on the tractor and get out in the field.We didn't grow up with that. Well we kind of did. Once we were old enough to appreciate it there were different opportunities. I trained every cashier at the market until I was twenty.
(Daughter 1 - Farm A)

Agritourism, on the hand, opened up new possibilities for the daughters to be involved on the farm. The creation of new roles and new skills necessary for being successful in agritourism, in particular those related to customer service, retailing, marketing and food services, appealed just as much, or more so, to female members of the families as they do to sons.

Agritourism on these farms provided opportunities for the children while they were growing up to be involved in the farm in a meaningful way. It also provides adult children with opportunities to be independent and have their own business. Finally, mothers often instigated getting into agritourism. Whereas daughters were just as likely as sons to be taking on roles and responsibilities in agritourism.

5.6 Coming Home

The inseparability of where farmers live and work is one of the key characteristics of a family farm. Living and working from the same place also makes families that farm unique from most other family-run businesses. Beyond assisting in maintaining the farm agritourism also seems to perpetuate the retention of the farm across generations. It was the return of children at these farm that sparked development and growth of agritourism. Family members all spoke about *coming home* when they or other members of the family returned to the farm to work. The founding generation still had a desire to pass the farm onto their children.

Agritourism played a part in how the farm would eventually be passed on within the family. Eventually choosing to return to the farm and work in its various businesses alongside their parents and/or siblings has impacts on the dynamics and structure of the family. Much of the impact is attributed to combining familial roles within unstructured business relationships.

5.6.1 Transferring the (agritourism) farm

None of the families had actually completed a formal succession plan, but each had considered how the farm might eventually be divided up and inherited by the younger generation. The mixing up of succession and inheritance was a common encounter during the conversation. Situations of how the farm had been transferred within the families in the past were often shared. This founding generation not wanting to make, or create, similar mistakes they felt had occurred when they took over the farm influenced how they thought about transferring the farm. It was typical to hear examples of primogeniture from the past:

....the older generation, years ago, the sons were treated better than the daughters. I've seen that in my wife's family. (Dad – Farm A).

The fathers usually reflected about taking over the farm and how it seemed to be a straightforward affair in comparison to their own current situation. A farmer, as part of the founding generation, never retiring was a sentiment I heard repeatedly. This attitudinal difference on retirement between previous generations of farmers and the current one could be a problem or source of familial conflict:

This is part of the problem, at 65 my Dad was ready to retire. Farming was hard for his generation. But here I am in relatively good health, a few aches and pains to worry about, but it's still fun to wake up. When my dad was ready to retire, he said, "if you want it, I'll sign" that's the conversation we had. (Dad - Farm B)

Not looking to retire further complicated identifying the family member interested and willing to take over the farm:

I'll never retire but less and less be involved. We went through this succession planning with one of my sons and it fell through. I have another daughter that's very interested in it as well. But [the youngest

daughter] is probably the choice... I didn't have a choice, she was the one who came forward first after my son. So we went with that. (Dad - Farm A)

In addition, the founding generation brought its own experience of how the farm had been to them. These personal experiences definitely affected the parents' outlook and approach to intergenerational transfer:

When my mom was growing up she lived on a farm....when the farm sold her two brothers got like 10 to 15 million dollars each. ...The sisters got a little bit when the farm was worth nothing, but then 30 years later it sells for millions. My mom and dad were very upset that they didn't get as much as the other ones did. So my dad's always said he always wanted to keep everything equal and fair. (Son 3 - Farm A)

Although there were no formal plans, viewpoints shared amongst the parents were to ensure any, and perhaps all, of their children, regardless of gender, could choose to come home to the farm if they wished:

I've let them decide.It makes you wonder about the challenges if they all wanted to become involved in it. But I think this is probably an ideal business where a number of different people can be involved and have different responsibilities and grow the business. (Dad - Farm C)

Taking the viewpoint to welcome all or any of the children back, on the other hand, was not always the best strategy for the farm business:

My dad's biggest concern was, well why he never wanted to partner with [only one of us was] because there wouldn't be any opportunity for anyone else. (Daughter 1 - Farm A)

Actions taken by the parents often conveyed different intentions:

The thing is that he, like my dad, he always said he wants to keep things equal. But if you look at the situation things they aren't equal.
(Son 3 - Farm A)

Likewise, although intentions might have been to welcome everyone home, it was not always the case:

I would have loved to work over there but there wasn't enough to support all of us in the family. (Son 3 - Farm A)

In conversations with other family members, it turns out this one brother was not given the same opportunity as other members of his family to work at the farm: “Then one of our boys wasn’t pulling his weight. My husband said, maybe you’d better get a job elsewhere.” (Mom – Farm A).

The feeling amongst his children was that they needed to measure up and prove themselves before receiving a welcome back to the farm. The father’s intention on how the farm will eventually be divided amongst the children was further complicated by him constantly changing his will:

We just found out my dad changed his will again. He changes it on a regular basis. He wants things to be fair. It’s not that he wants to cause fights but keeping everything a secret or saying that there’s an equal pot at the end. There’s always a carrot. (Daughter 1 – Farm A).

This uncertainty of the eventual division of the farm so it would be “equal” and “fair” strained familial relationships. A higher degree of conflict and resentment amongst the siblings was felt. Their father also made it very clear he intends to remain in control:

My Dad always said he wants to own the whole thing until he passes away or until he’s ready to retire. Which I don’t agree with because you need to let your kids get involved. Let them do some of the management roles. (Son 1 – Farm A)

The eldest son correctly stated succession needs to be a transitional process, where the succeeding generation takes on more responsibility for managing the business. Succession and inheritance viewed as one and the same by the majority of the founding generation might be causing the reluctance in formally planning the future of the farm. The equating of both succession and inheritance being the final division of farm property and wealth is not uncommon. The founding generation expressed they were taking a wait and see approach before committing anything to paper. Further defending this approach, the parents waited to see which children came home and what interested them prior to planning:

I want to see if it’s going to work or not before I set something in place. Now, I realize you can be flexible with your succession plan. But if you set something up and then in five years they say we’ve had enough or we’re not interested in this, well ... maybe it’s just human nature to say okay, let’s leave it and see how it goes. (Dad – Farm C).

How the family farm will eventually be transferred to the next generation is influenced by changing attitudes towards farmers never retiring, multiple siblings assuming roles in the farm operation, and daughters being included. Many of the parents struggled with determining how to fairly and equally divide up the farm's assets and accumulated wealth amongst the children. The founding generation were ultimately looking to be fair and equal to each of their children while ensuring the continuation of the family farm. A difficult task when the value of the farm and its businesses, as well as how individual family members might or might not be involved, were considered. Some of the parents confided that they were more interested in helping their children become independent adults through helping them with their education, providing down payments for homes, or establishing them in careers or their own business. Helping their children in ways meaningful to the individual child was more important than worrying about what might be left and divided up after the parents passed away. The following story told by one mother captured the importance attached to helping their children get established:

A young couple goes into a lawyer's office the lawyer says "Well what do you do for a living?" "Well, we're waiters". "Where do you wait", asks the lawyer. "We're waiting for our parents to die". I don't think my kids are waiters. They all have good jobs. They're all doing well. They'll be glad to have something but what are they going to do with it? So we just help them now. (Mom - Farm B)

There was considerable variation given between these three farms as to how agritourism was part of their plan for transferring the farm to the next generation. Nonetheless, agritourism was being factored in. For instance, at Farm A the youngest daughter had recently come home with the understanding she would eventually take over the agritourism enterprise. Interestingly, Farm A was the only farm of the three involved in this study which had also identified a successor within the family for its working farm, the eldest son. The agritourism successor identified at Farm B was the middle son, although a partnership between the son and his wife was actually managing the agritourism enterprise. After the son's divorce ownership of the agritourism farm had been transferred to him. Suggestions made by the parents of perhaps another one of their children eventually

returning to the home farm, or musing about the hired hand assuming the farmer role from dad, would keep the father's legacy and stewardship of the farmland intact. The sibling partnership set up at Farm C for owning and operating the agritourism enterprise is relatively new, but has with it a short-term trial period. After the initial trial each of the siblings will re-evaluate their interest in continuing the partnership.

5.6.2 Who's returning?

Perhaps seeing daughters interested in coming home and them taking on management roles at the farm is of greater significance. The father here explains why daughters might be more interested in coming home than sons:

I think they're interested in it because nobody was willing to come home and it will get sold. I think that's part of it. You have more women in farming now than you've ever had. They either had all girls or the son the old man worked the hell out of them as a teenager and he couldn't wait to leave. (Dad – Farm A)

Long standing emotional ties to the land are not unique to farm daughters, but a shared feeling. It is slightly more common to see women in farming, but the profession remains dominated by men. Perhaps daughters were seeing roles for themselves more so in the agritourism side of the farm than the working farm component: "If we still had the cows, there's really no question. It would be more which one of the boys might take over,"(Daughter 1- Farm A). This opens up the possibility of agritourism enticing daughters to return to the farm.

Further, there were hints during the conversations that the daughters, more so than sons, were willing to work in collaboration with other family members. The daughters who had assumed the management of agritourism at two of the three farms in this study had already been inclusive of siblings. At Farm C the eldest daughter was instrumental in forming a sibling partnership. From her perspective growing up around agritourism got her involved in the farm and showed her a desirable lifestyle:

agro-tourism definitely got us involved because growing up we were always involved and when we had the pick your own I'd show people to their rows.

We were always doing something related to the farm. It's hard to pick a job based on your lifestyle but it's just the way we all grew up. (Daughter 1-Farm C)

At Farm A the youngest daughter also indicated a willingness to work with siblings: "I do have a sister that is very interested and in years to come, I think she'll be back on the farm," (Daughter 2 – Farm A). Recognizing that agritourism takes many people to run successfully, therefore leads to family partnerships:

You talk to anybody in the industry and its partnership. It's always a couple [husband and wife] or at least two people helping to organize it. (Daughter 1 – Farm A)

In contrast, when sons managed agritourism, or other aspects of the farm, they were described as less likely to be open or conciliatory to working with others: "You know the thing is [her son] isn't going to want anybody else in," (Mom – Farm B). The failed attempt of having the second son at Farm A take on the agritourism farm might have been a blessing in disguise. A number of his family members mentioned that had he taken on the agritourism farm there would have been trouble with him continuing to work with some members of the family:

He made a couple comments to me that if I wasn't doing what he wanted that he'd just find someone else for the farm. At that point, I made it known that I didn't think it was a good option. My brother's very cut throat in business. (Son 1 – Farm A)

The younger generation realized their decision to come home would be a complicated one. Perhaps more complicated than it had been for preceding generations. The adult farm children saw coming home as fusing together their familial roles into new business responsibilities:

It used to be ... do I have the attitude to be a farmer? Do I want that lifestyle....But when it comes to this sort of business. Well do I want to deal with all the people? Do I want to be a manager? Do I want to deal with the money, the technology, the hiring and firing and who do I need to get along with? (Daughter 1 – Farm A).

The families were very optimistic of at least one of their children returning to carry on farming. All of the parents hoped someone within the family would come home and carry on the family tradition of living and working on the farm. However, the decision to return to the farm was left up to each child.

It's kind of funny because when we grew up we were all involved in the farm a little bit. My parents were never like you have to get into agriculture and you're taking over the farm. So none of us were too interested I guess, and now we've all come back. (Daughter 3- Farm C)

The intergenerational transfer of the family farm appeared to be a critical point when development or growth of agritourism occurred. For example, family members at Farm A are currently grappling with its future plans and how the agritourism enterprise will transfer to its daughters. At Farm B, on the other hand, it was clearly the return of the one son after a year away at university resulted in him coming up with another business on the farm to support him. The family already operated a pick-your-own and the son had worked in it while he was growing up. Adding additional agritourism activities seemed a natural progression and a good way to expand the farm. Finally, at Farm C, as the Dad completed his own university degree and got married he planted the first raspberry canes at the farm. This modest start into agritourism provided an independent source of income for he and his wife. More recently, the start-up of the sibling partnership on Farm C may be a signal of the transferring of the farm onto the next generation. In all cases agritourism provides greater opportunities and added roles that enticed the younger and succeeding generation to come home to work on the family farm.

5.6.3 Working with your family

What seemed to emerge, as more members of the family began working together on the farm, were challenges of being in business together with family members. The mixing together of familial roles and obligations on the farm with a loose and often unstructured business model compounded and changed the dynamics of the family. The infusion of family

culture and familial relationships into business can, at times, add conflict and volatility. For instance, it can be a difficult transition when a spouse become a business partner:

When I milked cows I didn't see her but in the morning at breakfast and at night for supper. When we moved into this business every time you turned around she was right there beside you and you were beside her. That was a tough transition. (Dad- Farm A)

When adult children returned and worked alongside their parents in the business it also added stress to parent-child relationships. In observing his daughter co-manage and work with her mother in the bakery this father touched on the older generation feeling like they are being pushed out:

I let them deal with it. They have real good days and they have not so good days and then they have God awful days. Well it's family working with family. If it had been my son coming home and he's pushing me out. I might not be taking it well either. But I might have moved more into this than the other stuff. (Dad - Farm A)

Further, parents continued to be in control through ownership and they make major decisions affecting the farm. Parents might not allow their children to progressively take on greater decision-making and management of the operation:

I think we're one of the worst groups for, I don't know, what you'd call it but...farmers in general, try and have family come in. But then not really allow the business or whatever it is to go in the direction it needs to go. Whether you feel you need to control it or whether you need to tell them something about it. But I would say everyone probably has the best interest of the farm. Like, for me, this is a fifth generation farm and I hope it goes to the next and the next. (Mom – Farm C)

Through providing financial, emotional and even physical support, parents continued parenting their adult children through the business. Although new or additional businesses on the farms attempted to provide autonomy and independence for the children, how the parents actually supported their kids in the business may continue to perpetuate a parent-child relationship:

I think it allows them to do something on their own without us being over here. This is a separate part of the organization, or a whole separate enterprise I guess. I'm always interested in how their sales are and what they're selling, you know and I'll probably also continue to be interested in it that way. (Dad – Farm C)

On the other hand, the encouragement and support received by the children was viewed as their parents taking a progressive view to how the farm should be run:

There's a lot of farm families that are very patriarchal. But he's not like that at all. He was always encouraging. That's what got me to where I wanted to be. (Son - Farm B).

Having the younger generation involved was valuable and provided vital resources to keep the farm fresh and energized, as the children brought enthusiasm, creativity, and passion. When his son and first wife came home the initiative taken to create the fall festival was credited for its positive contribution to the farm: "this is where their contribution was great, because they were attuned to what kids needed. Where we were just old fogies," (Dad - Farm B). The parents also needed to accept new ideas, perspectives and had to be open to trying something different that was suggested to them by their children: "because it brings a different set of eyes and a different set of design. You know, that's certainly not my strength so it's good to bring a different perspective in," (Dad – Farm C).

The additional roles and responsibilities associated with running businesses with family members are fundamentally compounded by familial relationships embedded in the culture of the family. Letting family members do what each enjoys, recognizing one another's strengths, while at the same time having a very informal business structure commonly occurred:

..... defining roles it's a bit of a challenge sometimes because we're a family business. Sometimes it's not extremely structured. But we do have the best things we do. We try to do those things. (Son – Farm B)

Likewise, family and being in business together does not always mix well:

.... just because you're brothers and sisters, can you get along well enough in a business? It's fine if Mom and Dad open it up to whoever wants to come home. But at some point if the wrong people are coming home? (Son 1 – Farm A)

Families in business together do face challenges unlike other families. But the added dilemma of where you work also being where you live presented unique challenges should the family business arrangement not work out:

I went to school for businessin all my business classes my teacher's used to give me a hard time because I would say "No, where I come from the rules are different. We have to worry about the family dynamics." So you can't say my partner is buying me out. Well my partner buying me out means I don't have a place to live anymore. Or I'm having a hard time because my sister has taken over and we're trying to figure out where each of our boundaries are. (Daughter 1 – Farm A)

Keeping the business structure within these farm families informal and relying on handshake agreements, the good will of family, might be sufficient in the short run. Long term stability and security, however, eventually leads to needing more formality. But because it is family informality is the norm: "I know that we need to get something written down and that's the way I'd like to have it, a contract. Cause in the end you always worry,"(Son 1 – Farm A).

In addition, families have a strong sense of obligation to be at the farm and helping out. Coming home to work at the farm is one aspect of this obligation. The other involves the children or other extended family members living and working off the farm who come occasionally to the farm to help, especially during the busy season, or because they like being at the farm. Family helping adds to the overlap of familial and business relationships. In some cases, such overlaps might strengthen family bonds, or alternatively, lead to ill feelings and resentment between siblings. In fact, the declining relationship between the two sisters on Farm A may be directly attributable to the lack of clarity in re-defining their relationship as adult siblings who also work together:

I don't want to tell her I don't want to be involved. But I do want to tell her it's not working. We can't continue talking the way we do to each other because it's not good for anybody. I think she's waiting for me to say "I don't want to be involved." I'm waiting for her to say "She doesn't want me involved." So I don't know. It might get to the point where I can't talk about the farm. I think I have to have that conversation separate from my parents because I know my parents will...If she says 'She doesn't want me involved.' It has to channel through her to my parents. They always want me to come home and do things for them. (Daughter 1 – Farm A)

The familiarity with your family has its advantages:

In general we're really close as siblings. We've always been really close growing up. I have so many people that say to me "I'd kill myself if I had to work with my family!" I just think it's finding a balance. You know how they are because you know them and you've lived with them. (Daughter 1 – Farm C)

There is also a chance of family members taking advantage of one another or rather someone feeling s/he is being taken advantage of within the business: "you have to communicate because you're siblings you can abuse that or take it for granted," (Daughter 3 – Farm C). Working together family members need to be aware of when they need to be in business mode as opposed to acting like a child, parent, or sibling.

Different opinions about the future vision of the farm were raised amongst the founding and the succeeding generations:

He [eldest son] was more a grower and I was in agritourism. He was going that way and I was going this way. If we had become partners it would have been a fight about whether we expanded this or that. (Dad – Farm A)

Thinking about how the farm will transition and planning for farm succession is never easy. With modernization of farming practices, older family members were still able to keep actively involved in the farm, unlike previous generations. Further, a reluctance to retire from farming as their fathers and mothers did in previous generations perpetuated the need to support multiple families at the farm. The diversifying into non-agricultural enterprises, such as agritourism, created the potential for attracting younger family members back to the farm. At the same time, these new on-farm businesses, added flexibility and accommodated new

skills and interests brought by different people. However, the mixing together of familial and business roles presents new challenges as well as sources of strain, stress and conflict on the family farm.

5.7 Becoming an Agritourism Farm

The extant literature on motives leading to the start-up of agritourism have predominantly concluded economics, and often associated agritourism as being necessary for the farm to survive. As already stated, the findings from this study did not describe the embracing of agritourism on these farms as a desperate measure for survival, but rather it was a choice. These families had a strong confidence in farming, more in keeping with needing to diversify to have a healthy, resilient and entrepreneurial farm. For these families agritourism is retaining key characteristics critical for continuing their farming *way of life*:

To be lucky enough to choose a business you like and it's connected to farming.... and hopefully it provides a return, it's a perfect storm. (Dad – Farm C)

As such, the embracing of agritourism on these farms was attuned to it being an evolutionary process rather than a single, well thought out, or planned decision.

5.7.1 Evolving and growing incrementally

Overwhelming opinion amongst the families was that engaging in agritourism was not a single, one-time intentionally planned decision. Rather it was described as a natural progression, evolution or unstructured organic switching that took place over considerable time, often years, as new ideas were added, opportunities arose or more members of the family returned to the farm:

We were a dairy farm and we started selling sweet corn off our front lawn and our sales just kept basically doubling every year. Eventually we started into pumpkins, we put in a petting zoo, and that's how we got started. It just kept growing over the years and eventually when it got so big we sold the dairy herd, expanded into the barn. Everything kind of grew a little bit each year. (Son 1 – Farm A)

Growing over time agritourism demonstrated an ability to contribute meaningfully to the farm household until more permanent transitions in the type of farming was made. The families also felt that once customers were visiting their farms more activities were added to keep existing customers interested in staying longer:

Initially it started off as a small pick your own where people came and picked the vegetables they wanted. And then it evolved to be willing to pay for them. Once it evolves to that then you're trying to think of other ways that are complementary when they're here to draw them here and keep them here.....We'd run a fall festival and people would come for more than just getting their vegetables and going home. That's what it evolved into once we had the building here. (Dad - Farm C)

Evolving and growing incrementally through agritourism relates it to a process. Further, growing through small stages meant the gradual transition became blurred and made getting into agritourism indistinguishable, for quite some time. In fact, reflecting back on their agritourism beginnings it simply seemed to be an extension of their working farm:

....we grew a few pumpkins and a little bit of sweet corn, mostly for our family but there was also extra. So we'd sell the best and eat the rest. (Dad-Farm B).

The incremental growth into agritourism was also described as occurring by the family self-financing it. Incidences of the families using their own money for operating expenses or capital improvements were articulated:

Farms rarely just jumped in and dump up to a million dollars [to get started in agritourism]. No one really has that much to put in. (Son-Farm B)

Likewise, as they re-started the farm market at their farm the sibling partnership at Farm C were relying on a loan from their family:

.....we didn't really try [to get a bank loan] we wouldn't have qualified for one.It was pretty much like if you can get your parents to help you and loan you money this year. Then you have numbers to back you upSo they were able to provide us with a loan for operational expenses and capital expenses. That is something that [pause] I don't know how to say it other than we were extremely fortunate. (Daughter 1 – Farm C)

The farms depending on financing their new activities and expansion only occurred when funds were sufficient:

That project that's taken about 5 years, 'cause you have to justify it and have to find and pull the money together and we are using our own money. I'm not much for using bank loans. So we are using our own money. (Son – Farm B)

On another note, an opinion raised by one of the fathers when he spoke about agritourism not reaching its full potential and this being coupled with his reluctance to borrow money for his own farm:

None of the farm markets around here draw the people they should for the number of people there are in the area. We draw from five to seven million people. We draw about seventy five thousand a year and we should be drawing three or four hundred thousand. You get people in the States that are two hours from any place but they can draw five thousand on the weekend or one day. Part of it is being scared to put the investment in it. I'm 62 do I want to go out and borrow half a million dollars? No. (Dad – Farm A)

Within his own business, he knows they need to undertake a considerable re-investment which will require external financing. Nonetheless, he remains unwilling at his age to put his family's accumulated wealth at risk in order to grow agritourism on the farm.

Reliance on resources available within the family and on the farm also surfaced as a means of expanding agritourism. Examples of how these families creatively adapt resources and materials available and re-use these on the farm for agritourism:

....we had old farm equipment that he's turns into water features. You hit this button that's kinda hidden on the farm and it sets it off.....it's basically all these crazy sprinklers and stuff, the kids love it. So it's still farmy but, it's not your million dollar splash pad you're going to get at a community park and whatever. (Daughter-in-law – Farm B)

Incremental growth and being cautious in the process of becoming an agritourism farm has yet another advantage. It provides an opportunity for on-the- job learning:

You're always learning. You're learning about what you can sell and what customers want. (Daughter 3-Farm C)

I repeatedly heard of how agritourism is very much an iterative learning process. Knowledge gained through experience is used to modify activities and practices along the way to improve agritourism, for example:

We learned very quickly that it wasn't just enough to let the pigs run we had to have, again, a story, idea, something to convey to the audience.
(Son – Farm B)

The transition into agritourism being a process where the family and the farmer can reflect on their operation informs part of the transformation. Not only do the families reflect and learn from their own agritourism experiences, but through networking with others involved in agritourism through organizations like OFFMA and the North American Farm Direct Marketing Association (NAFDMA), inspiration and support are provided to one another:

....we belong to two organizations which has helped us a lot. You learn by talking to them and seeing what they do and all that kind of stuff. (Dad – Farm A).

The new activities related to agritourism on these farms were found to be based largely on the farms' existing resources and capacity. Agritourism growing slowly over time as the family is able to invest more of its own capital, and the family provides additional human resources and skills to grow it:

It's hard to not just want to jump in and have everything all at once, I mean you have to build, build up slowly, Well, we're just going to learn stuff every year and slowly build onto that, but I mean you just have to keep it in checkit's easy to see in five years where you want it to be....there's surely lots of potential to build it up and get there one day, so it's just slowly but surely. (Daughter 2 – Farm C)

Taking it slow and building up agritourism on their farms makes it an evolutionary process. From its beginning, where agritourism is simply an extension of current farming, by selling sweet corn, or opening a berry patch for pick-your-own, agritourism had very little impact on how the farm operated on a daily basis. Years later, the situation had changed. The

activities had grown and expanded to a point where the family started thinking strategically about managing and operating agritourism on their farms. Over time, as agritourism becomes a prominent part of these farms, specific watershed moments were identified involving particular decisions needing to be made, being as follows:

- Charging admission;
- Balancing agritourism and the working farm; and
- Working on, rather than in, agritourism.

5.7.2 Charging admission

An apparent watershed moment was when admission fees started to be charged. Decisions to charge admission and determining the amount to charge were described numerous times as a major challenge:

That's the hardest thing farmers have to learn is price. I don't consider the wagon ride diddly squat but city people \$2 a piece no problem. I wouldn't give you a nickel to go on it. (Dad-Farm A)

Charging customers is an extremely hard decision for the families to make and is perceived as them breaking out of old style farmer ways of thinking. The difficulty is further compounded by not realizing the "value" of what the farm offers paying customers and perhaps them giving away agritourism for free before the decision to charge admission is made:

They'd come out here with a car full of kids and spend the whole afternoon because we didn't charge. It's that old style thinking like I don't know. I didn't think it was worth it or who's going to pay that? You just go no one's going to pay to come to the farm. (Mom – Farm C)

Charging admission is a pivotal decision marking a turning point into agritourism. Family members had different opinions on the amount, or even if customers should be charged. It is through making this decision to charge when differences in opinions between the farmer and the individuals managing agritourism clashed. For instance, the farmer here describes:

The hardest thing probably a farmer learns to do is price....uhmm.... To charge enough... We had a play area and there wasn't much in it. Ahumm... The animals were always around and she [his wife] always wanted to charge

for it and I fought it for years, uhmm, on the basis if you're going to charge then you gotta have something there to charge for. And, I didn't think the animals were anything to charge for because they were just there..... My wife on the other hand saw that people were getting something for nothing and that wasn't right. (Dad - Farm A)

In contrast, his wife, who to this point in time had been the one responsible for managing agritourism on their farm, felt it was absolutely necessary to charge to recover costs. She upheld the need to charge customers through comparing what the farm offered to it being similar to going to the movies or the zoo. From her perspective visitors who did not pay took advantage of their generosity. Unlike her husband, the wife at Farm A also recognized the value of the farm and she knew visitors would be willing to pay for it:

Well that's when we were being taken advantage by the public. They thought when they came here that they could just go out and see everything.... Then I saw that I could make money from that so I thought I'm going to get paid for it. Some of them have the idea that if you don't charge than it's not worth anything. So there's no value to it. So we're putting a value on it. If they want to go out there then they're going to have to pay for it. If you go to a show you pay. Go to the zoo you have to pay. Everywhere you have to pay. I need money to keep things going. So they're going to have to pay. (Mom – Farm A)

The perspective of being taken advantage of when not charging an admission was shared by another one of the farm families, Farm C, in this study. Farm B has always charged an entrance fee of its agritourism visitors, but there was still some tension around the amount being charged from the discussions I had with different members of this family.

In an era where our society is increasingly urban and distant from knowing where food comes from, the farm, farming and the family are of, and in itself, valuable and interesting to visitors. Family members realized that visitors coming to their farm from urban areas were more willing to pay than were local residents: “The city people, people out of Toronto, they got it. But the locals they didn't get it,”(Dad – Farm A). Visitors to farms are in part looking to get away from the city and to enjoy the countryside:

We want them to feel like it's a place they can go and enjoy and a lot of these customers are coming from the city so they don't get like, this open space,

fresh air, and, [pause]. They don't want to leave. Yeah, so I get it and I want them to have a great day so they'll come back and have [laughter] another great day. (Daughter-in-law - Farm B)

Farms looking to appeal to an urban-based consumer and looking to forge connections with their customers so they return to the farm is the ultimate goal. Constructing impressive gates and entrance booths to collect admission adds to the impression of the farm being worth the cost to get in:

One of the reasons that I built that new gate is that I wanted to... basically say that you've arrived. We always had a gateway and a ticket booth and all that stuff. But it was never just [pause] a grand entrance right. And this is what I wanted to do this year. So when people came up and they're ready to complain about the price, they look around them and say this actually looks like it's worth it. (Son – Farm B)

Charging admission also fitted in with adding entertainment. Special events, shows and play areas give added-value to the farms while attracting more visitors and keeping them longer:

And since it was this haunted theme, you could charge a fair bit, like I can remember charging 7 bucks, like you know this was back, you know in the early [pause] this was the late 90s now. And you know it would be nothing to have 500 people or better come in. In a night, you know, that's not big for us today, but that was pretty, you know, that was when we were starting off. (Dad – Farm B)

A further part of charging admission is deciding to sell prepared ready-to-eat foods to visitors while they are at the farm: “We were adding things like drinks, summer sausages,” (Dad – Farm C). Through an exchange between the parents at Farm B it showed: “that's the evolution too. First of all you got them here,” said Dad as Mom added, “Now they want to eat”. Dad then finished the sentence by interjecting, “So let's try to feed them a little more.” Farm visitors, especially the ones coming from the city, are a captive audience willing to do and pay more while at the farm if it is entertaining and worth the cost.

Charging admission also happened when the farm families realized simply attracting and getting more people to their farms does not necessarily lead to sales. The farm families

when they started out in agritourism expected customers to treat them fairly by buying something from the farm. Agritourism as an approach to attract customer so the farms sells more goods and produce would thus compensate the family for their effort, time and materials invested into constructing and offering fun activities for customers usually did not materialize. In actual fact, expectations of being compensated through increased sales were rarely fulfilled:

What you expected was for people to treat you fair. If they're coming to spend two hours at your farm with their kids then you expect them to buy a pumpkin, which isn't always the case. (Mom – Farm C)

Further advice this mother gave her own children as they re-started the farm store: “Don't make the same mistake dad and I did. The romance with farming, people just LOVE it. but you have to get what the stuff is worth,” (Mom – Farm C).

Aside from looking to attract visitors to their farms, the farm family needed to be compensated for the time and effort they put into agritourism. Creating a valuable farm experience for visitors and visitors being willing to pay leads into the second watershed moment of becoming an agritourism farm.

5.7.3 Balancing agritourism and the working farm

The need to minimize and manage risks on a working farm when visitors come was yet another watershed moment. The families realized they needed to either separate visitors from the working farm or take precautions to protect themselves and their visitors. Often a combination of both strategies was implemented. The families might also decide to farm differently, in part to meet visitors' expectations.

An operational component might modifying farming practices with an eye to accommodate visitors' expectations of the farm:

Everything needs care, maintenance, spraying, irrigation and all these things. And to cycle our production into our business schedule is sometimes extremely difficult.....And perception is reality as well. If we're in the middle of the day spraying on this side of the farm and someone's picking on that side, they can be freaked out. We don't do it. So then you're doing these long hours at night as well. (Son – Farm B)

Finding a balance between how the working farm continued to operate as a productive space, while also needing to manage visitors' expectations, was challenging. Some families looked to make changes in how they farm to strike a balance. While for others, it is an opportunity to further educate visitors about the realities of modern farming.

We're not an organic farm. I explained to people you have to be pesticide free for x amount of years and it's a very lengthy process and a lengthy commitment. it's something we might look into in the future. But with the cross contamination of sprays, you know we're surrounded on all four sides by large scale agriculture. It's very difficult for us to farm organically.
(Daughter 1 – Farm C)

When finding a balance between the competing interests of the two different farm entities it was clearly recognized the family's priority shifted towards meeting expectations of agritourism visitors. Given this behaviours and attitudes becomes pro-active in agritourism to reduce possible sources of conflict, rather than continuing to be reactive to issues as they arose, a much more common approach taken by "regular farmers":

Changing oils and changing belts and making sure the presses are all working and changing bulbs and making sure all those things are working. Because these are the factors in our business now that are more and more valuable.... Like preventative maintenance..... Because normally in farm businesses if things break you just fix them. But because we're changing so much and because we're growing to the point where you have to be more organized, this is where we're heading towards. That's another thing about the transition between a regular farm and this like newer way of doing things. (Son – Farm B)

Changing one's attitude and taking pro-active measures in anticipation of problems breaks away from the regular farmer mind-set. Beginning to think this way the farm family looked to manage visitors' expectations while at the farm. A further understanding also happened when it was realized the visitors coming were not familiar with, and largely unaware of the inherent dangers of a working farm. Farm families beginning agritourism quickly realized they needed to take precautions to keep visitors out of harm's way. For

example, the mother below highlights the dangers associated with its first pick-your-own and its poor location:

It was too scary, having little kids getting out of a car and a tractor, you know, going through the yard, it's just not good, so. And you never know what they're going to get on, you know, if there's going to be a little kid go wow and run to the barn. People don't have a perception of what's dangerous. And you know Moms are "oh, look!" and that's great, go run in the barn. Well, you were always taught, like I was taught, you don't go anywhere unless you're asked to go or told to go. You don't go near machinery. So that kind of, you know, we see that all the time where they just think it's something that's allowed and they should be able to do, but it isn't. It's really scary.
(Mom - Farm C)

These farms assume greater liability as visitors come: "they just decide to wander out past wherever they want to. And for us that's a huge liability because if they ever fell in our pond or something ever happened, although we have that blocked off, it's still on us,"(Daughter 2 – Farm A). Providing passive education to visitors alerting them to potential dangers through signage can be integrated into customer relations. However, it is more likely a combined approach is taken, along with securing extra liability insurance, to protect the farm and its family in case a visitor gets hurt or sick while visiting.

The cost of liability insurance for operating agritourism and having visitors on the farm is an extra cost needs to be covered. Again, a rationale for charging admission might be related to the new expenses associated with providing entertainment on the farm and needing to carry extra insurance. Once while the eldest son was delivering berries to his family's farm store he questioned why the retail cost of berries had increased when his wholesale price had not changed, the underlying factor, insurance premiums:

When I looked at my price my wholesale price hadn't gone up in eight or nine years but they kept putting their retail price up. That was a real problem. I said "How come your prices keep going up?" [Dad] said, "Well my insurance went up five thousand dollars." I said, "How come your insurance went up five thousand dollars?" and [dad] said, "Because of all the entertainment he's doing in the fall." So I told him [dad] to put his entertainment prices up. (Son 1 – Farm A)

Carrying more liability insurance is just one of the new expenses required in agritourism:

It costs a lot of money to run this whether one person walks through the door or a thousand people walk through the door. You've got your staff, you've got insurance that's a lot higher. (Dad – Farm A)

Providing visitor friendly facilities, customer service staff, and marketing are also new expenses to these farms. Once the farm charging admission, and takes actions to manage risks associated with having visitors on the farm, the third salient moment focused on managing agritourism is well on its way. This being, the family shifting from working in their agritourism business, to them working on it.

5.7.4 Working *in* to working *on* agritourism

At the start the human capital required for looking after the meagre retailing activities being conducted on the farm are handled by one or at most a few family members, on a part time basis. Relying on family members and friends to help out while the agritourism enterprise was small was very common. At some point, however, hiring of staff outside of the family is required, especially if agritourism really grows and flourishes. Hiring seasonal, part-time staff was a first solution. For two of the three farms involved in this study hiring part-time employees, high school and university students during the peak part of the season complimented the family contingent working in agritourism. Students were typically hired to fill part-time positions, and provided manual labour required to harvest produce, or they were involved in customer service roles in the retail and food service components. The family members' role within the business changed to one of manager with the hiring of staff.

Becoming a manager is coupled with considerable frustration, as expressed here:

Somebody had to manage the people that worked here. Because one time I came home from the farmers' market and there was a big line up at the cash and all the employees were having a party in the bakery. So after that I said "That's it I'm staying here." Because this place was more important for me to stay here and so one of our kids went to the market every week with somebody else. But I stayed at home to make sure it went well here. (Mom – Farm A)

The lack of maturity found when hiring students was a constant frustration:

Students, like one year, we had about [pause] a list of about 25 students that wanted to pick berries. But then we had to have one person phone them every night, 'Are you coming tomorrow? Are you coming tomorrow?' No, I've got a hang nail. Oh, noo I've got to go shopping. I, I just joked about the things the excuses they used because they were so lame. (Mom – Farm B)

The frustrations associated with hiring undependable students, in some cases, eventually lead to an alternative solution, which was to rely on migrant farm labour. This has been an effective solution for Farm B, as their off-shore migrant workers are described as:

.....basically the life blood of the operation in many ways they work from 6 am to 7 at night usually even later some times in the summer when we're really busy. Good hard workers, and again without your staff, where are you? (Son – Farm B)

On Farm C, when the parents were operating agritourism, it was possible for them to extend the total length of employment offered to general farm labourers through offering workers positions in the farm market as well as their conventional farm:

We get Newfoundland girls come up to help harvest in the fall. So if they come up in the spring it gets them their six weeks in the spring and they get six weeks in the fall. (Mom – Farm C)

In this way, the flexibility and adaptability of employees in one of the farm businesses being utilized in another created synergies across the entire farm operation.

For some the transition necessary into being an employer and managing staff was personally difficult due to inexperience:

I find that harder I guess because I'm younger. But to hire people that are older than me I find it hard to go I need you to do this, this and this. (Daughter 1 – Farm C)

The change from working *in* the agritourism business to working *on* the business therefore takes family members off the front lines and puts them into the role of a business manager. A transition they are not always trained and ready to assume.

A heavy reliance on family to provide much of the human capital required in agritourism coinciding with the hiring on-farm labour resulted in stretching the family capacity too thin.

The only issue that we're going through is the growing pains of what like I feel is the vision of the future.as things change I'm trying to get [my parents] them to say "Let's slow down the cash crops." we don't need all these extra lines of work to do, especially when this business is taking off. There's enough work here for everyone. (Son – Farm B)

A decision made a decade ago by the husband and wife at Farm C to close down agritourism showed it was more important to invest in the working farm and raising their family:

It's a whole combination of things there's no doubt about it.there was too many other businesses going on. Five kids growing up and they needed your attention too. So it was a combination of things. I guess, if it would have continued to be successful and roll along with employees in charge of it then we might have kept it going. I don't know. But it just wasn't happening. (Dad – Farm C)

Being stretched too thin within the family while trying to manage the conventional farm operations and agritourism on Farm C while their children were young ultimately resulted in the temporary shutdown of the farm market and fall festival:

We had some good employees but they have to have your vision to and they become the face of the business when you're not here all the time. It just wasn't working. So we said okay we're not going to run the market anymore. (Dad – Farm C)

Definitely in the early stages of transitioning into agritourism family members provided the majority or all of the human capital required. Agritourism relies heavily on involving family members:

So it's generally I'd say about sixty or seventy percent family here on the weekend and beyond that we'll have staff. During the weekends when we're busy we'll have around 22 staff to help keep everything going.
(Son – Farm B)

In time, however, the family's roles and responsibilities in agritourism change from being on the front lines of the business to being the manager. From this, and in combination with the other watershed moments, one last salient watershed moment was identified.

5.7.5 Planning agritourism

While reflected back on their path of *becoming an agritourism farm* it was often remarked: “we didn't know what we were getting into,” (Dad – Farm A). The incremental growth and natural progression experienced as they switched from conventional farming through to combining the farm with other activities eventually realizing they were in “agritourism” captured the path as a transitional process. A process in which many were, at times, unaware it was happening. On the farms, where agritourism began developing more than ten years ago, their initiatives were an extension of their farms and not planned. In contrast, the more recent re-starting of the farm store at Farm C has had considerable time and effort invested into formal planning:

You have to develop an enterprise basically and go through everything. You have to develop a budget and go through a financial budget for your crops.....I really found the business part of it and doing enterprise budgets really interesting. Just emphasizing the fact that even though you're a farm that you're also a business and you have to ensure you make money at all of your endeavors. (Daughter 3 – Farm C)

At the other two farms, planning for agritourism has since been added as part of their management. All of the farms had consultants in to provide advice on agritourism. Planning helps manage risks, ensure profitability, identify new markets and marketing strategies, as well as determine a vision for the farm.

On longer, established agritourism farms it appeared the evolution had more to do with seizing opportunities as they appeared than undertaking any formal or intentional planning. The adding of the winery at Farm A is a good example:

We lucked out. If we had known what we were going to do or whatever at one time, we mightn't have built the winery in the store and would have had everything on the other side of the parking lot, by the silo. We'd have probably died over there because people wouldn't have walked across the lot. Is that right or wrong? Don't know. (Dad – Farm A)

At some point in their growth and development, nonetheless, agritourism began to be strategically planned. Beginning to think and plan strategically about the long-term impacts of agritourism on the farm is the final watershed moment. Once in agritourism these farms then recognized they must perpetuate a cycle of change and evolution:

Yeah, yeah, but people, you know, our regulars, they do kind of look for us to change too now, because we are feeding them that. 'Cause they do see other places that aren't, and I think we've become first choice because we are evolving. (Dad – Farm B)

Although farmers are now being encouraged to act more business-like, the heartbeat of a farm remains the people living and working on the farm. The complexity of what motivates the start-up and continuation of agritourism stems from it being a gradual, evolutionary process. It often begins very organically and is undistinguishable from the rest of the farm. When the family begins making intentional decisions about their farm operations, giving priority to those activities associated with agritourism over the working farm, it is then that the farm becoming an agritourism “destination”.

Some things on the farm will hopefully last forever. But farming's always in transition just like everything is in transition. The one thing we can guarantee is we'll always need to eat. There will always be a need for, like clean water and fresh air. So if we can be a part of that system then I think we'll always have a good place. It just depends if that's selling direct or if that's going back to wholesale..... As I said before we're just very interested in making sure that the family farm here can be sustainable for the long term. (Son - Farm B)

5.8 Final Comment

Agritourism on family farms in Ontario more often than not is described by the family members in terms other than “agritourism”. Combining together its working farm with aspects of retailing, education, and entertainment captured what agritourism meant to

these farm families. For farm families diversifying into agritourism the multifaceted activities that they actually engage in are important for sustaining them in farming and their identity as farmers. Transitioning into agritourism was described not as a single decision but more an evolutionary process. Along with this evolution, various watershed moments punctuated the process of becoming an agritourism farm or destination. Charging admission, giving consideration and take action to find a balance between the working farm and the additional activities designed to invite visitors onto the farm, the family moving from being the ones on the front lines to taking on managing the business, then eventually, strategically planning agritourism, were the salient watershed moments identified. Throughout the process of *becoming an agritourism farm* the wellbeing of the family was considered more important than maximizing profits.

Once the families were involved in agritourism their experiences included them acting as farm ambassadors who were bridging the gap between agricultural producers and consumers. The building of relationships with customers, connecting with other like-minded farm families through networks, and providing support encouraging others in agritourism were important attributes of their experience. The loss of privacy and the family itself being intimately integrated into the goods, services and tourism experiences offered at the farm were trade-offs being made when engaging in agritourism. Remaining seasonal operations maintained linkages to traditional agriculture which supported the authenticity of the farm. More importantly, seasonality of agritourism, provided time away from the demands of the public allowing family members much need respite and time to work on their agritourism business rather than in it.

Finally, the possibility for multiple members of the family, and especially daughters, to come home and be part of the farm business emerged through taking up agritourism. Also emerging were new challenges associated with learning to work with family, across generations as well as intra-generationally.

Chapter 6

Is Agritourism Sustaining or Changing the Family Farm?

It is time, perhaps, to make a stand. It is time to define what is important about where and how we live and to stand by those values in defining our future. It is time to define our heritage and make the link between it and what we want the future to be.

~ Sandford, 2008, p.94

6.1 Back to The Farm

At the outset of this study, I had formulated the following two principal research questions:

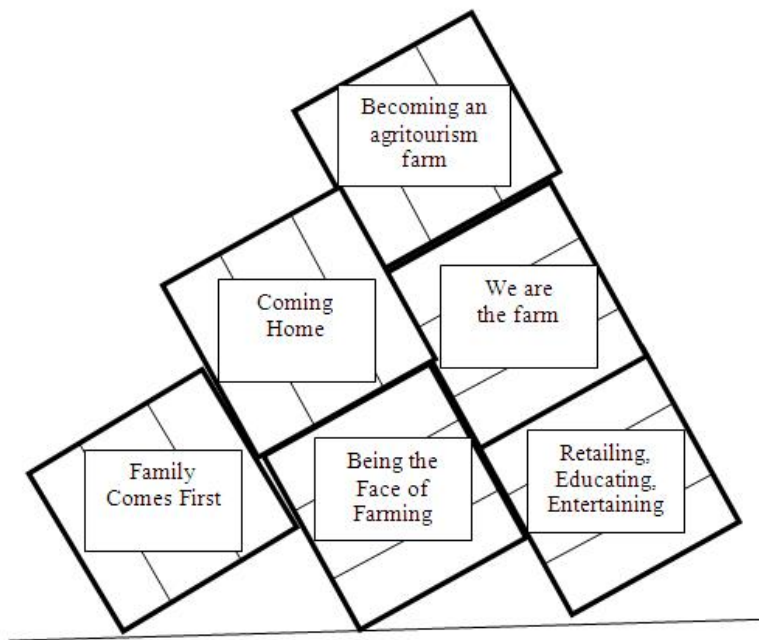
1. How do family members describe their experience with agritourism on the family farm?
2. To what extent has the farm changed since the introduction of agritourism and what do the families feel will happen to their farms in the future?

By providing answers to these two questions and their subsequent second-tier questions through the perceptions of those individuals embedded in the phenomenon of agritourism, the intent was to discover what precipitated the start up of agritourism on their farms, the motivating factors, and to acquire a deeper understanding and appreciation of the daily operations. Then, I intended to provide an indication of what the family's future aspirations and visions might be for their farm.

Upon reflection, following the identification of the six super-ordinate experience bales, and the supporting 20 themes intertwined within them, I realized it was going to be a formidable challenge to "answer" these pre-determined questions. I was reassured late in the analysis process by Crotty's (2005) sentiment that: "phenomenology lays aside, as best as we can, the prevailing understandings of those phenomena and revisits our immediate experience of them, possibilities for new meaning emerging for us or we witness at least the authentication and enhancement of former meanings" (p. 78). My realization and acceptance of what is anticipated at the outset of a phenomenological study and what actually transpires will not necessarily match what was resolved by noticing an over-arching thread of *farm family identity* pulling all of these themes together.

As introduced in Chapter 5, it is through stacking the experience bales together where a deeper and fuller understanding of the essence of agritourism for farm families becomes meaningful. As such, Figure 6.1 depicts these experiences as a “stook”. It is rare to now see hay bales assembled into these pyramid-like stacks in farm fields around Ontario. At one time, it was not uncommon for an automatic stooker sled to be pulled behind a tractor while haying to stack bales on the diagonal. In the past, hay stooks dotted the rural landscape throughout Ontario during haying season. However, the purpose of stooks was very utilitarian, shedding rain and minimizing contact with the ground to prevent absorption of moisture before the bales were picked up for use or longer-term storage undercover in barns. Like a hay stook, the essence of the different experiences of farm families engaged in agritourism is very “utilitarian” and a means of keeping the farm and the family resilient.

Figure 6.1: The Stoked Essence of Agritourism on Family Farms

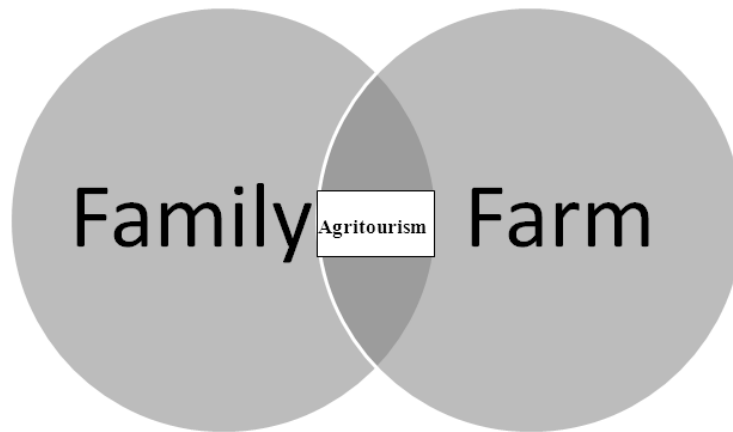


Therefore, within this final chapter I frame the discussion of agritourism on family farms as sustaining or changing identity by loosely using the two, predetermined principal questions. However, as you will find, I steer off in directions that were not imagined, but which emerged as significant interpretations in this study. As a way of providing some structure, I see the culmination of this study illuminating for us more about the changing meaning of a rural place (the farm) and its affect on the people (farmers and farm families) as they embraced agritourism. I believe my study findings do enhance, extend, and challenge what others have found in their extant studies of the phenomenon of agritourism.

6.2 How do family members describe their experience with agritourism on the family farm?

“Can you tell me how agritourism got started on your farm?” This simple introductory question brought up more than I could have imagined about the experience of getting into and the everyday work associated with agritourism on the family farm. Embracing agritourism is an evolutionary process, which is re-localizing or re-connecting farms with communities, and fundamentally agritourism sustains a farming *way of life*. As illustrated in Chapter 4, through the individual farm site figures depicted, as well as augmented through some of the narratives captured in Chapter 5, agritourism on these farms were one of many activities the families were engaged in and were not always discrete or separate business entities. The families clearly viewed agritourism as simply just another aspect of their farm. The embedding of agritourism within the overall working farm is shown in Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2: Agritourism Embedded in the Family Farm



6.2.1 Evolving

As a process, agritourism on the family farm is influenced by all the family members and their changing motivations over time. The decision to get into agritourism was not solely attributed to any one person or to a single reason. The way the family members explained the process of getting into agritourism on their farm revealed the process as complex and it being highly influenced by multiple factors and influences extending over many years.

One of the key strengths in having used IPA rather than a standardized survey instrument was that it uncovered the evolutionary path of becoming an agritourism farm. Getting into agritourism for these families could not be pin-pointed to any single factor or decision. Rather, it was revealed that multiple factors across social, economic, external and lifestyle motives intertwined. Further, various members of the farm families made numerous small decisions over a period of time that ultimately resulted in switching or transitioning how the family utilized their farm and were farming.

In her work, Carter (1998) noted that new activities started at farms may be initial steps in an evolutionary process that results in the development of a full-fledged new business. New ventures developed on some of the Swedish farms observed by Ferguson and Olofsson (2011) took what they called a continuous incremental pattern of development. Ferguson and Olofsson (2011) concluded such an approach to developing new ventures on

farms protected other farm activities from being disturbed by the new ventures. Very similar to Ferguson and Olofsson, in this study the families used a cautious approach to the start-up of agritourism on their farms, through self-financing and minimizing investment until a customer base was established or agritourism revealed a market base. This continues the concept of farmers being risk-averse by nature (Brookfield, 2008; Gasson & Errington, 1993). The farm households in this study sought to self-finance new activities in order to protect the existing, core function of their working farms. Also, they did not want to unduly risk the family's wealth as they initially diversified into agritourism and were therefore prone to repurpose underutilized resources and underemployed human capacities available on the farm.

Incremental growth and evolution also provided an opportunity for step-wise learning, as Carter (1998) also notes in her work. One of the three key strategies Darnhofer (2010) identified in his study was the ability of Austrian farmers to make decisions to stop activities if markets did not develop or unexpected difficulties were encountered with these activities. For the families in this study, the ability to try out new activities and learn on the job was important. The ability to test out new activities, determine if they enjoyed doing them, and learning of any problems or potentials while engaged in these new activities was apparent within the families in this study as it has been in other studies (*e.g.*, Brandt et al., 2010; Carter, 1998; Darnhofer, 2010; Ferguson & Olofsson, 2011). Adaptability is an inherent quality in farm families and places emphasis on learning through trial and error. Moreover, the process of searching for, identifying and creating opportunities is constantly occurring on these farms. Once they were active in agritourism these farms continued to modify their activities or add new ones on a yearly basis. Renewing their agritourism product was perceived as critical for continuing to attract customers. However, I believe it also satisfied an internal entrepreneurship in these families.

The distinction between getting into agritourism as a one time, consciously planned decision and it actually being a slow, unstructured and organic process, is an important distinction. This is important because it re-affirms inherent and core qualities of what characterizes the *way of life* for families in farming. In time, however, it appears these farm

families will begin to act more business-like and will need assistance and supports. Similar to the conclusions drawn by Youroukos and Koster (2012) more training and programming is required for established businesses in rural areas rather than continuing to only offer supports at start up. Specific supports for tourism businesses should also be available as their challenges are somewhat different and unique from other types of businesses. It is also important to recognize the evolution because it helps us understand some of the complexity involved as farms transition into new enterprises linking agricultural production to tourism. Extant studies have assumed and therefore approached agritourism as a deliberate and planned decision. In light of what was found in this study, it is not surprising that extant studies, where respondents tick off choices from a pre-determined list of possible reasons for deciding to get into agritourism, have resulted in multiple motives being uncovered. Consequently, others studying agritourism who have not appreciated and privileged the evolutionary and incremental development process of it have done it a disservice. To further our understanding of agritourism as a process and farm families choosing to diversify and make the transition to agritourism, more qualitative approaches to research prove to be appropriate. I say this because extant quantitative studies have placed various motives into separate silos at the expense of seeing the inherent complexity of the essence of becoming an agritourism farm and the heterogeneity of how agritourism is established and embedded into individual farms.

Beyond the initial steps of becoming an agritourism farm, these farm families find they are in a constant state of evolution as they respond to suggestions, ideas, trends, and new activities or ways of doing agritourism brought forth by family and societal changes. Continually modifying and adapting their farms through revisiting what works and being attentive to revamping them to remain successful is characteristic of the new rural paradigm (Hall et al., 2005; Halseth et al., 2010; OECD, 2006). The close connection forged with customers, and marketing of agricultural produce directly, provides opportunities for farmers and their family members to develop a marketing orientation as well as an entrepreneurial one (Alsos, Carter, Ljunggren & Welter, 2011).

6.2.2 Re-localizing farms

Perhaps as a backlash to globalization those family farms embracing agritourism are now unwittingly playing an important role in re-localization (Amsden & McEntee, 2011; Wilson, 2008). The strategy of re-localization is “where farms decide to partly withdraw from the sales of agricultural products through conventional agri-food or wholesale markets while, at the same time, still continuing with productivist agricultural production on the rest of the farm,” (Wilson, 2008, p. 368). Productivist farmers operating in the modern agri-food wholesale environment have little to no control in the customer relationship and are essentially commodity “price-takers” (Johnson, 2004; Vesala & Vesala, 2010). A widening gap between the individuals growing food and people eating it has eroded the interrelationships and interdependences once significant between farms and rural communities. Modern industrial agriculture and urbanization has had dire consequence to relationships between farms/farmers and communities, in a sense isolating one from the other. Re-building communities and society based on local food production and other local sustainable capacities is yet another aim of re-localization (Amsden & McEntee 2011).

The intentional opening up of one’s farm to the public is re-creating and re-establishing lost connections between farmers and consumers. Embracing agritourism, where a farm family is able to continue having a fair and decent living off the land, re-establishes an engaged and supportive community. Decisions made at these farms to change marketing strategies by getting out of wholesale agricultural commodity market and into direct marketing were common. These farms had a greater sense of control in the relationship they had with a broader customer base, and were able to provide a deeper experience to agritourism customers (Vesala & Vesala, 2012).

The baled theme describing agritourism as retailing, educating and entertainment, emerging in this study questions and unpacks what agritourism means to the farm families engaged in it. It also contributes to understanding the complexity of agritourism. If agritourism is a broad and ill defined concept and those embedded in it do not acknowledge it then why are we, as academics and policy-makers, continuing to perpetuate this term? The language used by the participants in this study to describe how they are diversifying their

farms was not through taking up “agritourism” or even more generally as “tourism” but their additional activities were called more everyday occurrences – retailing, educating and entertaining. Consequently, the farms attracted “customers”, rather than “visitors”. The farms evidently also sought to establish and forge on-going and close relationship with their customers. Often to the point where “regulars” turned into friends or business partners, while others advocate for the farm and farming by exalting and promoting the agritourism farm to their own network of friends and family.

Fundamentally though, these farm families continue to identify with being in farming and farmers. Therefore should we even be trying to popularize what is happening on these farms as anything other than it being farming? Perhaps it is time academics and policy-makers heed the suggestion for agricultural lands to be used more broadly and extensively (Canadian Farm Business Management Council, 2002; Salatin, 2011). This would mean farmers and farm families would have more say and independence on what they do with their land. For the time being, agricultural and farm policy is stuck in a dated productivist framework which is biased in favour of corporate, multi-national agri-food systems. Farming is no more static than is culture and farms have always changed with the times (Brookfield, 2008; Darnhofer, 2010; Gasson & Errington, 1993; Salatin, 2011). Those farms switching and taking a more diversified, market-driven type of approach may be early adopters and indicative of wider-spread changes in farming yet to come. What was profitable in farming over the past half century is not necessarily profitable for all involved in farming today, and to perpetuate policy on a primary agricultural productivist model limits the development of an entrepreneurial climate (Kline et al., 2010; Koh & Hatten, 2002) in rural areas.

Dated and corporately biased policies governing agriculture and farming today within Ontario might actually be barriers preventing innovation on farms. These policies need to be identified then relaxed to permit farming to evolve in response to societal changes. One of these innovative directions will be based on farms becoming consumptive places where direct engagement with an extensive and multi-faceted customer base occurs. Changing policy frameworks to support innovation and influence entrepreneurship on farms would stimulate rural community development within the province. In urban-fringe locales farms

engaged in agritourism benefit from the synergies of proximity to urban markets, but are also threatened by sprawl. Fostering farms to diversify and farmers to be entrepreneurial keeps them vibrant and viable. As noted by the agritourism principal/son on Farm B, his ultimate goal is ensuring their family farm is able to persist for generations yet to come by ensuring the family's livelihood is tied to the land and not by growing houses. Allowing farmers and their families to continue being a vital and viable component of a vibrant, healthy and entrepreneurial rural landscape is critical for their future, as well as the future of rural communities (Phelan & Sharpley, 2011; Wilson, 2008).

6.2.3 Sustaining a way of life

The study participants did not self-identify as tourism operators or as being in agritourism. Instead they strongly identified as continuing to be “farmers”. Continuing to self-identify as being engaged in farming and not tourism could further contribute to why agritourism farms are on the fringes of tourism product development and marketing. Further, farmers might believe if they begin associating with tourism then their identity as farmers will be threatened, which has been suggested as occurring elsewhere (Brandt & Haugen, 2010; Di Domenico & Miller, 2012; Haugen & Vik, 2008; Sharpley & Vass, 2006).

It was surprising these farm families did not refer to “agritourism” when describing their diversified activities. It left me wondering if these families not referring to what they were doing as “agritourism” was simply naivety or alternatively, perhaps, a form of resistance. Either way, how might these perspectives create barriers? Especially barriers for agritourism farms to truly engage in mainstream tourism. Not recognizing or resisting their farms as part of tourism could be preventing agritourism farms from fully and meaningfully contributing to collaborative strategies. For instance, tourism marketing aimed at developing regional tourism brands or destinations in association with more mainstream tourism initiatives. Moreover, it was interesting to recently find that a current study by OFFMA has simultaneously highlighted customers to agritourism farms are also changed their own terminology when describing visits to these types of farms. Compared to results from an earlier study, where agritourism or agritainment were stated, customers interviewed at

OFFMA members' farms in 2011 as part of this newer study were more likely to refer to agritourism activities they enjoyed at these farms simply as "family fun" (Experience Renewal Solutions, 2012). This speaks to the discourse about tourism on farms or agritourism actually being incongruent and incompatible.

In contrast, by continuing to strongly associate with being *farmers* and arguing that the core of their farm operations remain rooted in primary agricultural production, rather than tourism, is lending further support to the need to relax and reform farm and rural policies to allow innovation to be fostered by entrepreneurial farm families. Maintaining ties to the land and continuing to be a working farm were critically important for these farm families. On a personal level, these farm families did not see the addition of agritourism challenging their identity. Their view was quite the opposite. These farm families saw diversifying into "agritourism", through adding retail enterprises (*e.g.*, farm stores, markets, bakeries, catering, going to farmers' markets), educational programs for school groups and bus tours, as well as entertainment activities (*e.g.*, shows, festivals, hosting special events, play areas, corn mazes) simply as new ways to keep the farm relevant in order to sustain their farming *way of life*.

Situations had arisen at two of these participating farms where local municipal planners, building inspectors, the public health unit, or other government officials had questioned the legitimacy of them continuing to "farm" when particular agritourism activities were added. At Farm B a neighbour had alerted the municipality and challenged if their winter snow-tubing business was permissible on a farm. The idea of tourism being incongruent with normal, acceptable farm practice challenges the construct of what our society expects of a farm. A comprehensive study in Norway showed that as time passed within one generation and the farm become more successful and embedded in agritourism it is likely to discontinue farming as it is not possible to balance both a working agricultural operation and tourism enterprise at the same time (Brandt & Haugen, 2010; Haugen & Vik, 2008). Members of the families in this study pointed to circumstances where other agritourism operators had stopped working the land. For the families interviewed in this study giving up working the land clearly indicated those farms were no longer "in farming".

Farmland continuing to be worked agriculturally is necessary to be a farmer in their eyes. Further these families had no intention of following a similar path where they would discontinue growing agricultural commodities on their farmland. Not envisioning a point in time where they might choose to give up the agricultural components of their farms perhaps speaks more to the current position these three farms occupy along an agritourism trajectory. In time, perhaps, they too will be faced with the prospect of having to choose to discontinue active farming to pursue agritourism more fully. However, the expansion into agritourism on these farms, although these farms are still heavily intertwined and dependent on the agricultural productivist components they have, offers protection in maintaining the farm for future generations of the family.

The impact of concluding economic interpretations from previous studies of why farms diversify into agritourism, meanwhile, has over-simplified a very complex process. By reducing agritourism to “simple” economics, driven by the bottom line of making extra income or a profit, neglects equally important social and cultural values internal to the behaviour and characteristic of families in farming. There are ideological and attitudinal factors involved when decisions are made rather than just profit-driven, economic ones. The economic buoyancy observed at these farms, through their involvement in more commercial types of agriculture, allowed each the “luxury” to choose and embark on different types of activities. These farm families were choosing to do something they enjoyed. Satisfaction and improving their quality of life on the farm were accomplished by having agritourism at the farm with these new activities having strong connection to agriculture. Broadening out their customer base and deepening customer relationship through agritourism has also provided a sense of satisfaction. Maintaining ties to agriculture are critically important as well. In the event these new activities did negatively impact the working farm, as was the situation for Farm C, it is easy enough to revert back to working full-time in their conventional farm operation or to try something else.

6.3 To what extent has the farm changed since the introduction of agritourism?

Since the introduction of agritourism, changes were identified and had occurred to the farm, as well as to the lives of the people on the farm, the farm family. The thoughts and interpretations on the extent of change are captured in two sub-sections. The first sub-section focuses on those changes occurring at the level of “the farm”. On these farms attempts were made to find a delicate balance between the more traditional function of the farm - its agricultural productive operation, alongside its new emerging consumptive function involved in agritourism. While throughout finding this new balance, the farm remained the family’s home.

The second sub-section, “the family”, looks at the types of changes occurring to the farm family as a consequence of it engaging in agritourism. Familial changes were occurring due to the impacts associated with their farms becoming consumptive places and the pervasiveness of agritourism. Agritourism re-enforced their identity as farmers through them continuing to perform traditional farm work. However, agritourism simultaneously required the families to be more professional and business-like in their operations. Over time, family members assumed specialized roles and responsibilities in managing and operating agritourism on their farms. The new ways family and work are combined together through agritourism, and being more business-like in their approach, might challenge the status-quo of the farm family and its traditional structure.

6.3.1 The Farm

The farm being where the family lives, while also doubling as a working space, is well documented as one of the key characteristics describing a family farm (Adams, 2003; Brookfield & Parsons, 2007; Darnhofer, 2010; Gasson & Errington, 1993). However, when agritourism was added at these farms it further complicated the functionality of the family farm. Also, surfacing were impacts to the family’s home, the more private space on the farm, as the farm diversified into agritourism and essentially the farm became a consumptive place.

6.3.1.1 Function of the farm

The continuing of a working farm operation at all of these three farm sites was vitally important. By keeping the working farm, the families remained in farming and retained the image customers looked for and expected. The combining together of a working farm with tourism products is embedded in many of the definitions used to describe agritourism (Fennell & Weaver, 1997; McGehee, 2007; Nickerson et al., 2001; Veeck et al., 2006). This study, like many others, supported the requirement of agritourism having to be operated in combination with productive agriculture on the farm to be authentic (Barbieri, 2009; Che, 2007; McGehee, 2007; Veeck et al., 2006; Tew & Barbieri, 2012). The combining together of active farming and selling agritourism was evident, even though the participants in this study were less inclined to call what they were doing as “agritourism”.

Over the last century, farms have functioned as productivist spaces producing food and fibre for agricultural commodity markets and farms have become more and more ingrained in this approach. Within Ontario, the vast majority of farms remain embedded in a productivist agriculture model, with less than two percent taking on market-orientated approaches where they sell direct to consumers or engage in agritourism (Experience Renewal Solutions, 2012; Statistics Canada, 2008; 2012). Although the percentage of farms not engaged in a productivist model is small, the traditional boundaries of what it means to be in farming are currently blurring (Brookfield, 2008, 2010; Machum, 2005; Wilson, 2008). Nonetheless, at least in the short-term, the future of farming will continue to have a focus on the productivist model where training, policies, and other government supports, will merely continue to result in the consolidation of farm holdings, intensification, and commodity specialization. On the fringes, however, another path for farmers is being forged and it is also worthy of government encouragement and support.

Those farms on the fringes, following the alternative path, have been called “entrepreneurial” because they are innovating and seen as getting out of productivist agriculture. However, being innovative and “entrepreneurial” in how one does farming might be more important for retaining the core tenants characterizing what it means to be a family that farms. An alternative or consumptive path to farming may also challenge the

productivist representation dominating rural areas by demonstrating the persistence and resilience of the family farm not only to survive but to thrive (Brookfield, 2008). Perhaps our recent past with farms becoming highly productive agri-food production spaces has lost perspective on the symbiotic relationship functioning on a farm. To this end, the traditional land stewardship role farm families have as well as the long-term symbiotic relationship between the farm family and its farmland is maintained through diversifying into agritourism. The preservation of rural landscapes, vistas, and the viability of farms is accomplished through turning to agritourism, perhaps more so than farm intensification and specialization.

Those farms engaged in agritourism becoming consumptive places are meaningful within the new rural paradigm (Halseth et al., 2010; Saxena et al., 2007). As such, there exists a balancing act to maintaining the productive working component of the farm while operating its new consumptive function. In part this is being achieved by only having agritourism open to the public on these farms seasonally and it being in keeping with a more traditional agricultural calendar and weather cycle. It is the relationship the farmer has to the land - the plants and animals, which is attractive to people coming to visit farms (Machum, 2005; Salatin, 2011). However, to be successful in agritourism on their farms it is a year-round commitment requiring members of the family to take on multiple roles. Roles such as, a primary producer, marketer, farm ambassador, business manager, special event coordinator, and even entertainment performer. The consumptive function of many of these new roles also involves close contact and interacting with customers. In essence, the farmer and his family are integrated into the tourism product or on-farm experience they offer (MacCannell, 2001).

As the bond between the farm family as caretaker and steward is weakened through contractual wholesale agreements made with multinational agri-food corporations, farmers have less control, autonomy or independence in how they manage their farms. The turning to agritourism, on the other hand, is retaining and strengthening the symbiotic relationship farmers have as good stewards of the land. Agritourism, thereby, helps return control and autonomy to the family. Regardless of what farming approach is taken, the farm is a living

testament to the development, progress and achievements of the family. Further, the farm is a reflection of the family within the local community (Ikerd, 2006).

Enabling farm families to potentially focus on dual functions at their farms as part of the new rural paradigm, rather than continuing to privilege only its agricultural productive capacity, would greatly assist in doing farming differently. Such a focus would facilitate dialogue on the “value” of farmland and farming beyond its traditional productivist function. Up to this point, determining what to charge customers coming to agritourism farms has been based on the tangible goods and services being sold. For example, selling farm fresh produce, giving wagon rides, offering staged entertainment or recreation. The tremendous growth of entertainment is directly connected to assigning a value to a wagon ride, show, or festival. But it is more elusive and difficult to assign value to agritourism associated with education, preservation or awareness raising. Those more elusive and intangible components of agritourism have essentially become secondary and less significant activities at these farms because they are difficult to monetize. The traditional mindset of a farmer needs to move beyond valuing the farm through what it *produces* towards what it *is*.

The decisions and choices being made about the more tangible activities taken up through agritourism also affect the working farm. For instance, land is taken out of agricultural production to accommodate agritourism activities, such as for the building of permanent structures or parking areas, which essentially decreases the total acreage under cultivation. In addition, choices are made about what to plant, for example, crop varieties better suited for u-picks or mazes, rather for food or feed. Likewise, renovating barns and other farm building to accommodate non-agricultural uses (*e.g.*, stores, restaurants, bakeries, and classrooms) alters the nature of work occurring on the farm. What about the conventional working farm competing for the finite time, energy and resources of the farm and its family? As demonstrated in this study, conflicts do arise across the different visions held by family members. The conflicting visions are, in part, based on different roles and responsibilities embedded in the productive and consumptive functions co-insiding at these farm and necessary for operating and managing agritourism.

6.3.1.2 Home

Over this past century, the function of the farm in rural Ontario has centered on its agricultural productive capacity to the detriment of human and social components intertwined in what a farm means. Farm families choosing an alternative path now need to balance the farm's continued productive role while at the same time the farm acts as a place of consumption. Returning the function of the farm back to supporting the family that lives there can occur through diversifying into agritourism as it puts "people" back into the function of the farm. Endensor (2005) has pointed out that "the rural realm is assigned significance as that which remains the same in a changing world," (p485). The emotional ties the family has to its farm might be what remains *the same*. Agritourism is a powerful tool for once again making farms and farming relevant and meaningful and it retains those emotional ties.

The inseparability of the economic and social domains is an integral and central aspect that makes families that farm different from most other types of families (Brookfield & Parsons, 2007; Gasson & Errington, 1994; Hildenbrand & Hennon, 2005; Hill, 1993; Ikerd, 2006; Smithers & Johnson, 2004). Farms have the unique characteristic of where the family lives physically overlapped with where it works and it appears this intersection becomes more complex when agritourism is added. Throughout this study, I found it perplexing when family members referred to *coming home* when deciding to return to the farm as adults to work. Also, I wondered in many instances if family members had ever really left the farm. The emotional attachment of the family to its farm is a social aspect which cannot be detached from the economic necessity of the family continuing to make a living.

6.3.2 The Family

Changes occurring within the family are based on the impacts associated with engaging in agritourism as their farms transition into becoming places of consumption rather than remaining fully invested in primary agricultural production. The balancing of functions on the farm, as the family's home as well as the means by which it derives a livelihood, while

now also catering to customers is their new reality. Figuring out this fine balance between multiple functions of the farm challenges their farmer identity. The challenges were tied to the demands and pervasiveness of interacting with customers. Family changes were also related to the opportunities agritourism had opened up to various individuals within the family, in particular women on the farm. Finally, the professionalization of these agritourism enterprises allowed the families to act entrepreneurial.

6.3.2.1 Re-making identity

Identities originate through different types of work (Brandth & Haugen, 2010; Burton & Wilson, 2006). However, as previously described, the place, the farm is just as important for the identity-making of farmers as the work in which they engage (Darnhofer, 2010; Vesala & Vesala, 2010). The farm goes beyond a site of work. The farm has history and it represents those who have lived and worked there in previous generations. The historical root of the family in farming adds authenticity to its agritourism activities. Through storytelling, sharing family photos and histories, to even showcasing and staging farm activities, these farm families engaged in agritourism integrate who they are, past and present, into agritourism. This weaving in of their family history and farming identities helps to constitute coherent identities. Through sharing who they are and what they do, the family, in return, receives a new level of appreciation from their customers. Of course, the appreciative returns are often denoted financially, but it also re-affirms and empowers the families as farmers. For example, the daughter at Farm A spoke proudly of their farm becoming a family tradition for their customers who visit annually with their own families to have pictures taken during the fall festival in the pumpkin patch. In contrast, Farm B has incorporated its farming history into its marketing slogan: “Growing fun for over a hundred years” and it has created a line of preserve with labels prominently featuring members of the family. Reciprocity exists between their family farms offering annual, family fun and tradition to their customers. Likewise, the family photos decorating the market at Farm C provided history, context and authenticity. However, these were also important for making connections through potentially opening up conversations with customers who knew the relatives captured in the pictures, or

with other customers as they reminisced about their own lives growing up on a farm. Recalling and sharing memories of a not so distant past where the family farm dominated the rural landscape of Ontario reaffirmed for these farm families the alternative path they had taken through engaging in agritourism to maintain their family's legacy. As such, the reciprocity with customers also reinforced the importance and value of being a family in farming. It also reaffirmed for the younger generation the family's farming history.

More than the economics of making a living in farming, continuing to farm is associated with the personal value of *being a farmer* in terms of self-identity and a sense of pride as well as enjoying farming as a *way of life*. (Gasson & Errington, 1993; Tew & Barbieri, 2012; Vesala & Vesala, 2010). The personal interactions gained through agritourism, where customers get to know and shake the hand of the farmer who grew their food, re-enforced a sense of pride and legitimacy for their profession as farmers. It also gave the families a renewed sense of meaning to farming.

Further, individuals on these farms who carry out the primary agricultural producer roles lend authenticity to the other roles of those family members involved in agritourism, such as being an entertainer, tourist host, business owner, human resource manager, or entrepreneur. These new roles are created through their work in agritourism and are essential for being successful in it. Others researching agritourism have suggested taking on other roles challenges the identity of farmers (Brandth & Haugen, 2010; Di Domenico & Miller, 2012; Sharpley & Vass, 2006). Di Domenico and Miller (2012) have gone further by adding that when tourism is adopted on farms it creates unhappiness, resentment and it ultimately cannibalizes the working farm while changing the identity of farmers into tourist hosts. However, for the farm families participating in my study, they were clearly choosing, not being forced, to diversify into agritourism and it was improving their quality of life and ensuring their rural lifestyle. Being in agritourism provided all of the farm families in my study with a high degree of autonomy, expressed by them doing their own thing, being their own boss, and self-financing these new activities. They also expressed enjoying the work involved and the chance to have time off in the winter months. Most of the families, nonetheless, also remained heavily involved in productivist agriculture, for instance, the

eldest son at Farm A sold berries wholesale, and the parents at both Farm B and C were continuing to grow cash crops. However, combining their operations with agritourism allowed them to have time off, perhaps something not previously available to them when engaged in intensive types of agriculture, for instance dairying at Farm A. Interestingly, at present none of the individuals directly involved in the management of agritourism on these farms are employed in work off the farm.

There appears to be geographical or farm policy differences causing agritourism to be taken up in European countries versus North America. With the European Union's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) to be eligible for CAP payments, farmers are required to take up market-driven and environmental-friendly schemes (Darnhofer, 2010; Phelen & Sharpley, 2011; Vesula & Vesula, 2010). Involvement in many of the CAP inspired farming schemes have radically restructured farmers' role, because s/he is compensated for maintaining rural landscapes and vistas, rather than actually engaging in primary agricultural production (Brandth & Haugen, 2010; Crouch, 2006; Vesula & Vesula, 2010). Realizing the EU environment, where farm families wishing to continue living on their farms are essentially forced into tourism, against a free choice or entrepreneurial environment found in North America must affect self-identity differently. As such, Ontario farmers continued to identify themselves through their primary agricultural production role, unlike what is being reported for farmers in the EU who are engaged in agritourism. The geo-political difference between jurisdictions and how farm policies challenge or alternatively support the retention of farm identities becomes apparent.

I would even go as far as to say engaging in agritourism has re-affirmed and strengthened the identity of the farm families involved in my study. The self-identity of the active farmers in this study continued to be dominated by their primary agricultural production role. A further boost to the agricultural productive role of the farmers in the last few years, as articulated in this study, has been the local food movement. Nonetheless, the demands of being both in farming and agritourism are challenging. For instance, the demands include the invasion on one's personal life through the public being on the farm, and the family becoming part of the tourism product. The need to adopt a service-oriented self-

identity (Sharpley & Vass, 2006) or be professional in tourism (Brandth & Haugen, 2010) in order to be successful agritourism farms in Ontario is beginning to happen.

As the farms in my study continue to further evolve into agritourism, the family members may eventually be presented with situations where a choice in abandoning the farmer identity for a professional tourist host or customer service provider may arise. These families knew of situations where other agritourism operators had discontinued working their farmland. The family members questioned the legitimacy of other agritourism operators who had disengaged from actively farming their own land. This view is in keeping with others who suggest that farm identities have been found to be very resistant to change, as farmers seem to maintain an agricultural identity despite engaging in other activities besides farming. (Brandth & Haugen, 2010; Burton & Wilson, 2006; McElwee, 2006; Phelen & Sharpley, 2011). Eventually the farmers in this study might be facing future decisions of also having to give up actively farming as agritourism takes up more of their time and energy.

Agritourism being labour intensive also meant multiple family members could be involved at the same time. It also opened up the possibility for different family members to have specialized and non-farming roles on the farm. Therefore, the work each person does can correspond to his/her personal preferences, inclinations and skills (Darnhofer, 2012; Ikerd, 2006). For instance, it was very common in this study for one family member to be the actual farmer, and another member of the family to be responsible for marketing or managing the agritourism business. Specialization of roles on the farm may be maintaining the farmer identity of those individual most involved in primary production. However, the “familiness” of farm businesses revealed considerable overlap between the different roles as everyone in the family appreciates what each other’s roles and responsibilities are to ensure the farm’s success.

As found elsewhere, identifying as a farmer is still meaningful even when the work changes and it may no longer solely be based on producing food and fibre. I support Brandth and Haugen’s (2010) call that the content and categories of farmer and farming needs to change in order to match the innovations and consumptive practices we are finding on farms and to further support farmers to be entrepreneurial.

6.3.2.2 Professionalizing the farm

A mixed method study carried out by Ipsos (2011) for the Agricultural Management Institute (AMI) provides a baseline on the awareness, familiarity, and usage of farm business management programs, tools, and organizations amongst Ontario farmers. The study found only 22% of Ontario farmers have a completed written business plan, and it further highlighted:

.... many farmers are reluctant to see their operations as a business only because they view it more as a lifestyle. The farm is a part of their family and often a part of their heritage. Compared to other careers, farming is not only what they do it's who they are. (Ipsos, 2011, p. 13)

Generally speaking, farmers have informal verbal plans and very few have formal written business plans. The farms in my study, during their early days of agritourism, did not formally plan. Although indications that more formal business planning now takes place were mentioned, especially amongst the younger generation. At Farm C the sibling partnership created a business plan for the re-start of the farm market. Its creation was assisted by input from a banker, a consultant, a local Community Economic Development (CED) organization, and their parents. Interestingly, one of the daughters at Farm C actually prepared its business plan as an assignment for an undergraduate agri-business course she was taking at the University of Guelph. Recently planning for the future of their agritourism farms was also mentioned at both Farm A and B, as they had each recently had marketing consultants in. The daughter taking over the agritourism farm and the dad at Farm A are also participating in one of the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs' (OMAFRA) Growing your Farm Profits workshops. Recent examples aside, there was more of a reluctant history towards developing comprehensive business plans when starting up agritourism on these farms. This might have been due to the evolutionary process actually found or it could have be based on farming as a *way of life*, rather than a business.

Taking up agritourism appears to eventually fracture this farmer mind-set of not needing to plan their business. At least within those farm families seriously engaged in agritourism, as were the three families I interviewed. The hap-hazard and unplanned

approach towards their farm business ultimately gets replaced by strategic business planning and decision making.

It might be surmised that the families transition from running farms to running businesses. It appears these families engaged in agritourism were becoming more business-like. One could even suggest they are portfolio entrepreneurs because they run multiple businesses and have employed the knowledge and resources from existing businesses to develop subsequent ones (Alsos et al., 2003; 2011; Cater, 1998; 2001; Haugen & Vik, 2008). In fact, the watershed moments identified in this study are rooted in formal business practices- charging admission to recover costs associated with the agritourism business; implementing strategies to reduce risks, managing human resources; and strategic business planning. However, the watershed moments I have noted in this study as these farms engaged in agritourism might not generalize to all farms, nor are these a checklist of stages or components required as any farm evolves into agritourism. Getting into agritourism is a highly heterogeneous process and difficult to replicate from one farm location to another, as demonstrated through the farm histories, descriptions and conceptual illustrations constructed in this study.

The conceptual illustrations of the farm sites along with the conversations, presented earlier, demonstrated these families were operating multiple businesses. It is remarkable, in light of their unplanned and subjective approach to business, how adept and successful these families are at discovering new markets and opportunities. The constant seeking for the next idea, product, crop, or business was overwhelming. By running an existing business, these families had access to information and knowledge which then became the basis for new and innovative business ideas. The new ventures benefited from the sharing or transferring of resources and previous business experience. Also, the existing farm business provided access to capital to cover operating expenditures and facility improvements. Renovations, facility upgrading or new buildings on all of these farms were usually self-financed. Physical resources such as buildings, farmland and equipment were constantly re-purposed. At all three farms human capital, such as organizational know-how, employees, suppliers, and customers were shared between the different farm-based businesses. Starting a business from

an existing business base reduced some of the riskiness of new ventures, and by sharing resources across businesses costs were shared.

Farms are unique types of family business due to the high prevalence of new farmers coming from within the family as documented elsewhere (Brookfield & Parsons, 2007; Fennell, 1981; Hildenbrand & Hennon, 2005; Gasson & Errington, 1993; Martz & Brueckner, 2003). It is this connection, members of the family returning to the farm, that I turn to next in discussing impacts to the farm family structure due to it engaging in agritourism. Discussions focus on the family lifecycle and gender, offering guidance for understanding these impacts and implications.

6.3.2.3 Making connections to the family lifecycle

Getz et al. (2004) and Wilson (2007) applied the three-dimensional development model of family business created by Gersick et al. (1997) to family business in tourism and hospitality. The model allows for examination of issues along three axes: business, family, and ownership and takes into account the interactions between family and business over time (Getz et al., 2004).

The thoughts captured in Chapter 4 connected each of the farms to distinct stages along the business axis in Gersick et al.'s model. Again, Farm C currently at the start-up stage, Farm B in expansion, and Farm A fitting into the maturity stage.

Along the ownership axis all of the farms currently straddled the “controlling owner” and “sibling partnership” stages, as the foundational asset, the farms, were jointly owned by spouses living and working on each of the farms, but management and control of agritourism was vested in partnerships. Taking liberty and a longitudinal view of how agritourism has evolved on these farms, it appears over time ownership partnerships shift between family members, and not necessarily just between siblings as suggested by Gersick et al.'s model. Partnerships most often emerged between parents and children. An interesting anomaly at Farm A, which could hint at agritourism moving beyond family-based partnerships eventually, was the founding generation wrestling with professional advice it had received about their farm needing to consider incorporating. Incorporation of farms is counterintuitive

for a farmer. But for Farm A it would provide a single business structure able to effectively departmentalizing its multi-faceted operating and family interests under one entity. Legally incorporating would also provide greater security and protection to the family.

Likewise, evolving into agritourism along the four staged family axis of the model is where strong connections to the life cycle of the family as its family business develops are best represented. For example, from “young business family”, where relationships between the work and family are negotiated; “entering the business” stage encourages children to work in the business allowing them to discover if it is a career choice; “working together” effectively captures when the children join the family business and begin taking on management roles and responsibilities, eventually leading to the final stage, “passing the baton” where the founding generation disengaged from the family business and inter-generational transfer occurs. The application of Gersick et al.’s model, as recommended by Getz et al. (2004) encouraged integrative thinking about family businesses, in the sense that the family and the business interact and evolved together. Further, Getz and Carlsen (2005) advocated that family-run tourism business research should integrate this model into their investigations to help advance theory development. Unlike Wilson (2007) I found this model fit well with the experiences of these families along the business and family axes. However, I would suggest modifications to the ownership axis, which would embed and retain ownership within the immediate farm family, but recognize ownership shifts from joint partnerships between spouses, to joint ownership between parent-child, then finally, amongst siblings.

Additionally, making connections to different stages of the family lifecycle and the embracing and growth of agritourism have been suggested by others. In studies conducted by Ollenburg and Buckley (2007) and another by Rilla and colleagues (2011) both noted the importance of combining social and economic factors together to explain why agritourism is embraced. Further, these investigators found that different combinations of motives dominated at different stages of the family’s lifecycle. The entrepreneurship literature, on the other hand, recognizes it is when families go through transition periods in the family lifecycle that the likelihood of spotting new opportunities and acting upon these may be

greater than in more stable periods (Alsos et al., 2011; Nordqvist & Zellwegar, 2010; Wright & Kellerman, 2011).

Clearly within these three families, agritourism started up or significantly grew when adult children returned to the farms in their mid to late 20s, usually after being off the farm for university or college. In their Missouri study, Tew and Barbieri (2012) discussed the likelihood that the young age of their respondents may be linked to the younger generation in farm families incorporating new skills suitable for agritourism, or agritourism being integrated into farm succession. Both of these aspects, younger farmers incorporating new skills into agritourism on the farms and agritourism having a role in farm succession, emerged in my study.

Quite simply, the adding of new activities at the farms provided on-farm jobs, especially for the children. For instance, both of the daughters at Farm A recalled having jobs in agritourism on their farms while growing up. Although still quite young when their parents were operating agritourism at Farm C, the children did recall helping out in the bakery or showing customers around the pick-your-own fields. After the parents at Farm C closed down their farm store, one or two of the children earned extra spending money through using the venue to sell asparagus, sweet corn and pumpkin. Most specifically, the pick-your-own started by the parents at Farm B, when their children were in their teens, could be attributed to a desire to have the children employed at the farm. At that time, if the Farm B teenagers had found part-time jobs off-the-farm, it would have fallen on their parents to drive them back and forth to work. The alternative of providing employment for the Farm B children directly at the farm obviously solved the issue of rural transportation for the parents and provided good part-time jobs right at the farm.

As the children reached adulthood and choose to return to the farm it was apparent a new set of objectives for either getting into or expanding existing agritourism operations emerged. This was specifically influenced by multiple families – the founding generation and the children, all making a decent living from the farm through it being engaged in agritourism. It would not have been possible to support more than one family had their farms stuck to its more conventional commodity type of farming. Interestingly, for the participating

families substantial growth of their agritourism enterprises were directly attributed to times when the next generation returned home to work and live on the farm.

Although a parent might have initially instigated the start-up of agritourism they often spoke of emotionally, physically and financially supporting their adult children's interests and desires to expand the agritourism enterprises. For the younger generation coming back and working on the farm, these new businesses provided greater opportunities for them to bring new skills, talents, and take on direct responsibilities for managing specific operations at the farm. These enterprises also provided autonomy and independence to adult children by letting them manage discrete businesses of their own. The degree of autonomy the younger generation is afforded in these new businesses is still very much at the discretion of their parents, who essentially continue to own the foundational assets, most notable, the farm. The family's past experience and the influences of farming culture on intergenerational transfer have been both an advantage and disadvantage for facilitating the younger generation's decision to return to the farm and how they are integrated into the farm.

Adult children coming home to work on the farm is one aspect that this study revealed about the importance of the family to agritourism. Another aspect is the change taking place within the founding generation on these farms. The farmers in this study were older than the average Ontario farmer. However, the fathers farming on these farms have no intention of retiring any time soon. The continuing trend of farmers aging and fewer young people taking up farming may be influencing attitudes towards the retirement of farmers. People are living longer and longevity is changing attitudes across our society towards retirement (Darnhofer, 2010; Weeks, 2012). The changing demographics of the farmer coupled with their young adult children choosing to return to the farm means these farms will need to support multiple families, across generations, for a longer duration than when intergenerational transfer occurred at these farms in the past.

Agritourism not only expands the income generation potential of the farm, but is also provides meaningful work and enjoyable careers suitable for various family members throughout their lives. Growing up, the children in this study reported they were more likely to have worked in some capacity in agritourism than they would have in primary agriculture

on their farms. As young adults, they were interested and attracted back to the farm to settle down, raise their own families and to engage in worthwhile careers. For the founding generation, the parents, they too were working in the farm business across their lives. However, their parenting role became combined with a business mentorship role when their adult children returned to the farm. These families were quite definitely entrenched at the time of this study in the “working together” stage along the family axis of Gersick et al.’s model. Agritourism is often operated as a joint venture, recognizing the amount of time and effort required to effectively run these types of farms while also acknowledging the variety of different skills necessary and incorporated into running agritourism successfully (Haugen & Vik, 2008; Ikerd, 2006).

In sum, agritourism is labour intensive and can accommodate many people in its operation and management. Agritourism is also flexible and accommodating of different people’s skills, interest, and abilities throughout their lives. Within these joint business arrangements, the parents are critical for providing financial, emotional, and physical support to their children as they start, grow, or further diversify the farm into agritourism. Without their parents’ support and encouragement, it is doubtful these agritourism farms now being increasingly managed by the adult children in these families would be as successful as they are.

6.3.2.4 Gender

The expansion of the farm’s business activities and at least giving some thought (although not much formal planning) to how the family will continue living and working on the farm has led to new possibilities. Wives, and in particular, daughters are finding new roles and responsibilities to be involved in the family farm. It has been widely recognized that women are often the ones responsible for developing and managing agritourism on farms (Barbieri & Mahoney, 2008; Brandth & Haugen, 2007; Gasson & Errington, 1993; McGehee, Kim & Jennings, 2007). Within this study, the mothers at Farm A and B were credited for being the ones who instigated agritourism. Whereas, all three of the mothers fulfilled key management roles within the agritourism components found at their farms. The

mothers at each of the farms noted the modest income made from their road side stands and pick-your-owns during agritourism's earlier manifestations were part of the household's overall income. The small scale of agritourism initially at these farms were noted for being easy for each of the mothers to undertake while they also looked after their domestic and more traditional farmwife caregiver duties within the farm household.

Over time, however, the management of agritourism within the families began to alter into joint responsibilities between spouses. Successful agritourism required the time and skills of many people. In part, the financial contribution made to the family through the wife's agritourism activities as well as agritourism becoming a visible and more predominate component of the farm may be fracturing the patriarchal hierarchy valuing men's work over women's contribution to the farm. Roles, nonetheless, continue to be mostly divided along gendered lines – men continuing to be outside in the fields farming, while women were found inside behind the shop counters and in the bakeries. However, it is not clear if this occurred subconsciously to perpetuate a traditional farm family culture, or if it is a conscious part of staging agritourism to meet expectations of customers and visitors to the farm.

The patriarchal hierarchy of valuing men's work over women's within farm families and the historical custom of primogeniture are being fractured by agritourism. From a management perspective, men and women were just as likely to be making decisions about how agritourism operated on these farms. The new roles created in agritourism might also draw daughters as well as sons back to the farm. All of the children growing up on these farms worked in agritourism. However, daughters were just as likely as sons to be returning home to work in and manage agritourism on their family farms within these three families. Daughters, more so than the sons in these families, were likely the ones taking on leadership, management, and joint ownership roles within the agritourism enterprises.

Only on two occasions throughout this study did the topic of entrepreneurship directly arise. In one instance, it was after the tape recorder was turned off and I was thanking the mother at Farm A for her time as I was leaving that entrepreneurship came up. For about 15 minutes, she then shared a story about being recognized at a local business function for her joint ownership in their agritourism farm. She had been introduced as an "entrepreneur". At

first she had been very uncomfortable with being called an entrepreneur as she identified herself more as a farmer or teacher. It took several minutes into our conversation before she convinced herself that she was an entrepreneur. The other instance was during the conversation I had with the daughter-in-law at Farm B. A rare opportunity arising for me to ask directly: “Do you consider yourself to be an entrepreneur?”, she responded:

Yeah, we’re entrepreneurial, like, we are still business people, asking “How are we going run this business?” “How are we going to live off this?” “How are we going to sustain it for how many years?”..... we still do some traditional farming, we’ve got a pretty big pick your own operation here..... Yeah, just innovative in like looking at things from a completely different perspective, and it’s obviously just our personality. (Daughter-in-law- Farm B)

Farmers not self-identifying as being entrepreneurs is well documented elsewhere (Burton & Wilson, 2006; McElwee, 2006; Phelan & Sharpley, 2010; 2011; Vesala & Vesala, 2010). Therefore, it was unsurprising that the conversations with participants in this study rarely made reference to themselves being “entrepreneurial”. In the above two occasions, when entrepreneurship was discussed it was often related to being in business or running businesses. However, throughout the conversations I had with the family members, an entrepreneurial mindset and entrepreneurial orientation was very strong. These farm families acted entrepreneurial as they stepped outside of their traditional farmer comfort zone, and as they became business focused, while continually seeking out new opportunities and innovations to keep their agritourism farms fresh.

6.3.2.5 Acting entrepreneurial

I would argue that although these participants rarely referred to themselves as entrepreneurs, their behaviour, orientation, and attitudes are very entrepreneurial. However, the families and their individual members not identifying themselves as entrepreneurs may be awkward. For some of the family members they were even reluctant to think of themselves as business owners, let alone “entrepreneurs”, and preferred to continue a self-identity as being farmers.

Others, studying agritourism within the European context, have provided considerable insight into why farmers diversifying into agritourism might or might not consider themselves to be entrepreneurial (McElwee, 2006; Phelan & Sharpley, 2010; 2011; Vik & McElwee, 2011). On the other hand, many of the studies carried out in the United States simply imply that farmers getting into agritourism are entrepreneurs (Barbieri & Mshenga, 2008; Kline et al., 2010; McGehee & Kim, 2004; Nickerson, et al., 2001). Norwegian studies have suggested the possibility that farmers in agritourism combine and juggle several identities and shift between different ones as the social context requires (Brandth & Haugen, 2010; Haugen & Vik, 2008). There is no doubt farmers, and others' in the family, are developing new skills, capacities, and access to markets outside of traditional agriculture as they start-up new businesses, and as such, they should recognize these entrepreneurial pursuits. But can one be an entrepreneur if s/he does not see or accept s/he is an entrepreneur? Is it appropriate for us, as academics or policy-makers, to impose entrepreneurship as part of the identity on particular farmers, or agritourism principals, or even more broadly on those farm families engaged in agritourism?

Is it necessary or advantageous to perpetuate the discussion concerning if either individuals or farm families collective operating agritourism are specific types of entrepreneurs? Does it matter if these farmers/farm families are lifestyle entrepreneurs, constraint entrepreneurs, or portfolio entrepreneurs, for instance? Labelling agritourism principals or the farm family who runs such businesses as entrepreneurial might ultimately compromise and undervalue their self-identity as farmers. We should not forget farming culture does not traditionally identify with entrepreneurship (Dudley, 2003; Hildenbrand & Hennon, 2008; Phelan & Sharpley, 2010, 2011; Richards & Bulkley, 2007).

Identities change slowly, and through the process of change identities may progress and become complicated as they reposition and are made significant (Crouch, 2006; Vesala & Vesala, 2010). The reality of not identifying as entrepreneurs does not preclude providing business and entrepreneurial support to agritourism farms and the proponents starting and developing these on-farm endeavours. As such, support should be provided for improving business planning, business and management skills, helping identifying opportunities,

conducting marketing research, and improving objective knowledge, such as cost-benefit analysis, competitive analysis, pricing strategies or impact assessments. As Roberts and Hall (2001) stated, farmers are more likely to leap into agritourism rather than to plan it. This was definitely the situation for the families I met. Perhaps as early adopters of agritourism within the province, their unplanned approach was inevitable given the lack of programming or policies when they started into agritourism in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Identifying, exploiting and being responsive to new and emerging opportunities were paramount factors for the farms to become more market-oriented in response to changes in society and external factors affecting farming. For instance, for the farms it was an important consideration when getting into agritourism that they dispense with relying on a wholesale approach where farmers have minimal control over selling their agricultural produce and instead, they embraced and became “price-makers”. McElwee (2006) re-enforces from his findings that diversified farms are more often started as a reaction to dissatisfaction with existing conditions rather than in a purely entrepreneurial pursuit of opportunity. I did not find that the farms in my study actually created new or distinct business enterprises for bringing agritourism to life on their farms. Rather, the first agritourism activities added to these farms were described as “natural” extensions of their existing agricultural production. In time, however, the families’ ability to re-organize resources on the farm to improve and build upon their earlier pursuits in agritourism was revealed. The evolutionary process into agritourism is quite organic, lacks pro-active planning and is highly unstructured. The lack of planning allowed the families to be more subjective and fluid when agritourism started up ensuring it fit in with the interests of individuals within the family, as well as serendipitously with components of the working farm.

The exposure to and the direct involvement of the children in the agritourism business while growing up, as well as them observing their parents operating farm businesses, provided entrepreneurial role modeling. Families have the capacity to drive both the processes and outcomes of entrepreneurship and Rogoff and Heck (2003) state the family is the oxygen that feeds the fire of entrepreneurship. For instance, these families have the entrepreneurial mindset, attitudes, values and beliefs, orientating them towards entrepreneurship even though

they do not describe themselves as entrepreneurs. Rather than seeking to label farm families that engage in agritourism as “entrepreneurial”, we should shift our examination to focus on the use, development, and deployment of entrepreneurial mindsets and capabilities across generations, which are then applied to existing activities or adapted to create new ones. Transgenerational entrepreneurship (Nordquist & Zellwegar, 2010) might be a more appropriate framework to use in the case of farm families engaged in agritourism. Although I am not suggesting the adoption of yet another label, but transgenerational entrepreneurship is a more dynamic view of entrepreneurship as a process. It essentially captures how, over time, families use and develop entrepreneurial mindsets and family influenced capabilities to create new streams of entrepreneurial, financial and social value across generations (Nordquist & Zellwegar, 2010, p. 5). Taking a dynamic and longer-term view into consideration focuses on the impacts of entrepreneurship on current members of the families as well as future generations. Transgenerational entrepreneurship could be a valuable construct for understanding and moving farm succession beyond it only being about changing the ownership and leadership of the farm across generations, to farm succession needing to be a transformative process.

6.4 What do the families feel will happen to their farms in the future?

I was surprised by the level of optimism these families had towards the future of their farms and farming. It is, therefore, in conjunction with the following second-tier research question posed: *To what extent is agritourism thought of as a potential mechanism for helping with farm succession?* that my study is believed to contribute the most insight towards enhancing our appreciation of why farm families embrace agritourism.

Agritourism at each of these farms is a mechanism for continuing to keep the family on the farm and connected to farming. Agritourism activities were either introduced at these participating farms or the growth of it occurred when the next generation expressed interest in returning to the farm. It was clear from the perspectives of the founding generation that their adult children were making a choice freely to return to the farm, and it was not an obligation imposed on the children by their parents. Indeed, the intergenerational transfer of

the farm is engrained within farming culture, characterizing a farming *way of life*, and it is part of the socialization of children growing up on the farm (Brookfield & Parson, 2007; Gasson & Errington, 1993; Martz & Brueckner, 2003). Nonetheless, most of the parents in this study were not expecting their children to farm. Likewise, most of the children, although they had strong emotional connections to the farms, were all making their own decisions about coming home.

The use of agritourism for farm succession has been touched on in extant studies, but has not been sufficiently investigated or well documented (Barbieri, 2009; Hall et al., 2003; McGehee & Kim, 2004; Nickerson et al., 2001; Tew & Barbieri, 2012). In her study examining the accomplishment of different goals driving agritourism development in Canada, Barbieri (2009), showed that only one of four goals had high levels of both importance and accomplishment to continue farming and for farm succession. However, in the same study, the goal of providing employment for family member was found to be both of low importance and of low accomplishment amongst agritourism providers (Barbieri, 2009). By way of comparison, one of the themed bales in this study, *family comes first*, incorporated the goal of employing family members. Providing employment for the family is often categorized as an economic motive for getting into agritourism, but in this study creating employment for family members connected to it being a more socially driven factor associated with the traditional characteristics describing what it means to be a farming family. The contradictions between my study and Barbieri's on the importance of providing employment for family members should not overshadow the importance of employment in general demonstrated through the results of other studies (Nickerson et al., 2001; Sharpley & Vass, 2006; Wilson, 2007).

As employees, when the younger generation within these families work in agritourism, they were noted for bringing in new ideas, energy, and skills important for adapting the farm in new directions. However, a willingness on the part of parents to give up control is also a required ingredient in order for the children to take agritourism off in new directions. Younger farmers, or the next generation, are often more adaptable, adventuresome, and willing to introduce new approaches, products or services on the farm

(Barbieri & Mshenga, 2008; Darnhofer, 2010; Eckert, 2004; Schroeder, 2004). The new skill sets associated with being successful agritourism enterprises related to management and marketing as opposed to conventional agricultural production and wholesale farming, is also attractive to younger family members.

Further, expanding into agritourism is labour intensive and it requires more than one person on the farm. Agriculture economists have for years referenced the flexibility of farms to expand in order to accommodate and support multiple members of a family (Brookfield, 2008; Gasson & Errington, 1993; Ikerd, 2006; Mendoza, 2008). In addition, roles can be specialized through operating an agritourism farm, such as someone being the “farmer” and someone else the “marketer”. It was often noted in this study that individual family member took on roles they were good at or enjoyed. The expansion and future direction of the farm then becomes directly influenced by who chooses to become involved and what abilities, skills, and interests they bring which are then integrated into the farm operation.

The legacy of the family in farming and their emotional ties to the land were very apparent in this study. Not surprising, as the inter-generational transfer of the farm is a crucial characteristic describing a family farm (Fennell, 1981; Gasson & Errington, 1993; Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007). Moreover, if agritourism really is sustaining the characteristics of what it means to be a “family farm”, then the family continuing on the farm across generations is critical. However, the succeeding generation within these farm families envisioned different ways of carrying on farming than did their parents’ generation.

Further, the changes taking place on these farms are very much influenced by the parents’ own perceptions and personal experiences of farm succession. Carrying forward past experiences and how these experiences influence future decision-making has been recognized as “system memory” (O’Sullivan, 2004; Wilson, 2008). A system carries forward its memories or “baggage” of previous decisions and this history, both positive and negative, situates itself on a spectrum for how similar decisions might be made in the future. O’Sullivan (2004) emphasised that, “history matters and that path dependence holds that a system’s trajectory is a function of past states, not just the current state,” (p. 285). When faced with making decisions about transferring the farm, the parents in this study expressed

hope that at least one of their children would come home. However, returning was never something forced or expected upon any of their children. Rather, their kids were making their own choice to return to the farm. But are the adult children at these farms really making their own choice freely? How can the family's history of generations on the farm be forgotten and abandoned? I would argue that by continuing to be involved in the farm's business while growing up, although more so through their involvement in the agritourism components than the working farm, pre-conditioned and prepared the children to return to the farm. Significant differences between the founding generation's own experience with farm succession and the next generations' experiences have tremendous influence on who and how many children come home to the farm, especially when the farm is a diversified operation.

Establishing agritourism on the farm might be having more impact on fracturing system memory related to traditional gendered stereotypes on farms, especially when the next generation gets involved. Daughters on two of the three farms in this study appeared to be the ones within the family returning to take over the agritourism components. At both Farm A and C the daughters were noted as agritourism successors and as such tended to be flexible and inclusive with respect to involving other siblings in the business. For instance, at Farm C the eldest daughter pushed for a partnership amongst the five siblings. Likewise, the youngest daughter currently being groomed as the next agritourism owner at Farm A stressed her desire for a succession/business plan where her siblings could each feel/he could return to the farm to work. Her strong sentiment for such a plan may, in part, be due to her reflecting on the experience of the failed negotiation her one brother had with the parents several years ago. Further, her feelings that had her one brother successfully negotiated to take over the agritourism farm then she would not have been welcomed back to work their influenced her approach of planning for the future of the business.

It is unfortunate, however, that I was not able to connect with the son at Farm A who was unable to negotiate a successful succession agreement with his parents to get his perspective. Equally, the experiences of others with whom I was unable to connect at the other farms would have been informative. I am sure these conversations might have added considerable depth and context to possible differences in outlook concerning succession,

especially between sons and daughters. The narratives provided by these individuals may have further clarified the gendered differences I am suggesting were apparently daughters are the ones returning to live and work on the family farm.

Fathers, on the other hand, were taking a new perspective on their retirement. Unlike their own fathers from whom they had taken over the family farm more than 30 years ago, the fathers within these families did not see themselves as ever fully retiring. The mechanization of farming during their lifetime has resulted in farming being less demanding physically and this contributed to delaying retirement or never fully planning on retiring. Furthermore, supporting multiple families across generations on an agritourism farm and the emerging new roles involved also influenced the fathers' thoughts of never having to retire.

6.5 Study Implications

The 20 themed experiences which emerged, the baling together of these into six super-orient themes, and finally “stooking” these provides valuable insight into the complexity of the intertwined experience of farm families engaged in agritourism in Ontario. This study has implications for both policy-makers and academics focusing on agritourism. For academics it also has implications for anyone who is thinking of using a phenomenological approach, and more specifically, IPA for analysis.

The results from this study should help policy-makers design and implement programs and policies suited to helping farm families over several years as they transition into agritourism. In particular, policies should move away from treating agritourism as a conscious, single, one-shot, planned event and recognize the long term needs of supporting farmers in the transition. Providing business skills and resources suitable for running farm-based businesses should also be considerations. Policies and initiatives encouraging farmers to diversify into agritourism should highlight its benefits as well as impacts on the farm and the family, and not emphasize so ardently its ability to generate revenue. In particular, policies and regulations are needed that are focused on farm succession and how bureaucratic burden can be minimized to seamlessly transfer farms to multiple members of the succeeding generations. Likewise, consideration should be given to recognizing the importance of

fostering an entrepreneurial climate in rural Ontario, where innovative enterprises and new activities are accepted and permitted by expanding the scope of what is considered *normal farming practice* in Provincial Policy Statements. All of these policy updates would recognize the entrepreneurial lead already taken by farm families engaged in agritourism.

Economic development organizations could implement programs where entrepreneurial farms would become rural business incubators. Various policy-makers responsible for economic development, tourism, and rural affairs could assist by working with agritourism principals to build a toolbox of practical and actionable agritourism business tools, such as agritourism business plans, agritourism succession plans, management skills, and skills to work effectively with your family members in a business. The toolbox could include strategies for identifying opportunities and improving objective knowledge, such as cost-benefit analysis, competitive analysis, pricing, and impact assessments. Policy-makers could also recognize and be inclusive of agritourism farms in initiatives to brand regions, build businesses, and community. Further, maintaining the seasonality of agritourism operations is critical as it keeps the farm family renewed and resilient. As such, policy-makers need to change their attitude towards the seasonality of agritourism and, as such, stop advocating for farms involved in tourism to be open year round.

For academic colleagues, the implications of this study are in its baled themes and conceptual contributions as well as through sharing my experience of using phenomenology. The themes provide an understanding of the lived experience of farm families in agritourism. Each of these themes reflects an aspect of the experience and provides direction that academics could use when designing and carrying out their own investigations. I have laid the groundwork for others to build upon and further our understanding on any of these areas related to the phenomenon of agritourism on family farms. The conceptual contributions this study has made through the unpacking and further questioning of agritourism, the persistence of farm families, farm continuation and succession, identity, and entrepreneurship within a family context are areas each worthy of further investigation and research.

As other researchers consider the use of phenomenology for the first time in their own studies, I hope they will take with them the lessons I have learned along the way. Some of

my challenges and suggestions are captured in the following sub-sections, however, there are a couple of aspects I feel compelled to emphasize. Plan a small sample design to keep the study manageable. If you find you have time, you can always add another person or go back and meet a second or third time with the same individuals. Secondly, think about possible strategies to work collaboratively. Is there someone you know working on the same topic at the same time as you? Could you arrange to be independent auditors for one another? A more collaborative approach is helpful to work through any sundry research methodology difficulties encountered while conducting analysis and while writing up findings.

6.6 Strengths and Limitations of the Study

There were several strengths and limitations of this study. Methodologically, this study is one of only a very few other known studies of agritourism using phenomenology (see Bourdeau, Doyon & Donne, 2001 and Doyon, Bourdeau & Charron, 2006 for study conducted in Quebec and Brandth, Haugen & Kramvig, 2012 for one carried out in Norway). More specifically, this study is the first to employ IPA specifically in the investigation of agritourism. In adhering to the theoretical underpinnings, steps, and procedures of IPA, I addressed shortcomings raised by Szarycz (2009) about the use of phenomenological approaches in tourism where the methods, active interviews and observation, are used without fully embracing the philosophical or theoretical underpinnings of phenomenology.

As a phenomenological study, the results of course are not representative and should not be generalized to all farm families engaged in agritourism. The sample did allow for a deeper exploration of the lived experience of individuals as part of families engaged in agritourism on the farm. The inclusion of three farm site and 17 family members provided considerable data, so even smaller samples can provide rich insights.

Unlike other investigations into agritourism, where the first task involved compiling a comprehensive database of agritourism providers, I was very fortunate to have OFFMA. As a members-based organization representing Ontario family farms involved in direct farm marketing and agritourism I was able to draw upon its membership database and market research. At the beginning, the Executive Director of OFFMA helped by providing me with a

short-list of possible candidates. Throughout my study I was able to access OFFMA's research reports and findings to compliment aspects of my study.

Despite the wealth of data derived from my sample, the inability to connect with the five family members not residing on the farms or uninvolved in the management of the agritourism farms was unfortunate. Five more conversations and additional data from a group of individuals somewhat underrepresented in the study's overall sample in the end may have influenced the emerging experiences and therefore the baled themes. I am sure these additional conversations would have added considerable depth and context to specific areas of this study, especially the discussion on the future of the farm and these individuals' part in it.

My own history and experiences of growing up in a family that owned and operated a family-run business (although not a farm or tourism business) may have influenced this study. I attempted to address this possible bias by bracketing it throughout the study. However, I cannot discount who I am and how it might have consciously or unconsciously influenced my choice of topics to pursue during the conversations with participants, or how who I am might have biased my interpretation of the data and ultimately the emerging themes. I have no doubt that if other researchers had access to my data they would bring not only a different theoretical lens, but also who they are to interpreting the data. Consequently, the themes emerging from another researcher's analytic dialogue with these transcripts may be different than my own. Ultimately, that would reveal even more insight to the experience of farm families transitioning to and engaging in agritourism.

Finally, the inherent nature and value of a phenomenological approach to inquiry is that it ultimately raised more questions than it provided answers. This is both a limitation and an opportunity. Instead of making assumptions about agritourism and then testing them, the choosing of phenomenology privileged the lived experiences and perspectives of those embedded in it. Van Manen (1990) suggests those unfamiliar with phenomenology will unsuccessfully seek a conclusive result. I did not find, nor did I intend to find the "true" meaning of agritourism on the family farm. In fact, I discovered how complex and chaotic the experience is and how many meanings there are for members of these three farm families.

The findings from this study have broadened the literature on agritourism, including: the persistence of farm families, farm continuation and succession, farm identity, and entrepreneurship within a family context. I have laid the groundwork for others to build upon and further our understanding on any of these areas.

6.7 Suggestions for Future Research

The findings of this study and the limitations discussed above open up many areas for further exploring agritourism. For example, by focusing on single IPA farm family case studies even deeper insights would be provided. In time, when a collection of single cases have been conducted, comparative analysis across cases could then be carried out. Eventually, it will be possible to build a picture of a larger population of agritourism farms. Are the themes revealed here evident on other farms? As more cases are completed, it will also shed insight into the family, business, and location differences that I believe might influence farm diversification into agritourism. Doing more farm family case studies with IPA will also direct where sampling of further studies in relation to previous studies on the topic should be done. As such I would suggest doing single IPA case studies with farms in different geographical locations (*e.g.*, area beyond southern Ontario, other Canadian provinces, remote rural and rural-urban fringe locations) or based on types of operation (*e.g.*, where the working farm has been discontinued, farms diversified in other businesses – Community Supported Agriculture, stages of business development) or with amenity migrants (*e.g.*, first generation farmers, lifestyle farmers where ancestral connections to the land and a farming legacy does not exist).

It also would be beneficial to involve other researchers in conducting these IPA case studies as it would add different perspectives and knowledge. Within a network, these researchers could collaborate and be independent auditors of one another's work. Co-analysis could bring a much needed multi-disciplinary perspective to the topic.

An extension to the current study would be to continue following and updating the experiences of the three families who participated. Following a more formal longitudinal

study framework over time would build upon the findings of this study and help us see what happens next in the evolutionary process they take in agritourism.

Lastly, my intent in using a phenomenological approach for this study was to enlighten tourism researchers and others interested about the complexity of agritourism from the perspective of the people delivering it. Extant agritourism studies have privileged positivistic methodologies which have contributed to over-simplifying agritourism to its economic terms. Perhaps quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods investigators will utilize the insights and findings gained from this study to inform and formulate their research questions in new areas of the phenomenon of agritourism. By moving beyond positivism a fuller appreciation of the complex intertwining of multiple factors underlying the phenomenon of agritourism on the family farm may be revealed. Moreover, as Morrison, Carlsen and Weber (2010, p.474) note in their review of appropriate research methodologies for the study of small tourism businesses, “it is apparent from the nature of the dimensions that quantitative, reductionist types of approaches do not obviously lend themselves to revealing aspects such as, values, meanings, attitudes that condition behaviours, for example, associated with lifestyle, migration, gender, and family.” I advocate more attention be paid to exploratory mechanisms better suited for uncovering the combining together of multiple factors and behaviours motivating farm families to diversify into agritourism.

Subsequently, I hope future survey-based studies of agritourism will be more open. Given the complexity of the experience of getting into agritourism on the farm family, quantitative agritourism researchers may be influenced to thoughtfully consider who is being asked to respond to their surveys. Researchers might question if their targeted respondent is the most appropriate person. This is especially important in light of uncovering that agritourism involved multiple members of the farm family. Finally, insights gained from this study might also influence how and what questions are asked.

6.8 Evolving through Agritourism Research

As a final thought, understanding the complexity and essential structures of the lived experiences of becoming an agritourism farm and the reality of engaging in agritourism from

the perspectives of the individuals embedded in those families is paramount for recognizing that family farms are at the same time sustaining a way of life and changing what it means to be in farming and a farmer. Farm families have always evolved and are a dynamic and resilient unit able to respond, adapt, and be flexible to societal change and opportunities. Consequently, if we are to truly support family farms that start and operate new and innovative businesses on farms, it is important to recognize and give greater attention to it being a transitional, evolving process. Supporting farms that choose to diversify into agritourism, therefore, is not a one-time, at start-up proposition; rather, support, in the way of training and technical assistance to build up business skills and capacities, needs to be a longer-term commitment. Policy-makers might note the transition of farmers from primary production to agritourism, and it being necessary to “phase” development of the inner entrepreneurial spirit of the farmer or other members of the farm family along the stages of their farm-business professional growth.

I hope the results from this study will have policy implications where existing programs adapt to become better suited to help farm families over several years as they transition into agritourism farms. Likewise, consideration should be given to recognizing the importance of emerging and innovative opportunities available to Ontario farmers. To ensure farmers and their families are encouraged to develop into new areas and *ways of farming* through expanding the list of allowable normal farm practices.

By embracing agritourism, these farms may be taking back, along with support provided to them by their customers, key attributes that define and sustain them as family farm. Through the relationships forged with other farm families engaged in agritourism and customers farm identity is maintained and the role of the farm in the local communities re-established. This speaks to the inherent resiliency of farm families. The results found in this study illuminated the complexity of the lived experience involved as farm families become agritourism farms. The transition occurring on some family farms may be in large part influenced by new trends where farms are becoming places of consumption while continuing to be places of production. The participants in this study appeared to recognize this dichotomy:

It great that my Grandfather was on this farm and he farmed this land, and then my Dad did. Just being able to stand on this property and continue to farm and continue to be, you know, in business. Whether it's agritourism or it was in dairy farming. Just being able to be on this farm and continue the family tradition of being here. (Daughter 2- Farm A)

I don't think my Dad ever thought when he said let's get into pick-your-own that we'd be doing this. But for him he's never said I'm against this, no, he's always been for anything that would help the bottom line. We've always said it doesn't matter what we do. (Son - Farm B)

To be lucky enough to choose a business you like and it's connected to farming.... and hopefully it provides a return, it's a perfect storm. (Dad - Farm C)

At a personal level, by following the guidelines for IPA, it has honed my interpretative skills and abilities as I learned to become faithful and comfortable to the hermeneutic circle. I could have easily stopped my analysis and work with the data at a descriptive level. However, moving beyond mere description and pursuing the two major theoretical underpinnings of IPA was necessary, but challenging. The first major theoretical underpinning of IPA attempts to understand other people's relationship to the world, and I believe I have taken a fresh look at agritourism, and in essence, unpacked what it means for at least these three farm families. Further, I have suggested why agritourism is meaningful to them for sustaining their identity as farmers.

Hermeneutics informs the second theoretical underpinning of IPA through interpretation. The hermeneutic circle provides a useful way of thinking about "method" in IPA. Although linear steps were described for IPA, not unlike other qualitative analysis strategies, the key tenet of IPA is the need for it to be an iterative process. The iterative process in IPA moves back and forth through a range of different ways of thinking about the data, rather than completing each step, one after the other (Smith et al., 2009). The moving back and forth throughout the analysis, although often confusing and challenging, did encourage me to think of my relationship to the data and the preconceived notions we have about agritourism. Although I have not thought of myself as a post-positivist, I came to realize I, indeed, had such tendencies. This awareness and acceptance of myself eventually allowed me to let go of post-positivism, which for quite some time during the initial analysis

determinedly promoted me to bring order and structure to the chaotic and voluminous amounts of data collected. The hermeneutic circle, once embraced and trusted, opened my head and heart to really listening to what the participants and their families were telling me.

It's kind of a stone rolling, you know, like it gets to the bottom of the hill faster but at the same time it's also gotten bigger because it's learned. (Mom - Farm C)

I certainly feel like I have arrived at the bottom of the hill. During my very slow roll down the slope, I have learnt so much. Now at the bottom, I find myself looking up at how much more there is to understand.

Appendix A: Agritourism Farm Recruitment Email

Hello **[insert name of agritourism enterprise principal here]**,

My name is Suzanne Ainley and I am a PhD student working under the supervisions of Dr. Bryan Smale in the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo. I am contacting you because Cathy Bartiolic, Executive Director of OFFMA, provided your name and contact information to me and indicated you might be interested in being part of a study about agritourism on family farms. I am seeking your family's participation in this study.

Participation in this study involves me visiting your farm to see and talk to you about your agritourism enterprise. For instance, I am interested in seeing the activities on your farm, as well as hearing why and how your family got into agritourism, what it is like to be an agritourism operator in Ontario and finally, what your family's aspirations are for the future of the farm. I am hoping to meet with you first to tour the farm and talk about your experience with owning and operating an agritourism enterprise on your family farm. Then, I would like to set up dates to meet with other members of your family to have a chance to talk with them individually about their involvement in the farm and the agritourism enterprise. Participation in this study would take approximately 2 hours of your time then about another hour for each additional member of your family I meet with. In appreciation of your time commitment, you will receive a one-year subscription to Small Farm magazine. I would like to assure you that the study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics.

However, the final decision about participation is yours.

If you are interested in participating, please contact me at seainley@uwaterloo.ca in order that we may set up a suitable date and time in the next 2-3 weeks for us to get together at your farm. Please provide me with a few dates when you are available. I will send you a confirmation email indicating the date for our first meeting. If you have to cancel your appointment, please email me so that we can arrange another time.

Sincerely,

Suzanne Ainley
PhD Candidate
Dept. of Recreation and Leisure Studies
University of Waterloo
seainley@uwaterloo.ca

Appendix B: Participant Consent Form

By signing this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Suzanne Ainley a PhD student in the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis, research publications and/or conference presentations to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent without penalty by advising the researcher up to the beginning of data analysis, which will be two months after the date of my interview.

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. I was informed that if I have any comments or concerns resulting from my participation in this study, I may contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics at 519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ssykes@uwaterloo.ca.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

YES NO

I agree to have my interview audio recorded.

YES NO

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis, publication or presentation that comes of this research.

YES NO

Participant Name: _____ Participant Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____ Witness Signature: _____

Appendix C: Follow-up Emails to Participating Farm Families

Dear [insert name of agritourism enterprise principal here],

I am writing to thank you for input provided by you and your family over the past several weeks. I had not been aware of the extent of your agritourism operations.

My project looking at why farm families in Ontario get into agritourism, what it's like to be in agritourism and their future aspiration, is proceeding according to plan, and in particular my initial research findings are coming together. At this point in time, I have had a chance to go through all the information provided to me by your farm family and you will find attached a research summary. I hope you and your family can review this and get back in touch with me if further thoughts occur to you about our conversation, particularly if you decide in hindsight that you would like to designate some of the material discussed not to be included. *Please* let me know your critique within the next two weeks. If you do not have time to write things down, feel free to reply to this email letting me know you have concerns and I will give you a telephone call so we can discuss them.

Should you have any comments or concerns you could also contact Dr. Susan Sykes of our Office of Research Ethics at 519-888-4567 Ext. 36005 or ssykes@uwaterloo.ca. This project was reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo.

Once again, I appreciate your time and you sharing your insights with me. As promised, I will be sending you a draft of the findings chapter and narratives for your criticism and comments. I expect it to be ready for your review by [insert date here].

Sincerely,

Suzanne Ainley
PhD Candidate
Dept. of Recreation and Leisure Studies
University of Waterloo
seainley@uwaterloo.ca

Appendix D: Interview Guide

Can you tell me the story (of how and why) your family got into agritourism?

Topics & Possible Questions

1. **Getting into agritourism :**

Can you describe for me the new activities, like the store and the corn maze? Is it still farming? Are you a tourism business?

Can you describe the decision or trigger to start the agritourism enterprise on your family farm? Was there a change in the family? Or a change in farming?

Who in the family was responsible for initiating agritourism? Did the family make the decision jointly?

Can you tell me how other family members supported starting agritourism (or were not supportive)?

Can you tell me how your farm and its agritourism enterprise have changed over time? Was the adding or stopping of an activity in response to internal family opportunities or challenges or external opportunities or challenges?

2. **Day-to-day operations:**

What's a typical day like in running your agritourism business?

Can you describe for me who does what on the farm/in the family/ and in the agritourism business?

Can you tell me what the most rewarding thing (or worst part) is about agritourism?

Can you explain an instance when a visitor entered a private family space (i.e., in the home or in the barn) and how you felt about this? Did you take any actions to prevent this from happening again?

3. **Future aspirations:**

Jane Eckert is noted with saying that "agritourism is all about opportunity to keep the family farm alive and a way to keep the younger generation involved through creating new business roles and challenges." What do you think? Does this apply to your experience?

In thinking about the future, can you describe how you see the farm and will it still involve agritourism?

Do you see your kids/yourself taking over the farm? What do you think the farm will look like? Can you describe for me you own dreams or vision for the farm/agritourism enterprise?

Would you say agritourism has a role to play in the future of your family farm? Is there a farm succession plan? If yes, how is it being implemented; If not, why not?

Appendix E: Cover Letter Seeking Farm Family's Review and Input on Graphic Representation

Dear [insert farm familyname here],

Once again, thank you for participating in the study about the experience of farm families in agritourism. I greatly appreciate your family's support for my study and the willingness of your family members to provide me with the time to share their knowledge and views. As promised, I am attaching descriptions of the family members I meet with and preliminary findings about your farm. It would be greatly appreciated if you could review this material within the next two weeks and let me know if it accurately reflects your family's experience. If you do not have time to write things down, feel free to reply to me by email letting me know you have concerns and I will give you a telephone call so we can discuss them.

I invite you to send me your comments and I shall take them into consideration as I revise these initial findings. And of course, you may, as always, contact Dr. Susan Sykes of our Office of Research Ethics, at 519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ssykes@uwaterloo.ca, if my description and interpretations raises any concerns for you. This project was reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo.

Once again, thank you for your time and valuable input to this study. I look forward to receiving your feedback by March 12, 2012. When I complete my draft I will be back in contact with you to share my findings. In the meantime, if you wish to get in contact with me I can be reached by email at seainley@uwaterloo.ca.

Sincerely,

Suzanne Ainley
PhD Candidate
Dept. of Recreation and Leisure Studies
University of Waterloo
seainley@uwaterloo.ca

Appendix F: Cover Letter Seeking Individual Participant's Review and Input on Graphic Representation

Dear [insert participant's name here],

Once again, thank you for participating in the study about the experience of farm families engaged in agritourism. I greatly appreciate your support for this study and your willingness to share your knowledge and views with me. It has taken me longer than expected to get back to you; however, as promised, I am attaching for your review an abstract highlighting the study findings. A copy of the excerpts from our interview I wish to include in the thesis, and possibly in other research publications and/or conference presentations to come from this study are also attached.

If you have any feedback, critiques or comments on the study or with the inclusion of any of the personal narrative excerpts attributed to you please let me know. I realize you may be busy at this time of the year and might not have the time to write things down. If this is the case, please send me an email (seainley@uwaterloo.ca) or call (705-444-0557) me by Monday August 13th letting me know you have concerns. I will follow up with you so we can discuss these. Of course quotations attributed to you and all other participants in this study will remain anonymous.

I entered this research with the goal of gaining a fuller understanding and appreciation of why farm families in Ontario get into agritourism, what it's like to be in agritourism and their aspiration for the future of the farm. Your insights contributed towards my achieving this goal.

This project was reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. You may, of course, contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 519-888-4567 ext. 36005, if you have any comments or concerns resulting from participating in this study.

Once again, thank you for your time and valuable input to this study. I invite you to send me your comments and I shall take them into consideration as I proceed with finalizing the thesis. I imagine the thesis will be defended this coming fall and available online by the end of the year. If you wish to receive further details about the outcomes of the study, please let me know by emailing me at seainley@uwaterloo.ca.

Sincerely,

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