FAMILY FARM FANTASY:

HOW HOOD RIVER AGRITOURISM ENTERPRISES LEVERAGE AGRARIANISM AND EXCLUDE LATINX FARMWORKERS IN DIGITAL LANDSCAPES

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Although the archetype of the Jeffersonian family farm has been around as a cultural icon for centuries, it rarely led to policy decisions that helped family farmers. Instead, in practice it has accelerated agrarian capitalism and a concentration of agricultural wealth in a few corporations and individuals. Nonetheless, agrarianism and the image of Jefferson's yeoman farmer have remained powerful marketing and political tools.

In the Pacific Northwest, the tiny but infamous Hood River Valley has been blending labor intensive horticulture and rural tourism by attracting tourists to farms for over two decades to preserve its "family farms." At the same time, the horticultural industry relies on often obscured Latinx labor to maintain and harvest fruit. How do farm owners navigate marketing and creating leisurely, carefree experiences for tourists amid these circumstances?

Through Instagram posts, tourist brochures, websites, and semi structured interviews with farm tourism professionals, I found that agritourism enterprises do not show Latinx labor, but instead, they create comfortable accommodations for tourists not afforded to farmworkers and centralize contributions of mainly white owners and service workers.

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Introduction

I am patiently making small talk with a fellow high school alumni inside a makeshift reception room within a fruit packing house. You can't see it from inside the dimly lit windowless box, but outside, we're surrounded by orchards of countless varieties of cherries, apples, pears, peaches, and the occasional wine grape vineyard. Someone in charge asks me, "You're the one doing a school project on family farms right?"

I have to resist the urge to laugh. What a loaded term: "family farm." I am sitting in an office with no less than 10 employees, in a warehouse with no less than 30 employees, surrounded by orchards maintained by possibly hundreds of employees. Family farm. Right. I think about the owners' children in college entire states away from Oregon, and how many individuals stemming from countless other families are currently working and supporting them. Albeit my rush of bitterness, sadness, and fascination towards the term, I take a deep breath and smile, "yes I am."

My interviewee had come down with a severe case of COVID that day, but my visit to that enterprise captured the exact sort of linguistic dissonance that inspired me as a researcher to explore my hometowns economy. From that moment onwards I would not be able to shake the term "family farm" from my brain. It's so seemingly innocuous, but does so much ideological work.

Although it caught me slightly off guard, I had a broader set of semantically dissonant experiences growing up in a town struggling to reconcile US multiculturalism with a racialized class hierarchy. There were always power dynamics at play that I couldn't quite grasp and articulate as a high school student. I was keenly aware of the

continually unjust-feeling outcomes stemming from systemic consequences of racism such as all white honors high school classrooms and zealous, “not-racist” beliefs held by individuals that rationalize very real harm on Latinx families, friends, and peers.

There are many cultural, social, political, and economic layers at play within Hood River, Oregon regarding the complexities of race, class, and belonging. My thesis was an ample opportunity to poke at one of the cultural economic components over the summer of 2021 and ask the question: How do agritourism enterprises in Hood River Oregon represent Latinx farm labor?

To answer this question, I explored Instagram pages, websites, and brochures to find how agritourism businesses approached the topic of labor and its relationship with the discourse they used to advertise their products to consumers. I also conducted semi structured interviews with agritourism professionals in the study area to elicit their understanding of their positionality and the discourse their business contributes. In short, I found a miniscule recognition of Latinx farmworkers in agritourism media, and it's very difficult and uncomfortable for professionals to reconcile why that is. The “family farm”, agrarianism, and many other cultural mechanisms are used to draw attention away from the exploitation of socially vulnerable populations and are critical to examine and deconstruct. Why is there a shocking lack of visibility of labor within a subsection of agriculture that invites the consumer to experience the farm on site?

First, after defining agritourism, there is a dense, brief history of ethnic labor in Oregon with particular attention to agriculture. Readers will find this helpful to understand how Oregonian agriculture came to depend on substantially undocumented Latinx labor after previously relying on East Asian labor for development and

agricultural work. Next, a literature review will focus on demystifying family farms, how migrant labor fits into socio-economic responses to industrialized agribusiness, and what agritourism has to offer for farmers and potentially farmworkers. After situating the intellectual terrain of this study, readers will be introduced to the geographic case selection, Hood River Valley, an agritourism hot spot 40 miles east of Portland, Oregon. Then the methodology will be detailed before immersing ourselves into the results and discussion of Instagram, website, and interview discourse.

Brief Introduction to Agritourism

Agricultural tourism, or agritourism, is the blend of agriculture and tourist activities. Academics have variably defined what type of businesses and activities comprise agritourism spanning disciplines involving tourism, economics, agriculture, and very occasionally social representations of labor. Some include farmers markets and other off-farm agricultural activities to be agritourism, others define it as any on-farm activity or visit, while the remaining argue that consumers must participate or witness activities with a high degree of authenticity relative to the normal operations of a farm (Arroyo et. al., 2012, p. 40-41). While the jury is still out on what the term universally represents, a definition by Barbieri et. al. (2016) captures the elements that best describe Hood River's local version of Agritourism:

> "Recreation on farms, either for a fee or seeking other types of indirect economic benefits (e.g., increased market share), can be delivered through a diversity of activities. Examples of these activities include the direct (e.g., self-harvest) and indirect (e.g., hay- rides) enjoyment of farm activities; the observation of the farmscape and on-site processes (e.g., orchard tours, wineries); educational opportunities (e.g., culinary classes); extractive (e.g., hunting) and non extractive (e.g., hiking) outdoor recreation activities, including those requiring motorized vehicles or special equipment; and hospitality services, including events,

> lodging, and food services. For some, the on-site direct sale of farm products, through farm stands and gift shops, for example, also represents a type of on-farm recreation" (p. 1094)

It's worth noting that I am folding wine tourism into agritourism in this analysis because the enterprise characteristics do not differ outside of what product they are focusing on. Some researchers prefer to study wine tourism on its own (Robinson, 2021, p. 3). I will detail more about agritourism in the literature review, but there is one important thing to note immediately. The public is disconnected from our globalized food system. We are accustomed to seeing our produce on grocery store shelves or freshly placed in front of us by a service employee, and not its journey on the farm through planting, harvest, and transport. Private landholders who run agritourism businesses have the responsibility and privilege of deciding how to shape farm experiences for the visitor. They determine how consumers are educated on agricultural spaces, operations, and decision making, and people will believe their agricultural experience is more or less an accurate representation of farm life. As we will find out, farmers go to lengths to hide Latinx labor both in the agritourism landscape and their media, and consequently consumers do not understand how the US food system relies on exploited socially vulnerable populations to maintain and harvest crops.

Hood River is known for its horticulture, which includes many varietals of apples, pears, cherries, peaches, blueberries, strawberries, and wine grapes. These fruits are labor intensive to grow, and more so to harvest. No such technology exists to harvest them mechanically. Hence, the reliance on cheap labor, which combined with active tourism on the farms means a tricky balance of running an agricultural operation while catering to consumer expectations. While agritourism is the primary economic

model of interest in this analysis, the history of Oregonian agriculture and its modern dependence on invisible Latinx labor are all critical for understanding the modern functioning of Hood River's "Family Farms." We will delve through this history in three parts. One, the founding of Oregon through World War II. Two, the Post World War II Era, and finally US migrant labor in the 21st century.

Chapter 1 Background History on Farmworker Labor in Oregon

Founding Of Oregon Through WWII

The tale of Oregonian agriculture begins with the founding of Oregon itself. Indigenous Peoples had long been present in the Pacific Northwest (PNW), and over thousands of years set up elaborate systems of hunting, gathering, and trading dependent on holistic relationships between manifold tribes (Yamhill, Chinook, Clatsop, Tillamook, and Nehalem to name a few) in conjunction with the various ecosystems now comprising the modern state (Byram, 2008, p. 359; Barber, 2019, p. 384). British trappers eventually established the Fort Vancouver Trading Post in current Vancouver, WA, and began establishing control over the extraction of local resources. They met any semblance of pushback from tribes with calculated terrorism, rape, and unfettered massacres narrated under concepts of justice, paternalism, and entitlement to natural resources (Lewis & Connolly, 2019; Deur, 2016; Barber 2019; Byram, 2008). Along with the fur trappers' presence came disease, devastation, and societal collapse of many tribes.

White supremacist settler violence only increased as rumors circulated that the US federal government would start giving out “free” land to settlers on the frontier. From the 1830s through the 1860s, despite no substance backing the rumors, a mass movement of White settlers began pouring into the region negotiating treaties with Native Tribes, claiming tracts of land, and forming provisional governments all without the US federal governments backing or permission (Coleman, 2019, p. 414). Using narratives such as Manifest Destiny, perfidy, and Anglo Saxonism, settlers justified their institutionalized violence, dispossession, and forced removal of Indigenous Tribes

in order to make way for their agrarian White supremacist state (Barber, 2019; Carpenter, 2020). Eventually the Donation Land Claim Act was ratified by congress in 1850, which exclusively gave tracts of land to White people. Coleman (2019) characterized it as "An affirmative action program exclusively for White people" which "resulted in a massive economic head start for White cultivators and initiated a long-standing pattern in which access to real estate became an instrument of White supremacy and social control" (p. 415). At about this point in time the first horticultural operations began to be established at the mouth of the Hood River where it spills the glacial silt of Mount Hood into the Columbia River.

Eventually, the territorial government gathered representatives to draft a constitution and form order out of what had been a chaotic unilateral land grab by White settlers. White men drafted into the founding document of Oregon "white equality" through the exclusion of both free Black people and those enslaved in addition to forbidding Native Americans from property rights (Thoennes & Landau, 2019, p. 468). Ironically, the White egalitarian economy demanded an exploitable labor force to construct its railroads, irrigation canals, and other vital infrastructure for capital accumulation and exportation of natural resources (Lee, 2010; Karuka, 2019).

Between the 1860s and 1940s Asian Americans and Indigenous Peoples would be the only non-white groups in Oregon that was conceptualized as a threat to the hierarchical order of White Supremacy. Indigenous tribes faced more devastation and loss of land relatively unopposed. Albeit practicing many forms of resistance amidst harrowing challenges, tribal traditions, power, and life faced a mostly steady decline. (Lewis & Kentta, 2010; Deur, 2016). On the other hand, White settlers would oscillate

between limited inclusion and outright exclusion of Asian Americans in the economic and cultural fabric of the state.

Initially, Oregonians recruited Chinese laborers to construct the state's infrastructure, which is critical for an economy based on resource extraction such as agriculture, fishing, forestry, and mining. Canals supplied needed irrigation water, railroads connected settlement to global markets, and canneries and manufacturers added value by refining raw goods. Whites feared any sort of economic power achieved by minority groups and included a provision in the 1857 State constitution explicitly outlawing any new claims to real estate or mining rights by those of Chinese nationality (Allerfeldt, 2003, p. 72). After an initial railroad construction boom ended, White employers hired cheap Chinese laborers to work in mines, fisheries, lumberyards, and more. White settlers gathered to violently terrorize migrants in the face of perceived possible job displacement all over the PNW. White mobs employed acts of terror including arson, rioting, setting off explosives, and outright expelling Chinese living in their localities all over the West Coast, from Seattle to San Francisco (Allerfeldt, 2003, p. 57). In 1882, Oregon along with California and many other US states, succeeded in passing the Chinese Exclusion Act.

Within a decade White Portland railroad construction recruiters turned to Japanese immigrants for cheap labor to work the lowest rungs of the racialized labor hierarchy. Eventually, Japanese people were employed in a variety of sectors including agriculture, canning, and lumber processing. When Japanese workers were perceived as a threat to White employment or wages, White workers stood in "solidarity" with each other to force employers to not hire Japanese people or fire existing workers (Aoki,

1998, p.55). Whites perceived Japanese people as stealing jobs and diluting the American standard of living (Allerfeldt, 2003, p. 59).

In spite of these difficulties, Japanese people began to establish families and purchase land through second generation Nisei, Japanese people who were born in the US and had thus obtained citizenship through the right of soil after a supreme court case in 1898 (Aoki, 1998, p. 52). Simultaneously, swaths of white Americans grew increasingly neurotic, anxious, fearful, angry, and entitled because any non-White person purchasing a tract of land was actively "robbing" a White person's right to that land. Whites conceptualized the combination of growing land ownership and families by Japanese individuals as a direct threat to their vision of a White, homogenized and united nation (Lee, 2010, p. 253). It's noteworthy that citizenship and access to becoming a citizen was premised on being white during this time period. Whites formulated purchasing and owning private property as an exclusively "American" right that should not be extended to those perceived as not fitting in the ideal nation. Allerfeldt (2003) includes an instructive excerpt originally from the Portland Telegram published in October 1919:

> "Japanese farmers have swarmed into the Hood River Valley like an army of conquest . . . The Japanese have peacefully run out dozens of small ranchers who sought to make the Hood River Valley their permanent home . . . Noting that the beautiful valley was becoming so thickly settled with Orientals [it was feared] that before long no white family could live in it, [so] a number of Hood River citizens recently organized the anti-Asiatic club." (p. 68)

Immigrant anxiety was prolific among the American political establishment in the Progressive Era. The East Coast focused on Irish, Italian, and Greek people (who were also deemed nonwhite at the time), and the West Coast focused on Japanese

people. Eugenics and regulating fertility of the “right” people grew into national political issues (Leonard, 2003). Fears of “Race Suicide”, AKA replacement theory, is the notion that people of color would outbreed White people and slowly take over the nation state stoked nativist panic further (Allerfeldt, 2003, p. 65). Rumors that Japan wanted to invade the Western US circulated as early as 1897, and Japanese Americans were perceived as loyal to the emperor of Japan.

The shifting narration surrounding different minority groups is important to notice here. As, “During the height of Chinese immigration, Japan and its subjects were characterized as superior to China and its people," but now they constituted a threat to the White nation just as the Chinese had 50 years earlier (Lee, 2010, p. 260). This first culminated in Oregon in 1923 with the passage of the state’s Alien Land Law forbidding the purchasing of land by non-citizens and people in-eligible for naturalization (citizenship), which Aoki (1998) argues systematically removed the ability for Japanese individuals to ascend the agricultural class ladder (p. 63). Additionally, US congress passed the Johnson Reed Act in 1924 and established the beginning of US immigration quotas, which at the time were explicitly aimed at keeping immigrants from “undesirable” nations, including Japan, from entering the US. More dangerously, the scaffolding for Japanese internment was all in place due to extreme nativist fears and an insatiable White entitlement to Japanese American land and wealth (Aoki, 1998, p.68).

During World War II the White Oregonian political establishment embraced Japanese Internment, which resulted in enormous dispossession of land and wealth, and exploitation of prisoners for labor across the state, including farm work, the very

livelihood many were robbed of by White prospectors (Young, 2013). Although internment was supposedly a temporary relocation, it had far more permanent effects ranging from total dispossession of property, to increased anti Japanese organizations, and substantial life-long setbacks of income (Chin, 2005; Aoki, 1998, p. 64). This in particular impacted Hood River. In 1940, the region had a proportional concentration of Japanese people on par with the Willamette Valley and Portland (Sifuentez, 2016, p. 37). However as the US got involved in the war, Oregon included Hood River as part of two zones covering the state's western half that Japanese were forcefully relocated from. Locals defaced Japanese Veterans names on a city monument to soldiers, started an active campaign to starve Japanese farmers of necessary resources, and participated in a statewide movement, the Japanese Exclusion League, to prevent any internees from returning to town (Sifuentez, 2016, p. 40; National Park Service, 2019; Tamura, 2020).

At this point growers across Oregon and the wider United States purported a national labor shortage and dire warnings of rotting food in their fields. While some Japanese internment camps were leveraged for agriculture, this alone could not compensate for a shortage of labor willing to work at rates farmers could pay (Young, 2013). This commenced the start of the Bracero Program and the reliance on Latinx labor to maintain and harvest crops.

The above history demonstrates the following adoption of the Bracero program constitutes a transition to Latinx labor, rather than it being a phenomenon that appeared out of nowhere. Farmers and many more individuals long relied on the infrastructure necessary to export natural resources created by East Asian labor. They also capitalized on paying Asian American agricultural and manufacturing laborers lower wages

justified by racialization, which further increased their profits through the privilege of having control over private property won through genocide, dispossession, and White supremacist ideology (Aoki, 1998).

Bracero Program and WWII Era

The US and Mexico agreed to start the Bracero Program in 1942 due to US nationwide anxiety about the food system and harvesting logistics, which enabled US farmers to recruit Mexican men for agricultural labor. The PNW capitalized on the program, despite the expenses of transporting workers from and to Mexico, due to an intense labor shortage created by military recruitment and better wage opportunities in urban areas with defense industry contracts (Sifuentez, 2016, Chapter 1).

Although bilateral provisions were created to provide for and protect Mexican workers from exploitation and abuse, struggles between growers, governing institutions, local communities and Braceros flashed regularly. Braceros faced discrimination and dehumanizing practices. However, the acuteness of the labor shortage, distance from the border, regional pro Bracero consulates, and the practice of other industries "bootlegging" Bracero labor by offering more competitive wages, all provided Mexican Nationals with a strong bargaining position in the PNW. Braceros fought for better wages, living conditions, and against discrimination by leveraging growers' dependence on them to maintain and harvest crops (Sifuentez, 2016, Chapter 1).

Technically, Braceros could only be legally hired to perform farm work and railroad work, however, smaller farmers, who could rarely get approval to hire Braceros by the Department of Labor, began offering better wages and incentivized migrants to "skip out" on their legal contracts in favor of better paying work. Soon canneries and

other industries capitalized on the practice of bootlegging, which enabled them to pay less in wages than they would in order to compete with defense industries for White workers. Hood River County employed Braceros not just in farm work, but even household work, canneries, construction of basements and roads, and in the lumber industry (Sifuentez, 2016, p. 25).

This labor dynamic did not last forever, and upon the conclusion of World War II, several factors upended Bracero power in the PNW. Policy changes to the financing of the program made it unviable for regional growers to pay for transportation costs of workers from Mexico to the US. Combined with a less competitive labor market due to returning soldiers, a strong desire to re-homogenize the state to whiteness, and other pertinent factors, all led to a steep decline in the number of Bracero workers within the State of Oregon. Finally, the program formally ended nationally in 1964, however a number of Braceros settled permanently in the PNW and started families and communities (Sifuentez, 2016, Chapters 1&2). The end of the Bracero program did not result in the end of agricultural reliance on Latinx labor, as this phenomenon continued under the naming convention of H2 visas.

Ultimately, even with the return of soldiers, and a strong desire to exclude nonwhite people from making Oregon their home, the 1950s-70s only saw more migration to Oregon (Tichenor, 2021, p. 62). While the new terms of the Bracero program and H2 visa system were unviable for growers, networks of migration were formed through kinship links, laborer contractors, and even sometimes overlapping dynamics between the two. Mechanization of farming in Texas meant a substantial number of Tejanos could no longer find enough work within the region to support their

families, and many chose to seasonally migrate every year to Oregon during spring, summer and fall months when labor demand peaked (Sifuentez, 2016, Chapter 2).

Many for a myriad of individual, nuanced, economic, familial, and political-cultural reasons decided to make Oregon their home. While Tejanos, which were typically US citizens and spoke English, comprised the majority of Latinx migrants coming to the state of Oregon, a substantial number of Mexican Nationals did as well, both documented and undocumented. Some of them were former Braceros who found more permanent employment at previous contract locations (Tichenor, 2021, p. 62; Sifuentez, 2016, Chapter 2). Unlike the Bracero period in the 1940s, in which migrant laborers were exclusively young, single men, many families migrated during this period, and found more permanent communities and settlements. Women also worked in fields and in industrial manufacturing like canneries and packing houses.

Nisei offered more year-round employment opportunities with better pay for Latinx migrant laborers. Additionally, there are cases where Nisei provided access to improved housing, and in some cases financial resources to Latinx migrant workers. While there are cases of kindness from Nisei directed towards Latinx people, there was still plenty of racial tension and discrimination too. Additionally, even as Nisei owned farms and ascended the labor hierarchy, they frequently faced discrimination by White owned food packaging facilities through paying worse rates for goods, in addition to still being viciously excluded in White spaces. As White anxiety increased about growing rates of Latinx individuals moving to Oregon, newspapers shifted to narrating Japanese people as “industrious, clean, and sober” and Mexican migrants became “shiftless, violence-prone gamblers and drunks” (Sifuentez, 2016, p. 48).

The racial-class hierarchy of Oregon shifted, and thus transformed who could move into the space of whiteness. In some part, this hinged on Latinx individuals taking the place of the Japanese at the bottom rung. Just 50 years earlier White newspapers and political organizations referred to the Japanese "as bestial and fundamentally immoral. They were accused of living in squalid conditions and encouraging disease, dealing in narcotics and, during Prohibition, their soda fountains were viewed as outlets for bootleg booze…Japanese men were often portrayed as pimps, and the women were frequently accused of being prostitutes" (Allerfeldt, 2003, p. 64). Which races and genders could have access to which jobs with what privileges underwent drastic change over the course of the time period, and social conceptualizations of race essentialisms closely tracked class changes. Slowly, Tejano migrants gradually moved up the class hierarchy into other professions, which once again left an unquenched desire for cheap farmhands (Sifuentez, 2016, Chapter 2).

The politics of the late 70s through 90s only cemented growers' reliance on Latinx labor, which grew more undocumented as time passed and coincided with a growing Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE- Immigration and Naturalization Service at the time). Previously, there was comparatively little care or anxiety dedicated to the legal status of Latinx people living in Oregon. Simply put, it wasn't a source of concern for migrants or authorities (Sifuentez, 2016, p. 50). Politicians, media enterprises, and others began to sound immigration alarms, and overtime increasing importance and visibility around documentation status became a huge political issue. Oregon's White establishment gate kept access to adequate housing, financial tools like loans, and state resources (Sifuentez, 2016, Chapter 2; Tichenor, 2021, p. 62). This

practice grew increasingly unacceptable and harder to justify as color blindness became a political expectation and norm following the Civil Rights Movement, and citizenship status became fair ground for legal, economic, and social exclusion.

The fusion of ICE's interest in deportation, the economic dependency of growers on undocumented labor, and increasing interest in farmworker justice created a cocktail of competing political interests facilitating an increasing fixation on legal status. Oregon also admitted many non-white individuals under refugee status during the 1970s and onwards further diversifying the state of Oregon (Tichenor, 2021, Chapter 4.). This is critical in examining why an emphasis on racial composition slowly declined and morphed into preoccupation on documentation. Not only did color blindness become a political norm, but other nonwhite groups were welcomed to settle in Oregon as refugees and eventually become citizens. Over the same time period, undocumented Latinx workers not only came to dominate farm work, but also replanting operations in the state's plethora of temperate rainforests, along with a slowly expanding presence in other manufacturing and plant nursery work. Stakeholders in immigration laws and practices diversified and grew. Organizations such as the Willamette Valley Immigration Project (WVIP) began focusing on undocumented rights as demographics of migrant workers shifted.

In 1982, Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), which separated the H2 visas into H2-A for agriculture and H2-B for other industries. There was no established limit to the number of H2-A visas that could be distributed within a given year, unlike other US immigration quotas, which meant that farmers have access to an unlimited supply of labor. IRCA also established an employer

sanctions system intended to hold growers accountable for violations of immigration policy such as employing a substantial undocumented workforce. However, the system rarely moves beyond a wrist-slap-warning, much less a significant fine (Sifuentez, 2016, p. 103).

In the 1990s, hyper fixation on documentation status grew into a contentious issue that informed statewide politics, although not yet along the partisan lines we are familiar with today (Tichenor, 2021, p. 63-65). Additionally, Globalization through financialization and trade agreements such as NAFTA dramatically changed the economic landscape for both indigenous farmers in Mexico and Central America and growers in the United States causing both national industries to struggle to keep profits amidst a more economically competitive world (Stephen, 2004, p. 97; Puyana & Murillo, 2012, p. 711; Browning, 2013, p.86). Declining viability of rural economies and rural agriculture in Mexico have been tied to increased migration to the US and Mexican urban centers (Browning, 2013). Over the 2000's clear partisan lines were drawn in the US, with immigration growing into an even more outsized political spectacle with too many competing interests and divisions to pass meaningful legislation. The election of Donald Trump saw increasing embodiment of White Supremacist rhetoric, movements, and ideology. The economic reality of the nation's reliance on immigrants, especially undocumented labor, became sidelined by the spectacle of the US-Mexico border, racist stereotypes, and the politics of deterrence.

This brings us to the present. The above history underscores that our modern reliance on cheap, exploitable labor for the effect of making White proprietors rich and our grocery produce artificially cheap for consumers did not happen randomly. This is a

system, which started with slavery and evolved over space and time according to White political, cultural, and economic interests resulting in systemic violence and exploitation of non-white people.

U.S. Agriculture in the 21st Century

Today, the system of migrant labor work continues to impose various forms of deep structuralized violence onto people who perform such jobs. The structural violence stems from a lack of an effective regulation system. The US is caught up with an infatuation with violent deterrence, an idea that causes substantial harm on farmworkers, but also requires that growers take advantage of their political and economic power over workers in the forms of coercion and deprivation. Not only would it be undesirable to endure the hardships of migrant farm work in the US today, it would certainly not be an envious position to be facilitating such harm onto workers, but our current political economic system nonetheless grumbles on. The consumer has the potential benefit of ignorance which allows them to be the furthest removed from the consequences.

Migrant labor work in horticulture is grueling, hazardous, and physiologically and psychologically detrimental to the human body. Individuals are constantly exposed to excess heat and other dangerous weather, wildfire smoke, carcinogenic pesticides, and degrading, dehumanizing language (Castillo et. al., 2021). Picking fruit entails bending over blueberry or strawberry plants for hours without a break in order to make quotas leading to knee, back, and hand injuries (Holmes, 2013, Chapter 3). Some are permanent, others are shorter lived. Pears, apples, and cherries involve climbing dangerously tall ladders while collecting 40 plus pounds of fruit to shoulder at the same

time. Shifts are 8-12 or more hours, and harvest season comes all at once. Day after day, migrants pick fruit during the incredibly short harvest season, before the sun or other weather ailments ruin growers' precious products (Jarvis, 2020). Furthermore, health afflictions are compounded because many migrant workers are structurally deprived of healthcare due to federal and state US legislative policies and more complex circumstances like language barriers, lack of access to transportation, and monetary/time poverty. (Holmes, 2013, Chapter 5; Weiler et al., 2016).

Additionally, the constant feeling of surveillance and corresponding risk of deportation is psychologically overwhelming, and a frequent form of coercion used against individuals to force them into compliance by a variety of actors (Stephen, 2004; Holmes, 2013). No one would desire to endure these conditions, much less for minimum wage or worse, but nonetheless every year, family and corporate owned farms are able to recruit millions of migrant laborers to process several rapid and intensely dense harvests (Jarvis, 2020).

There are two inextricable issues, neoliberal economics and the deterrence paradigm, that collide together and uphold this labor system today. First, is the brutal financial reality of farming in the United States. Global neoliberalism, economies of scale, and powerful agricultural competition have been reshaping farming for decades, pushing food prices down, input costs up, and forcing fewer and fewer individuals to operate larger and larger farms to maintain profitability (Vogeler, 1981, Chapters 6&7). Although increased efficiency has led to greater yields, farmers themselves don't achieve the economic benefits from this (Holmes, 2013, Chapter 3; Stephen, 2004, p. 97; Robinson, 2021, p. 2).

The structural forces of economic competition have steadily erased smaller scale farms that embody the American archetype of the "family farm," which still becomes more financially unviable by the year. Most importantly it makes the demand that remaining farms keep labor costs as low as possible. Depriving farmworkers of adequate wages and safe working and living conditions are frequently positioned as solutions to, or results of neoliberal economics, despite the long historical arc that tells us these have always been ways to squeeze more profits into property owners and corporate pockets (Vogeler, 1981, Chapter 11).

The rhetoric and financialization of the agricultural squeeze pushes farm owners to keep labor costs low, which means that competitive wages and safety standards for physically demanding work isn't an easy option. Instead, owners find a labor market they can afford to exploit in these conditions (Shattuck & Xiuhtecutli, 2021, p. 81; Voleger, 1981, p. 291). As mentioned, its pervasive for farms to be working with undocumented labor outside the regulatory apparatus of the state, which has the side effect of pitting the entire agricultural labor market within the current spectacle of the US immigration debate (Fisher & Knutson, 2012). In 2004, Stephen claimed that of 100,000 Oregon farmworkers 98% are Latinx, of which 50-80% are estimated to be undocumented (Stephen, 2004, p. 97-98). More recently, Castillo et. al. (2021) estimates that within the *entire* US, 75% of farm laborers are born in Latin America, and an estimated 50 % OF ALL farmworkers don't have legal permission to work in the nation.

All migrant workers are stuck in the political spectacle of immigration, which currently has been embroiled in a paradigmatic fight over the idea of State sanctioned

violence as deterrence. The immigration spectacle has the effect of flipping who is dependent on who when it comes to immigration. Instead of the US being dependent on exploitable labor to work lower rungs of its class hierarchy, current political rhetoric positions the migrant as dependent on the United States' economic vastness. This widens the structural gaps resulting in violent outcomes to transnational laborers upheld as righteous and rationalized by racist stereotypes of Latinx people.

US policies of deterrence have included militarizing the border, increased funding of ICE, substantial increases in ICE raids and non-judicial deportations, family separation, and countless other acts of structuralized violence. The prevailing idea behind deterrence is a notion that heightened brutality and punishment will ward off any immigrants seeking to enter developed countries (Gammeltoft-Hansen & Tan, 2017, p. 28-40). This spectacle of the militarized border tends to focus on undocumented crossings for work or asylum as opposed to individuals who remain in the US after their H2A visa expires. The lines between these differing situations are blurred because of the monolithic-ization of the criminal Mexican migrant in American political discourse combined with a lack of nuance in the immigration debate. Even those Latinx individuals who are legally residing within the US become subject to violent outcomes by profiling and an indiscriminate lens of racism and White supremacy-based exclusion.

Deterrence is positioned as a righteous policy framework that prevents undesirable individuals from entering the US and stealing American jobs or becoming welfare dependents. These ideas do enormous ideological work in rationalizing violent outcomes, despite having extremely limited truth to them (Hernández, 2018; Ryo, 2021). In addition to deterrence policies not actually achieving their espoused purpose,

they impart harm on every individual in US agriculture. Specifically, they not only harm foreign pickers looking for economic sustenance, but also growers and middlemen who must co-facilitate the horrific system of abuse and exploitation through piecemeal wages, threatening deportation and/or job loss, and providing substandard working and living conditions all in order to sustain their own economic livelihoods (Holmes, 2013).

The structure of the deterrence paradigm enables this behavior, while the demands of neoliberal economics conditions the financial viability of agricultural operations by taking advantage of the cracks in the system. In conclusion, relying on Latinx labor in conjunction with deterrence policies undermines human rights, creates xenophobic conceptions of migrants, leaves the US food system precariously dependent, and forces individuals to impart structural harm onto other human beings. Latinx farmworkers are currently indispensable to the US agricultural system, and farmers fight tooth and nail to ensure they have uninterrupted access to that labor market without having to pay living wages or provide humane working conditions. The family farm is frequently positioned as a fragile vase to be protected from economic disturbance resulting from substantive policy changes to this system. Here we enter the literature review where first, we must deconstruct the politically weaponized myth of family farmers, and then understand how farmworkers fit in alternative food networks and agritourism.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

Demystifying Family Farms

There's an odd dissonance between the way our culture understands agriculture and the way it operates. Specifically, property owning individuals are worshiped for their food contributions to American society. They do work extraordinarily hard year after year, however, migrant laborers often perform the day-to-day work of pruning, weeding, pesticide application, and harvesting.

Jefferson famously desired the US to be an agrarian democracy of farmers that provided their *own* labor in addition to having control over land and capital. Supposedly this would guarantee an economic and consequently political independence (Vogeler, 1981, Chapter 1). Of course, Jefferson's own political and economic "independence" relied on his own capital consisting of property and enslaved people doing the labor to create his wealth. Nonetheless, an agrarian democracy and its family farmers remained a powerful idea that would influence policy for centuries to come. Today, myths of the yeoman farmer, extremely fertile land, and democratic agrarianism enable the American public to be ignorant of, or conveniently deny and ignore, the reality that agriculture in the modern United States is almost entirely dependent on Latinx labor (Castillo et. al., 2021, p. 258). These cultural narratives provide substantial political and cultural clout to individuals who can dress themselves in the yeoman and agrarian based archetype of the Jeffersonian family farm.

North American conceptualizations like the yeoman farmer and agrarianism, which "depict farmers as inherently honest, politically stable, morally upright and independent" allow farmers to be depicted as infallible heroes that provide our country

with an abundance of food while sidelining Latinx labor. (Hutchison, 2013, p. 977; Weiler et. al., 2016, p. 1143 for quote). The Willamette Valley in Oregon, and the Central San Joaquin Valley in California have been historically portrayed as "Edenic" and so rich in soil nutrients that plants practically grow and harvest themselves (Hutchison, 2013, p. 974; Korsunsky, 2020, p. 425).

While these ideas seem odd, harmless, or even humorous on the surface, they actually perform ideological work in masking the amount of manual labor put into producing food. Korsunsky (2020) argues the Edenic conceptualization combined with a desire for family farmers to appear aristocratic helped inform a "discourse of bounty," which informed the values of the mapmakers of regional atlases (p. 426). Notably, labor was never an attribute to be mapped despite its importance for harvesting logistics. On the other hand, crop acreages, precipitation rates, and goods produced were in farming atlases. Hutchison (2013) points out these early ideas perpetuated by settlers shaped the discourse of agriculture and have been perpetuated through advertising, which seeks to portray food as effortlessly available to the consumer and of wholesome origins (p. 974-980).

Jefferson's high-minded ideals of agrarian democracy and his cognitive dissonance to the exploitation it relied on serves as an instructive metaphor for how the idea of the yeoman farmer would be implemented in US policy. Yes, economic independence is a lofty egalitarian ideal, however, it's far from it given it rested, and still does, on robbing another group of people of that right through institutionalized slavery and structurally exploiting citizenship status —the latter continues to this day. Ingolf Vogeler argues that the idealized agrarian democracy, in retrospect, served more

as a rhetorical tool to beget agrarian capitalism, which enriches a select few at the expense of the rest, including true family farms (Vogeler, 1981, Chapter 1). The “Myth of the Family Farm” would be invoked to support land distribution policies (such as Oregon’s Donation Land Claim Act), Land grant colleges, federally funded technological innovation, migrant labor laws, as well as tax breaks and agricultural subsidies. All of these policy tools were espoused to create and support a strong farming class of politically active citizens, but instead helped funnel the wealth of land and agriculture into agribusiness firms and a land-owning elite (Vogeler, 1981, Chapters 3-9).

In addition to demythologizing the legacy of the federal government's historical role in concentrating agricultural development and wealth, Vogeler additionally comes to two critical conclusions. The first of which is, family farms mostly don't exist. Vogeler asserts that a true family farm that follows the Jeffersonian agrarian ideals provides its own land, labor, and capital. This proves to not be the case for most individuals who are typically considered family farmers. In actuality, wealthy, large scale agribusinesses and banks dominate control over these elements to the detriment of “family” farmers. Many farmers are dependent on agribusiness, employ great amounts of non-family labor, are owned by agribusiness corporations, are precariously financially dependent on outside institutions, and/or many more circumstances that fall short of the ideals of Jeffersonian agrarianism (Vogeler, 1981). This pattern has only grown and cemented further since his work in the 1980s. Vogeler (1981) even deconstructs why the USDA’s own data misleads the American public, and potentially

more astute professionals, to believe that family farmers are the dominant archetype of farms (Chapter 2).

One of the reasons family farms arguably don't exist is because they are not in fact economically independent because of oligopolies and oligopsonies formed by powerful corporations. Vogeler found an oligopolistic control over farm inputs such as seeds, land, pesticides, fertilizers, mechanical equipment, and even capital which has to be sought from banks. Farmers have little ability to influence the costs of necessary materials for their livelihoods. On the other side of production, there is an oligopsonistic control over the food marketing system, which transports food from farms to consumers. Here, again, farmers are unable to change the price they are paid for the goods they produce. Interestingly, agritourism serves as an effective escape from oligopsony, which will be discussed later. This means that growers are exposed to rising input costs and falling output costs, which is termed the price cost squeeze, a phenomenon only accelerating under neoliberal economics. This has disastrous consequences for the “family farm” including consolidation or bankruptcy, required access to substantial capital to pay for land and inputs, and virtually no ability to make decisions independent of corporate restrictions (Vogeler, 1981, Chapter 7; Che et. al., 2005, p. 226).

The above leads us to the second conclusion, farmers are in fact subcontracted workers precariously dependent on state and agribusiness decision making albeit disguised as independent property owners. This is like the first conclusion in that the causes are the same. As established, growers have limited freedom when it comes to business decision making due to capital intensive inputs, annual variability in harvests,

and virtually no control over prices of produced goods. Despite this, farmers think of themselves as an independent class, but they are hamstrung by corporate and state collaborations upholding agrarian capitalism. Vogeler argues this leaves them in a rather unique position where the state is both the enemy and the farmers' only economic lifeline, which causes farmers to use their precious cultural clout to advocate for policies that exploit them and others: "Small-scale farmers, in particular, can pretend that farmers are being treated equally and fairly. Ironically, the very farmers who as a result of the farm programs face unfair competition from heavily subsidized large-scale farmers support the politicians whose legislation furthers the demise of family farms." (p 183-84). Vogeler further explains how this pattern unfolds in additional areas, other than agricultural subsidies:

> "Although they [farmers] control the basic ingredients of land and labor, their lack of control over capital, technology, and innovations renders them powerless as capitalists and landlords. Their dependence on input and purchasing agrifirms makes them essentially workers with the appearance of being owners… American farmers have been, in the words of political economist James Iron, 'squeezed, bled, and induced to work hard for little" Instead of believing what was actually happening to them and rebelling against it, farmers reacted to their impoverishment by redoubling their efforts and working harder…Today the state plays such a vital role in agriculture that farmers can blame the government for their problems and at the same time demand protection from agribusiness. Conveniently for agribusiness, the state is blamed for problems originating in the market itself, and federal Band-Aid solutions soften the consequences of agribusiness" (Vogeler, 1981, p. 289.)

I wouldn't say farmers have a substantial degree of control over labor either at least, not in Oregon. A recent instructive example is Oregon's House Bill 4002, which would incrementally introduce overtime wages for farmworkers in the state. Unsurprisingly, many Oregonian farmers claimed that such a requirement would

bankrupt their businesses, force them to move to different states, or switch to less labor-intensive crops (Lynne, 2022; McCarty, 2022). This style of conflict and rhetoric is hardly a historical anomaly. During an Oregonian labor shortage scare in 1987, growers discursively positioned the issue as an existential threat to their business model and made similar threats, even attempting to facilitate importing Chinese workers as an alternative to Latinx labor (Sifuentez, 2016, p. 107).

In 2022, farm owners claimed that HB 4002 would hurt farmworkers, despite farmworker testimonies saying otherwise. Republican state legislators responded by advocating for an overtime threshold at 50-60 hours, but no overtime at all during peak harvest season of summer and fall, which they argued would benefit farmworkers *more* (Lynne, 2022). This is because growers would theoretically stop requiring laborers to work more than 40 hours a week if an overtime threshold were implemented. One critic of those who oppose farmworker overtime pay on economic grounds, points out that such arguments were employed in response to a similar Californian bill but don't bear out according to the data. A Hood River fruit grower retorted that "California is the origin of mega farming. We have family farms in Oregon so any comments he had about the effects of overtime in California is totally unrelated to what would happen here." (Lynne, 2022).

Given that we don't have an accurate understanding of what constitutes a family farm in the US and a lack of veracious metrics to measure their existence, the growers claim is hard to verify (Voleger, 1981, Chapter 1&2). However, the invocation of family farms remains a powerful rhetorical tool (McCarty, 2022; Lynne, 2022). Interestingly, others point to Washington and California, which have their own overtime

bills already in the process of implementation and warn that Oregon will no longer be able to economically compete for regional workers (Hernandez, 2022). Nonetheless, farmers believe they need to leverage their political and cultural power to situate a family farmers vs farm workers argument in order to assert control over labor policies that exploit people all in the name of maintaining their slice of the pie. The Oregon Farm Bureau, a political interest group for growers, has extensive rhetoric on their website about how HB 4002 will "kill" family farms (Oregon Farm Bureau, 2022).

Both proponents and opponents of HB 4002 claim they will benefit farmworkers, however, organizations that have historically supported migrant workers, such as the Pineros y Campesinos Unidos del Noroeste (PCUN), advocate for the passage of the bill along with farmworkers themselves (Sifuentez, 2016; Lynn, 2022). Occasionally, there will be the farmer that points out "family" farms don't set prices for agricultural goods due to oligopsonistic control, which is true, and it explains why farmers don't have the ability to economically reconcile the effects of higher labor costs on their own. However, rarely is anyone pointing to federal policies and agribusiness collusion for having constructed the market in such a way to make small scale farms financially unviable, and instead, farmers and farmworkers are blaming and fighting the state of Oregon for whatever economic consequences arise from the bill.

Family farms are a myth, but the idea of them still holds influence over the discourse of our politics, economics, and culture. While perhaps well intentioned, its invocation over the centuries has done little to preserve its lived status and has in fact steadily led to its decline. The "family farm" rationalizes the continued deprivation of farmworkers from economic entitlements allowed to every other industry and serves as

an inoculation for marketing discourse aimed at consumers. As we will explore next, the "family farm" also works to permit farmers and swaths of the broader public intent on reforming industrialized agricultural consequences to ignore the question of how to include farmworkers in the process.

Responses to Agribusiness & Industrialized Agriculture: Alternative Food Networks

While agribusiness and industrialized agriculture are critical to the functioning of our modern world and burgeoning human population, they are without a doubt not consequence free. The socio-economic costs to small scale farmers and farmworkers have been elaborated, but it's also noteworthy that our global economic system socializes the environmental costs of intensive agriculture such as reliance on petroleum-based pesticides and fertilizers, loss of scale and diversity of ecological habitats, methane emissions, algae blooms, and much more.

Food studies scholars and industry based Alternative Food Networks (AFNs) have been a response to the detrimental consequences, however, they tend to focus more on environmental repercussions and economic problems of farmers. Responses such as the Organic farming movement, agroecological movements, Local Food Movements (LFMs), Community Supported Agriculture (CSA), and more are all considered under the umbrella of AFNs. Often, they tend to sideline farmworker contributions, rights, and justice while focusing on other impacts. (Weiler et. al., 2016; Lozanski & Baumgartner, 2020). A few academics have broached this topic with specificity to agritourism.

Lozanski and Baumgartner (2020) position the region Niagara on the Lake, Canada (NOTL), which, like Hood River, specializes in high labor intensity fruit and wine production. Canada also has a long history of exploiting people of color to create White wealth, and additionally has a transnational federal farmworker program called the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP). NOTL is a tourist destination for gastro tourism and agritourism, and much of the town's culture is centered around an agrarian heritage. Their methods consisted of interviews with farmworkers, multiple visits to local farms and cultural events, as well as a discourse analysis.

The authors position the town's farm-to-consumer discourse that emphasizes a rural farming historical heritage and local agricultural economic system as having the effect of completely obscuring the region's reliance on SAWP workers from the Caribbean and Mexico. Exclusive pay-to-enter celebrations of harvests centered on lavish dinners of local food and wine of course do not include transnational workers or any mention of them. They noted how restaurants emphasize the wholesome origins of their food by focusing on the localness of their sourcing which detracts from how the food was harvested. This is noteworthy, because it conveys that not only farms are dependent on transnational labor, but local restaurants and caterers are as well. They can mark up their prices for having local, fresh food, which does not financially benefit farmworkers.

Lozanski and Baumgartner (2020) also argue that the presence of transnational labor working on farmscapes is conceptualized as disruptive to the tourist gaze and shatters the romanticism of rurality (p. 10). They position the extremes farmers employ to obscure labor as a result, which also has the effect of hiding living and working

conditions of transnational workers from locals of the region (p. 12). Notably, Korsunsky (2020) points out hiding labor in the landscape has been a longstanding pattern with labor camps, which not only obscures farms dependency on labor to tourists but to locals as well (p. 427). Local people and businesses may not be aware that they are supporting precarious transnational labor schemes through buying from local family farms.

Weiler et. al. (2016) explores the way AFN farmers and organizations in British Columbia (BC), Canada uses moral authority derived from agrarianism to distract from exploitative transnational labor practices in relation to agritourism. It's important to understand how enterprises seek to position themselves as participating in food movements in order to attract more consumers and maintain a beneficial public image. Additionally, it's critical to see how enterprises portraying themselves in such a light enhances cultural and political clout of farmers while simultaneously sidelining unsustainable, exploitative labor practices. Locals may be unable to properly differentiate between specific farmers' practices and promote all farmers as completely unproblematic, local heroes. Tourists in turn may take on this conception, which lacks nuance and veracious understanding. There are three themes to examine in their research that will assist in interpreting agritourism discourse in Hood River Valley: Persisting agrarianism, the impoverished farmer, and "Rock Stars & Bad Apples."

Firstly, agrarianism, the idea that farmers inherently possess sound judgment and superior moral characteristics, places the family farm on a societal pedestal. Weiler et. al. (2016) found "sustainable food initiatives often gloss over oppressive aspects of farm labor by promoting a romanticized agrarian ideology," and that "the idealized

family farm typically portrays a white farmer drawing on some support from family labor." (p. 1141) This conceptualization completely erases Latinx labor. While "Critical food studies scholars have problematized neo-populist AFN depictions of family farms as the 'repository of community moral values'," the average American and tourist rarely share the same nuanced understanding (Weiler et. al., 2016, p.1141; Goodman et. al. 2012, p. 141). Both Canada, and the US, struggle to let go of agrarian cultural myths. People might know that family farms are steadily declining, or that the food system depends on exploited labor (though my results say otherwise), however the family farmer remains a powerful icon regularly invoked to continue exploiting Latinx workers and simultaneously downplaying their integral contributions to the system.

Furthermore, they assert that agrarianism depictions lead to "agricultural exceptionalism; that is, agriculture should receive exemptions from labor, environmental and other regulations, along with high-cost state interventions like US and EU crop subsidies" (Weiler et. al., 2016, p.1143). I would also assert that transnational labor schemes like SAWP, H2A Visa system, and others in western Europe all constitute manifestations of agricultural exceptionalism. Notably, while farmers are supposedly deserving of agricultural exceptionalism because of agrarianism, they are excused from accountability of the associated social and environmental costs.

This leads us to the second two themes found by Weiler et. al. (2016). First is the common conceptualization of the impoverished family farmer. This idea has truth to it given the context of the cost-price squeeze and the steady disappearance of small-scale farms. Farmers do struggle and having one's financial reality tied to a bountiful harvest is nerve wracking. What this fails to capture is how much wealth exists through

land ownership, infrastructure assets, and business and marketing networks, etc. It also assists in rationalizing the existence of precarious labor regimes created by agricultural exceptionalism. This really benefits food marketing companies which can buy structurally labor-subsidized farm products and profit enormously by selling to the American consumer, who is allowed to have cheaper groceries. The espoused pain of "family farmers" is used to fight against creating more socially sustainable forms of labor. Furthermore, because "family farms are portrayed as an antidote to agribusiness concentration of farmland and other resources" they are seen as distinct from the social problems typically attributed to agricultural corporations (Weiler et. al., 2016, p. 1145). Thus, they benefit from precarious labor regimes, but are not accountable for them.

Finally, Weiler et. al. (2016) offers the idea of "Rock Stars and Bad Apples," the namesake of their study. They explain it best in the following excerpt:

> "Idealization of farmers as inherently moral and honest (especially small-scale, local and organic farmers) can stymie critical discussions about flexible and precarious farm work regimes. Elevating local farmers to the status of "rock stars" perpetuates the idea that problematic farmworker employment merely reflects inevitable and anomalous cases of individual "bad apple" farmers with insufficient moral fiber. Idealizing farmers or fixating on high-profile cases of migrant abuse, which tend to evoke public and media attention, both elide systemic issues at hand: precarious farmworker regimes involve weak accountability mechanisms and unreliable channels for farmworkers to assert their own interests." (p. 1155)

This is so critical to understanding why family farms aren't socially accountable to the very labor practices they depend on. Because they are elevated to the status of "rock stars" they are morally infallible, and incapable of perpetuating exploitative labor regimes until they are and become one of a few "bad apples". This is instructive when put together with Sifuentez's claim that farmers are rarely actually fined or punished for

breaking the already exploitative rules of precarious transnational labor regimes. When examining the testimony of migrant laborers, “bad apples” are everywhere, but according to farmers and the public, they are simultaneously nowhere in sight (Holmes, 2013, Chapters 2-4; Weiler et. al., 2016; Lozanski & Baumgartner, 2020). These depictions leave family farms with the enormous benefit of cultural and political clout without any accountability for the very system they advocate(d) for with agrarian exceptionalism. Not only that, but many of these farmers are supposedly taking a stance against agribusiness and practices of industrialized agriculture but don’t want to address industrialized labor.

Agritourism for who?

What is going wrong here? AFNs are supposed to solve problems of industrialized agriculture and agribusiness, not perpetrate them and make them invisible. London et. al. (2021) puts forward a helpful metaphor in their literature review for urban agriculture (UA) movements. UA movements are also AFNs, but they are specifically situated in an urban setting. Their metaphor situates two parts of a system, taproots and soil matrix:

> “We use the metaphor of the ‘taproot’ to characterize key elements of the UA movement, and the metaphor of the ‘soil matrix’ to refer to the underlying substrate of racial capitalism where these roots grow. Accordingly, a taproot represents the ways that UA projects are organized around a central set of values, ideologies and political commitments.” (London et. al., 2021, p. 206).

Racial capitalism is a concept that situates racism as historically and presently inseparable from capitalism. White profits have long depended on exploiting people of color; a pattern we explored a bit in the context of Oregonian agriculture. They go on to

elaborate three taproots, market oriented, health oriented, and justice oriented. Market oriented taproots are concerned with the injustice of the economic organization of agribusiness and the concentration of wealth in agriculture. Health oriented taproots focus on reducing physiological and environmental harms of the agricultural system such as pesticides, ecological destruction, and access to fresh produce. Justice oriented taproots take an explicit stance on the environmental racism endemic in capitalism and desire to reform the agricultural system to be more equitable for both producers and consumers of all racial-ethnic backgrounds. Movements don't have to be restricted to one taproot. They do however argue that market and health-oriented taproots are particularly inept at reforming the racialized nature of the soil matrix that the roots are stuck in. In fact, they find that unless an UA movement has environmental justice and anti-racist values at its core mission, it will be doomed to leave those issues of the underlying soil matrix of racial capitalism unaddressed (London et. al., 2021, p. 208).

None of the farm operators examined in Canada had an explicit stance on reforming labor to our knowledge, but they do have stances on market-based reforms like farm to table, or localism, and environmental reforms such as organic or biodynamic farming. Is it surprising then that these farmers and communities hide their labor practices? BC farmers know they can use the image of being a rockstar in order to elevate their social status and economically benefit from their community image. They wouldn't want to risk being perceived as a bad apple, so why even talk about transnational labor?

Similarly, NOTL locals and farmers know they will benefit by marketing their local historical social justice moments as the site in which Canadians took the first step

to abolish slavery and as a destination of the underground railroad. However, get less historical and more present, and suddenly the locals and farmers are much more apprehensive to discuss the realities and consequences of precarious transnational labor regimes. The town has no problem bragging about its social justice record of the 18th & 19th centuries but goes to great lengths to make farmworkers from Latin America invisible to tourists, so as to not disrupt the "romanticism" of rural landscapes while still capitalizing on the economic benefits of SAWP.

These enterprises are partaking in a market-oriented taproots. They are creating value by emphasizing bypassing corporate and agribusiness interference in post-production phases by selling to local markets and tourists. The farm to table rhetoric emphasizes less middlemen between the farmer and consumer, which on its surface sounds powerful: by buying from me, we are sticking it to the corporate middleman and supporting local community members! With depth however, its deeply xenophobic and classist: let's not acknowledge the Latinx workers living in and supporting our community for *both* large scale and small scale producers. Some of them emphasize organic and health-oriented benefits, but none of them make the claim of labor exploitation free goods.

Agritourism is therefore best understood as a market-based reform for farms. Enterprises can bypass selling their products to food suppliers, contractors, and food manufacturers by instead attracting the consumer to the farm. When one buys fresh produce from the supermarket, a percentage of its value goes to the farmer, but when the farmer directly sells to a tourist, all the value is retained for the farmer. Robinson (2021) aptly situates this phenomenon as "a commitment to small-scale capitalism, in

which tourism supports local agriculture directly and indirectly" (p. 8). This doesn't free farmers from the rising cost of inputs, increasingly extreme climate variability, or dependency on precarious labor regimes, but it does provide them with more profits which can help offset unexpected costs. Indeed, a commitment to a *smaller* scale capitalism.

Agritourism is purported to have great advantages such as preserving rural cultural heritage, stimulating local economies, and many income benefits for farmers themselves in regions where it's viable (Barbieri & Tew, 2012, p. 216; Che et. al., 2005, p. 227). All these benefits are tied to the increased amounts of revenue generated by bringing tourists to farms. For example, authors claim that agritourism allows rural towns to thrive through increased local spending and taxation, which helps with both economic stimulation and preserving rural cultural heritage. Tourists might stay at a basement Airbnb, eat at the local bistro, and shop at the tourist trap boutiques. Restaurants might sell peach burrata salads using locally produced basil, peaches, and tomatoes thus tying their image to the local agricultural system. The revenue of such allows small towns to remain financially viable and preserve the architectural and demographic characteristics of the place. Farms that have increased revenue can stay in business and also maintain their contributions to the rural landscape aesthetic. All of these inform the cultural heritage of the town, and tourist revenue supports it. *All of it* rests on the backs of farmworkers.

Farmers, who might take pleasure and pride in preserving cultural heritage and family businesses, also economically benefit from agritourism in a few ways. As mentioned, they manage to avoid oligopsonistic control of consumer food purchases by

attracting customers to the farm instead of their neighborhood supermarket. Agritourism also might require property and asset investment, which increases the land value of farms. The revenue additionally diversifies the income of farms and financially insulates farmers from seasonal variation of crop harvests and demand fluctuation.

Even more critically, it allows farms to bring in more family members from descendant generations into the business at a sustainable pay rate, which has enormous implications for the viability of continuing to keep farms within families (Barbieri et. al., 2016; Barbieri & Tew, 2012) . Family members are able to be hired with livable wages, which allows an opportunity for subsequent generations to be involved in a family business and get experience in it before the current owner dies. Notably, the extra revenue isn't used, to our knowledge, to increase wages for existing farmworkers. Recall, Vogeler asserts that farms that employ more than 1.5 man years of labor are not in fact family farms. They are larger-than-family-farms. Agritourism is enabling the sustenance of a harmful archetypal business that thrives on having a (likely) white family on a societal pedestal while keeping Latinx farmworkers that also contribute to the farms success completely excluded. I understand that many of these farmers take their family heritage seriously, and aspire to continue a legacy they deem important to them, but we have to ask: Is this worth it? If not, can we make a system that is worth it?

There is no question: agritourism is highly beneficial to local farmers who can manage to capture tourist interest. It's not available to all farmers. Proximity to urban population centers, local cooperation, existing tourist infrastructure, and are all tied to increased viability of the business model. There are substantial barriers to entry and beginning to create a reliable tourist-customer base is critical. Che et. al. (2003) notes

the strategy of combined marketing campaigns with different farmers can increase the size of the market. They use the examples of brochures and state websites, which drove customers from inside and outside the state of Michigan to participate in agritourism (p. 228-229). They also point out that farmers can create networks and refer customers to each other depending on the tourists' specific needs. As we will see, these word-of-mouth forms of advertising are powerful for pushing tourists to visit agritourism locations. As discussed, this market-oriented rhetoric is prone to ignore the racialized economic inequality of agriculture, and leave Latinx farmworkers out of local conversations and broader research of stakeholder benefits from agritourism.

Migrant workers are almost entirely sidelined in the academic literature examining agritourism's benefits. I make no claim to have read all the literature on agritourism. However, I find it notable that after reading two dozen plus articles on agritourism mostly in the *Journal of Travel Research*, that farmworkers were not mentioned once. A more comprehensive literature review might reveal more veracious patterns and themes regarding this. The rhetoric of researchers, governments, and farmers prefer to gloss over this aspect of current agriculture, and dedicate little attention to how agritourism could be leveraged to improve the lives of farmworkers in addition to farmers and local communities.

This is discursively noteworthy. When articles and agencies purport to serve local communities through marketing research and agritourism investments, they are making a claim to who is part of the community and who isn't. Evidently, farmworkers are not part of the section of the population who benefits from agritourism, and in fact, as we discovered in the Canadian studies, they are perceived as a threat to the cultural

image and scenic landscapes of the economic model. The soil matrix of racial capitalism isn't being reformed by these market oriented taproots, and worse yet the taproots are feeding off of its exploited nutrients and producing yet more fruit for privileged private property owners.

There is potential room for agritourism to be leveraged to benefit farmworkers through education, experiences, connections, and exposure. Kim et al. (2019, p. 145) and Brune et al. (2022, p. 2) are two examples of studies which seek to find evidence of shifting consumer preferences after participating in agritourism experiences. Both of the studies situate the power of experiencing place in its full capacity, and that farmers have the power to educate customers on what it means to work and live in agriculture. First hand experiences have the potency to shape perspective, beliefs, and values. Kim et al. (2019, p. 150) established positive agritourism experiences can lead consumers to purchase more of an associated agriproduct. Brune et al. (2022, p. 9) found that place based holistic experiences have the ability to shape consumer values to pay more attention to sourcing local food and supporting local agriculture. These studies both beg the question to be asked, could an agritourism experience centered around labor thematics have the capacity to shape consumer preferences around agricultural labor practices? At minimum surely these types of experiences would educate consumers on the reality of the food system?

Weiler et. al. (2016) situated another potential structural solution to farmworker representation: the proposal of a food label for ethical labor practices by a small Okanagan, BC social movement, Radical Action with Migrants in Agriculture (RAMA) (p. 1157). The idea here is to develop a regulatory framework like Organic or

Biodynamic that allows a farmer to be certified after adhering to set labor sustainability guidelines with inspections and enforcement. RAMA proposed that the regulatory framework would have to offer economic benefits to farmers who enrolled and followed guidelines. RAMA voiced concerns that it would be too burdensome to ask them to develop those guidelines with their resource capacity and conflict of interests with pushing benefits to farmers as an organization concerned with migrant farmworker rights. Indeed, surely a more powerful regulator such as the state would be needed to effectively patrol ethical labor practices.

Alternatively, farmers and others suggested that consumers ought to be responsible for monitoring labor conditions on farms (p. 1157). This is unrealistic for a few reasons. One, as we have reviewed, farmers have been obscuring farmworker labor and living conditions for centuries. This continues through the present: "Farm business owners also maintain a great deal of gatekeeping power in shaping information that is presented to the public through venues like social media and farmers' market conversations." (Weiler et. al., 2016, p. 1157). People can surely get to know the person who runs the business that grows their food, but that person can be dishonest, be misleadingly positive about farmworker living and working conditions, or just not talk about them at all. Can we honestly expect all consumers to take the time to get to know their local farmer *and all the farmworkers they hire*?

The authors then point out that even if a select farmers were completely honest about labor conditions to their customers this would be difficult to scale up in an impactful way. Hence, we need a regulatory framework to do it, which is frequently fought against by small scale farmers decrying the evils of a state regulated "one size

fits all" farm labor regulation. This leads us back in a circle to the current predicament of agriculture regarding rock stars and bad apples: "A moral economy framing is thus used as an anti-political ideology to legitimize the neoliberal status quo of agricultural exceptionalism for farm labor in BC: leave it all to individuals and hope for the best." (Weiler et. al., 2016, p. 1157).

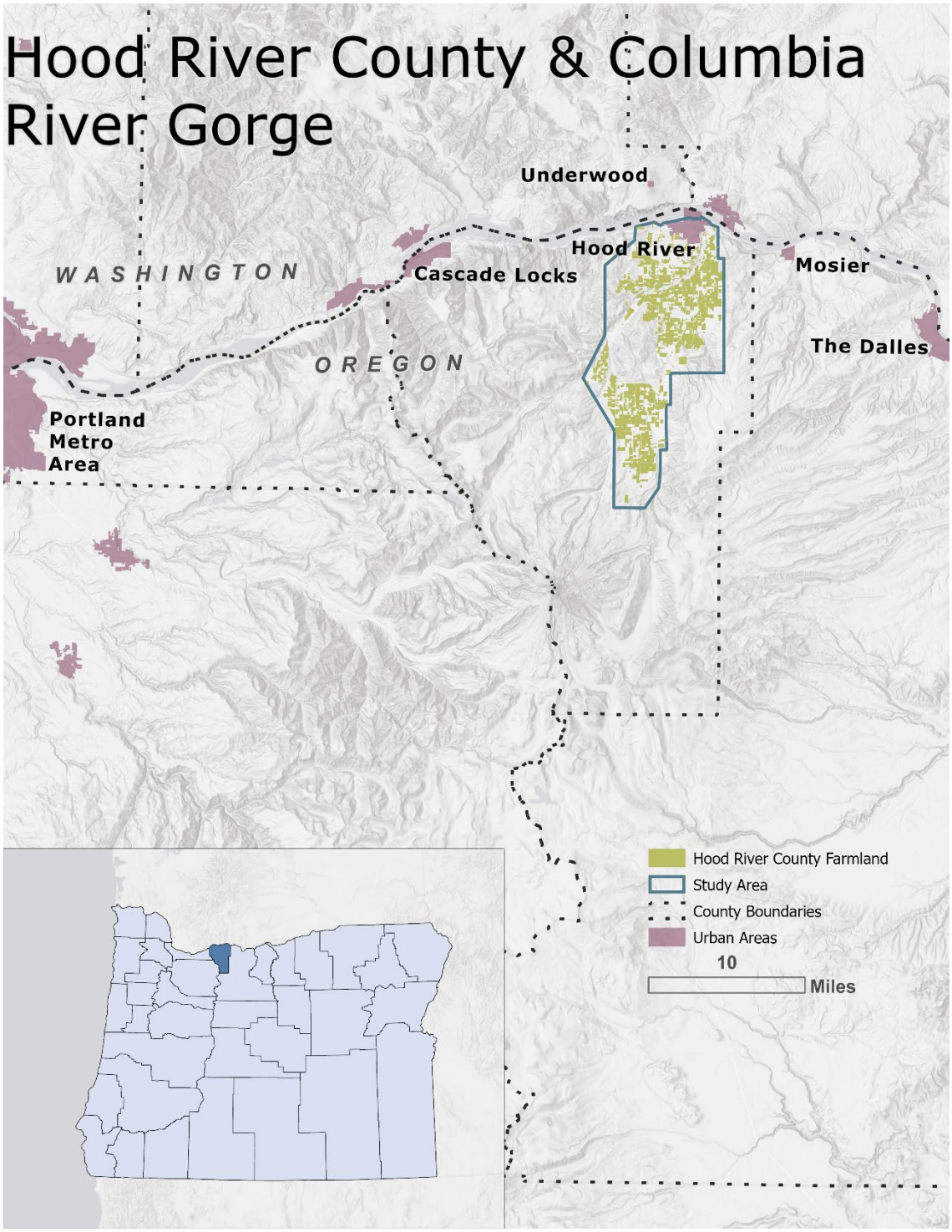
Agritourism arguably provides the single best possible venue for facilitating consumer-farmer connections, and we are here to investigate that possibility. Consumers are literally visiting the very spaces that produce food, but as we are going to find out, the agritourism experience is largely a facade. Its advertising schema sets the consumer up to interpret agritourism venues as places of beauty, relaxation, and moral purity not as spaces of stress, economic pressure, and structural violence. Additionally, farmers are concerned that accurate media of agricultural labor would be detrimental to their agritourism business models. Thus, they have a financial stake in hiding race and class conditions from tourists.

Chapter 3 Case Selection Hood River Oregon

Hood River was selected as a candidate for research for a variety of reasons. Most importantly, I have lived in the region since the age of 10, and while I now live in Eugene, I have returned every summer and winter break for work. My mother also grew up in the town. This provided me with access to already existing knowledge and relationships, which allowed a more targeted and efficient research process. Additionally, Hood River is a hotspot for agritourism due to its historical economy and geographical character.

My analysis is limited to the Hood River Valley, which in terms of the local agritourism landscape is an arbitrary line. There are agritourism enterprises spanning the Mosier valley and in The Dalles 5 and 20 miles east of Hood River respectively. Similarly, right across from the Columbia River, in Washington State, dozens of wineries and U-pick operations are also located less than a mile from my study area within Klickitat and Skamania Counties. Furthermore, Agritourism spans to eastern Washington, the Willamette Valley, and the Rogue Valley in southern Oregon. I suspect it is likely themes found in this study might hold true across these geographical regions.

Figure 1 Reference Map of Hood River County and Study Area



> The Columbia National Scenic Area tracts the Columbia River- also the border of Oregon and Washington – from the edge of the Portland metro area to The Dalles. All Hood River County farmland is in the study area except for one small parcel in the urban footprint of Cascade Locks. Agritourism spans from Hood River through Mosier and The Dalles to the Columbia Valley to the East. The pattern holds true on the Washington side as well. Underwood, WA is the only place with a concentration of agritourism on par with the Hood River Valley, although it's nowhere near as large.

Hood River Valley had long been home to Native American Tribes like the Clackamas, Wishram, Wasco, and more. Early fur trappers became interested in the region, which soon became known as Dog River supposedly after the trappers were forced to eat their own hunting dogs due to becoming trapped during a grueling winter. As Oregon experienced a land rush by White settlers looking to set up a White egalitarian agrarian paradise, desired regions like the Willamette valley quickly filled up with Donation Land Claims and other fertile regions rapidly followed. The 2021 Hood River Fruit Loop, an agritourism brochure we'll dissect later, romantically spins this history:

> "It didn't take long for early settlers to realize they had found an agricultural paradise with mineral rich soil, temperate climates, and glacial streams. Nathaniel Coe, and two other families were the first permanent settlers in the Dog River Area. Coe filed a donation land claim of 319 acres near the mouth of the Dog River (now Hood River) in 1854, planting the first fruit trees the following spring."

Like many Oregonian settlements, the regional economy centralized around control of land and natural resources for extraction. Soon logging and horticultural agriculture dominated the valley. Breakthroughs in refrigeration, canning, and irrigation

only encouraged the viability of the fruit industry, which formulated fruit-based cooperatives and packing houses.

During the 1980s and 90s, two key events impacted the local economy and transformed the region into an international tourist destination. First, in 1986 Congress established the Columbia River Gorge as a National Scenic Area spanning from the edges of the Portland Metropolitan area (the city of Troutdale) to the Dalles Oregon 108 miles to the east. National Scenic Areas are like National Parks except industrial settlements are allowed within them, albeit under strict development and land use laws. Simultaneously, the world was embroiled in another period of expanding globalization of the economy. Proximity to Portland International Airport, less than an hour away from Hood River, and 20 minutes from the edge of the scenic area border meant the region could be easily accessed by the globe. As logging and agriculture contracted, Hood River began "importing" people and relying on rural, scenic, and recreational tourism (Robinson, 2021, p. 3).

Growing interest in Scenic Recreation like hiking, windsurfing, kiteboarding, mountain biking, skiing, snowboarding, snowshoeing, and much more slowly transformed Hood River into the Scenic Area's capital for tourism and overnight stays. Tourism thus became a key economic engine. There has been some diversification into viniculture, brewing, distilling, and Uncrewed Aerial Vehicle (UAV) drone technology companies, but the region to this day is anchored by agriculture and tourism.

During the late 1990s and 2000s a few agricultural enterprises began to experiment with U-pick operations, when customers go to the farm and pick fruit themselves, and tasting rooms for wine. The Hood River Fruit Loop, a collective

brochure for agritourism businesses in the valley began in 1992. Soon agritourism proved a successful business model and by the late 2010s, the region transformed into a hotbed for agricultural tourism by blending farms, scenic landscapes, and previously existing tourist infrastructure. Farming enterprises that had existed for nearly 100 years joined alongside newer businesses in transforming their economic models to begin catering more towards Hood River's many visitors. Each year more are added to the list, and its popularity continues to grow. In my conversations with workers and business owners, it was evident demand was so extreme, many places struggled to find enough staffing or product to keep up even in the summer of 2021 characterized by the Delta variant of COVID 19.

Hood River is a prime example of strong agritourism viability. It's proximal to the Portland Urban area, which has 2.5 million people living in its combined statistical area. The Portland International Airport also connects the region to the broader nation and world. Notably, the region was an already growing tourist destination for scenic recreation, which meant the rural towns had already invested in tourist infrastructure such as lodging, shopping, and dining venues. A family that already had plans to take a day trip to see Tamanawas falls and Mount Hood might be excited to see a farm-bakery off the highway where they can stop for "farm fresh" baked goods for a pleasant snack. A couple's favorite vacation destination for hiking and windsurfing also has stunning wedding venues planted in aesthetic orchards with breathtaking views of Mount Hood they might consider for their special day down the line.

Similar to other tourist destinations covered in the literature review, Hood River has a strong presence of CSA, farmers markets, Organic growers, LFMs like Gorge

Grown, biodynamic farmers, and non-mechanized farmers. These overlap with agritourism enterprises. However, I did not look for any concrete numbers or patterns on how much they overlap. Either way, these local movements are an important cultural component of the town. There is serious consideration for local, family-owned businesses, and locals make sure others know that they support those businesses (Jaworski, 2016, p. 31). Not just because everyone knows the owner and their family by name, but also because there's some flashiness to that type of consumerism. People can exhibit excitement, pride, clout, and compassion through their local purchases. Additionally, many restaurants and caterers in town work with local farmers to secure fresh produce, which are heavily marketed to tourists and locals alike to add value and uniqueness to a meal. Sourcing locally makes the food seem of higher quality, more unique, and can transform dinner into an experience of local flavor.

Many of these industries work in tandem forming close business partnerships and incredibly profitable endeavors. A 200-person wedding out in an orchard venue creates value not just for the farm its located on, but also the hotels guests rent rooms from, the caterers serving chicken and Hood River Local vegetables produced by another farmer, and let's not forget the photographer, DJ, the bachelorette party at another agritourism winery the day before, and shopping at boutique stores downtown for memorabilia. Many businesses and individuals are economically benefiting from the farmworkers who oversee maintaining plants to produce apples, cherries, and pears, who also happen to create a scenic wedding venue at the same time.

Lastly, Hood River's demographics are instructive and important to situate in relation to the outlined history in the literature review. The county is relatively more

diverse than Oregon as a whole, which is overall a comparatively white, homogenous state among the US. Hood River County has just under 24 thousand individuals as of April 2020. Sixty three percent of whom identify as non-Hispanic White and 31.9% identify as Hispanic or Latino. One point eight percent identify as Asian alone, 1.3% as Native American or Native Alaskan, 0.8% African American, 0.2% as Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, and a remaining 2.8% identifies as two or more races.

We can observe the county has an outsized Latinx presence when examining the overall state composition of White alone, non-Hispanic at 75.1%, and a Hispanic or Latinx population of 13.4%. This of course is informed by the county's long history as Oregon's leading producer of fruit, which has contributed to a permanent Latinx presence in the county. When examining voter registration data and past election history, the rural county is surprisingly Democratic. In fact, it's one of the most reliably Democratic voting counties in the entire state: "Data from presidential elections dating back to 1988 show Multnomah, Lane, Lincoln, Benton, and Hood River counties have remained steadfastly blue, while the rest have bounced back and forth." (Arden, 2020).

The other demographic characteristic worth noting is the racial composition of farm operators, also called producers, in the region. Producers are key decision makers on farms designated by the census. One does not have to own the land, labor, or capital of a farm to be a producer, they just have to call the shots for planting and harvesting in addition to deriving >50% of their income from farming (Legal Information Institute). Also, there can be more than one producer per farm.

The high rate of white producers in Hood River is a direct product of the White supremacist laced history of Oregon laid out in the background history from Indigenous

American dispossession to gatekeeping subsequent minorities from equal access to opportunities to ascend the agricultural economic ladder. Decades of racialized policies have accumulated to an enormous disparity of primarily White owners of agricultural enterprises.

Table 1 Hood River Producers by Race

Total Producers	1,099
White Producers	1,001 (91.1%)
Asian Producers	62 (5.6%)
Black Producers	1 (0%)
American Indian and Alaskan Native Producers	2 (0%)
Producers of one or more races	11 (1%)
Producers that Identify as Hispanic	109 (9.9%)

Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin are not considered "races" according to US census policies and are thus a separate category. Someone who identifies with any of those labels, is also simultaneously White, Black, etc.

Chapter 4 Methods

I took a multi method approach to address my research question. The primary method is a content and discourse analysis of digital advertising materials aimed at tourists and potential visitors to enterprises. Materials include Instagram posts, tourist brochures, and websites.

Sampling Procedure

For the purposes of my sampling procedure, I took Barbieri et. al. 's (2016) definition of agritourism enterprises and searched for businesses that had both some form of dedicated crop production, which ranged from 5 acres to hundreds, as well as an on-site facility aimed at attracting tourists to the space. In terms of the enterprises examined in this study, facilities included the following: various alcohol tasting rooms, restaurants, fruit stands, u-pick activities, wedding venues, or other methods of creating experiences, education, and aesthetic consumption of agricultural landscapes (Lavender fields, sunflower mazes, apple tastings etc.).

My sampling methodology sought to capture every business in the geographic Hood River Valley study area that qualified. To accomplish this, I used a priori knowledge from living in the region for ten years, google, local advertising materials, and sightseeing by driving through the valley looking for businesses that qualified. I found 25 enterprises to analyze that met the criteria above in addition to being open at least 3 months a year and having a website and an Instagram presence. I have since found out I missed one newer business; however, my sample is still more than qualified to capture the region's agritourism discourse surrounding labor.

There is a discrepancy between the count of enterprise I examine in this study and the count of producers given by the USDA. First, as mentioned, there can be multiple producers for a single farm. Second, not all farms in the region are tourist enterprises. Many for one reason or another have stuck with traditional farming. Third, not all businesses that have agritourism elements are fully committed to them. A few I chose not to examine were only open for 2 weeks to a month in the fall, which fell outside of my time in Hood River. They were exclusively apple and pear U-pick operations, hence the extremely seasonal operation. Additionally, many including all the highly seasonal enterprises I just mentioned don't have a social media or website presence. It likely isn't worthwhile for these u-pick operations to invest in those marketing tactics currently.

Instagram

As both a researcher and a member of the local community, business owners have a growing understanding that having a social media presence can positively impact business traffic. Many individuals I talked to hold this belief, and study interviewees also expressed the sentiment. Instagram provides a venue for businesses to market an idea of the experience they are offering to tourists using sight, text, and sometimes sound. It provides a preconception of what the farm is, who is welcome there, and why one should visit there. Albeit a common understanding that Instagram isn't reality, it has a potent capacity to persuade individuals, or at the least disarm them from thinking beyond what's conveniently placed in front of their eyes. Instagram posts aren't primary source footage. They are cultural products tailored to social norms and expectations that hold substantial power in shaping consumer conceptions and expectations.

Of the 25 agritourism enterprises, 22 had Instagram pages with adequate content to analyze. A couple of pages were clearly unused or the owner's personal account aimed towards friends and acquaintances. My intent was to pull 30 posts from each and code them all (660 in total) and see if by that time I had reached saturation, the point at which coding becomes repetitive and yields no new noteworthy results. This did prove to be an effective saturation point. For each enterprise, I started on July 1st, 2021 and moved back in time until I had collected 30 posts from that page.

After collecting the repository of materials to analyze, I examined all the posts in summary to see what codes emerged from the data. I tried to pay particular attention to anything that might touch on labor, however, it quickly became clear that very little, if any, of the posts included that theme. After compiling a list of eleven codes that I felt captured the discourse of the Instagram posts, I moved through each photo and caption, and coded them separately. So, a photo might feature fresh raspberries, which would be coded Advertising Agricultural Products. The caption for that photo might explain U-pick seasonal availability to potential customers while having a sentence celebrating the merits of fresh produce, which would be separately coded from the photo as both Advertising Agricultural Products (AAP) and Customer Logistics (CL). This means that 660 photos and 660 captions were all individually coded. Photos and captions could each carry multiple codes. The most codes a post or caption received were four.

Table 2 Instagram Codes and Definitions

Code	**Description**
Customer Logistics (CL)	Customer logistics captures attempts by enterprises to inform consumers of changing business practices, surprise announcements, or how to show up prepared.
Natural Beauty (NB)	Natural Beauty is a code that represents scenarios in which the photo and/or captions had the user focus on vistas and natural scenery that can be consumed on site.
Outdoor Consumption (OC)	This is for content highlighting outdoor space for consumption or experience.
Advertising Agricultural Products (AAP)	Advertising Agricultural Products was used in instances where the enterprise highlights fruit or other minimally processed agricultural goods.
Advertising Site Manufactured Products (ASMP)	This code captures businesses advertising products that they produce on site. This is different from AAP in the sense that these items are not fresh agricultural products, but rather entail some form of manufacturing from cooking, canning, brewing, or other processing.

Advertising Off-site manufactured products (AOMP)	This code is very similar to ASMP, except that these are products that cannot be produced on site, or they are produced by another brand. If I could not verify a product was produced off site, I preferred ASMP.
Farm Animals (FA)	Farm Animals, from dogs, cats, pigs, goats, cows, and even Alpacas are great consumer draws and emblematic of farm life.
Smiling Consumers (SC)	Posts had to draw attention to positive emotions such as happiness or joy, which could be experienced by visiting the enterprise.
Happy Employees (HE)	This code is for instances in which photos or captions highlight employees of enterprises. They can't just feature an employee in the background, they must be emphasized in the photo or caption.
Holiday Commemoration (HC)	Memorial day, July 4th, Fathers Day, Mothers Day, Easter. These posts are for purely celebrating the holiday and not necessarily a special event at the location, although there are a few of those.

Bees	Since this study explicitly focuses on labor, I couldn't help but notice just how frequently bees were credited as hard workers or integral parts of the farm.

Websites

All 25 enterprises had websites with ample content for a discourse analysis. I moved through each website and searched for content that was tailored towards informing how a consumer should understand a business. Mostly, this involved “about” pages which had various terms like “our story,” “our history,” “our mission,” etc. I also wanted to see if any chose to speak about labor within the business, so pages titled “Our Team” or “Meet {insert name}” etc. also qualified. I scraped each page of each website and collected anything that interpreted an agritourism business in relation to themes of labor, logistics, history, family farming, and professed business objectives.

Once I amassed a corpus of website content, I analyzed each business as a single unit for coding. Like the Instagram posts, I read through content and generated a list of nine codes that I felt touched on critical themes of the data. Each website could receive a code one time, but not any more than that. I did this to avoid the messiness of quantifying a theme's presence in qualitative materials. Some websites did play into themes more than others. My goal was to capture an overall narration of how farms should be understood within the consumer gaze, rather than capturing similarities or differences between enterprises’ narrations.

Table 3 Website Codes and Definitions

Code	**Description**
Localism	Locally made, locally farmed, and supporting the local economy, are just a few examples of the ways websites embed added value into their agritourism experiences or products.
Heritage	Many Hood River farms are handed down generationally and another handful are run by individuals who have a generational history of farming outside of Hood River. Some also emphasized architectural heritages.
Geography/Terroir	This code is common for vineyard operations where the term terroir signifies the climate, soil, and environment which are all critical to informing the qualities of a grape and eventually the wine made from them. Many enterprises made similar claims outside of vineyards.
Aesthetics	For a website to receive an aesthetic code, there had to be one or more statements geared towards advertising scenic beauty.
Experience	This code captures website content that positions the farm as an experience.
Hedonism/ Relaxation	This is similar to experience, however, in order for a website to be coded as such, the content must portray the farm as a space

	for relaxation and consumption of food or alcohol. This is different from asking customers to come witness the farm and experience it, in the sense that it takes on a more hospitality-oriented tone.
Family Values	This code demarcates discourse that highlights the familial qualities of a farm.
Farm to Consumer	Farm to consumer rhetoric emphasizes the freshness of agricultural products while localism highlights the merits of local consumption. For example, a U-pick operation might highlight the superior taste and quality of picking fruit on site. It could also simultaneously encourage supporting local farmers; thus it would receive both codes.
Sustainable	Websites had to make some claim to farming sustainably, which was always environmental.

Brochures

Since I worked as a waiter in a hotel, I noticed several customers carrying brochures of the enterprises I was analyzing. So, I went around to a few of the larger hotels in Hood River and collected as many brochures as I could find. At this point in the summer, I had conducted both discourse analysis of websites and Instagram posts. After reading the brochures through, I knew I would be wasting my time by developing another code system. Some enterprises even directly copied content from websites into

a paper format. The goal of the brochures is to catch the attention of hotel guests and entice/ guide them from their place of stay to the agritourism venue. This is useful to capture non-internet audiences. There is one notable exception, which holds substantial influence within the regional agritourism economy: The Hood River Fruit Loop.

Figure 2 The Hood River Fruit Loop

The Hood River Fruit Loop is a collective brochure, which businesses can opt in with a small fee to cover printing and maintenance costs. It started in 1992 and in the year 2021 it featured 26 businesses, 19 of which qualified in my sampling procedure. The other 7 did not because the enterprises did not have on-site crop production. Two of those were purely retail locations, one for fruit products such as jam syrup, pies, etc. The other was, oddly enough, an antique business? I would be interested to see what image of rural heritage they might present, but unfortunately, it did not qualify.

It's not of utility to detail too much of the brochure's content, but I will offer a summary for reference. The first page features a map with numbered stops following a suggested scenic highway route. The brochure opens with a romantic agrarian view of history that pedestals the first settler of Hood River to establish an orchard, which I quoted in the historical background. It then offers a litany of information seeking to answer frequently asked questions for tourists ranging from how to ripen a pear and seasonality of certain fruits to COVID 19 and smoking policies of enterprises. It then offers a paragraph on each business that purchased a spot in the brochure. Enterprise content is repetitive, if not directly copy and pasted from websites, hence the reason I am not detailing too much about the content. Other notable features include a paragraph highlighting women, as owners and other professional roles, in agriculture and advertisements by local restaurants, hotels, and other agritourism businesses not featured in the Fruit Loop.

The brochure is incredibly successful and attracts tourists to Hood River explicitly for the purpose of "doing the Fruit Loop.'' Others in the region have recently replicated the Fruit Loop brochure by creating their own. Examples include the East Gorge Food Trail and Gorge Wine. The East Gorge Food Trail had enterprises that were outside the boundaries of the study area. Gorge Wine had some businesses that qualified as samples and others outside of the geographic study area.

Interviews

Interviews were semi-structured and conducted with individuals who had significant experience in agritourism. The method proved difficult to operationalize in the context of the COVID 19 pandemic. The dual combination of normal tourism traffic

volume combined with an acute staffing shortage across service industries meant individuals whom I wanted to speak to were frequently overwhelmed or too busy to even respond to outreach. I suspect there were other circumstances that could have contributed to lack of enthusiasm such as a general distrust towards universities and especially the University of Oregon. Multiple times I initially encountered a receptionist or service staff who enthusiastically passed on their manager's phone number with the quick warning, “maybe don’t say you're from the University of Oregon”.

Thus, I was only able to conduct 4 interviews given the unfortunate overlap of these events. Interviews therefore serve as an added element to the discourse analyses and are not the primary focus of this study. This section of methodology does qualify as Human Subjects research and is approved by the University of Oregon's Institutional Review Board. Interviewees will remain anonymous along with the enterprises they are associated with. While interviews were semi-structured to provide room for conversational flow, they did follow a general format of starting with learning the subject's history and relationship with agritourism before moving into how they understood the industry. Finally, it concluded with direct questions on media representations of farm labor. Below is the outline I brought with me to each interview as a checklist to help keep track of research intentions and conversational flow.

1. How did you come into agriculture and farm work?
    - How long have you been working in it?
    - Has your role changed over time?
    - What keeps you working in it?

2. Visiting farms, doing U-pick, and being able to buy produce on site has been something I've been doing since I was a kid here in Hood River. Is this something that's always existed? Has it grown or changed overtime?

- How important is that to the operations and revenue of the farm
- Has it changed how things operate? How about business priorities?

3. What priorities are at the heart of [agritourism thing we are talking about]?

- Why do you think it works and generates revenue?
- Have you found any particular strategies work well, what hasn't?
- What's in it personally for you?

How does your business contribute to the community?

4. Where are agricultural goods produced for consumption where?

- What goods are produced onsite vs elsewhere?
- Where is the furthest offsite location located at?
- What does your clientele seem like? Are there any patterns you notice?

5. What do you think draws tourists to your farm? Where and how do you advertise?

- Does city or government support play a role?
- How about brochure media like The Hood River Fruit Loop?
- Does word of mouth, or local residents' recommendations bring a lot of business?

6. (What are some of the) or (Are there) difficulties in agritourism ventures?

- Are there areas of conflicting priorities or practices between agricultural production and facilitating tourist/consumer experiences?
- How do you navigate and overcome those difficulties?

7. Are there significant differences between the idea of a farm when it gets presented to consumers that might differ from how it actually functions?

- Are there topics that typically don't come up with tourists that are a big part of agricultural production?

- Why do you think those differences exist? How do you navigate them?

8. A lot of pictures and media I see shows the landscape of the farm, like trees with Mt Hood or Adams in the background. I also see a lot of pictures of final products in bins, processed goods, or fruit still on the plants. When I lived in Odell, the scenes of day-to-day orchard work were a lot more diverse and less aestheticized. Why is there not usually media of pickers or other day to day labor involved in maintaining trees/plants?

- Do you think it might be more related to what you think is going to be exciting for tourists? Alternatively, were there moments that demonstrated to you that that is what tourists/consumers want to see?

- Why do you think the media doesn’t highlight much of the actual labor, and the people doing it?

Chapter 5 Results and Discussion

The discussion is organized into five parts. First, I will address the miniscule number of media pieces showing farmworker labor, as well as the Instagram code, Bees. We will also dissect the interview results that touch on why farmers think Latinx labor isn't represented on their business's media pages.

In the second part, other notable interview findings, we will detail interview results that touch on agritourism's potential as a financial tool for familial inheritance, agritourism as an opportunity for upward mobility, and the confirmed validity of Instagram and brochures as vital advertising materials for tourists.

The proceeding three parts focus on Instagram and website coding results, and they are ordered by increasing discourse richness. This will start with situating the codes under the umbrella of what I am referring to as communicating agritourism. Content here does not signal any overt values and focuses on simply conveying basic information and situating the products an enterprise offers. However, it is worth noting the content and who conveys that communication sits in a privileged position relative to farmworkers, and thus shaping marketing decisions. This section will detail the codes Customer Logistics, Holiday Commemoration, and all three Advertising Agricultural Products, Advertising Site Manufactured Products, and Advertising Offsite Manufactured Products from Instagram content. It will also elaborate on the Geography & Terroir theme from websites.

The fourth theme for dissection is discourse aimed at selling agritourism, which actively fetishizes and emphasizes the agritourism experience and products. This banner captures instances in which content is actively shaping consumer expectations and

understandings of what it means to visit a farm. What will it feel like? Why would I want to go? What will I get by spending my time and money to be here and get here? This content answers those questions, according to the creators of these enterprises' web and social media presence. The consumer experience will of course substantially differ from a farmworkers experience of an agritourism facility. This section will feature the results of the Instagram codes Farm Animals, Natural Beauty, Outdoor Consumption, Smiling Customers, and Happy Employees. It will also feature content from Aesthetics, Experience, and Hedonism & Relaxation of the website codes.

The last results banner, moralizing agritourism, will detail the content most explicitly leveraging discourse tools that emphasize the agrarian family farm and AFN economic ideals. Here we will dissect the last of the website codes: Localism, Farm to Consumer, Sustainable, Heritage, and Family values.

I am keeping my interviewees non gendered by using they/them pronouns when writing as an added layer of anonymity. Sometimes I will not name which interviewee is speaking if their background isn't pertinent to the content. I also redacted some words in direct quotes also to preserve anonymity. The words are replaced with something more generic in brackets such as [last name]. Before jumping in, here are the overall counts for both Instagram and website coding as well as some background information on the interviewees.

Table 4 Interviewee Characteristics

Interviewee	Positionality	Heritage
Interviewee A	Manager	Parents are owners

Interviewee B	Main service staff with some managerial responsibilities	Parents are farmworkers
Interviewee C	Owner	Parent was owner
Interviewee D	Manager	Parents are owners

Table 5 Instagram Content Code Results

Code	Count of Images	Count of Captions	**Total**	% Of Total Content Pieces (n= 1320)
Advertising Site Manufactured Products (ASMP)	235	217	**452**	34.2%
Natural Beauty (NB)	262	62	**324**	24.6%
Advertising Agricultural Products (AAP)	197	125	**322**	24.4%
Customer Logistics (CL)	57	152	**209**	15.8%
Outdoor Consumption (OC)	103	57	**160**	12.1%
Advertising Other manufactured products (AOMP)	56	41	**97**	7.4%
Smiling Consumers (SC)	66	29	**95**	7.2%
Holiday Commemoration (HC)	32	48	**80**	6.1%
Happy Employees (HE)	34	4	**38**	2.9%
Farm Animals (FA)	14	20	**34**	2.6%
Bees	11	11	**22**	1.6%

To refresh, there are 660 total images and 660 total captions for a grand total of 1320 pieces of Instagram content.

Table 6 Website Content Code Results

Code	Count	% Of Total Websites (n=25)
Experience	20	80%
Farm to Consumer	19	76%
Hedonism/ Relaxation	18	72%
Heritage	17	68%
Geography/Terroir	15	60%
Family Values	15	60%
Aesthetics	12	48%
Localism	11	44%
Sustainable	4	16%

Latinx Representation

Of 660 Instagram posts, 4 showed Latinx farmworkers (0.006%). Of 660 captions, zero mentioned any presence, gratitude, celebration, appreciation, or bare minimum of acknowledging labor done by farm workers. That means, of 1320 pieces of content from social media, 0.003% *showed the workers producing the fruit that the entirety of Hood River's food, wine, agricultural, and gastro tourism economy completely depends on.* There is some website content that mentions Latinx labor we

will discuss later, however, it is for winemaking and not agricultural production. Brochures don't touch the topic. To call these content pieces representation, is misleading. As we will see, the gap of quantity and quality representation between white workers and Latinx Farmworkers is enormous. I personally cringe at the idea of equating the two. However, we need to compare them to understand the gap and the injustice occurring in media that purports to represent farms.

Figure 3 Closed For This Weekend.

The caption reads "Sorry but our tasting room will be CLOSED this weekend. Stay Healthy!"

Both the photo and caption of figure 13 were coded customer logistics. The bar for photos representing Latinx labor is extremely low.

Figure 4 Net Technology Novelty

The caption reads “Now that there is fruit on the trees, we are putting up netting to protect them from hail. Last year was the first year we used the netting, and just 4 days after installing it we had a major hailstorm. The fruit survived! @drapenetna [the net company’s Instagram page]”

I originally coded both the caption and photo of figure 14 as advertising agricultural products because they are emphasizing the fruit. It’s extremely rare for content to focus this much on production logistics. Notice how the fruit trees and nets are foregrounded in the content and workers are in the background.

Figure 5 Pruning Blossoms

The caption reads “We have begun blossom thinning the Pink Pearls. By thinning 50-70% of blossoms this year, it allows the tree to return bloom and fruit next year.”

The post of figure 15 was originally coded natural beauty because it contained many more photos of just blossoms and views of Mt Adams. This photo, and the next, are the closest to representing farm worker labor in the entire sample. It will be discussed more in the conclusion.

Figure 6 Smokey Harvest

The caption reads “Welcome Harvest 2020. Today we picked Chardonnay and Pinot Noir for our sparkling wines. Grapes for sparkling wines are harvested first to ensure lower sugar levels than when the same varieties are picked for table wines.” Below that someone comments: “Will these be affected by the smoke?”

Figure 16 does show the people who performed the work of harvesting. It’s more common to see a white family standing in front of a bountiful harvest. None of these pieces of content draw substantial attention to workers. Instead, farmworkers are just background props or side pieces to the focus of the content. It begs the question, from the digital landscapes, how would people know who produces their food? No wonder the “family farm” still seems like a predominant archetype despite its endangerment. No wonder customers repeatedly asked interviewee B how the fruit is harvested and assumed it was machinery. This is not to mention the established fact that Latinx workers aren’t typically visible in the physical landscape either.

Upon going through Instagram footage, I noticed that Bees (and a ladybug) were receiving more credit for farm labor than Latinx workers. Yes. Bees, which numbered 22 photos and captions for 1.6 % of content. In these instances, farmers directly thanked Bees, cherished them, worshiped them as integral parts of farming. In photos and captions bees are the center of attention in the frame, and not some background prop.

1. “We found this guy buzzing around our apple blossoms”
2. “Nature doing its job on a red Anjou pear. The ladybug is probably scavenging for aphids and those insect nymphs.”
3. “We love our bees! Stop by and hear them hum around our lavender! #bees #lavenderfarm #savethebees”
4. “We [heart emoji] our pollinators Bees make our world go round & our flowers become fruit”
5. “Bees are our best friends at Lavender Valley. Without them we wouldn't have this magical palace to explore.”
6. “Thankful for the bees. What’s something you couldn't live without?”

Figure 7 Photos Coded Bees

Notice how photos are centered around bees. It is featuring the work they do, but there is more attention on the bees themselves, and this is emphasized through captions.

The gap between Bees and Latinx Farmworkers is enormous in of itself, without referring to the fact that the code Bees only captured a very small percent of content (1.6%). This is interesting to compare with Happy Employees which captured (%) of content. These are both nowhere near the top code, Advertising Agricultural Products.

Why are farms being blatantly misrepresented? Here, I turn to our interviewees for answers. The topic came up naturally with Interviewee A:

> Researcher (R): Are there significant dissonances in the way a farm functions vs the way it's presented to tourists?
>
> Interviewee (I): Yes. Yes. So, the whole goal of a farm, I think at least, is that no one should see all the work that goes into it. All the blood sweat

and tears that makes it work. Like people just come in here and say oh it looks so nice, and I am like we fertilized every single bush with a shotgun shell. That's like 3500 plants. Like scooting along a tarp trying to get our arms in the soil for 3500 plants. It's so pretty like yeah, it's great. There is a huge disconnect from how a farm likes to present and how it operates. It's supposed to look effortless, like that's the thing right now, effortless beauty. It's insane.

R: Why do you think people are disinterested in seeing that side of things?

I: I think they are interested a little bit, but at the same time it's not convenient when people are here. So, like we need tractors and heavy machinery and sharp knives and stuff. So yes, they would be interested, but also want to touch everything. We gotta do that in the morning. No one really cares about the months and months of irrigation work done. They may be interested in watching us use all the heavy machinery and cut all the stuff, but no one wants to see us lay pipes. Or like they want to see the ladies lay vines, but when they realize they do that for weeks and weeks they're like yeah not interested. It's not like something that's super engaging. It's like Disneyland, you go and it's magic, but you don't see all the stuff that happens behind the scenes. You don't get to see the sweaty princesses.

R: It sounds like you have a strong belief that no one is interested in this type of stuff, so I am curious, have you tried to put this stuff onto the media and has there been an experience that validates those beliefs?

I: I only think it's boring because I have done it. [referring to hard work, not putting the media of it out there]. I try to put out things about the distillation and the harvest, especially for the [crop type], and people are interested but my uncle jokes that everyone is interested enough to harvest lavender once. After that they're like we're good, I am done, no desire to do that again. So that's why I think it's boring, I do it every year for days and days and days. So, I think you're right, it's novel for someone who has never been exposed to it but when you're exposed to it all the time, you're like alright this is boring lets go inside now.

R: So, do you think that guides your decision process to not post materials about that because you think it's mundane?

I: Yeah probably. I just don't have that eye. Idk we used to have this marketing director from southern CA that used to be like oh that's so cool and get a picture. For me I am like oh my god I got up at 5 am had coffee and a donut, didn't shower, and now I am gonna work till 3. I just don't think that's exciting, but like you're right, it is exciting, but when you've done it for so long it's just like ehhhhhh ok.

Quickly, there is no harvest content on their Instagram page, so that is a misleading claim. To summarize, Interviewee A claims that these realities of farming are mundane and of no interest to consumers without verifying those beliefs through testing and tracking engagement metrics of likes, comments, and shares. I too would share the assumption that less people would be interested in that stuff, however, I do also think that a portion of consumers would be. I also found it significant that during much of our time together, interviewee A repeatedly complained about how little people understand about agriculture because they as consumers are spatially disconnected from it. Despite these issues, they chose not to use Instagram as an opportunity to better educate people. In retrospect, I could have asked why they didn't see Instagram as a possible venue for education, but they did make sure to emphasize they seek to educate people about agricultural production while they visit the enterprise.

Lastly, Interviewee A does not view this lack of representation as a social justice issue. They purely make these decisions centered around their personal experiences of the farm as a white manager poised to continue the family legacy. Their perspective alone is informing media decisions. This pattern will continue as we examine interviewees C and D. Here is my conversation with interviewee C:

> R: ….. Why don't they show a lot of the work and manual labor that goes into farming?
>
> I: I don't know why they do that. You know pears right now are a really favorite object of artists cause they're really pretty with all the colors that they can get. So you see a lot of pear art, but yeah you don't see all the workers who do all the work and understand how it actually happens. I don't know why that happened, but you know if you've been to Hood River recently by diamond fruit, they have big murals on their cold storages of the people that are actually… you know…. The work….. The

worker bees that are out in the orchard actually doing the work and we couldn't do this without them.

R: I did see the mural. Why do you think the person curating the media made that decision? Is it because tourists are uninterested? Is there a particular reason why it gets presented that way?

I: Well I think sometimes people want to remain anonymous and not have their face plastered all over social media. I think that's some of it. Not shyness, but not wanting to be a movie star of the orchard.

R: I agree with that in regards to specific people, but generally why do you think labor is not shown?

I: It's ummm a cultural thing. Everybody knows it happened, but you don't want to know about it. You know you go to the hospital and you tend to thank the doctor more than the nurse sometimes, and the nurse is the one who does all the work.

R: I am a dinner server, and I think a lot about that with the chefs in the kitchen.

I: Yeah.

Interviewee C holds an interesting viewpoint. Later, we will see through other interviews that it's misleading to say that everybody knows Latinx farmworkers are doing the manual labor in horticultural operations. I suspect they hold that viewpoint given their long history in that occupation and positionality. I have no doubt that most people who work in farms, and several locals, especially Latinx locals, know that just because we don't see farmworkers, doesn't mean they don't exist. Their citation of the mural is also fascinating, which I see as a step in the right direction. However, I had asked them about their social media representation and in response, they chose to shift the conversation to local artwork they have no influence over. It's worth noting that interviewee two has never been on Instagram and their tasting room manager handles the enterprises social media presence.

Figure 8 Odell Farm Mural

Located on the side of a fruit packing facility, the mural emphasizes the many different crops and ethnic identities tied to farm work in the valley.

Their explanation of the cause being “a cultural thing” is a valid and important interpretation to dissect. The job of a farmworker lacks status for a couple of reasons. First, it's conceptualized as centralized around physical rather than emotional or intellectual labor. All jobs require a mixture of the three and many farmworkers have valuable intellectual expertise and emotional resilience, but our society tends to focus on the physical part and thus devalue the job position. Second, like the example provided by the interviewee, jobs associated with specific minority characteristics, such as female nurses vs male doctors, have been historically devalued which informs present understandings of the job positions. Korsunsky (2020) pointed out that Oregon’s

landholding farmers have historically portrayed themselves as aristocrats that passively accumulate wealth from the fertility of the land, often ignoring the labor going into it (p. 426). Hutchinson (2013) also demonstrated how advertising has hidden labor (p. 974-980). Not only is farmworker labor undervalued by culture, but its existence is also barely recognized.

However, let's not forget everyone has the power and responsibility of creating and reenacting culture every day. Interviewee C's answer positions the lack of Latinx representation as if everyone else decided to do that. This is true on some level, and they alone can't solve the problem, however everyone can do more to make incremental changes to the ways they enact culture. Interviewee C's explanation conveyed an acknowledgement that this cultural practice overemphasizing white farmers is wrong, but they did not reflect their contributions to that system. It raises the question how could they make the changes necessary to credit farm workers more? Again, another question I wish I had asked, but we will talk more about that in the conclusion. In their response, interviewee D presented not showing farm work in digital media as a simple technical marketing decision:

> R: … I am curious why do you think there is not a whole lot of media out there highlighting the labor aspect of agritourism?
>
> I: I think you get a little bit of it when it comes time for harvest and things. Like, you'll get a lot of pictures and videos of the crush and the juice flowing and of the barreling process. When it comes down to it, I think it's just not as romantic as uhh the you know beautiful landscapes, finished bottles, or people cheers-ing at the table. You know, mostly the social media accounts are there to kind of drum up business and sell the final product. I think you don't necessarily see the harvest and you know the spraying and agricultural part because it's not umm necessarily visually appealing or even as important to your average customer you're trying to go after.

There's actually I think, Wine Enthusiast is doing a special right now where they hired a photographer to go around to different wineries and capture every aspect of the wine industry and they're posting a photo series of basically the people doing just that the agricultural part, the crush part, the cellar part. Trying to do what you're talking about and give people a look behind the scenes and all the little different nuances that go into the vine to harvest, and grape to wine, and wine to glass, and into a person's hand.

I think for your typical winery or tasting room, their social media accounts are there to sell the experience, sell the product, and that's why you see those shots of the tasting rooms, of the landscapes, the views, the bottles, people enjoying themselves on the patio because that's what they're trying to convey more so than kind of the overall agricultural part of things.

R: Would it be correct to articulate that you don't think people would be interested in those things?

I: I think some people would be interested but your casual person that you're trying to market to in that sector probably wouldn't be interested in it, but umm. I do think it is a place where some people are definitely interested. As I said when you get to harvest you see a lot more people posting photos that are of the actual physical harvest at the end and the crush, kind of the pressing of the wine, the bottling process and stuff like that. But just your random May day where they're out there spraying the vines or whatever or just kind of tending to things, you don't want to see as much I don't think that's as interesting to people but the end result the harvest that's umm I think you do see you will see a lot of things pop up on social media whether it just be simple stories or full on posts of the actual physical harvest will pop up more and more here. I say start looking at winery accounts in the next 2-6 weeks and you'll see a lot more of that stuff come into play.

R: I don't know. I still see that as kind of a final product thing. You're right, they've still got to go through the fermentation, but the grapes all collected and going into the crusher still seems kind of like it's skipping over the actual agricultural process.

I: yeah it definitely is for sure. Like I said, most wineries are using their accounts to sell the wine less so the farming aspect, so that's why I think you see that get glazed over a little bit. People want to see the exciting stuff: the harvest, the crush, the bottling, and what they can expect when they get to the winery as far as scenery and tasting rooms things like that. I do think the agricultural part does get swept under the rug a little bit.

R: I am curious, it sounds like you have like a pretty well-founded belief here and rationale. I am curious what experiences have informed that?

I: As far as what?

> R: You seem to have a pretty strong idea that people will not be interested in the agricultural part and that it's not a good marketing strategy. I am curious if this is an assumption, or a well-tested and verified belief that you have found through experiences?
>
> I: I guess kind of in the middle. A bit of an assumption, I haven't actually gone out and taken videos and pictures of our day-to-day farm work and things and posted it and seen what the results would be. I just think you know visually it's not as appealing as kind of the you know just like a watching some guys like you know cut you know tendrils off the vines as they go kind of isn't visually appealing online as opposed to you know a full cluster of red grapes or you know a view of the valley down the way or even of just of the actual harvest and finished product grapes going into a crusher. I just think that's kind of where we focus our attention as far as things go, but it's not something I have physically tested myself or kind of tried to theory out. I'll have to try it one of these years and get you a real case study on it, but yeah definitely more of an assumption of what I think I find visually appealing and what I think our clientele will find visually appealing.

The interviewee painted a dichotomy in their response. There's the beautiful side of agriculture such as views of the vineyard and bushels of red grapes. Then there's the "less romantic" side of agriculture such as laying vines, pruning, and pesticide application. This is an unhelpful and limited view. I could be moved to agree that it's harder to strike a balance between representing labor and aestheticizing it. However, the suggestion that a business must choose one over the other is wrong. They literally cited Wine Magazine as an example. I don't know what the magazine issue will look like, and I would certainly bet it's not going to expose some of the worst aspects of agricultural farm work, but it can still acknowledge labor contributions!! Now, this is a tricky balance. I wouldn't want anyone to sugar coat farmworker labor conditions. However, I do think that there is a dignified way to present the work and the people who do it.

Lastly, we have interviewee B, which as you might recall from table 4, comes from a family of farmworkers. As you can imagine, our conversation went a bit differently. First, media representations of farmworker working and living conditions came up naturally:

R: This question might not feel like a new question, but are there any significant differences between the image of a farm that gets shown to consumers versus the way it actually functions?

> I: yeah probably. I feel like they glam it up so much like the working conditions are not… the best, even though they say they are. My mom has to make sure, because she's a sorter and she also does some of the pruning and planting fruit trees. After a day of work, she's knocked out. Like she is done. Being in that sorting room with the big fluorescent lights it gets really warm in there and there in this little room and when they open up you're going into the straight cold and you can get really sick from that so she wears big glasses so she can't get air in her eyes.
>
> R: I noticed you said they do glamorize it, and I am curious exactly how?
> I: I just feel like whenever I see people talk about agriculture or like maybe like in movies or when people are talking about on the news or whatever. They make it seem like yes, it's heavy work but they never really go like too far into detail about it. I don't know how to explain it, but I don't know. It's just. I've lived in the orchard for so long that I am able to pick up on those things that people normally wouldn't pick up on.
>
> R: Can you think of any demonstrative examples? Like has advertising portrayed something like housing differently, health, pay, access to sanitation?
>
> I: I think all of those are good. Like I've been living in the housing forever. Uhhh definitely not up to date on like everything, but people are definitely trying to get on top of that which is really nice but also very very very sad it's taking them so long to update everything.

After this exchange, the interviewee went on to explain how they optimistically hope the owners of the enterprise will begin to improve working conditions, housing accommodations, and wages with increased agritourism revenue. I also hope for such an

outcome, but I am skeptical given these issues are typically conceptualized as added, unnecessary costs for farm owners. In the conclusion I will speak to the limits of agritourism social media representation. I would posit these are one of them. First, obviously farms are unlikely to expose their internal dysfunction and structural violence. Even if farms were to ignore those issues and present media that acknowledges the importance of farmworkers to the agritourism business, I don't think more adequate social media coverage will on its own lead to just working conditions, wages, and housing. I do think it's an important step forward, but not a cure all. Unions and greater social pressure for effective government oversight are unlikely to be replaced by honest media. Later in our interview, I asked:

> R: Why don't they show a lot of the work and manual labor that goes into farming?
>
> I: It is so funny that you bring it up cause they did a post yesterday about the bartlett pears and the guy who was driving the forklift was not a Latinx worker and I am pretty sure it was someone who was white. I couldn't make out who exactly it was. Yes. Super funny.
>
> R: Why do you think they made that decision?
>
> I: Oh gosh like come on. People know that brown people are picking their fruit, but They don't really wanna like know like brown people are picking my fruit.
>
> R: Is it the owner's discomfort?
>
> I: Oh no it's definitely the peoples'.
>
> R: like for tourists? To make it easier for them without the discomfort.
>
> I: yeah. Yeah. yeah. Cause like how I was saying earlier, when I tell people everything is picked by hand, they immediately think oh my gosh the workers…. Cause I don't think they would be ok leaving after they saw the people working like they usually do. I mean people are exhausted after picking a little bucket and I mean imagine like picking by the bin for hours, cause you get paid by the bin not the hour. It's usually about 40 lbs and it's big on your shoulders and back and you're climbing up and down 12-foot ladders trying to make the days' worth of however much you do.

Interviewee B explicitly called out how the enterprise whitewashed their media posts. I went and confirmed their claim. Indeed, the post they mentioned shows a white man on a tractor and suggests they are out in the field doing maintenance work on fruit plants. Moreover, Interviewee B has a well-founded understanding that if enterprises were honest about working conditions for farmworkers, they would be hard pressed to find an abundance of consumers that are willing to financially support such practices.

Interviewees A & D also suggested a similar understanding but emphasized that consumers should not be burdened or bored by the day-to-day chores of the farm. Interviewee C posited these realities as expected and normal. However, I would suspect they aren't on the same page as interviewee B. Interviewee B has a much more personal experience with watching their parents, family, and friends endure the consequences of farmworker living conditions. They have not witnessed the farm in the same way as the other interviewees and have had a very different lived experience. Thus, representing Latinx labor likely means something more comprehensive to them than what I think interviewees A & D understood from my question.

Experiences are individual and relative, so a monolith isn't helpful here, but there is a stark contrast to these different race and class positions that ought to be considered. These sharp jumps in positionality surely inform these interviewees' perspectives and understanding of what I asked them to talk and think about when it comes to representing farm work on social media. While interviewee A & D both have some experience with enduring labor, they are both white, and do not deal with the same realities as documented or undocumented Latinx farmworkers. They have more power to say no to performing the labor, better incomes, and more forceful social

statuses. To them, field work is uncomfortable, cumbersome, and boring. Based on reading, and not my own experiences, I suspect that Latinx Farmworker experiences fall more along the lines of backbreaking, risky, hazardous, demoralizing, and occasionally deadly (Holmes, 2013).

I wonder how this informed the way people chose to respond in interviews. Interviewees A & D both suggested consumers would find that content boring because they find that work boring. Interviewee B suggested that consumers would find that content horrific perhaps because they find that work horrific. Interviewee C thought this pattern is to be expected but did not relate it to the power of different identities to make their perspective heard, understood, and valued by the collective.

Other Notable Interview Findings

There are three additional noteworthy results from interviews to elaborate on before we dive into more media content: Familial inheritance, opportunities of agritourism for workers, and validation of choses materials for analysis.

One, as hinted at in the literature review, agritourism is a key financial asset for families to be able to hire more family members and maintain continuity of a "family farm" in the lineage. Interviewee C inherited their position from their father, and directly credited agritourism success as the reason they could hire a descendant family member and pass the business to him in the next generation:

> "I was thinking as we closed here, I wouldn't really mention numbers but umm, so we have [acres of crop type] and with all the production facilities and all the [product] that we make, the two businesses are separate corporations, and they are about equal in gross revenue every year. So, [acres of crop type] and the [acres of crop type] and tasting room both have about the same annual revenue. We have grown that part of the business dramatically. My [descendant family member] now

> works for me and he's been here about [over a decade], and this has enabled my generation to pass this onto the next generation. With only the [crop type], it wasn't enough to bring anyone in until I keeled over dead, and someone had to come in."

In a similar vein, interviewee A expressed:

> "So, I started in the [crop type] farm business when I was in high school. It was my summer job. So, I worked the summer before my freshman year all the way up until my freshman year in college, and then I left for college and when covid hit my mom said she needed help to work on it as covid had been kinda a horrible thing. So, I said Yes! What started out as two weeks of me coming home to help turned into 3 months which turned into 6 months and now, I have been here for over a year now. So how long have I been in it? A long time."

When I asked interviewee A if they intended on continuing to work on the farm, they responded: "I'm carrying out a legacy, I guess. Like I think there is a lot of satisfaction in doing that. Being able to tell people I am a fifth-generation farmer." Notably, they were the only interviewee to directly express agritourism benefits outside of finances. They were ecstatic about how agritourism allowed an opportunity to better educate people on how food is produced, preserve rural cultural heritage, provide a vendor location to local artists, and more.

Interviewee D also started out working as a service staff at their father's agritourism business. Slowly they worked their way up to managing employees, finances, and other business matters. They also expressed the desire to keep working in the industry and eventually takeover. Interviewee B does not come from the same privileged background as the others. Their grandparents were Braceros, and their parents immigrated in the 90s to Hood River and have found year-round positions as farmworkers. The interviewee had worked the agritourism portion of the same business

for several years, and for now returns every summer to do so. Their history and expertise merited an interview, and I was especially grateful to have their perspective. While they were not poised to inherit a business, they did mention that the current owners had recently inherited the family business and intended to increase their agritourism investments due to its financial success.

Now, let's venture a bit into the second topic of interview results and examine how interviewees positioned benefits of agritourism regarding employees. I didn't ask any direct questions on this topic, but it came up with three out of four of them. When I asked Interviewee A why they wanted to continue working in agritourism, they expressed that they enjoyed how the farm "brings people together," their role helping high schoolers with their first job (as front of house service staff) and helping facilitate their upward mobility up to college, providing a location for other local vendors to sell goods, and incorporating the farm as a venue for developing career skills with the local high school's teachers. These examples show how agritourism can be leveraged to benefit rural communities, or at least certain members such as those who already have a small business and can sell goods on the farm, entry level service work for high schoolers to have job exposure and creating relationships with teachers to facilitate local educational and career development curriculum.

I found it noteworthy how excited Interviewee A was about helping high schoolers with upward mobility but did not mention any opportunities for their more permanent, already existing farmworkers. I was led to believe they did not have direct oversight over the enterprise's farmworkers, which they referred to as "the three ladies". So, it's not wholly their decision on how to invest in them and treat them. Nonetheless,

I found the divergent words and understanding of how their different employees fit in and potentially benefit from the business as indicative of the interviewees perceptions of possible opportunities upward mobility for certain people in the industry.

Interestingly, interviewee C positioned workers as benefiting from their agritourism model through having a longer working season. By adding wine grapes to their crop profile, they extended their growing season and expanded the seasonal workload for pruning, thinning, and harvesting. Grapes are treated with these methods in succession after their other crops. In their words "it gets a longer season for our workers, and the grapes are a totally different experience." More consistent employment is without a doubt an important benefit for workers, which is a win-win for the farm owner and farmworkers, however, I want to reinforce that farmworkers merit many other improvements to their lives. Not to mention it's a far larger win for the farm owner, who gets to decide how to spend all the extra revenue from their agritourism business. Interviewee D mentioned they had one farmworker who had been working for their business since its conception, and we didn't broach this topic. Their business is much more centered around tourism than agricultural production, and they import the majority of their grapes to make wine with. S

This can be contrasted with interviewee B, who wanted to focus on how the farm they worked for could treat their Latinx farmworkers better. They criticized the living conditions provided by employers as "definitely not up to date", working conditions as exhausting and physiologically uncomfortable/ harmful, a lack of an end-of-season bonus, and bare minimum piece rate wages. They emphasized that agritourism activities like U-pick and special events were bringing in a lot of revenue,

and optimistically hoped the owners would leverage that funding to help improve farm workers' jobs and living conditions.

The third important result from interviews is the confirmed validity of Instagram, websites, and the Hood River Fruit Loop brochure as important pieces of media to attract consumers. Interviewees A, B, and C all named the brochure as their first answer to the question “what do you think draws tourists specifically to your farm?”. Interviewee D named reputation/ word of mouth followed by the Fruit Loop Brochure. Interviewee A spent a lot of time referring to the importance of Instagram, especially for attracting younger audiences. Interviewee C had never once been on Instagram but mentioned that their manager for the agritourism side of business thought it was important and ran the business’s account. Interviewee B expressed they thought the new business owners were smart to start investing in creating Instagram and suggested it had probably increased business for them over 2019, 2020, and 2021. Interviewee D pegged it as the third biggest draw after word of mouth and the Fruit Loop.

Communicating Agritourism

Originally, I toyed with the idea of terming this section privileged communication because someone has the extraordinary privilege of being able to detach the marketing scheme of an apple from its production and harvesting practices. Hutchison (2013) points this out quite clearly with the example of the Sun-Maid Raisin maiden. We all know the iconography of the white maiden dressed up in a white shirt and red bonnet. The grapes must have effortlessly fell into her basket so that her white shirt didn’t touch the soil of the earth! This is not to mention the whitewashing and

sexualization of such advertisement icons. It's not an isolated example, and many other fruit companies used women as an advertisement icon, reminiscent of Eve from the Garden of Eden (Hutchison, 2013, p. 977-980)

I ended up terming this section communicating agritourism, however, I will continue to elaborate on why class privilege is important to consider when interpreting these materials. Here, farmers, or their marketing person(s), show consumers what type of products they should expect to be able to purchase as well as how and when to enjoy them. The code advertising agricultural products captured instances in which businesses emphasized farm produce (n=322, 24.4% of content). While none of the Instagram footage directly advertising fruit went as far as Sun Maiden, we can examine how fruit is advertised without touching on the harvesting practices:

1. "Finally we have some fresh Oregon Strawberries! We have flats, half flats, and pints available!"
2. "The crips, delicious apples and melt-in-your mouth pears are signaling the arrival of Fall on the horizon! Isn't it funny how these fruits have become such a clear indicator of before the weather transitions sometimes? Before you know it, we'll be burning apple cider scented candles and crunching leaves underfoot. Until then, why not start baking or canning some of the yummy fruits we've got??"
3. "It's officially Summer so head to our link in bio to get some Healthy & Fresh Summer Fruit inspo!"

Figure 9 Photos Coded Advertising Agricultural Products

Alas, much of the fruit hasn't left the bush! Some of this can be explained by the fact many enterprises engage with U-pick as an agritourism draw. There are a couple businesses that exclusively do U-pick, and thus perhaps likely don't rely on farmworkers for harvest, however the majority of agritourism operations merge both traditional production and U-pick together or don't do U-pick at all. Some sections are roped off for tourists, while the farm still harvests a substantial amount of fruit with Latinx labor, which can then be sold in a fruit stand, or manufactured into a different product. Not everyone thinks picking fruit in 80+ degrees is a fun activity, and many prefer the fruits of labor over the actual labor. In fact, Interviewee B shed some light on this from their experiences with talking to customers:

> “I feel like in general, it's really sad, but tourists don’t really know a whole lot about how agriculture- like how it works. It’s a stupid question but at the same time it’s really frustrating. They are always asking: how the fruit is picked? Like do we have special machines to pick it and stuff? And I am always like, it’s handpicked. And the weather right now, there are workers there in 100-degree weather picking all your fruit, and they do not know that. So, a lot of them walked out with a greater appreciation for that. I wish that people would know that a whole lot more.”

What these lines don’t capture is the way the interviewees' voice dropped into a solemn mixture of frustration and sadness. Most consumers have the conceptualization that U-pick is a fun activity that people do on vacation with their kids, and they frequently misunderstand that people do this work for 40 hours, if not more, a week in more hazardous conditions. Returning to the main point, when businesses advertise their agricultural products, they don’t document the labor and instead emphasize wholesome origins on the tree before harvest, or what it looks like when it's available to the consumer at a farmstand neatly stacked into a bin. Even if some of this is done to emphasize the fact that fruit is on the bush and ready to be picked by a tourist, we know most fruit is not picked by tourists. Thus, this photography practice does more to obscure farmworker labor than it does to portray an honest reality of agritourism enterprises.

Additionally, most of these businesses distribute manufactured products that rely on cheap agricultural inputs. The code advertising site manufactured products referred to content selling products produced and sold by the agritourism facility requiring some sort of processing. This was the most frequent code for Instagram content with 452 total instances comprising 34.2% of the total sample. Some of the raw ingredients are sourced from onsite, while much more of it comes from the Willamette Valley,

Columbia Valley, and all over the world. Tourism demand exceeding local supply for certain products was a frequent subject of my off-the-record discussions with locals in the industry. I also found out through an interview that several agritourism businesses were competing among each other to purchase cherries to resell under their business name to tourists. The interviewee claimed one of them went as far as to buy non-organic cherries from one business and sell them as organic under their name.

A substantial amount of the food is untraceable with my resources in terms of its origins. One of the obvious dissonances I witnessed happened while sitting on one farm in my sample that offered "farm fresh" food. I watched a Franz Bread delivery truck drop off hamburger buns and bread for their burgers and sandwiches. A low bar for "farm fresh" huh? This isn't to mention they couldn't possibly be raising all the cattle, pigs, and chickens for their food cart.

That enterprise also offered wines and ciders that they did not have the capacity to produce themselves, which is not unusual from my understanding of other businesses in the region. I also found out they use a different farm's manufacturing facility to bottle and produce it. We will examine more of these dissonances later, but someone had to harvest all the wine grapes, apples, blueberries, raspberries, pears, and much more for their wines and ciders. I can tell you it wasn't a tourist; they were busy getting buzzed and eating pizza while taking in the wonderful view of Mount Hood.

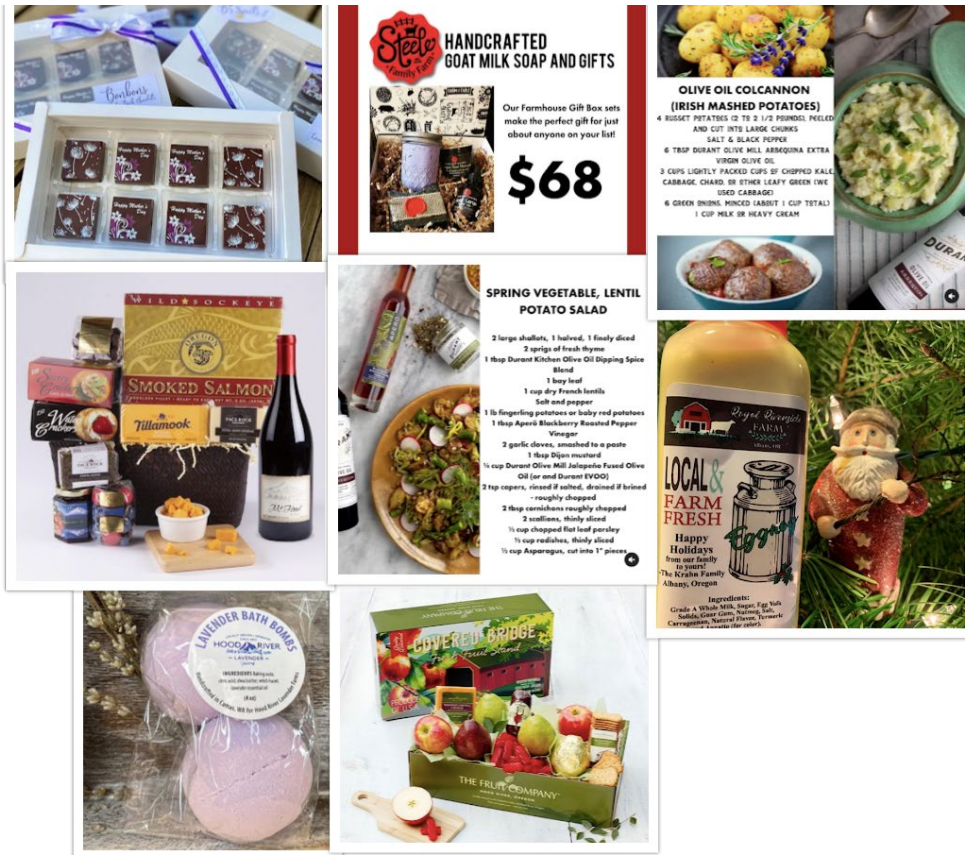
Figure 10 Photos Coded Advertising Site Manufactured Products

Many of these products contain ingredients that can't be produced by a farm in Hood River. Limes and cilantro for tacos or jalapenos for cheesy bread aren't grown in the PNW. The grapes for some featured wines can't grow in the Hood River Valley, and the Gonzales Berry Farm strawberries used to produce ice cream on site, is based in the Willamette Valley. I still coded these items as advertising site manufactured products because I was concerned with how my assumptions about production logistics could influence the results, so I stuck with using the code advertising off-site manufactured products (n=97, 7.4%) for specific instances in which I could confirm the facility buys already manufactured items from another business or produces it outside of Hood River:

1. "So excited about these beautiful chocolates from @bssweetshoodriver"

2. “Durant Olive Oils add the perfect touch to any dish! One of our favorite recipes to take home and cook is Irish Mashed Potatoes. These potatoes are absolutely decadent and finish perfectly with a splash of olive oil and a dash of finishing salt!”
3. “Pearl’s Place blend GRANOLA Created by @eastforkbakingco just for Pear’s! We have 2 sizes of bags & thought they would be PERFECT stocking stuffers!!”

Figure 11 Photos Coded Advertising Off-site Manufactured Products 5



Many farms used their business, brand and image to sell products from other enterprises. Tillamook Cheese is based in Tillamook, Oregon. Durant Olive Oil Mill in Dayton, Oregon, Royal Riverside near Albany, Oregon, and Steele Family Farm is based all the way in Oklahoma City! Buying these products and marking them up constitutes retail practices. Hood River’s agritourism enterprises can sell them under the highly elastic “local” label or as an extension of their business name despite their

production location. This merits a closer critique on how helpful agritourism can be for farmers. If Tillamook Cheese among other companies rely on purchasing cheap agricultural inputs, aren't farmers financially supporting food distribution oligopsonies by reselling their products? Will this ultimately help small scale farmers, or is it fueling one of the causes of their disappearance? Is agritourism creating another set of winners and losers? This isn't to mention all the sugar, oils, meat, and many other input ingredients required to make site manufactured products.

On another note, one interviewee detailed how the owners of an enterprise were friends with one of these offsite businesses and decided to sell their products at their agritourism business. While hardly unexpected or anomalous, this illustrates how business owners can collaborate within class lines to benefit each other and use agrarianism marketing to enrich them both. What a lucrative deal and exchange! These networks and relationships are valuable and should not be overlooked when conceptualizing the wealth of agritourism farmers.

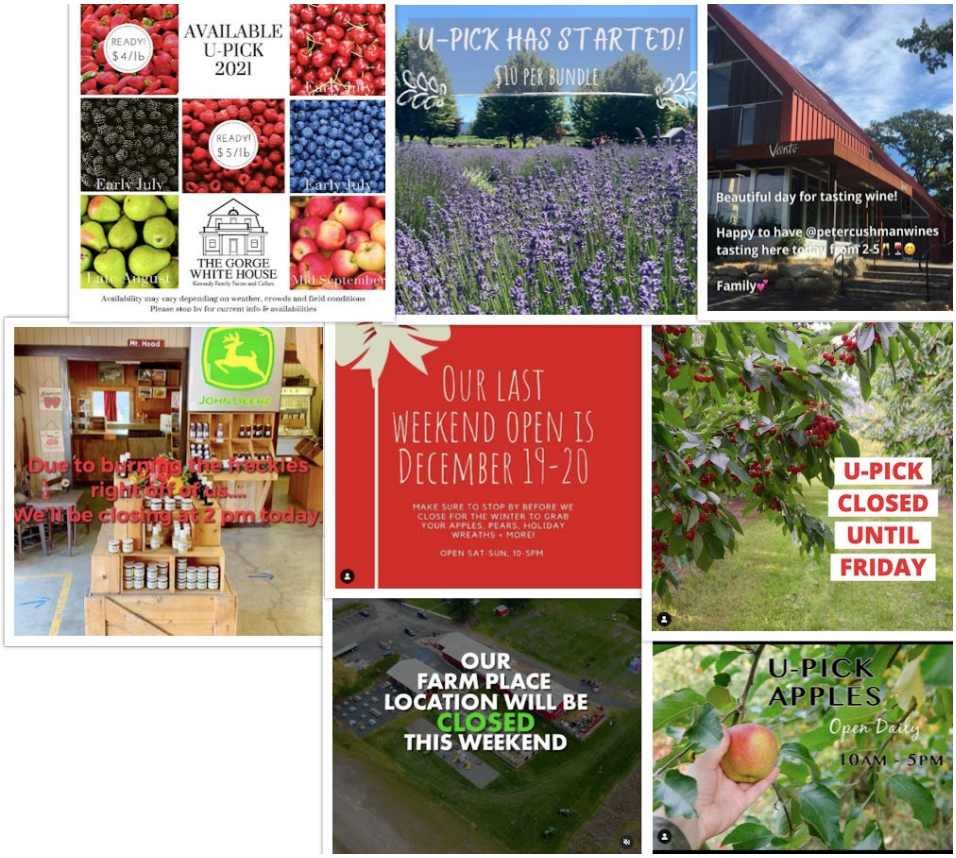
All these pictures emphasize the final agricultural and/ or the manufactured product itself rather than the process. There are some photos that occasionally touch on the growing stages of fruit, such as blossom season. However, those photos are more aimed at showing the natural beauty of an orchard than emphasizing the growing stages. This can be affirmed by the Hood River Fruit Loop Brochure, which has the frequently asked question "When are fruit tree blossoms the best?" Moreover, the photos don't show pruning or winter maintenance, which are key manual labor processes for ensuring healthy blossoms and bountiful harvests. It's safe to conclude these photos serve to emphasize the beauty of a farm, not the natural growing cycle of fruit.

One other production process that is very occasionally emphasized is the wine "crush" at the end of a harvest. After wine grapes have been plucked from the vines, they are all gathered and smashed into juice before the fermentation process begins. One of my interviewees cited it as evidence that Instagram does feature labor processes, but after some pushback on my part, they agreed that it doesn't constitute actual labor. The forklift and machine crusher are doing the work and it's occurring post-harvest, so it constitutes manufacturing, not agriculture. There are also a couple of pieces of footage featuring bottling lines, which require human labor to run it. Another interviewee detailed how the bottling line provided some year-round positions at their enterprise for Latinx workers, and how the workers were "sometimes spoiled" because the interviewee allowed them each a bottle of wine as a bonus. Again, this constitutes food processing. Additionally, no photos of bottling lines showed any workers, so yet again, the emphasis is on the technological machinery, not the people.

The next two codes from Instagram are focused on encouraging efficient consumption of the above products by tourists. Customer Logistics (n=209, 15.8%) sought to inform customers what, when, and how to consume agricultural products in farming spaces:

1. "Be a green, money saving machine by simply bringing us your growlers and growlettes (& their lids) to refill with your favorite [enterprise name] Hard Cider"
2. "One. More. Day. We have cherries on their way & some exciting new products we can't WAIT for you to see! Be on the lookout for a BIG reveal here on our socials in the next few days".
3. "Blueberries are joining the available for U-Pick List! We have raspberries, strawberries, & blueberries ready for U-Pick and we have fresh (picked this morning) cherries in our Fruit Stand. There's nothing like a ripe, juicy, summer fruit to cool ya down. Open 10-7"

Figure 12 Photos Coded Customer Logistics



Along a very similar vein, Holiday Commemoration (n=80, 6.1%) posts served the function of just wishing a happy holiday or signaling to consumers that the enterprise would be open during the holiday. Some went as far as to claim that people should celebrate the summertime holidays such as Mother's Day, Memorial Day, the Fourth of July, etc. through agritourism. Example captions read along the lines of:

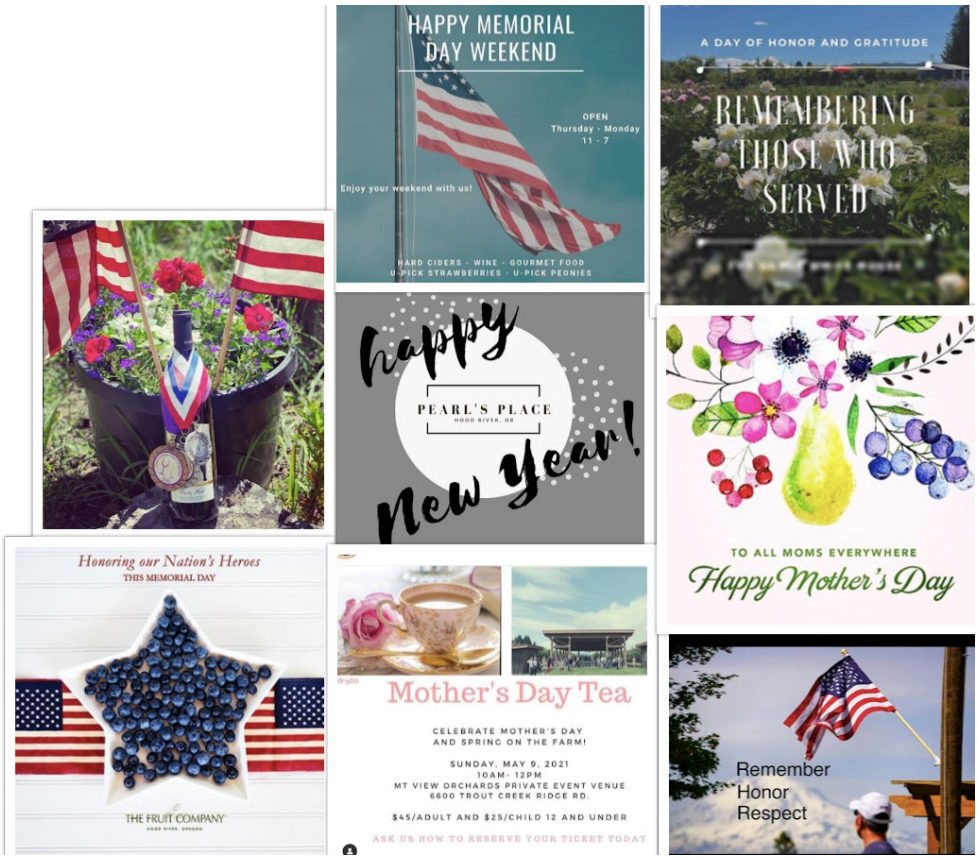
1. "Celebrate the moms in your life this weekend with some hard cider!! 6 flavors on tap all weekend @[enterprise name] and 4 flavors on tap Saturday at the PSU farmers market!"
2. "Book your reservations now for the upcoming Memorial Day Weekend! We'd like to thank the brave men and women who have served our country with a complimentary tasting, and 10% off bottle purchases. Reservations can be made online at [website link]". These would often

be paired with images that exalt holiday themes or fruits arranged in such a way that emphasize Holiday themes.

3. “While we enjoy this Memorial Day with family and friends, let's be sure to take a moment to acknowledge those who made the ultimate sacrifice for our Country. Thank you for your service.”
4. “Happy Father’s Day from our family to yours!”

Some enterprises hosted special events like easter egg hunts or a Mother’s Day tea party in order to draw in extra consumers. Both Customer Logistics and Holiday Commemoration are privileged forms of communicating agritourism for two reasons. One, they are marketing strategies aimed at the same goals of increasing agritourism participation, which enterprises can then profit from, especially the special events. Second, these codes also decouple the final agricultural and manufactured products from their production processes. Just like Sun Maid uses the clean, white maiden to push its dried grapes, they could also use US holidays as reasons to increase raisin consumption or communicate to customers about an upcoming sale through customer logistics.

Figure 13 Photos Coded Holiday Commemoration



The last content item under communicating agritourism, geography and terroir, is present in 60% (n=15) of enterprise websites. It emphasizes the inherent qualities of place that make a product exceptional. This is most common for wine, hence the use of the term terroir, which posits that the flavor and structure of a wine is directly expressive of a vineyard's physical geographic characteristics. Soil qualities, mineral content, elevation, aspect, climate, irrigation practices, and much more impact wine grapes, and consequently how they will taste after fermentation. Thus, many wineries emphasize these qualities in relation to their viniculture:

> "Our estate is located in the lower Hood River Valley, our vines grow atop the gravely soil of the Rockford Reach and feed on the ancient waters of Mt. Hood's Eliot Glacier, which produce a flinty crispness

> always high in minerals and deep in flavor for our grapes. The Columbia Gorge, the ultimate signature of a mighty river, is home to the ridge and valley topography created by some millennia of volcanic activity. The resulting basalt flows, rich soil and microclimates have rendered an outstanding venue for world class vineyards from which we forge our own history of award winning wines."

Very occasionally farms that weren't winery operations emphasized geography and terroir themes by extolling the merits of having access to glacial streams fed by the ice of Mount Hood, or the valley's superior volcanic soil:

> "The fertile soils found at the base of Mt. Hood and rarified, glacier-fed water sources create a unique growing environment allowing us to offer over 150 distinct varieties of apples, pears, asian pears, cherries and stone fruit."

These are privileged forms of communicating agritourism because owning private property is an extremely valuable resource and form of wealth. It can be handed down through generations as an inheritance. In fact, a handful of farms in the valley proudly refer to themselves as century farms because their land deeds have been handed down through a single familial lineage for at least a century. These instances of century farms were not coded as Geography and Terroir, but rather Heritage, which will be detailed later.

It's a privilege to be able to extoll the merits of one's private land, and it is once again a way of distracting from *how* fruit is produced by focusing on *where* it's produced. No enterprise would say "and we can offer you this bottle of wine at an affordable price because we hire undocumented labor to maintain the vineyards on the slopes of Mount Hood". No enterprises highlights who maintains plants, and how the person's qualifications or expertise with fruit trees enhance a consumer experience,

although, I did see some content emphasizing that each vine gets attention from human hands which contribute to their quality products:

> "The [family last name] recognize that most of the quality in the glass happens in the vineyard. Management of the vineyard is meticulous, with extra time spent to adjust to challenging growing conditions when they occur. We do not cut corners and will pick quality over quantity every time. Harvest is all done by hand, and each bin of grapes is hand inspected and sorted. Likewise, in the winery, we maintain a soft touch, allowing the fruit to shine."

Some might say this shows acknowledgement of labor. However, they did not say *who* does this, which could lead someone to think the family themselves do it. This type of rhetoric serves to reproduce the cultural status of the family farm. Additionally, later we are going to examine how the code happy employees makes owners and service workers visible by naming them and their lifestyle or hobbies and voicing how important that employee is to the business. Communicating agritourism captures media that is curated and monitored by individuals in advantageous socio-economic positions, and the forms of communication deliberately leave out industry dependence on precarious labor regimes while working to attract a tourist consumer base.

Selling Agritourism

So far, we know what products Hood River agritourism enterprises offer as well as how and when to consume them, but we haven't detailed why visiting a farm enhances the experience of consumption in a way that your local grocer can't. Agritourism enterprises have a varying combination of agricultural production, retail, and hospitality. The codes Farm Animals, Natural Beauty, Outdoor Consumption, Smiling Customers, Happy Employees, Aesthetics & Experience, and Hedonism &

Relaxation all capture the techniques enterprise media uses in order to demonstrate the value of agritourism to potential tourists. Some of these codes emphasize the experience of the consumer, which is substantially different than a farmworker's albeit both occurring at the same spatial location. Money talks. A lot. It incentivizes farmers to create shaded and cool spaces for tourists to not overheat, invest in landscaping, and draw attention to dining in the scenic beauty of the region with the best of service staff a request away from providing a more comfortable experience.

First off are Farm Animals. This wasn't an enormously abundant code (n=34, 2.6%), but nonetheless an important factor for attracting a subset of consumers to a farm who wanted to be able to see, pet, and feed animals as part of their experience. Usually, captions included information about the animal and a ploy to come buy something while seeing it:

1. "The Alpacas got shorn yesterday, and got some fun hair cuts! They are much happier without their heavy coats in these hot temps. Come visit us and sip your favorite [enterprise name] wine and see the new looks!"

Sometimes the animals were just a merit on their own:

2. "We have some new additions to the farm! THIRTEEN baby goats were born this week!!! Swipe for lots of cuteness!"

Animals are a huge draw for humans, especially for urban dwellers that comprise most tourists. They do not experience seeing these types of animals in their everyday life. This turns feeding or petting these fluffy creatures into a novel experience that tourists would normally find difficult to access in their typical environment. It's also noteworthy all the animals are not ones we are accustomed to seeing in industrialized feedlots such as cattle or chickens. The presence of llamas, alpacas, goats, dogs, and cats enhances the authenticity and feeling of the farm and agricultural experience.

Figure 14 Photos Coded Farm Animals

This code serves as a nice teaser to how enterprises sell agritourism and construct the tone of their space for tourists. Farms are magical according to Instagram. A place where we relax, gather with friends and family, and of course pet adorable animals.

The farm aesthetic doesn't end with cute fuzzy animals. It's just the beginning, especially with Hood River's location within the Columbia River Gorge, nestled between two snowcapped volcanoes, Hood in Oregon, and Adams in Washington. The Hood Rivers' multiple forks of streams slowly eroded the surrounding Cascade mountains into a valley over the course of thousands of years, which creates a beautiful valley floor of orchards surrounded by mountains covered in temperate rainforests. Add picturesque fruit blossoms, seasonal flowers, and stunning fall foliage, and you have the

perfect environment for hospitality with a view and a backdrop for the tourist photos and later posts to social media to show their friends. As one interviewee put it:

> "There is a strong Instagram culture, so I am trying to make my farm instagram-able regardless of the time of year. A lot of people come in just for that photo. Even if there's not the U-pick they just come in here like I gotta get that photo for Instagram. I am trying to create other draws that cater to the current culture."

They went on to detail how the farms aesthetic was so important to peak tourist season, that they had made the decision to invest in planting various kinds of flowers around their agritourism space, so something was always in bloom for peoples' photos and experiences. This could be likened to the presence of farm animals, which also help the farms aesthetic appearance. These agritourism spaces need to present in a certain way for tourist consumption. It's no wonder farms push the ability to witness natural beauty and dine outdoors at their enterprises so much. It's a key demand for consumers. The Instagram code natural beauty had the second highest count at 324 instances or 24.6 % of content.

Figure 15 Photos Coded Natural Beauty

This push to highlight stunning vistas and perfect photo backdrops extends to websites as well. The code aesthetics (n=12, 48%) captured instances in which an enterprise sought to position these possibilities to tourists. Some of them are a bit more subtle and focus on the scenery itself:

1. "Tucked deep in our family's pear farm, you'll find a lush secret garden with a meadow-like wedding lawn and reception barn with views of the scenic Hood River Valley's pear orchards, snow capped Mt. Hood and Mt. Adams, and the East Hills"
2. " Our garden is full of gorgeous blooms throughout the season including lavender, hydrangeas, roses, hollyhocks and hops, with cafe string lights overhead."

Other quotes emphasize the direct opportunity for photography:

3. "A casual atmosphere that doesn't require a reservation or dress code, The [enterprise] is proud to provide artisanal farm fresh food from the

> Food Cart, award winning Hard Ciders & Wines and to top off your visit, enjoy your afternoon in the beautifully maintained fields of U-Pick Fruits and Flowers with photo opportunities at every turn."

Photography and Instagram are lucrative for agritourism businesses in a couple of regards. It's no question people enjoy seeing natural beauty, aesthetic landscape architecture, and enjoying the outdoors. These are powerful incentives for tourists on their own and comprise an excellent strategy to attract more consumers who will purchase lunch, a drink, and memorabilia. Second, after the customer gets their ideal photography shoot with stunning vistas and carefully selected outfits, they will more than likely go on to post such photos for their other friends and loved ones. This in turn comprises free advertising for the enterprise they just visited. People will want to know when, where, and how they found such a lovely spot!?

In this scenario, farmworkers also end up serving as landscapers for photography in practice. This almost certainly exceeds the original arguments for agrarian exceptionalism, which focused on national food security and enabling harvesting labor logistics for farm owners. I have already established how problematic that system is but adding cheap landscaping for photography purposes to the mix feels especially excessive. What do farmworkers think of this?

The migrant farmworker experience of PNW scenery is not the same. Seth Holmes (2013) employed ethnography in his medical anthropology study of migrant labor on Washington State Farms. He introduces the Tanaka Farm, in the Skagit Valley in Western Washington north of Seattle. Holmes describes the breathtaking beauty of the Cascade Mountains, San Juan Islands out in the ocean, the luscious surrounding forests, and the snowcapped volcano, of Mt Baker. Sound similar? As part of the

ethnography, Holmes lives and works as a migrant farmworker, with some added benefits given he is white and doing this for research. Nonetheless, he describes how the beauty of the area took on a vastly different meaning as he worked in the fields:

> "In fact, even the vistas that were so sublime and beautiful to me had come to mean ugliness, pain, and work to the pickers. On multiple occasions, my Triqui companions responded with confusion to my exclamations about the area's beauty and explained that the fields were "pure work" (puro trabajo)." (Holmes, 2013, p. 88)

Website content, adapted from an interview with the owner, seems to posit otherwise:

> "We also have a full-time, year-round crew that enjoys the change of scenery from the ladders and pruning trees to no ladders and pruning grape vines."

Holmes (2013) points out how farm owners have a very different labor experience, such as working indoors more frequently than farmworkers, due to their positions of power (Chapter 3). While we don't know how this owner arrived at such an opinion, it's a rather rose-colored interpretation of farm work labor, and the discourse romanticizes working conditions in a more deceptive than honest way.

Scenic beauty is so much more magical when you're relaxing in the shade with a cool drink, knowing when it grows too hot for comfort, you can easily escape the elements. However, once it's attached to exhaustion, endless work, overheating, dehydration, knee and back pain etc. surrounding landscapes become meaningful in an entirely different way. The consequences are graver than not being able to take pleasure in natural beauty. In June 2022 the PNW heatwave, and inadequate protection and oversight from farmers, killed Sebastian Perez (among many others), an immigrant farmworker from Guatemala. The night before his death, he had assured his mother that

he would be safe: " 'Sebastian, are you going to be okay? Are you sure you're going to be okay?' And he said ' Yes, I will be okay.' " (OPB Staff, 2021). Jeff Goodell, a journalist, framed this as murder due to the long running understanding of climate change and dangers of environmental exposure in farm work (Goodell, 2021). On the other hand, our agritourism enterprises want to advise their precious tourists:

1. "This weekend, take it slow. Rest quietly. Find the shade and breath easy. Heat Stroke is no joke. Wine garden is open (family-friendly) 12-6 daily"

During less climactically apocalyptic conditions, it's simple to romanticize the weather

2. "We see you all out there soaking up this sweet taste of sunshine & dreaming of ALL the many outdoor hang outs on the horizon".

The code outdoor consumption captured Instagram content that calls attention to the outside accommodations with natural scenery and comfortable levels of exposure to the natural elements (n=160, 12.1%). Both of the above and below quotes were all coded outdoor consumption.

3. "It's Summertime at last - Time for some refreshment at Grateful. We created a community gathering space for everyone to enjoy our farm to glass goodness in our vineyard meadow."
4. "The snow is melting, and we have added more heaters to keep you warm! Escape from the cold and come enjoy the comfort and safety of our covered patio. It's like a trip to the sunny hills of Piemonte for your mind and palate!"

Figure 16 Photos Coded Outdoor Consumption

Farm owners are perfectly capable of providing comfortable, outdoor arrangements for consumers. Why not farmworkers? Perhaps, outdoor cooling accommodations are conceptualized as an added cost for labor, and for tourists it's regarded as an investment. What would the impacts be to an enterprise if a white tourist died of heatstroke? What about a Latinx farmworker? Another way enterprises sell tourists on agritourism is website material constructed to highlight the joy, fun, and carefree nature of farms. The most frequent website code experiences (n=20, 80%) captures instances in which the farm is constructed as a unique destination that offers authentic and exceptional farm education, activities, and memory making. U-pick is a big highlight in terms of this code:

1. “Today, the [last name] Family offers an opportunity for ‘U-pick Cherries’ right from the [last name] Family Farm Property in Hood River, Oregon”

Photography, education, and memories comprise a substantial amount of content that highlights the merits of agritourism:

2. “Bring a picnic and take memorable photos while enjoying the majestic view of Mt Hood! Learn how we harvest 11 different varieties of lavender, distill essential oil, and make botanical products right on the farm. Create unforgettable memories with your loved ones while enjoying the color, splendor and aroma of Lavender!”

The term experience is a powerful form of enticement that makes visiting an agritourism location a unique opportunity. You’re not just inviting your family out to dine, you also get to

3. “Treat your guests to a true-farm-to-table experience with deliciously prepared food sourced just miles from where it will be enjoyed.”

Exclusivity creates value. Sharing a meal is turned into a novel, elite experience that you can only access on a farm in the one and only Hood River Valley. Picking fruit is converted from a job to an exceptional occasion to make memories with one’s family or friends. The novelty becomes the focus of the advertisement, and consumers need to know nothing more except that they are missing out by just having a regular burger from McDonalds.

Like Experience, Hedonism & Relaxation (n=18, 72%), grounds consumers expectations for how to participate in an agritourism experience and what to expect from it. In this case the content prepares them for hospitality, hedonism, and leisure. Many enterprises folded in restaurants and tasting rooms on their farms in order to attract consumers. Like their more urban counterparts, the main purpose of visiting a

space like this is to pursue pleasure through tasty food and palate piquing wine, cider, etc. Frequently, enterprises design their indoor and outdoor dining to capitalize on the rural and natural landscapes such as rows of orchards, vines, or Mount Hood. This code captures the instances in which websites highlight delectable opportunities or just to kick your feet back and take a load off:

1. "To us, this historic home and century-old farm have the perfect combination of paradise: amazing orchards that produce our famous pear wine and hard ciders, fields of flowers that make delicate wedding bouquets, melt-in-your-mouth fresh fruit, double mountain views, a beer and cider tasting room to enjoy with a snack hot off the grill, and local micro-brewed beers on tap. We also feature our own award winning wines. Our family spends our days sharing this place with you, and with each other."
2. "Enjoy a glass of one of our award winning wines while you take in the view from inside our cozy tasting room or out on our covered patio surrounded by our estate vineyard with views of Mt. Adams and the valley beyond."
3. "Cool off with our Lavender Lemonade available daily throughout the summer. Relax with the amazing scent of lavender while making amazing memories with the whole family!"
4. "We invite you to relax and enjoy the fresh country air".

Once again, it's useful to contrast this advertising with some of Holmes' (2013) observations on the Tanaka Farm in Skagit Valley, WA. Holmes states that farmworkers are paid effectively in piece-rate wages, which means that laborers are compensated on a per unit basis rather than a per hour. Washington state, at the time, demanded that farmworkers would be paid $7.16 an hour. For farm owners to profit with that "high" wage, they required workers to pick a certain quantity of fruit per hour. If they failed to reach their quota twice, they were fired. Simple as that. This creates conditions in which farmworkers are forced to sit in the dirt for hours scrambling to

pick strawberries as quick as possible, regardless of the harm it does to their knees, backs, and fingers. Holmes also explains that many are forced to choose to sacrifice or meet basic needs: eating, drinking water, cooling off from the heat, and using the bathroom in order to make their quotas and not be fired (Holmes, 2013, p. 72-73; see Chapter 3 for more). Clearly, the U-pick experience is enormously different than that of a farmworker.

The gap between these experiences shows how farmers will provide accommodations for basic needs with a luxurious twist for paying tourists but refuse to provide the basics for farm workers because it imposes additional costs. Farmers are structurally incentivized to and choose to create both circumstances in the name of their bottom line.

Second to last, there is the Instagram code smiling customers (n=95, 7.2%), the cherry on top of the portrait selling agritourism spaces. The other codes have situated why someone might choose to visit an enterprise for natural beauty, education, or day drinking on their vacation. These photos show the customer the joy, gratitude, and fun they will have once they are onsite. They don't have to trust the experience will be fulfilling because there are countless photos showing them all the people who already found agritourism gratifying.

Figure 17 Photos Coded Smiling Customers

While photos demonstrated unrivaled joy and fun, captions struck a balance between portraying that joy and the pleasure business owners and service workers receive from providing that happiness:

1. “Working to spread smiles every day”
2. “Celebrating life, family, jobs, homes, babies, rings, dads, and grads. Join us soon @[enterprise]”
3. “Happy guests that came all the way from Kansas City, Philadelphia, and Spokane for a visit”
4. “This awesome family loaded with cuteness came ‘suited and booted’ for U-Pick today! Come for a visit this fall, lots of varieties ready and many to come! Call [name] for daily updates [phone number]”

So far, we have detailed a lot of content styles that sell an agritourism space and its opportunities to a tourist. Farm Animals, Natural Beauty, and Aesthetics showed

potential visitors what they should expect to see. Experience, Outdoor Consumption, and Hedonism/Relaxation showed the consumer what they could expect to do. Smiling Customers tells them how it will feel. This leaves one last remaining code, Happy Employees (n=38, 2.9%) which merits some additional noteworthiness and time to dissect. On its surface, this code's importance is obvious to anyone who has worked and/or been provided good hospitality. A glum, irate, or impatient service worker can put a damper on a dining or retail experience. Thus, it's important for businesses to demonstrate they have a great team of service staff that have the capacity and skill to construct a hospitable experience on the farm.

Figure 18 Photos Coded Happy Employees

Recall that Lozanski and Baumgartner (2020) demonstrated that the presence of farmworkers on farms is conceptualized as disruptive to the tourist gaze and shatters the romanticism of rurality (p. 10). Additionally, interviewees highlighted that it is impractical and troublesome to have agricultural work done in tourist spaces. Photos and captions coded happy employees thus have an obscured layer of honesty. They demonstrate to consumers that they will not see Latinx farmworkers. All the happy employees featured in photos were white service staff or occasionally a winemaker, manager, or owner of an agritourism enterprise. Captions went to great lengths not just to assure tourists that they would have pleasant service staff, but they also frequently emphasized that white employees are humans with names, hobbies, and a reason for

living in Hood River. They portrayed them as whole members of the community that had lives beyond their jobs:

1. “This week's staff highlight is [name]. He has been with us for two years now, is a recent Hood River Valley Graduate and will be attending U of O next year! [name] is our go-to-guy for wine glass polishing, restocking wines, and any other tast we need him to take on. He enjoys cooking and has quite the green thumb. We look forward to working with [name] during the summers when he returns home from school. Hopefully in a few years when he turns 21, he'll be pouring wine! We appreciate you [name]!”
2. “Farming is a family affair! Four generations of [last name] have worked at our #familyfarm to bring you fresh #fruit for decades. Our family puts our heart and soul into what we do and we love the people like you that we get to do it for. Thank you for always supporting our #family and our #farm”
3. “Meet [name], you may recognize her from her bright smile and bubbly laugh at the tasting room. This is her second year working at [enterprise] as a tasting room associate. You will mostly see her on weekends as she works full time in marketing at Thunder Island Brewery during the week. [name] was born and raised in Montana, but has made the Gorge her home for years now, with her son [name]. She teaches snowboarding in the winter and enjoys getting outside to enjoy the PNW. We appreciate you [name]! Cheers!”

Although I did not create a code for it when examining website content, some enterprises created whole webpages dedicated to making their staff visible. Wineries more than any other business type provided this information. I did look at all of the webpages that detailed the workers at enterprises frequently flagged as “our team” or “meet the staff” etc. I have provided two of many, instructive examples:

1. “[featured employee] is [owner's] eldest daughter. Her career in the wine industry started as a teenager in the vineyard pruning vines to help pay for her expensive auto insurance. She was away at college during the first several years the tasting room was open. After returning home in 2006 from various adventures she got a job working with the government. After getting burned out she left and began working full time with [enterprise]. Prior to that she had helped with events, harvest,

and quality control in the winery. In 2014 her daughter [name] was born. She took a hiatus for two years and in 2019 came back as General Manager. [featured employee] is an avid tennis player and plays on 7 teams throughout the Gorge and Portland areas. She enjoys food, USTA tennis, cooking, Pinot Noir, watching dogs play, swimming with her daughter and running the occasional 10k."

2. "[featured employee] has been a long time employee with [enterprise], and is our Wine Club Manager. As a retired teacher, her organizational skills keep the winery running smoothly and the Wine Club a real class act. She is an avid USTA tennis player, loves making art in a variety of mediums, and enjoys hiking and getting outdoors in her spare time."

Even some dogs have a profile:

1. "No winery is complete without a winery dog! Rhett is a great friend and a champion pointing Labrador retriever. Anyone who thinks dogs can't communicate and understand humans has to meet Rhett. Amazingly intelligent, he is joyous in the field and at home with his faithful companion, Robb. He is as complicated and nuanced as few creatures can be! is a great friend and a champion pointing Labrador retriever ..."

Of the entire sample, there are two Latinx employees explicitly featured. Two of hundreds or thousands receive visibility for their work, contributions, and role as a community member in Hood River. The first of which, is an assistant winemaker, however, knowing the history of the business they could have started out as a farmworker before advancing to assistant winemaker. The second I can't 100% confirm is a farmworker, however, the language hints at such.

1. "Our rock is [featured employee], the Assistant Winemaker and the go-to guy for all the ins and outs of operations. Francisco has been with Cathedral Ridge since the beginning. He had worked for the previous winery, Flechinger's and we were blessed to have had him come work for us. We count on [featured employee] to keep us doing the right things. Many members of his family have worked here helping us from picking to pruning and bottling to labeling. We are very fortunate to have this beautiful spirit on our side.

2. "[featured employee] came about in fall 2017 to assist with the harvest, and never left. He is all-around upbeat and positive, and is incredibly dedicated. He is enjoying learning all the inner-workings of the wine business."

I suspect the website's language hints at other employees they aren't making visible through the phrase: "Many members of his family have worked here helping us from picking to pruning and bottling to labeling." It could be wasteful of the enterprise's time and resources for temporary employees, however, the decisions to continually elevate members with a higher social status perpetuates farmworker invisibility and consumer ignorance. It also increases the clout and perceived importance of higher status workers. These decisions reify class boundaries and augment their differences.

While Happy Employees is aimed at constructing the tonal understanding of an agritourism space, it also could aptly fit in the last section of the discussion making it a useful transition to moralizing agritourism. Moralizing agritourism steps beyond enabling blissful ignorance in communicating agritourism and the disappointing nature of selling agritourism that presents tourist experiences of farms as the antithesis of farmworkers'. By choosing to highlight service workers and specialized staff, businesses are signposting who is valuable to the cultural and economic matrix of the local community by nature of their job. Happy Employees told consumers which people are important and contribute to the functioning of an agritourism space, as well as the peoples' livelihoods and incomes tourists are financing through purchasing goods and services.

Moralizing Agritourism

This section is the most important of the results because it captures the exact problems situated in the literature review. Here we get to answer the question: How do farm owners highlight agrarianism and market-oriented taproots? As established, agritourism is a market-oriented reform for farmers. It brings the market to the farm, instead of selling to food processors and distributors, which can use their oligopsonistic position to force farmers to sell their goods to them for artificially low prices because of global and regional economic competition. With agritourism, farm owners have increased power to shape their prices and they use the following narratives to do so.

An important characteristic shared by the codes in this section, are their inherent, unquestioned value. Localism, Sustainable, Family Values, and Heritage content are positioned without elaboration and explanation of why customers should care. They are arguments used to moralize visiting and financially supporting agritourism enterprises. Consumers already have an incentive to visit agritourism enterprises purely for the benefits outlined in the selling agritourism section, but they can also view their purchases in a justice-oriented light through supporting local economies, “family farms”, and rural cultural lifestyles.

First off, let’s interpret the code Sustainable. This code only came up a few times (n=4, 16%), but it’s still important to capture because of London et. al. (2021) argument that health-oriented taproots rarely address farmworkers. Here, enterprises made a claim to growing food with conscious attention to its environmental sustainability.

1. “We take pride in promoting local and sustainably grown produce and utilize a farm management system that incorporates best management practices.”
2. “Vineyard care takes center stage in our wine production, where sustainable agricultural practices combined with careful management of the fruit yields on the vines lead to the noted luxurious intensity within our bottlings.”
3. “For over fifty years, our family has raised delicious, top-grade, environmentally sustainable fruit, establishing [enterprise] as an important fruit grower in the Hood River Valley and Columbia Gorge region. We are 3 generations strong caring deeply about growing fresh fruit for our community.”

Focusing on how food systems can be reformed to ameliorate their consequences is a vital challenge to overcome in our economy. Recall however, that Weiler et. al. (2016) argued that agrarian exceptionalism not only led to looser labor laws for supposedly deserving family farmers, but it also rationalized socializing the environmental consequences of industrialized farming such as unsustainable water use practices, overreliance on petroleum based chemical fertilizers and pesticides, soil degradation, and so much more (Weiler et. al., 2016, p.1143).

Rarely do farmers position the consequences of unsustainable labor practices that rely on employing transnational laborers with sub-livable wages during the harvest's peak labor demand. Both issues are important, but both need to be addressed, and we must be astute when one is prioritized over the other. Weiler et. al. (2016) argued that it was glamorous for farmers to be small scale and organic or biodynamic growers. How do we make it glamorous to be employing sustainable labor practices as well?

Second, is Localism (n=11, 44%), which is a fascinating and critical code to digest. Localism extolls the merits of local consumption, which as we have found out, can span a wide geographic range. Local product origins included the Columbia Valley

in central/ eastern Washington, the Willamette Valley, and more. Supporting local farmers meant supporting agritourism enterprises in the region, and websites used the following styles of language to situate the merits of local consumption:

1. "With small family farms on the decline, I am committed to doing my part to uphold this crucial component of our local economy by continuing to raise affordable fruit of the highest quality, building relationships with our customers, and making visits to [enterprise] fun and unforgettable, innovating fresh and delicious recipes and products, and more."
2. "For the last 14 years it's been our privilege to not only bring you fresh fruit but also a fine selection of locally made jams, jellies, and honey products."
3. "We also have handcrafted baskets, local wild honey, Oregon-grown hazelnuts, dried fruit snacks, farm fresh Creamline and Chocolate Milk, and locally made chocolates and granola!"

Local consumption and products are positioned as valuable without much additional explanation, and a worthy consumer choice in of itself. Why would you buy produce or other products from Walmart, when you could be supporting local businesses? This code doesn't request consumers to take more radical steps towards helping farmers such as pushing against regressive agricultural subsidies or dismantling input oligopolies. It just implores consumers to purchase directly from farmers, so that they can retain a greater share of profits. Recall Robinson (2020) calling this "a commitment to small scale capitalism" (p. 8). Farmers see this as a viable solution for them because they already have some perceived control over the means of production and promoting local consumption wrestles for control over the sales of products.

This romanticized solution is a niche fix and not a structural solution to the death of small scale farming. Farmers markets, agritourism, and other methods of local

consumption aren't scalable long term structural solutions. Not all towns can invest in agritourism, especially ones without other visitor draws, tourist infrastructure, or proximity to an urban setting with a solid customer base, and many more reasons. Farmers markets must be accessible by consumers, and where food is produced does not geographically match where food is consumed by any means. Although, some of those gaps can be bridged. Additionally, recall that enterprises from this sample import many products from outside the Hood River Valley to either directly sell as agricultural products or to process into a refined product such as wine, cider, jam, or baked goods. How are the farmers supplying those inputs supposed to increase their income? Agritourism creates another set of farmer winners and losers. It's certainly an opportunity for some, but it's not a solution to the agricultural squeeze and restoring power to small-scale producers.

Farm to Consumer, the second most common website code (n=19, 76%), is similar to localism in many ways, except that it emphasizes the benefits to the consumer, rather than the benefits to the farmer. Of course, the boundaries between these codes are not concrete, and sometimes a piece of content argues for both localism and farm to consumer ideals. Farm to Consumer could fit in selling agritourism, however, I decided to group it next to localism due to their shared ideas and overlap. I do want to note that farm to consumer arguments sometimes play up the experience of food consumption, thus selling it, but other times its benefits are implied such as the third quote.

1. " When you buy direct from a farm, not only are you supporting small local business owners who are giving back to your community in many

other ways, but you know that the produce you're taking home was fresh-picked as recently as that very day."

2. "New and old customers alike get to enjoy the special and deeply satisfying experience of tasting the sweetest, flavor-packed fruit picked right off the trees, while getting to know the people who put so much love and care into raising it."
3. "About an hour from downtown Portland, [enterprise] offers a unique farm experience for young and old alike, including, a year-round self-service fruit stand, u-pick opportunities for cherries, apples, pears, strawberries, raspberries, blueberries, prunes, peaches, and nectarines in season and farm-raised lamb, pork and beef for purchase."

Virtually all animal products come from a farm, at least, that's how we all think of it, but notice how the language in the third quote emphasizes its "farm raised," which to some people inherently increases its perceived value, especially when its purchased directly from a farm. Even if it's not the farm that raised the animal. The enterprise did not claim to raise and slaughter those animals, just that they were available to purchase from their fruit stand. Consumers are positioned to benefit by purchasing directly through farmers because the produce is of higher quality, fresher, and the consumer can develop relationships with the person growing their food. Sometimes this value is elaborated, other times the value is positioned as inherent. This has the potential to increase transparency of how food is produced depending on the questions the consumer asks and how the farmer chooses to answer them.

Heritage is a fascinating and interesting code (n=17, 68%) capturing website language that highlights the generational aspects of "family farms." Its value can be seen in two ways. One, making the claim to be a third-generation farmer or winemaker asserts expertise. It quite literally says I haven't just been farming my whole life, but it's also in my blood. It adds perceived value to the products based on the history of the

individuals that help produce them. Second, it's an inherently noble position to be in and support. Familial legacies have inherent value in many cultures, and to situate oneself as carrying out a legacy empowers the individual and their perceived importance. Part of the reason owners make a case for their legacy is a plea for economic support. Heritage content is positioned as both an identity and a marketing strategy. It's the historical proof the owner is a true "family farmer" which is situated as an unquestionably noble cause for consumers to financially support.

1. "We began as a family farm almost 100 years ago, producing apples and pears."
2. "The third-generation Oregon winemaker grew up in McMinnville – heart of the Willamette Valley, and has been in wineries before he was able to walk."
3. "The [last name] family has been growing tree fruit in the Hood River Valley for generations, but since 2000, they've enjoyed a near meteoric rise in the wine business."
4. "[Same] is a third generation orchardist from Parkdale, Oregon, whose grandfather emigrated from Japan in 1905, and through hard work started farming in Hood River in 1911."
5. "I figured, if my grandpa could have a U-Pick business, so could I, and it worked! I love it. And I love my customers. Everyone is so happy and grateful for what we do. We keep expanding what we grow because growing healthy organic food is a beautiful thing for everyone!"
6. "As my Great Uncle (pictured far left) said, 'every year the fruit and season will be different!' For a farmer this is a true quote. You never know what each year might bring to your table from our fruit stand. We are just glad that after 5 generations to still be farming in the Hood River Valley."

I could go on. Several websites emphasized owning century farms, when a farm is passed down within a family for at least 100 years. This isn't to mention the paragraphs of content on websites detailing intimate family history for the public to see. Some owners narrated how they came to succeed their parents' business, and others

emphasized the families they have created, sons and daughters that went to college, and how they have mixed hopes one of their kids will take up the plow when they die. All this content reproduces the cultural status of the family farm. The content places the emphasis of these spaces on the family its associated values of love, hospitality, kindness, and openly embracing visitors. It becomes less about farming itself, and more about the inherently astute moral values instilled in white proprietors. People are interested in publicizing their heritage, preceding and succeeding their lifetimes. Some go on to explain how this informs their work, but many solely position their history and legacy.

7. "[Owner] is a 3rd generation farmer, fermenter, and nurse practitioner. [Enterprise] opened Memorial Day weekend of 2019 as the very first winery/cidery/brewery in Mount Hood, Oregon and the southernmost vineyard in the Columbia River Gorge. Weaving together farming, fermentation and hospitality fills [Owner's] life with joy and meaning. [Owner's] great-great grandparents founded a vineyard in Switzerland and later immigrated to Helvetia, Oregon (1905) where they planted [enterprise] vineyard. Continuing the tradition, [Owner's] uncle and aunt pioneered [enterprise] Vineyard in 1974 in the Willamette Valley. [Owner's Enterprise] is proud to partner with [Aunt and Uncle's enterprise] Vineyard and serve their exceptional wines under the [owner's enterprise's] label. We look forward to sharing our family's award-winning wines in our tasting room at the foot of Mount Hood writing the next chapter in our family's story of fermentation and warm hospitality.

This is a critical moment to recall Oregon's History of agriculture. The state repeatedly made it difficult for minorities to feel safe and slowly develop wealth and financial independence through private property. It's worth noting, to my knowledge, there is only one non-white owner in the studies sample. The third-generation farmer, whose family emigrated from Japan, is almost without a doubt an exception to dispossession of Japanese property led by State officials and White proprietors during

internment. See quote number four. Also notice they detailed their relatives purchasing the land in 1911, before Oregon's Alien Land Law passed in 1923.

All but one of these owners have had the privilege of likely being born white and almost certainly from white families. Their legacy has had much support from the State of Oregon and to a broader degree US white privilege and White supremacy. They also have the continuing support of agrarian exceptionalism eliminating their obligations to environmentally and socially sustainable farming practices, which others inevitably suffer from. Audiences must be attentive to both the hard work, luck, and structural support these individuals have. They also must be attentive to the moral arguments they are using to maintain and continue their positionality in structurally violent and exploitative system. This content serves to moralize agritourism because the cultural conceptions of agrarianism and the yeoman farmer are being summoned as a noble legacy that farmers are actively living out. They expect consumers to automatically interpret their positionality as inherently special and different from purchasing from corporate farms or grocers because of their familial history. No one bothers to explain these connections because our culture is already accustomed to them.

The last code aimed at moralizing agritourism is family values (n=15, 60%). Here, websites aim to portray farms as repositories of American cultural values related to the purity and sanctity of the family. Because these farms are owned by families, their landscape, business, and character are automatically wholesome. People who visit the farm are to benefit from the sanctity of the space, and farmers, similar to heritage, are making a case to customers that it is in their best interest to visit and preserve these spaces by purchasing agricultural products and/ or services from them. Consumers can

temporarily participate in the family's lives and join in as honorary guests by visiting their farm. Also, many enterprises position the value of family as contributing to the community.

1. "Hospitality and generosity are two of the biggest core values for my family and our farm. It's our tradition to open up our farm like a large living room and invite family, friends, and visitors to come 'taste and see' the abundance of our harvests."
2. "[enterprise] also distributes to local and regional businesses and eateries, and participates in a wide range of community partnerships. We believe passionately in the value and benefit of the family farm in a community and do all we can to sustain our contribution here in the Hood River Valley and beyond. Please come visit our farm!"
3. "Our family spends our days sharing this place with you, and with each other."
4. "After attending UC Davis from 1978-1980 and apprenticing in Germany, Rich returned to Oregon and spent the next 25 years in McMinnville raising a family and making wines for his private label, Viento and for other well known wineries in the Willamette Valley and Columbia Gorge AVAs (American Viticultural Area)."
5. "[name 1] is proud that he's only missed one cherry season in the last 30 years since he was in grade school – when he and [name 2] were living in Brazil. [name 1] and [name 2] got married in 2002 and have 7 kids together – 5 boys and 2 girls. [name 1] and [name 2] partnered with [name 3] and [name 4] Poole and started marketing their own fruit directly in 2003. From the smallest [last name] ([name 1] and [name 2's] children) to Grandpa and Grandma ([name 3] & [name 4]), the whole family chips in and is involved with some aspect of the farm. Today, the [last name] family offers an opportunity for "U-Pick Cherries" right from the [last name] Family Farm property in Hood River, Oregon, as well as deliveries of a variety of fresh produce from their farm, as well as from other Oregon family farms to Portland, Newport, Corvallis, and beyond."

Just like Heritage, much of the content also emphasizes how inseparable a business is from the family. Folding these together once again moralizes the agritourism space. Tourists are asked to financially sustain a business and the family. Not just one or the other but both, together. Both these codes show how visible white proprietors are

in digital agritourism landscapes. They, and their families, are centralized as the main characters on websites with some supportive roles from managers, specialized workers, and service staff. The website material is making references to the cultural idea that farms are inherently pure and a repository of moral and familial values (Weiler et. al., 2016, p. 1141). This implores you as the consumer to make an ethically wholesome decision to support them.

Moralizing agritourism has focused the website content aimed at eliciting consumer support for environmentally sustainable farming, farm to consumer supply chains, supporting family farm legacies, and preserving the repository of moral values endemic to family farms. This leads us to the final section of the discussion, Latinx Representation, which will demonstrate the ghastly, enormous gap between white proprietors and Latinx farmworkers.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

First, let's summarize the results and what we have found through the course of this study. Agritourism enterprises in Hood River, Oregon prefer to highlight products and services they sell, natural beauty of the farmscape and surrounding scenic landscapes, as well as contributions of white, managerial, specialized, and service working positions.

Any Latinx labor featured is incomprehensive, mostly relegated to the background, and lacks any direct appreciation or gratitude. Interviewees A and C had a hard time speaking to the social consequences of these issues directly and instead preferred to think about them in terms of their personal experiences and simple marketing decision making. Interviewee D understood that these decisions are problematic but offered a very limited explanation for why that is and directed the question towards a mural. Interviewee B thought that honest, accurate representations of farm work would be incompatible with the agritourism model.

These findings reinforce the conclusions of Lozanski and Baumgartner (2020) that farmworkers are perceived as destructive to the tourist gaze and rural romanticism of a white farmer community (p.10). The study also emphasizes the ways in which a discourse of bounty in Korsunsky (2020, p. 426) is used to obscure the labor that produces that bounty, and it also enforces Hutchison's (2013, p. 974-980) argument that advertising of agricultural products fetishizes the finished product. The findings also emphasize how agritourism enterprises can fall into the same health-oriented taproots and market oriented-taproots that urban agricultural movements do, which seek only to partially reform the problematic aspects of agricultural without

addressing the racialized health, economic, and political disparities endemic to the business (London et. al., 2021, p. 208).

Additionally, farm owners saw agritourism as an opportunity to enrich themselves, pass on the farm to an heir, as well as a method to preserve their cultural heritage and status. These reinforce the themes I frequently found in the *Journal of Travel Research*, which doesn't mention Latinx farmworkers at all- much less, how agritourism could be leveraged to improve their living and working conditions.

Thus, above all, we have found that agritourism is a lucrative model to preserve and put the family farm on a pedestal. Hood River's larger than family farms employ this agrarian conceptualization to heighten their cultural and economic power in the dire straits of neoliberal economics. This alone might not be surprising or particularly problematic. However, the idea that they can't show consumers all the human beings supporting their heritage is incredibly harmful and helps reinforce racial-class divides and the invisibility of farmworkers.

How could we find out more?

First and foremost, I would like to acknowledge how the methods of this study could be improved. While I am satisfied with the instrument of a discourse and content analysis for websites and Instagram, I would wish to have another shot with interviews. First, I would have liked for there to be more of them. I acknowledged the limited availability of professionals and their skepticism of the University of Oregon in the methods. However, I think I could have avoided some of those issues by trying to interview folks during the spring, fall, or winter instead of summer's peak season, and

not highlighting which specific university I was affiliated with. Some of these folks might be happy to think they are interviewing with someone from Oregon State.

I would also reformat the interview script slightly. The findings from this script are important and led to me spending time and energy thinking about the supply chain of agritourism. Recall, I dissected how when agritourism facilities manufacture products or purchase them from elsewhere, they are still relying on cheap agricultural inputs produced by a farm that may not be able to invest in agritourism. This is an important limitation to how viable the economic framework would be to other farms in the U.S., and it creates a set of winners and losers for small scale farmers while not solving the structures fueling their demise. This could also serve to be an important question for interviews in of itself. I wonder how farmers would view this pattern. However, all this didn't necessarily fulfill the initial purpose of this project, which was focused on how farmers use the cultural clout of agrarianism to create a wholesome image of a family farm that obscure Latinx labor.

To better accomplish those goals, I would recommend not stopping the interview after asking about social media representation of farmworkers, and instead, treat it as a point to pivot the conversation. I was unsure how people would respond to the question, and I wasn't prepared to think on my feet and respond to their answers to continue the conversation towards more interesting content. I think I could have done more to ask interviewees to entertain the social consequences of their media decisions. When examining my memories and the produced manuscript, I feel our conversations were too centered around their perceived expectations of how to advertise to American consumers. These interviewees might view this question in a practical marketing

mindset and excuse themselves from thinking of larger social consequences. I wish I had asked them to think beyond that, and I think it would be excellent to ask them to think collaboratively about solutions to disparate representation. A more delicate balance could have been struck, and through that, we all could have learned more and found better conclusions.

Lastly, I think there is some utility in verifying these results are not limited to a specific geographic region. I mentioned in the site selection that I had choses an arbitrary boundary of the Hood River Valley, and that agritourism spanned much of the Columbia Gorge, Columbia Valley, Willamette Valley, and Rogue Valley. I wouldn't want to waste too much time and energy focusing on the problematic nature of agritourism websites and Instagram content, as opposed to looking for solutions. Thus, I would recommend blending a similar content analysis with some methods better aimed at working towards finding and implementing structural solutions.

How could we alter the status quo?

Throughout the past two years thinking about this project, I have wrestled with the question: How do we make a change to this system? How do I make a change? I am still very uncertain about how to answer these questions. I will offer one of the many ideas that came to mind in order to poke at some of the answers and thoughts I have arrived at through this study. I want to start by positioning a hypothetical pro-labor agritourism enterprise. Earlier on in the project I came up with this as a solution. Presently, I am skeptical about its ability to improve labor conditions for a substantial group of people, but it would surely start stir the pot.

What would happen if an agritourism business in Hood River started marketing itself as pro labor? To me, this would look like a farm guaranteeing livable wages, respectable living conditions, and a safer, more comfortable working environment to its farmworkers. They wouldn't do this quietly but blast it on their website and social media while simultaneously bringing awareness to the structural violence imposed on farmworkers throughout the PNW and wider United States. The enterprise would implore tourists: Come support our business and our commitment to treating all our employees, especially farmworkers, as dignified community members that deserve so much better.

This would no doubt cause some uproar in the Hood River Valley. Such a radical business model could be perceived as threatening to other enterprises. The owner of the pro-labor enterprise might risk alienating themselves from their class of fellow farm owners. Although difficult, contentious, and controversial, I can't help but wonder what type of conversations such a radical move would start among business owners, locals, farmworkers, and tourists. While there could certainly be backlash, I also wonder what potential progress and change could come from such a direct, vocal stance against the status quo. Would other people start making demands that the community could do better? Would more people be confronted and educated on farm worker conditions? Would restaurants feel pressured to purchase their local produce from there?

This scenario has its limits. Not only would it be a socially uncertain prospect as established, but this would also be a huge financial risk for a farm owner to start taking on. Radically reforming wages and living conditions would not come without a cost,

and they would have no guarantee that locals or tourists would be open to visiting and purchasing from that business model. Not to mention they might probably need an exceptional visitor volume to create the revenue necessary to support higher labor costs. It would be a noble cause, but a risky one.

The scenario also glosses over the weakness this study exposed. I have painted a long historical arc of inequality on farms along racial lines and positioned agritourism as a recent addition to that arc. Biased, sugar coated, tourist-oriented media from agritourism enterprises is a manifestation of longer historical trends and structural racism, especially the heightened visibility of white workers and rare acknowledgements that Latinx farmworkers exist. My above scenario doesn't do anything to solve the structural inequality built into the system. It rests on a hypothetical farm owner playing white savior with their business, which could certainly still help move the status quo, but it’s a stretch to call it a solution. Therefore proper, representative media is no cure all or a replacement for unions that can organize for better working conditions, political visibility, and power to leverage employers and lawmakers.

This doesn’t mean owners and others in positions of power on farms can’t do better or make beneficial changes to their advertising and social media content. There's two pieces of media we examined that stuck out to me as potential starting points.

Figure 19 Starting Points for Representation

I thought these photos were a good launching point because it demonstrates that blossom thinning and harvesting is done by hand. The blossoms photo features a worker showing what that work looks like. The harvest photo features workers in front of the fruit of their labor. A step further would have been to name the persons if they consented: “and here we have [name] working on pruning this cool spring morning to ensure your U-pick experience in August is perfect.” Or “[name] and [name] endured the harsh smoke from fires to start harvesting grapes for our sparkling wines! Thank you [name] and [name], we are fortunate to have you as part of our community!” These are beautiful photos, and they still demonstrate things tourists want to see such as blossoms and views of the surrounding Cascade Mountains and agricultural products that are turned into delicious drinks. It also takes a step towards educating the consumer audience with a more representative caption.

I would also like to see more posts along the style of happy employees making farmworkers visible, and verbalizing gratitude for their contributions to the farm and local community. This includes websites too. Hood River's economy wouldn't function without all these individuals. All these people also contribute to the local culture and vibrancy of Hood River, and agritourism enterprises should celebrate that just as much as they do their white employees. These incremental changes of media representation add up and can assist in making critical members of the community visible, cherished, and celebrated.

I also wonder what it would look like for farms to emphasize some of their farmworker employees' stories more on websites and other materials. There is a tremendous amount of visibility to generational legacies by highlighting familial heritage and family farm discourse. Why shouldn't we celebrate other legacies? Why shouldn't we acknowledge other employees' histories, dreams, and hardships? Additionally, many enterprises positioned themselves as bastions of the community. They claimed to open their farm like a living room for all to visit and become a part of. Only a dysfunctional family hides some of its members through shame and guilt. If farmers want to reach the lofty vision of a welcoming family farm, they need to examine their own dysfunction and structural abuse as opposed to repeatedly shouting to the American consumer "we are so great and welcoming and loving!"

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