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It's More Than Profits: Examining Perceived Success In Agritourism

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IT'S MORE THAN PROFITS:
EXAMINING PERCEIVED SUCCESS IN AGRITOURISM

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Abstract

Over the last 20 years, small- and medium-sized farm owners are increasingly interested in participating in agritourism and direct sales in order to boost income, provide family employment, and educate the public about agriculture, among other reasons. A growing body of research has focused on agritourism from the provider perspective, but more research is needed in order to identify supports and barriers for agritourism operators.

In order to address this gap, we first investigated how operators themselves define success, before studying the attributes that are associated with success in agritourism. While prior research acknowledges the strong influence of non-economic factors on agritourism operator motivations, academic literature tends to focus on economic goals and benefits of engagement. More research is needed to better understand the nuance and breadth of non-economic motivations underlying agritourism operator decisions. In addition, research on agritourism in the US tends to be at the state level, which raises questions about overall national trends and inter-study comparability. In response, both qualitative and quantitative methods were used to define how agritourism operators measure success, measure to what degree they are successful in achieving stated goals, and analyze the factors that contribute to or hinder success.

In the first article, we analyzed 24 transcripts from semi-structured interviews with small- and medium-sized farm owners engaged in agritourism across the US in order to better understand operator motivations. We used Allport's "contact hypothesis" to contextualize how agritourism helps operators meet stated goals. Results suggest that, consistent with previous literature, non-monetary motivations are a high priority for farmers engaged in agritourism. In particular, motivations related to community engagement/leadership and quality-of-life emerged as forceful and reoccurring themes. Although Allport's contact hypothesis holds some important explanatory power in understanding agritourism operators' community-related goals, increased inter-group contact also has the potential to create new conflicts between farmers and neighbors related to tourism.

In the second article, using results from a national survey, we identified five goals that operators reported they were the least successful in achieving and analyzed the farm characteristics that were associated with perceptions of success. We organized independent variables into two general categories: farm characteristics and operator characteristics. Farm characteristics were further subdivided into agricultural attributes, geographic attributes and agritourism attributes. We hypothesized that, based on previous literature, location, gender and types of experiences offered would have significant associations with perceived success in meeting agritourism goals. Results from our ordinal logit regressions showed that offering on-farm sales and offering accommodations and lodging have strong positive relationships with perceived success. Results also highlighted the importance of gender when strategizing about goal achievement. Policy aimed at supporting operators should attempt to provide maximum flexibility in terms of options for their farms by reducing regulations and zoning restrictions.

Finally, this thesis concludes with a summary of findings and questions for future research. Agritourism operators and their businesses exist at a multidimensional intersection of two robust industries, agriculture and tourism. Despite definitional and ontological challenges, agritourism research continues to capture and synthesize operator experiences in order to help operators achieve success. Findings from this thesis contribute to this developing field of research and have significant implications for practitioners and researchers alike.

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Dedication

For Lillian and Jay, my best teachers

Acknowledgments

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Farms in the United States have undergone dramatic shifts in the last 100 years, with fewer growers producing more food than ever. At the turn of the century, 41% of the workforce in the US was employed in agriculture, compared to the 1% today (Dimitri et al., 2005; USDA ERS, 2019). Over time, the number of farms has fallen by over 60% while the average farm size has risen by the same amount (Dimitri et al., 2005). Due to technical developments after World War II in combination with farm policy, farms have become increasingly specialized, dropping from an average of five commodities per farm in the mid 1900s to one by 2000. Global markets have pushed production and intensified competition among producers. In response, small and medium farms have increasingly relied on non-production income. While the percentage of all farms with off-farm income grew from 30% in 1920 to 93% in 2002, small farms (which make up over half of all farms in the US) are particularly reliant on off-farm earnings for their household income (Dimitri et al., 2005).

In addition to off-farm income, small and medium farms have turned to other income diversification strategies to stay afloat and mitigate risk (Mishra et al., 2004). In the last 20 years, agritourism has emerged as an increasingly popular and viable option for those looking to meet a variety of farm goals. In addition, a growing interest among consumers in food systems and local food has provided farmers the opportunity to engage visitors in farm activities, providing both educational and recreational experiences, as well as creating economic value (Chase & Grubinger, 2014).

Despite the growth of agritourism in recent years, significant gaps in the literature remain. In particular, there is a dearth of data at the national level investigating where, how, and why different agritourism activities are successful. The two articles for this

thesis are based on findings from a three-year grant-funded project aimed at identifying critical success factors for small and medium farms engaged in agritourism. In year one, we performed 24 semi-structured interviews with agritourism operators from five different states across the country, gathering information about agritourism history on their farms, decision-making around agritourism, how they define and measure success, and future plans, among other themes. In year two, using the findings of the interviews, we designed and conducted a national survey with respondents from all 50 states. We analyzed the results of the survey, focusing on themes of perceived success and farm viability. To address the previously mentioned gaps, we focused on these research questions:

R1: What are the motivations and goals of agritourism operators across different US states and types of agritourism operations?

R2: Do agritourism operators engage in agritourism in order to attempt to decrease conflict and increase cooperation with non-farmers?

R3: What farm characteristics, if any, contribute to increased perceptions of success in achieving agritourism goals?

Chapter 2: Comprehensive Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The following chapter presents a comprehensive review of the academic literature related to agritourism with a specific focus on agritourism operator motivations and goals, a major theme in the two articles written for this thesis. This review is not an attempt to cover all literature on agritourism, which encompasses two broad and deep areas of study: agriculture and tourism. It will, however, give a brief overview of the history and origins of agritourism research, before delving into the literature on defining agritourism and implications of the lack of consistent definitions. Next, it will cover the scope of literature related to motivations and goals in agritourism, focusing on economic and non-economic benefits. Finally, this chapter considers the challenges for producers and the impacts of COVID-19.

2.2 History and Evolution of Concept

Agritourism, or farm tourism, is not a new concept worldwide. As early as the turn of the 20th century, researchers documented that farmers leverage their assets by providing products and experiences for tourists (Arroyo, Barbieri, & Rich, 2013). Frater (1983) noted that forms of agritourism have existed in Europe for over a hundred years and starting in the 1950s, British farmers turned to agritourism in order to compensate for declining incomes. In the US, it has been dated as far back as the 1800s, when post-Industrial city dwellers used farm visits as a way to de-stress from hot and polluted city life (McKenzie & Wysocki, 2002). The invention of the automobile helped accelerate farm visits and rural recreation and, after World War II, farm-based rural outings became an increasingly popular form of entertainment and horseback riding for recreation, in

particular, gained popularity with urbanites (Holland & Wolfe, 2001; Wicks & Merritt, 2003).

Beginning in the 1960s, continuity in the academic literature began to emerge regarding agritourism (Busby & Rendle, 2000). Significant research by Bull and Wibberly (1976) and Clarke (1996) differentiated between agriculturalists who classified agritourism as a category of farm diversification and tourism researchers who put it under the larger umbrella of rural tourism. To that end, farm diversification as income supplementation is well-documented (Rickard, 1983; Fleischer & Pizam, 1997). In the 1980s, agritourism research was largely viewed via sociological and tourism lenses and studies within rural sociology framed agritourism as a mechanism for diversifying farm revenues and stimulating rural development (Barbieri, 2019; Ilbery, 1991; Papamichael, 2003).

In a critical work, Evans and Ibery (1992) delved into a conceptual debate over the term "farm diversification" (also termed "alternative farm enterprises"). In particular, they noted that farm diversification's focus on farm-centered, income-generating activities ignores the mixture of strategies that farmers use to stay financially float—including using family labor, paid and unpaid, on and off-farm. That being said, non-traditional farm enterprises have made it possible for farms who might otherwise go out of business to remain afloat (Brandth & Haugen, 2011; Knickel et al., 2009; Van Der Ploeg et al., 2000) and agritourism has emerged as an increasingly popular and effective strategy (Barbieri, 2019; Bowler et al., 1996; Nickerson et al., 2001).

Agritourism and farmer identity

With the expansion of services into the tourism sector and the development of new skills needed for this wholly separate undertaking, comes the natural evolution of farm and farmer identity. In a 2011 study of Norwegian farmers, Brandth and Haugen explored the implications of agritourism on farmer identities and built on Van Der Ploeg's (2009) concept of "the new peasantry." They characterize "repeasantization" by three elements: use of the farm resource base, autonomy, and value-adding. In the process of recycling the farm's old resource base into new offerings, "old and neglected resources are rediscovered, highlighting the continuity of past, present and future..,In short, repeasantization redefines the farm from being limited to the production of raw materials only, into a multi-product enterprise with many new ways of relating to society and nature What makes it particularly interesting in our case, is that it also implies a redefinition of farm identity" (Brandth & Haugen, 2011, p. 36). Through a series of semi-structured interviews, the authors focused on "the repeasantization process and the extent to which the development of tourism activities on farms can be understood from this perspective…how tourism work and products mediate farm identity (i.e. they sell who they are: food, stories, activities, hosts, clothes)…[and] how agritourism destabilizes the social identity of the farmers" (p. 38). They concluded not only that agritourism strengthens farmer identities by reasserting autonomy and situating them as experts in their realm, but also that farm identities play a crucial role in attracting tourists. They remarked, "the business is based on their hosts' identity and this identity is played out in their hosting style, storytelling, food, activities and their bodily displays" (p. 43). In addition, since visitors are driven by the desire to have an "authentic" experience, farmers draw on their identities that are rooted in agricultural experiences. While Brandth and

Haugen (2011) found coherence between farmer identities and agritourism, others have noted resistance to agritourism based on a perceived schism between producer-identity and host-identity (Canovi, 2019).

Agritourism and gender

Another subject of focus has been gender and agritourism (for a more specific discussion on gender and agritourism motivations see Motivations section). Just as agritourism exists at the intersection of many theoretical dimensions, so do female agritourism operators. Literature on women and agritourism has highlighted the intersection of female agricultural identities and entrepreneurship in the context of hosting as a pseudo-performance of traditional gender roles. Analyzing female operators in southern France, Wright and Annes (2014), found that "farm women challenge dominant representations of women as 'incomplete farmers' by performing the role of 'agricultural authority'. This role might permit a new form of cultural power farm women have historically been unable to access" (p. 494). Even within the general realm of agritourism, specific tasks are gendered. Brandth and Haugen (2007) reported that:

> The tourist work on farms is divided into three main categories: administration, accommodation and activities. All of them consist of multiple tasks that are gendered in both traditional and new ways. Women do most of the administrative work, men most of the activities (the core products), while accommodation work is done by both (p. 379).

The benefits of agritourism for women, in particular, have also been studied. One study on female operators in Japan found while agritourism brings the potential for new sources

of income and new opportunities to socialize, conflicting domestic responsibilities can hinder women's participation in agritourism (Hashimoto & Telfer, 2011).

Agritourism in public policy

Agritourism policy varies widely from country to country and even within the US, regulations are not consistent from state to state. In Europe, "agritourism may be regarded as part of the change in the European model of agricultural development from productivism towards sustainability and multifunctionality and it has received great attention in rural/agricultural politics and economics over the last decade" (Brandth & Haugen, 2011, p. 35). Farmers who are EU members have access to the LEADER program which offers grants for rural development, which includes agritourism (Caballe, 1999; Cawley & Gillmor, 2008; European Court of Auditors, 2010, p. 100). In particular, Italy has gained attention for its national policies "establishing specific guidelines, obligations, and incentives to assist and encourage farmers to diversify their entrepreneurial portfolio through tourism and hospitality services fostered the development of agritourism" (Arroyo, Barbieri & Rich, 2013, p. 39).

In the US, no such policy exists and despite the lack of support on a federal level, agritourism has continued to flourish. Further research on the practical implications of agritourism policy is an area of great potential.

2.3 Defining Agritourism

The word "agritourism" in the United States is not formally defined—neither by terminology (other words such as "farm tourism," "agritainment," and "farm-based

tourism" are sometimes used in place of "agritourism"), nor by activities associated with the term (Philip, Hunter & Blackstock, 2010). Arroyo et al. (2013) categorized definitional inconsistencies in agritourism in four ways: "(1) the type of setting (e.g., farm, any agricultural setting); (2) the authenticity of the agricultural facility or the experience; and (3) the types of activities involved (e.g., lodging, education). A fourth ontological issue can be added related to the need for "travel" given the use of the word "tourism" (agritourism) in its label" (p. 40).

A recent literature review on agritourism provided a comprehensive overview of the range of definitions used for describing agritourism activities, seen below:

Table 1. Overview of definitions for agritourism given in the scientific literature.

Definition	Source
"visiting a working agricultural setting—usually a farm or ranch—for leisure, recreation or educational purposes"	[27]
"any activity in which a visitor to the farm or other agricultural setting contemplates the farm landscape or participates in an agricultural process for recreation or leisure purposes"	[28]
"any farm-based business offered for the enjoyment and education of the public, to promote the products of the farm, and thereby generate additional farm income"	[29]
"tourist activities of small-scale, family or co-operative in origin, being developed in rural areas by people employed in agriculture"	[30]
"'rural enterprises which incorporate both a working farm environment and a commercial tourism component"	[31]
"activities and services offered to commercial clients in a working farm environment for participation, observation or education"	[32]
"a specific type of rural tourism in which the hosting house must be integrated into an agricultural estate, inhabited by the proprietor, allowing visitors to take part in agricultural or complementary activities on the property"	[33]
"activities of hospitality performed by agricultural entrepreneurs and their family members that must remain connected and complementary to farming activities"	[5]
"tourism products which are directly connected with the agrarian environment, agrarian products or agrarian stays"	[34]

Note. From "Agritourism and Sustainability: What We Can Learn from a Systematic Literature Review" by by S. Ammirato, A. M. Felicetti, C. Raso, B. A. Pansera and A.

Violi, 2020, *Sustainability, 12(22)*, p. 3 (https://doi.org/10.3390/su12229575). CC-BY-4.0.

All of the definitions above include some reference to farming or agriculture as a basis of agritourism, though whether or not the farm is in active production is not consistent. Similarly, in an earlier study focused on defining agritourism authors reviewed 13 studies and identified nine unique definitions of agritourism (Rozier Rich, Standish, Tomas, Barbieri & Ainley, 2016). Of the nine, all of them included terms related to farming and/or agriculture; four included terms related to income generation or economic activity; five referred to recreational activities; five referred to education; five delineated activities happening *on* farm; and two referred to heritage. Of the three of the definitions that used the word "experience," one referred to length of time and five included the words "visitor" or "visiting."

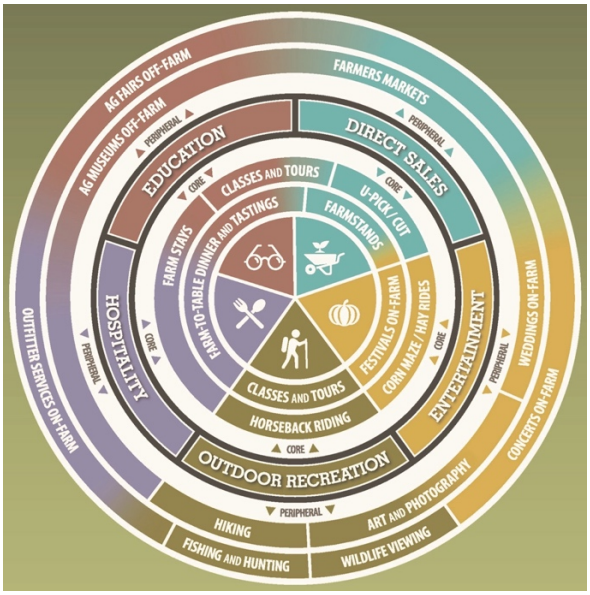
In 2002, the US Department of Agriculture (USDA) began to include "recreational services" in their National Agriculture Statistics Service's (NASS) Census of Agriculture and since 2007 expanded their terminology to "agri-tourism and recreational services," which includes "income from recreational services such as hunting, fishing, farm or winery tours, hayrides, etc." (USDA NASS, 2019). Though the Census' definition of agritourism is more constrained than definitions typically seen in academic literature, it still encompasses the largest and most widely-used data set associated with agritourism in the US and represents a significant step forward in formalizing the term.

More recently, building on previous scholarship, Chase et al. (2018) created a comprehensive conceptual framework that organizes agritourism activities into core and

peripheral activities based on where they take place (on- or off-farm) or the degree to which they are directly related to agricultural activities (see Figure 1 below). According to the framework, "core activities take place on a working farm or ranch and have deep connections to agricultural production" while "peripheral activities lack a deep connection to agricultural production, even though they may take place on a working farm or ranch" (p. 17). For example, core activities include product sales and experiences such as farmstands, u-pick, farm tours, overnight stays or farm-to-table meals. Peripheral activities include off-farm farmers markets, weddings, music events or outdoor recreation. The framework also organizes activities into five main categories: education, direct sales, entertainment, outdoor recreation, and hospitality.

Figure 1

Five categories of agritourism including Direct Sales, Education, Hospitality, Outdoor Recreation, and Entertainment, and examples of core vs. peripheral activities



Note. From "Agritourism: Toward a conceptual framework for industry analysis" by L. Chase, M. Stewart, B. Schilling, B. Smith and M. Walk, 2018, *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, *8(1)*, p. 18 (https://doi.org/10.5304/jafscd.2018.081.016). CC-BY-4.0.

While considerable progress has been made in establishing agritourism on working facilities rather than rural landscapes, the question of *where* agritourism activities take place is still of equal importance to *what* activities take place (Arroyo et al., 2013; Barbieri, 2019). In a recent perspective article, Barbieri (2019) explained, "Of utmost importance will be to investigate where the core of agritourism as an agriculture diversification enterprise vanishes within such a continuum because such delimitation will have major policy implications" (p. 152).

Indeed, this lack of consistent definition has considerable consequences for operators, visitors, researchers and policymakers (Arroyo et al., 2013). Researchers have noted that the lack of consistency makes inter-study comparison difficult and "inconsistency in branding diminishes marketing effectiveness and hinders stakeholders' collaboration in agritourism" (Rauniyar, Awasthi, Kapoor & Mishra, 2021, p. 7). In addition to creating a marketing challenge for producers and confusion among consumers, the lack of a consistent definition of agritourism creates discrepancies among academic studies attempting to quantify and qualify the impact of agritourism activities, hindering the ability of policymakers to prioritize support for agritourism sector development (Arroyo et al., 2013; Chase et al., 2018).

2.4 Motivations for Engaging in Agritourism

The library of literature focused on goals and motivations for agritourism is fairly extensive. Goals associated with agritourism vary widely depending on region, agricultural product, individual characteristics, household position, gender, and stage in

business life cycle (McGehee, Kim & Jennings, 2007; Nickerson et al., 2001; Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007). A recent literature review summarized the literature on farmer motivations for agritourism based on farm attributes:

Table 2.

Summary table of agritourism motivations and attributes

Authors	Methods	Country	Topic	Key Findings
Pedreira and Fidago [41]	OLS	Brazil	AT potential	Family or small farms are potential for AT
Petrović et al. [42]	ANOVA, factor analysis	Serbia	AT impact	Full-time farmers develop agritourism
Barbieri and Mshenga [40]	Interval regression	USA	AT performance	Number of employees and total acreage dedicated to AT development
Nickerson et al. [28]	ANOVA	USA	AT motivation	Social, economic, and external influences motivate farmers to engage in AT
Lucha et al. [7]	Survival studies	USA	Profitability	Higher education and more motivation to earn more profit from AT
Ohe [32]	D.E.A. analysis	Japan	Efficiency	Skills from foreign countries increase the efficiency of owners

AT = agritourism; OLS = Ordinary least squares; D.E.A. = Data envelopment analysis. Source: Authors' sorting out.

Note: From "A Review of Quantitative Studies in Agritourism: The Implications for Developing Countries" by K. Bhatta and Y. Ohe, 2020, *Tourism and Hospitality, 1(1)*, p. 28 (https://doi.org/10.3390/tourhosp1010003). CC-BY-4.0.

As pictured above, Nickerson et al. (2001) identified eleven motivations for diversification that they further categorized into social reasons, economic reasons and external influences, concluding that operators were primarily motivated for economic reasons, though social reasons were a strong second. They further classified three types of farm/ranch entrepreneurs: 1) (1) the multidimensionals, who have a variety of reasons for diversifying; (2) the economists, who are influenced by finances; and (3) the influentials, who are mostly influenced by the outsider forces. They found that these types of farmers differed based on location in their state.

McGehee & Kim (2004) took this classification one step further and analyzed it through Weber's theory of formal (economically-oriented) and substantive (non-economic) rationality. They found that, while each operation had its place on the formal-substantive continuum, certain variables were associated with where on the continuum they fell. Specifically, acres-owned, dependence on farming operation, household income, and the existence of pick-your-own produce as a primary activity influenced primary motivations for agritourism business.

In a subsequent study focused on gender, McGehee, Kim and Jennings (2007) concluded that while overall the alternative agriculture goals of men and women were similar, the meaning and context of these goals differed widely. For example, both men and women had goals of seeking economic independence, contributing to the community, and having a diversity of products. However, when examined more closely, in the context of independence, women were more focused on "expense-reducing" while men preferred "income-inducing" activities. More recent research suggests that, while women are perceived to be less economically successful than men, this is in part due to divergent and more comprehensive definitions of success used by women (Halim, Barbieri, Morais, Jakes & Seekamp, 2020).

Income generation continues to be a frequently cited justification for engagement in agritourism. The table below, from a recent review on qualitative studies in agritourism, summarizes the literature related to agritourism and income generation motives.

Table 3.

Summary table of agritourism motivations and economic factors

Authors	Methods	Country	Topic	Key Findings
Fischer [30]	Input-output analysis	Italy	Agriculture and tourism linkage	• Farmers receive only 10% of total tourist spending; it becomes 23% for farmers' total income • Accommodations account for 10% of income in AT
Qiu and Fan [34]	C.V.M.	China	Leisure agriculture	Farm transformation increased the economic output by 1.6 times
Malkanthi et al. [4]	Chi-square	Sri Lanka	Conditions for spice tourism	Transportation has positive effects on tourism development
Sidali et al. [26]	Hedonic analysis	Italy	Quality indicators	Wine production and organic farming have a positive influence on AT
Barbieri [22]	Chi-square and t-test	USA	Sustainability of AT	AT increases profits and creates jobs
Lupi et al. [47]	Logit	Italy	Features of AT	Small farms make more profit
Khanal & Mishra [48]	Spatial regression	USA	Factors affecting AT	• Education, age, financial conditions, and location determine farm income • Small farms have high household incomes

AT = agritourism; C.V.M. = Contingent Valuation Method. Source: Authors' sorting out.

Note: From "A Review of Quantitative Studies in Agritourism: The Implications for Developing Countries" by K. Bhatta and Y. Ohe, 2020, *Tourism and Hospitality, 1(1)*, p. 30 (https://doi.org/10.3390/tourhosp1010003). CC-BY-4.0.

While agritourism does have the potential for income generation, the extent to which agritourism activities are profitable varies greatly. In addition, the lack of

consistency in terms of what activities constitute agritourism makes it difficult to fully capture the impact of agritourism revenue. Recent agricultural Census data reported nearly $950,000,000 in income from agritourism nationally in 2017, an average of $33,222 per farm and a 35% increase from 2012 (USDA: NASS, 2017). Other studies have observed that agritourism has increased farm income, generated cash flow and expanded markets, particularly among small and medium farms (Broccardo & Culasso, 2017; Schilling et al., 2012).

Recent scholarship suggests that agritourism also is a potential mechanism for rural development and can act as a financial stimulus for other businesses by bringing visitors to the area (Ammirato & Felicetti, 2014; Yang, 2012). In addition, "agritourism represents a contact point between what the rural network [of agrifood products and tourism services] offers and what tourists/consumers demand" thus acting as an intermediary between agritourists and local businesses (Ammirato et al., 2020, p. 7). Research shows that agritourism benefits the local economy through increased sales taxes, opportunities for increased local employment and stimulation of local businesses (Barbieri, 2013; Barbieri & Mahoney, 2009).

Still, other research has identified motives beyond income. Several studies have found agritourism income to be small in comparison to total farm income, highlighting the importance of non-monetary goals of agritourism such as personal goals, employment opportunities for family members, social interaction with guests and educating the public about agriculture (Schilling et al., 2012; Tew & Barbieri, 2012, Busby & Rendle, 2000). Getz and Carlsen (2000) described goals of operators in rural Western Australia, who reported the prominence of lifestyle and family-related goals. The authors noted that

operators while non-economic goals were important, operators still wanted their businesses to be profitable. More recently, Quella et al. (in press), substantiated these findings noting that financial goals exist on a wide spectrum: for some agritourism activities are a main source of income and for others, agritourism fills other needs and activities must merely break-even, "participants acknowledged that while money was not always the top priority, losing money on a venture is not tenable.

2.5 Challenges and COVID-19

Though engagement in agritourism has undergone significant growth, operators still face internal and external challenges related to inviting visitors to their farms. Colton and Bissex (2005) cited issues related to marketing, product development, government support, education and training, and partnership and communication as some of the challenges faced by agritourism entrepreneurs in Nova Scotia. Key barriers for cattle ranchers in Oregon engaged in agritourism included insurance and liability issues, lack of time, challenges with regulations, and lack of financial assistance and resources (Pegas et al., 2013).

In the US, operators face different challenges based on regionality. In an analysis of a national agritourism survey, Chase et al. (2021b) reported that liability issues and availability of capital were top challenges for all respondents, however regulatory concerns, such as taxes and zoning, were of higher concern for those located in the West, Northeast and Midwest (USDA ARS regions), while those in the South struggled with e-connectivity. Nationally, time management was reported as the biggest challenge (90%), followed by labor, including family (89%), concern about liability issues (81%),

operation marketing (81%), cost and availability of insurance (80%), cash flow management (79%), availability of operating capital (79%), managing visitor access (73%), state and local regulations (72%) and developing/implementing a business plan (71%).

Women agritourism operators also face gender-specific challenges. A qualitative study of female agritourism entrepreneurs in North Carolina studied challenges related to women in agritourism, building and expanding on previous literature related to women's challenges in agriculture in general (Halim et al., 2016). The authors reported that specific challenges were more prominent at different ages, as summarized below.

Table 4.

Summary table challenges across the life-cycle of women in agritourism

Challenges of women in agritourism	Number of Occurrences	Life Cycle		
		20's-30's	40's-50's	60's-70's
Lacking reliable staff	124	√	√	√
Managing growth	103		√	√
Lacking institutional support	87	√	√	√
Ensuring farm perpetuation	82			√
Keeping up with pluriactive role	74	√	√	√
Facing new challenges constantly	67	√	√	√
Not being embraced as real farmers	53	√	√	√
Having limited access to resources	51	√	√	√
Dealing with gender norms	50	√	√	√
Having inconvenient location	49	√	√	√
Balancing demand of livelihood with traditional roles	36	√	√	√

Note: From "Challenges Faced by Women Entrepreneurs Involved in Agritourism" by M. Halim, F. Mirza, D. Morais, B. Duarte, C. Barbieri, S. Jakes, and K. Zering, 2016, *Travel and Tourism Research Association: Advancing Tourism Research Globally*, 10, (https://scholarworks.umass.edu/ttra/2016/Academic_Papers_Oral/10). In the public domain.

These findings highlight the diversity of operator experience in agritourism and substantiate previous findings on women in ag.

Most recently, COVID-19 has posed a threat to agritourism businesses. Lockdowns and social distancing measures have the potential for major disruption. A recent survey of farmers and food businesses in Vermont found the majority of respondents experienced impacts to their businesses, including loss of markets and loss of sales (Niles et al., 2021). Distribution impacts were most common among agritourism businesses (40%), as were loss of sales (52%). However, recent research suggests that businesses are finding ways to embrace new markets and thrive despite barriers. In the same Vermont survey, 68% of agritourism businesses reported that changes present new opportunities (Niles et al., 2021). A survey of California agritourism businesses reported that, notwithstanding COVID-19 and longer-standing regulatory issues, agritourism adoption is expanding (Hardesty & Leff, 2020). Others have noted that farms have the potential to benefit from the increased demand for direct sales (Kolodinsky et. al., 2020; Thilmany, Canales, Low & Boys, 2020). Overall, the future for agritourism looks bright.

Chapter 3: Article 1. Visitors and Values: A Qualitative Analysis of Agritourism Operator Motivations Across the US

Abstract

Small- and medium-sized farm owners are increasingly interested in engaging in agritourism and direct sales in order to increase income, provide family employment, and educate the public about agriculture, among other reasons. Prior research on agritourism operator motivations largely focuses on economic goals and benefits, while also acknowledging the strong influence of non-economic factors. However, more research is needed to better understand the nuance and breadth of non-economic motivations underlying agritourism operator decisions. In addition, research on agritourism in the US tends to be at the state level, which raises questions about overall national trends and inter-study comparability. To address these gaps, we analyzed transcripts from semi-structured interviews with small- and medium-sized farm owners engaged in agritourism from five different states across the US. We looked at results through theoretical lens of Allport's "contact hypothesis" in order to further understand how agritourism helps operators meet stated goals. Our results suggest that, consistent with previous literature, non-monetary motivations are a high priority for farmers engaged in agritourism. In particular, motivations related to community engagement/leadership and quality-of-life emerged as forceful and reoccurring themes. We found that although Allport's contact hypothesis holds some important explanatory power in understanding agritourism operators' community-related goals – including reducing prejudice and increasing understanding between farmers and consumers in relation to agriculture – increased inter-group contact also has the potential to create new conflicts between farmers and neighbors related to tourism. These findings have important implications for future research as well as policies and programs aimed at supporting agritourism.

3.1 Introduction and Literature Review

As small- and medium-sized farms worldwide struggle to remain viable, many farmers continue to look for alternative revenue sources to sustain their enterprises and support their communities. Agritourism, including direct-to-consumer sales on farms, has a rich history across the globe. Though not formally defined or recognized through policy in the US, agritourism is an increasingly popular diversification strategy and a growing income source for many farmers and ranchers (Busby & Rendle, 2000; Schilling, Sullivan & Komar, 2012; Whitt, Low & Van Sandt, 2019).

Across the US, rural communities have long been moving away from natural resource extraction-based economies to tourism- and service-based economies (Ashley,

De Brine, Lehr & Wilde, 2007; Laville-Wilson, 2017; Yonk, 2020). Farm communities face a range of new or intensifying economic pressures. Many farms have sought to introduce additional revenue streams to their operations via diversification into direct-to-consumer sales, vacation rentals, farm tours, and other forms of agritourism (Kloppenburg, Lezberg, DeMaster, Stevenson, & Hendrickson, 2000). A study found that small farms with an income diversification strategy on average report higher household incomes (Khanal & Mishra, 2014). In addition, renewed interest in food systems and local food has provided the opportunity for farmers to invite the general public to their farms, creating both educational and economic value (Chase & Gubinger, 2014; Martinez, 2010). More recent research suggests that agritourism supports local food systems and enhances direct-to-consumer sales not only by directly influencing tourists' purchasing behavior but also by promoting a broader interest in agriculture more generally (Brune, Knollenberg, Stevenson, Barbieri, & Schroder-Moreno, 2020).

While increasingly popular, not all farmers are engaging in agritourism. Past research has shown that variations in comfort with risk and uncertainty, family context, styles of farming, management styles, and stewardship priorities all play into decision-making in the realm of farm diversification (Darnhofer & Walder, 2013). The most recent agricultural census data reports that agritourism operators are more likely to be women and older on average. In addition, farms that already process or sell food for human consumption are more likely to participate in agritourism, as are farms and ranches with cattle and horses (Whitt, Low & Van Sandt, 2019).

Farmers engage in diversification strategies including agritourism for a variety of reasons. Much of the existing literature on agritourism operators' motivations focuses

primarily on economic benefits (McGehee & Kim, 2004; McGehee, Kim & Jennings, 2007; Nickerson, Black & McCool, 2001; Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007; Schilling, Sullivan & Komar, 2012). In fact, recent US census data show increasing revenue opportunities from agritourism: from 2012 to 2017, despite a small drop in the number of farms participating in agritourism, the income from agritourism and recreational services increased from $704 million to $949 million (USDA NASS, 2019). But past studies also reference other social and personal motives leading farms to engage in agritourism, ranging from personal interest to goals around consumer education, supporting family members on the farm, and enjoying companionship with visitors. Although these non-economic motivations have received some attention in past research, further study is needed to better understand myriad motivations for engagement in agritourism and how agritourism operators balance competing priorities (McGehee & Kim, 2004; Nickerson et al., 2001). This level of analysis can help to better meet farmer needs through adapting extension programming given operators' economic and non-economic motives, and also guide further academic investigation into agritourism constraints and opportunities in light of these motives.

In addition, more research is needed to understand why agritourism operators engage in agritourism, in particular, in order to meet these goals and how agritourism helps further non-economic farm agendas. As the number of US farmers decrease, consumers are increasingly disconnected from their food and the people who grow it—i.e. the "food from nowhere", a concept coined by farmer-activist José Bové (*Bové, Dufour & Luneau, 2002*). The divide between urban and rural community priorities is a well-documented obstacle to rural development and farmers face conflict over land use,

environmental concerns, and food safety (Sharp & Smith, 2004; Smith, 1969). As suggested by Sharp and Smith (2003), "social capital among farmers and nonfarmers at the rural–urban interface is likely to have several benefits for the farmer and the larger community, including increased awareness and appreciation of diverse stakeholder interests and increased trust and confidence that the actions of a community member (such as the farmer) respect the interests of other community members" (p. 926).

Indeed, Schilling et al. (2006) reported agritourism operators' interest in improving community relationships and reducing farmer/non-farmer conflict. In a subsequent paper, they call for further research into the link between agritourism operator motivations and Allport's (1954) "contact hypothesis" for increasing tolerance between majority and minority groups, suggesting that farmers may engage in agritourism in order to preempt or mitigate right-to-farm issues and build positive community relations (Schilling et al., 2012).

This study uses qualitative research methods to respond to the following questions:

R1: What are the motivations and goals of agritourism operators across different US states and types of agritourism operations?

R2: Do agritourism operators engage in agritourism in order to attempt to decrease conflict and increase cooperation with non-farmers?

In addition to explicitly focusing on non-economic benefits under-studied in previous research, this study also fills a gap in that there has been little research on agritourism motivations at a national level, raising questions regarding inter-study comparisons of agritourism in diverse food system contexts across the US.

Defining Agritourism

Though it is generally agreed upon that agritourism in the US was growing steadily until the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, the word "agritourism" in the United States is not formally defined—neither by terminology (other words such as "farm tourism," "agritainment," and "farm-based tourism" are sometimes used in place of "agritourism"), nor by activities associated with the term (Philip, Hunter & Blackstock, 2010). The lack of consistent definition, which has been well-documented in the literature, has considerable consequences for operators, visitors, researchers and policymakers (Arroyo, Barbieri & Rich, 2013). For example, while most definitions of agritourism set a "working farm" as the primary locus of agritourism activities, there is a broad range of activities that can be considered agritourism, primarily as it relates to the authenticity or legitimacy of a working farm and close connection to agricultural production (Phillip et al., 2010; McGehee, 2007; Tew & Barbieri, 2012; Carpio, Wohlgenant & Boonsaeng, 2008; Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007). In addition to creating a marketing challenge for producers and confusion among consumers, the lack of a consistent definition of agritourism creates discrepancies among academic studies attempting to quantify and qualify the impact of agritourism activities, hindering the ability of policymakers to prioritize support for agritourism sector development (Chase, Stewart, Schilling, Smith & Walk, 2018; Arroyo, Barbieri & Rich, 2013).

In 2002, the US Department of Agriculture (USDA) began to include "recreational services" in their National Agriculture Statistics Service's (NASS) Census of Agriculture and since 2007 expanded their terminology to "agri-tourism and

recreational services," which includes "income from recreational services such as hunting, fishing, farm or winery tours, hayrides, etc." (USDA NASS, 2019). Though the Census' definition of agritourism is more constrained than definitions typically seen in academic literature, it still encompasses the largest and most widely-used data set associated with agritourism in the US and represents a significant step forward in formalizing the term.

Building on previous scholarship, Chase et al. (2018) created a more comprehensive conceptual framework that organizes agritourism activities into core and peripheral activities based on where they take place (on- or off-farm) or the degree to which they are directly related to agricultural activities. According to the framework, "core activities take place on a working farm or ranch and have deep connections to agricultural production" while "peripheral activities lack a deep connection to agricultural production, even though they may take place on a working farm or ranch" (p. 17). For example, core activities might include product sales and experiences such as farmstands, u-pick, farm tours, overnight stays or farm-to-table meals. Peripheral activities might include off-farm farmers markets, weddings, music events or outdoor recreation. The framework also organizes activities into five main categories: education, direct sales, entertainment, outdoor recreation, and hospitality. For the purposes of this study, agritourism includes but is not limited to all core and peripheral agritourism activities taking place on-farm, in all categories.

Motivations and Goals for Agritourism Operators

In the realm of agritourism, there is a wealth of literature examining motives for diversifying into different types of agritourism offerings across many different geographies (recent studies summarized in Table 3.1). In one of the earliest studies relating to motives for agritourism, Nickerson et al. (2001) examined motives for diversification of Montana ranchers based on eleven categories and then clustered them into social reasons, economic reasons and external influences, concluding that operators were primarily motivated for economic reasons, though social reasons were a strong second. Other studies have since found support for this general conclusion, suggesting that income generation is a primary motivator for agritourism development (Barbieri & Mahoney, 2009; Brelik, 2011; Khanal & Mishra, 2014; McGehee & Kim, 2004; Tew & Barbieri, 2012). In a more recent assessment of the current state of agritourism research in the US, Rozier Rich, Standish, Tomas, Barbieri and Ainley (2016) conclude, “Four of the [nine definitions of agritourism used by researchers] incorporated an income component either as a means of income generation and/or as an economic activity. This is worth noting because it is often assumed farmers engage in agritourism endeavors as a means to supplement farm income" (p. 4). Thus, for small farms who feel increasing financial pressure and "struggle to remain economically viable in the face of changing global markets, urbanization pressures, structural changes in the food retailing system, and perpetual vagaries of weather, diseases, and pests," agritourism is a noteworthy coping strategy (Schilling et al., 2012, p. 200).

Table 3.1

Recent literature on agritourism operator motivations and goals in the US

Study	Date	Methods	Subject Focus	Key Findings
Halim, Barbieri, Morais, Jakes & Seekamp	2020	Mixed qualitative methods	Female agritourism entrepreneurs in North Carolina	Themes constituting women's self-definition of success: being constantly on the move, ensuring customer satisfaction, having family support, creating broad impact, gaining recognition and respect, securing financial sustainability, pursuing happiness, debating the work-life balance, and perpetuating the family farm
Chiodo et al.	2019	Case studies	Agritourism operators in mountainous regions in the US, Brazil, Italy, France	Top motivations: creativity & innovativeness, social interaction, awareness about farm operations, support local producers, income generation, autonomy, contribute to the local economy, environmental conservation
Khanal & Mishra	2014	Analysis of NASS census data	US farmers	Income influences diversification strategies among small farms

Other studies have pointed out other motives beyond income. Several studies have found agritourism income to be small in comparison to total farm income, highlighting the importance of non-monetary goals of agritourism such as personal goals, employment opportunities for family members, social interaction with guests and educating the public about agriculture (Schilling et al., 2012; Tew & Barbieri, 2012, Busby & Rendle, 2000). Hansson, Ferguson, Olofsson & Rantamäki-Lahtinen (2013) looked at motives for starting ventures outside of conventional agriculture among farmers in Sweden and assessed family farm roles in influencing these motivations. They found operators have

two underlying motives: business development to reduce risk and use idle resources, and business development for social and lifestyle reasons, noting that their findings differed from previous studies "both in respect to the number of underlying motives and the nature of these motives" (p. 247). The authors conclude that considering disaggregated motives outside of a broader family or firm context may fail to fully capture operator goals. Diversification, they argue, can be better be understood by considering "more overarching motives related to the management and development of the business and the situation of the farmer and his/her family" (p. 248). Ainley & Kline (2014) similarly advocate for more exploratory research methods that "fully appreciate the complex intertwining of multiple factors underlying the phenomenon [of agritourism]" (p. 405). Additionally, Telfer (2002) examines agritourism in an Indonesian community using Marcia Nozick's list of principles of sustainable community development. He finds that while agritourism does not always meet the goal of economic self-reliance, it is a powerful tool for community control and building community culture, while others find that agritourism can serve as a tool for farmers to resist urban stereotypes and regain control over their own representation among non-farmers (Nazariadli, Morais, Bunds, Baran & Supak, 2019).

A review of the existing literature thus suggests that while quantitative research has been instrumental in creating a blueprint for understanding why US farmers are embracing agritourism, there is an opportunity to probe deeper and "add flesh to the bones of what is currently understood [about agritourism motivations]" (Ainley & Kline, 2014, p. 405) using more interpretive, qualitative methods.

A second gap in the literature is the limited geographic scope of most US agritourism research. While there are several national agritourism studies in Europe, Canada, and South America, very little agritourism data exists on a national or multistate level in the US. Rich et al. (2016) note: "While three national surveys exist which provide insight into agritourism or farm visits…the focus of these studies was not agritourism; rather agritourism was a small component. In order for valid comparisons and generalizations to be made agritourism-focused survey data at a national scale is greatly needed" (p. 4). This multistate research project builds on previous research at the state level, while also providing much-needed insights into what common themes emerge when considering the multitude of other factors that influence farm decision-making based on geographic region.

Theoretical Framework

In his 1954 work, *The Nature of Prejudice*, social psychologist Gordon Allport hypothesized that face-to-face encounters of people of different groups would reduce inter-group hostility. Allport writes, ""[Prejudice] may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom, or local atmosphere), and provided it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups" (1954, p. 281). Under these four conditions—equal status, institutional support, common goals and common humanity (or inter-group cooperation)—Allport argued that bringing together

majority and minority groups could reduce prejudice and increase inter-group cooperation.

Further study has provided support for Allport's hypothesis. Most notably, Pettigrew and Tropp's 2006 meta-analysis of inter-group contact theory finds that inter-group contact typically reduces inter-group prejudice. They also assert the theory holds true outside of racial and ethnic encounters, as originally hypothesized, and can be extended to other groups, including people of different ages, gender identity, sexual orientation, and physical and mental ability.

Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) conclude Allport's optimal contact conditions typically lead to a greater reduction in prejudice but they are not essential for reducing prejudice. More recent literature has since focused *when* and *how* contact is most likely to reduce prejudice, as well as the impact of indirect contact, such as extended contact (knowing or observing an in-group contact who has an out-group friend) and imagined contact (Hewstone & Swart, 2011). This new research suggests the effects of contact are greatest when contact involves inter-group and interpersonal factors, such as cross-group friendships, and that contact works to reduce prejudice by reducing inter-group anxiety and increasing empathy. Allport (1954) and others define contact as "face-to-face interaction between members of clearly defined groups" (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, p. 754). In the context of agritourism, this could include a multitude of offerings, such as farm tours, on-farm direct sales, classes and tastings.

To date no research has applied Allport's contact hypothesis to the study of farmer motivations and yet there is reason to suspect farmers engaging in agritourism

might at least, in part, be motivated by a desire to increase contact in order to improve relations with customers and other non-farmers. In one early study Johnston and Bryant (1987) examined farmer adaptation to the changing rural-urban interface and identified three different types of farmer adaptations: positive, such as adding an enterprise; neutral, such as adopting agricultural technology; and negative, such as leaving farming. A more recent study by Smith and Sharp (2006) proposes an additional adaptation focused on "improving neighborly relations" including building social capital with both local neighbors and more distant farm clientele. Agritourism reflects several of these adaptations simultaneously – as a potential new enterprise that also increases social capital.

3.2 Applied Research Methods

Qualitative methods were chosen for this study to better capture the nuance, depth and breadth of producer experiences in agritourism.

Recruitment and Sampling Strategy

The sample used for this study was obtained from a larger selection of farmers and ranchers engaged in agritourism and direct sales, and across the US project collaborators collected information about the sample subjects from five states: Vermont, Minnesota, California, West Virginia, and Oregon. These states were chosen due to the growing or on-going interest in agritourism and direct sales by farmers in those states, and based on the expertise of the key informants working agricultural extension and tourism.

From a list of 80 farmers and ranchers compiled via the criterion sampling method, six were selected from each state using a maximum variation sampling method (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). This sampling method was chosen because criterion selection yields information-rich data from which researchers can deeply learn about farmer and rancher experiences, while maximum variation sampling ensures that a wide variety of experiences are explored and represented (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011; Polkinghorne, 2005). Farmers and ranchers were organized by geographic location within their state, agritourism and direct sales activities, farm size, number of years in business, agricultural products, race, and gender. Based on the literature on firm characteristics and business performance, geographic region diversity was prioritized for selection, then race and gender, then agritourism and agricultural offerings (Barbieri & Mshenga, 2008).

We used email communication to recruit farmers and ranchers within their assigned state. To participate, a person had to be 18 years or older and identify as an agritourism operator. Participants were offered a $50 incentive for their time and participation. Potential participants were sent three invitations to participate. Recruitment continued for 4 months until we obtained at least 3 interviews per sampled state and at least 20 interviews total.

Sample Information

Of the 23 interviewees included in this study, six are operators in Vermont, five in Oregon, five in California, four in Minnesota and three in West Virginia. The discrepancy in the number of interviewees per state is due to the relative ease or difficulty with recruitment in each state due to time constraints during agricultural growing seasons.

Given our study's focus, all of the farms or ranches were classified as small or medium by USDA standards; 57% of farms and ranches were small and 43% were medium-sized. 60% of interviewees were women, though the majority of participants operated with a family context. One study that compared diversified farms to agritourism farms reported that diversified farms, in general, had more women principal operators compared to all US farms—33% versus 11% (Barbieri, 2009). However, this was reported before the most recent changes to the agricultural census regarding how women are counted on as decision-makers on farms and ranches, and therefore most likely underrepresents the number of women farmers in the US (USDA NASS, 2019). 91% of interviewees were white, 9% were Asian. We attempted to interview Black, Latinx, Hispanic, and indigenous American operators; however, we could not do so due to time and sampling constraints. Many different farm products are represented, from diversified livestock to dairy to diversified crops to value-added products.

Interviewee responses were categorized based on the conceptual framework developed by Chase et al. (2018). Eighty-seven percent of farms and ranches offered direct sales, 83% offered education, 48% offered hospitality, 26% offered outdoor recreation and 87% offered entertainment. All farms and ranches offered at least two agritourism activities, 78% offer more than two activities, and 39% offer four or more agritourism activities. This is consistent with the literature on diversified farms and ranches as a whole, which have been reported to have, on average, 3.8 diversification categories per farm (Barbieri, Mahoney & Butler, 2008).

Interview Strategy

The interview protocol was co-constructed with project collaborators. The first author pre-scheduled and conducted semi-structured interviews over the phone which lasted approximately 60-90 minutes. All interviewees were emailed a consent form and the interview protocol in advance to review. The interviews contained 16 open-ended questions (see Appendix); semi-structured interviews follow a preconceived interview script, but also gave the interviewer or interviewee "freedom to digress" to explore emergent themes (Berg & Lune, 2004, p. 61).

Interviews were transcribed verbatim using speechpad.com, an online transcription service, resulting in 500 single-spaced pages. Transcripts were reviewed for accuracy. All farmer and farm names were changed to protect and maintain confidentiality.

Analytics Strategy

Two team members, the first author and a second team member and author, initially conducted a thematic analysis of the first three interviews. These interviews were chosen to capture a diverse set of perspectives. We used constant comparative methods to identify themes in the data inductively. Constant comparative analysis is a cyclical and continuous method of processing, reducing, and explaining (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). We used Braun and Clarke's (2006) hallmark thematic analysis method to code themes within and across interviews. The six-step framework includes: (a) familiarizing ourselves with the data by reading transcripts and listening to audio recordings; (b) generating initial codes; (c) searching for themes; (d) reviewing themes; (e) defining and naming themes; and (f) analyzing the resulting coded data (p. 87).

We used Owen's (1984) criteria of recurrence, repetition, and forcefulness to generate initial codes. Owen defines recurrence as when "at least two parts of a report had the same thread of meaning, even though different wording indicated such a meaning" (p. 275). Repetition refers to the explicit repetition of certain words, not just implicit meaning, and forcefulness refers to "vocal inflection, volume or other dramatic pause which serve to stress and subordinate some utterances from other locutions" (p. 275). Our transcriptions were verbatim and included pauses and other vocal inflections. We coded for recurring, repetitive, and forceful themes within interviews, as well as across interviews.

After coding the first three interviews separately, the we met to discuss, refine and collapse codes. Codes were entered into the NVIVO software and analyzed for intercoder reliability using a Kappa coefficient. Codes with a Kappa coefficient less than 80% were reviewed and re-coded until consensus was met. Then, the first author, coded the rest of the interviews independently, continuing the process by adding new codes where needed, re-coding previous interviews with new codes, and refining codes as the process continued.

Based on the emergent themes, we focused on five specific questions related to decision-making in agritourism and then specifically on one question focused on defining and measuring success in agritourism. The answers to this question served to illuminate participant motivations and goals for agritourism.

3.3 Results and Discussion

As expected, based on previous literature, financial goals were a forceful and reoccurring theme. However, they were closely intertwined with two other types of goals: community-related goals and personal/family goals. These themes were fairly consistent throughout different parts of the country and different types of agritourism operations. Because of the study design, emergent themes are not representative but meant to help inform further study at the national level. That results echo previous studies suggests that, on the topic of motivations and goals, location is not a strong influence. In this section, findings surrounding general themes in motivations expressed through interviews with agritourism operators are described, then these themes are analyzed through the lens of Allport's conflict hypothesis.

Financial goals

All participants discussed the importance of financial profit; however, the importance of agritourism enterprises' financial solvency exists on a wide spectrum. For some, agritourism is not the main income source for the farm but occupies another vital role. For others, agritourism and direct sales are the sole sources of income and occupy a prominent spot on an income statement. Regardless of an enterprise's overall financial contribution, almost all participants agreed that it was crucial for their enterprises to at least pay for themselves. One farmer from California summarized it as such, "I think that measure of success, it can come in different forms, but if somebody is losing money, they're not going to be able to sustain it." Another rancher in Oregon confirmed, "Obviously, money, it has to pay its way. Everything we did in value-added could never

threaten the resources base. It had to enhance it." Participants acknowledged that while money was not always the top priority, losing money on a venture is not tenable.

Even among those farmers for whom agritourism is considered very important financially, agritourism decisions do not always match professed goals. For example, one flower farmer in Oregon told us, "I think if it's sustainable for us, it's gotta be economically sustainable." She explained how they run a tour train through their fields for people who have difficulty walking:

> And it costs us money to run. But the personal touch for those…you know, it costs them five bucks to ride it and it's a half-hour tour. But it's that personal touch and being able to talk to them; it's not economically sustainable [on its own as an offering]. But I always insist that we keep doing it because of that personal touch, and you know, talking to people.

Thus, for some participants, exceptions are made and financial goals are de-prioritized in favor of other community or family-related goals.

Personal and Family Goals

The second significant thematic category that emerged centered around personal or family goals. For all of the participants, quality-of-life is important, which is consistent with past research (Chase et al., 2013). Participants talked about minimizing burnout, spending time with and finding employment for family members, and getting to enjoy what they do. They emphasized making strategic decisions about what enterprises to engage in and try to enter into partnerships wherever possible to share responsibility. On family farms, minimizing stress and interfamily conflict is important. For some,

agritourism facilitates these goals by allowing them to remain on-farm to live and work. A maple sugar-maker in Vermont explained how agritourism allowed him and his wife to homeschool their children: “My wife, she’s like ‘When my kids were sick I got to take my hand on his forehead, and check on him every hour, and give him a kiss on the forehead. I got to see all that instead of hearing it from daycare.’” A livestock farmer with small children explained how, despite initial challenges, having visitors to a cabin on their farm allows them to remain working on-farm. Their AirBnB felt time consuming and the farmer felt resentful, “But then I keep reminding myself, 'Well, it's either this or find a job off-farm.' So this is my job.” For this farmer, remaining on her farm while her children were young facilitated easier management of competing family and economic priorities.

Another underlying theme related to quality-of-life revolves around the concept of customer interaction and feedback. For many operators, having visitors to their farms breaks up rural isolation and provides positive encouragement. A dairy farmer told us, "You know, you can laugh, but one form of measurement [of success] is the hundreds of Christmas cards that we get here every year." Similarly, a grower in West Virginia explained:

> It's rewarding to just have people come and see the farm. And it is both, of course, fiscally rewarding because they give you money for it, but to see the way they interact and hear positive things that they say about the farm is nice because it just kind of reinvigorates your purpose. It's affirming, and it’s an ego boost.

While not all participants live in rural areas, agricultural work often demands long hours without much financial compensation or cultural prestige. For many agritourism

operators feeling appreciated and valued is a considerable benefit of opening their land and businesses to visitors.

Community-related goals

A third emergent theme relates to goals focused on education and community leadership. Participants told us a major way they define success is via their roles as educators. They see themselves as intermediaries between the general public and the "private" world of agriculture. As public figures, they consider themselves advocates for and teachers of their version agriculture and direct connection between consumers and food sources. Participants also found that the connection between their farm and consumer differs among generations. A farmer in West Virginia explained, "The older population it brings back memories from their childhood of, you know, doing something with their grandparents. And then you have the younger population or millennials that might not have been familiar with that, but they're really trying to get connected to their food source." Another farmer in California told us about how their farm connected with school groups over time, "Success for us was in the return of schools. We have many schools that have been coming for 10 years." She explained that they worried the school groups, for whom they charged a fee, wouldn't have funding to come back during an economic downturn. "Most of schools, they cut all the other field trips, but they kept coming to our farm. So, our school business remained the same…To me, the success is that people found us and came back to us, I think. That makes us feel good."

They also observed a US population increasingly disconnected from their food sources, fewer farmers who are integrated with the non-farming community, a decreasing

number of farmers in general, and increased public concerns about food safety and agricultural practices. One rancher in Oregon told us:

> It's more than profits. It's really important today if you have the attitude to do it, it's really important to open your door to people who aren't in farming and ranching, to help them see the truth about the good work that farmers and ranchers do. You need to school yourself about GMO conversations, predator conversations, pesticide conversations, all the issues that people that don't know about ag, they're frightened by. It's really important that the voice of the ranchers and farmers, real people that do the work, be heard by the majority of people who aren't. We're less than 2% of the population. We don't even count on the census statistics, you know, so how are people gonna know if they don't come out and see you?

This sentiment of visibility also came up regarding the theme of community leadership. Participants told us about seeing themselves as community leaders both for the public and for other farmers. They talked about being models for other farmers in their region and the benefits of building relationships with those in their community. A diversified vegetable grower in Minnesota told us about the advocacy role that comes with being a public-facing business:

> The path we're taking is very public. It's not like we're hiding in the corner and growing vegetables…which I think is good because you can advocate then for farms and say 'Well, come up.' And you can see how much work it is, and just bring farms and farming to the front of people's minds. Because honestly, there

are people in this area that do not believe you can even grow anything up here, which is absurd.

In this leadership capacity, participants find value and meaning in engaging with visitors, and agritourism becomes more than a financial diversification mechanism.

Motivations for Agritourism Engagement in Relation to the Contact Hypothesis

As described above, among community-related goals agritourism operators emphasized that consumer education is a crucial aspect of agritourism engagement. Interviewees talked about how important it is for visitors to come and see what they do for myriad reasons, including bringing awareness to the importance of food production, educating consumers on product value (this was particularly emphasized by farmers engaged in alternative agriculture, whose price points tend to be higher, as well as those participating in direct sales), and providing transparency around consumer concerns regarding land management, pesticides, GMOs and animal welfare. In this respect, the contact hypothesis helps us understand agritourism operator motivations because they are in many cases engaging in agritourism at least in part to build positive relationships with consumers and their communities.

That being said, there is a way in which agritourism may entail reduced community conflict related to farming while exacerbating community conflict related to tourism. Among the main challenges expressed by interviewees about their agritourism enterprises were (i) friction with authorities over regulations for hosting visitor; (ii) concerns about liability for visitor injury or accidents, as well as (iii) disputes with neighbors over increased local traffic and noise. A dairy farmer in West Virginia advised,

"You may even want to talk to you neighbors. Make sure they're ok with hundreds of cars coming past their property onto your property." Increased visibility also comes with the potential for increased public scrutiny. A diversified fruit and vegetable grower in Oregon described the trade-off in this way:

> I guess if a person is into [agritourism], there's the notoriety, you get to be known in the community. There's some drawbacks to that also because it does increase your public profile… All of a sudden instead of, you know, I'm not anonymous anymore, you know, when I'm in my local community. I have to be careful, sometimes I'd better not, you know, have that drink or I better not do this, I better not do that.

Thus, the conflict hypothesis is a valuable framework for understanding why agritourism operators prioritize non-economic goals and further research is needed to ascertain whether face-to-face interactions between farmers and visitors does actually improve inter-group relationships.

3.4 Conclusions

Much of the existing literature on the motivations of producers engaged in agritourism in the US focuses on potential economic benefits, with the underlying assumption that farmers and ranchers in the US are primarily concerned with making money. Our results show that, at first glance, financial considerations are indeed a key motivator when considering diversification into agritourism, consistent with some previous findings. However, when probed deeper, participants suggested that on-going participation in agritourism provides many other non-financial benefits, some of which

are equal to or even take priority over financial goals. Through this lens, for many operators, an agritourism enterprise's profitability is a necessary but not sufficient condition for engaging in agritourism.

Our findings mirror and build upon the results of work by McGee and Kim (2004) who report the top three motivations for agritourism as 1) gaining additional income, 2) fully utilizing resources and 3) educating the consumer. Findings are also consistent with Nickerson et al. (2001) who find income and resource utilization as primary motivators, followed by coping with the variability of agricultural livelihoods as a third. The non-financial themes related to running an agritourism business that most clearly emerged from this study centered around community building and engagement, which is consistent with recent literature on agritourism and motivations (Chiodo et al., 2019; Halim et al., 2020).

Even in the realm of personal goals, many of those goals circled back to some level of community interaction. As Telfer (2002) and Nazariadli et al. (2019) observed, our results suggest that for our study participants, agritourism provides a level of transparency that allows them to control the narratives regarding their businesses better and allows community members to participate in the agricultural process, thereby gaining further community control. Agritourism also aids in building community culture around food, the natural environment, and cultural heritage. Understanding agritourism operator motivations through the lens of Allport's conflict hypothesis helps build upon these findings. Community building is not only important for its own sake, but also for

improving relationships and increasing understanding between majority (non-farmers) and minority (farmer) groups.

With this framing in mind, our results are broadly applicable and add to a growing body of work that can be used to help agritourism operators succeed. Accurately identifying farmer motivations and goals can help provide better programming and support for producers at the outreach level, and more accurately steer the focus of future research at the academic level. Though a recent study suggests that there are areas in which agricultural extension agents are failing to fully meet farmer needs (Ferreira, Morais, Szabo, Bowen & Jakes, 2020), research shows that when agricultural educators have a greater understanding of the diversity of farmers' perceptions, understandings, and actions, they are "more likely to succeed in supporting farmers' application of knowledge and skills, resulting in improvements to farming practices and production" (Eckert & Bell, 2005, p. 8). This study sought to better capture the depth and breadth of these farmer motivations and critically highlights the role of community engagement and leadership of agritourism operators alongside financial viability goals. Thus, for those working to support farms who might benefit from engagement in agritourism, using a broader community development lens or toolkit maybe be more likely to engender success for both producers and consumers.

Limitations and Future Research

The time-intensive nature of the interviews necessarily limited the number of responses thus, although theoretical saturation was reached, associations cannot be drawn between agritourism operator motivations and other characteristics. Further research

would benefit larger sampling of agritourism operators from all 50 states in order to draw broader conclusions. Additionally, the scope of this project was focused on small- and medium-sized farms in the US, and thus does not represent the whole of agriculture in the US. While 90% of farms in the US are small, 44% of the value of production comes from large farms and thus represent a significant, but distinct, category of farm type (USDA ERAS, 2020).

Nevertheless, this study has added nuance to the discussion of farmer motivations for agritourism, and has opened up avenues for future research such as survey-based work informed by these findings and further testing of Allport's theory.

Finally, as emphasized in this study, on a policy level, agritourism operator goals—and subsequent benefits—can be conferred from producers to consumers and the community at large. Schilling et al. (2012) highlight: "the economic multiplier effects of agritourism, namely the impact on other local businesses, local employment, and tax revenues" and "the preservation of rural amenities, as well as historic and cultural values, also contributes to the desirability of a community to potential residents and businesses by creating a sense of place" (p. 204). Additionally, "through its contribution to farm retention, agritourism similarly helps communities manage or limit dis-amenities that may be associated with uncontrolled development (e.g., congestion, pollution, loss of scenic viewscapes)." Thus the success of meeting agritourism operator goals may not only benefit the operators themselves but also their surrounding communities – making the interaction between producer goals, community goals, and local and regional policy frameworks an important area for further agritourism research.

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Chapter 4: Article 2. Farm Attributes and Perceived Success in Agritourism: Results from a US Study

Abstract

Agritourism in the US is an increasingly popular choice for farmers interested in farm diversification. Motivations for engagement in agritourism are diverse, spanning from purely economic to social and familial/personal, often incorporating a mix of all three. Recent literature has focused on the benefits of agritourism for both providers and consumers, but gaps still exist in addressing factors associated with success. To address these gaps, we used results from a national survey to examine how important various goals are to operators and what variables, if any, are associated with perceived success in goal achievement. Focusing on the five least successful goals, we used an ordinal logit model to measure the relationships between the dependent variables and farm characteristics, such as products offered, location, experiences offered, and farmer characteristics, such as age, experience in agritourism, the highest level of formal education, and gender. We then further divided our sample by gender and compared those results to the full model. Results suggest that while each goal had an individual mix of variables associated with perceived success, in particular offering on-farm direct sales and accommodations and lodging have strong associations with perceived success in increasing farm/ranch revenue. In addition, men and women had distinctly different variables associated with perceived success. Women-only models had stronger positive associations with offering agritourism experiences, while men-only models had stronger positive associations with offering types of products. These results have important implications for agritourism operators, technical assistance providers, and policy makers.

4.1 Introduction

Agritourism, sometimes referred to as farm tourism or agri-tainment, is not a new term in the US. As early as the 1960s, the literature on agritourism research began to build in focus and scope (Busby & Rendle, 2000). Because agritourism itself encompasses two independent industries, agriculture and tourism, there are a multitude of lenses through which agritourism research is viewed, including one used by agriculturalists, who classified agritourism as a category of farm diversification, and another by tourism researchers who put it under the larger umbrella of rural tourism (Clarke, 1996). This study focuses on agritourism from a farm diversification perspective and uses survey data to identify how important agritourism operator goals are in

developing agritourism and on-farm sales, and analyzes variables that contribute to operator success in achieving those goals.

Prior to 2020, agritourism was of growing interest to farmers and visitors alike due to increased interest in the number of wildlife-based recreation participants, increased demand for local foods, and agritourism's economic potential (Bagi & Reeder, 2012). Agritourism offers farmers the potential to diversify income sources, create employment opportunities for family members, use underutilized farm resources, and diversify farm risk (Carter, 1998; Fuller 1990; Veek, Che, and Veek, 2006). Small- and medium-farms in the US, in particular, are vulnerable to economic decline due to the impacts of globalization, climate change, however research suggests that non-production income can help stave off extreme financial stress due to loss of income, and agritourism has been identified as a possible strategy to keep these farms viable (Key, 2019; Whitt, Low & Van Sandt, 2019). Indeed, the most recent Census of Agriculture data suggests farmers are answering the call of agritourism: farm agritourism revenue more than tripled between 2002 and 2017 and, adjusted for inflation, agritourism revenue grew from $704 million in 2012 to almost $950 million in 2017 (USDA, 2019; Whitt, Low & Van Sandt, 2019).

Several studies have focused on the perceived benefits of agritourism on both the provider and consumer sides. Agritourism is generally perceived as positive for both farmers and community members, for both economic and non-economic reasons (Tew & Barbieri, 2012). Studies suggest that agritourism may help boost local economies by alleviating labor shortages, contributing to the tax base, and stimulating other local businesses (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Barbieri, 2009; Sharpley, 2007; Veeck et al., 2006).

Non-economic benefits, such as preserving local heritage, rural land conservation, and environmental benefits have also been reported (Tew & Barbieri, 2012). LaPan and Bariberi (2013) found that agritourism operators are preserving tangible heritage in their farmlands, while Whitt, Low & Van Sandt (2019) noted agritourism's potential to educate the public about agriculture.

With the radical changes to the tourism industry due to COVID-19 pandemic travel restrictions, agritourism has the potential to be negatively impacted, though early research suggests that visitors see agritourism destinations as safe choices (Wojcieszak-Zbierska, Jęczmyk, Zawadka & Uglis, 2020) and farms can benefit from the increased demand for local food (Kolodinsky et. al., 2020; Thilmany, Canales, Low & Boys, 2020).

While agritourism research has increased steadily over the past 10 years, literature reviews of agritourism have noted the lack of research focused on the information needed for agritourism operators to make business decisions, capitalize on national and local trends, and make development and marketing decisions (Rozier Rich, Standish, Tomas, Barbieri & Ainley, 2016). In particular, national-level agritourism data in the US is extremely limited thus making operator decision-making even more constrained.

In order to address these gaps, we conducted a national-level agritourism survey gathering data on firmographic information, product and experience offerings, motivations and goals, plans for agritourism, challenges, supports for success, and assistance needed. Past research demonstrates that farmers engage in agritourism for a variety of reasons and thus "success in agritourism" is not a one-size-fits all concept. In order to help clarify operator success in agritourism, we focused on the following research question:

R1: What farm characteristics, if any, contribute to increased perceptions of success in achieving certain agritourism goals?

To answer this question, we used qualitative interview results and previous literature to identify operator goals and variables related to perceived success in achieving these goals. We then developed a conceptual framework to hypothesize the farm characteristics that might be associated with a higher likelihood of perceived success in achieving agritourism goals. Finally, we developed and ran a regression model using five agritourism goals as the dependent variable and farm characteristics as the independent variables.

The first section of this article provides background into agritourism research and presents our conceptual model. The second section describes the methods used to conduct the survey and analyze results. The third and fourth sections present the results of our analysis and discuss the findings. The final section concludes the article with implications for agritourism operators, policy makers, researchers and others working in agritourism.

4.2 Background and conceptual model

Defining agritourism

One of the biggest challenges in agritourism research is the lack of consistent terminology and definition, particularly in the US where agritourism policy is determined at the state, county, or even town level. Researchers have noted that the lack of consistency makes inter-study comparison difficult and "inconsistency in branding diminishes marketing effectiveness and hinders stakeholders' collaboration in agritourism" (Rauniyar, Awasthi, Kapoor & Mishra, 2020, p. 7). For our survey, Chase et

al.'s (2018) conceptual framework of five categories of agritourism provided the basis of our definition of agritourism: on-farm direct sales (such as u-pick and farmstands), education (such as classes and tours), entertainment and events (such as corn mazes and on-farm festivals), hospitality (such as farm stays and dinners on farms), and outdoor recreation (such as horseback riding, fishing and hunting on farms and ranches). For the purpose of this study, we considered agritourism to be any on-farm activities that involved visitors, paid or unpaid, including direct sales on farms.

Motivation and Goals

Findings on agritourism operator motivations and goals are documented in previous literature. It is widely acknowledged that operator goals can be varied, complicated and nuanced (Barbieri & Mahoney, 2009; Nickerson et al., 2001; Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007). In addition, the broad definition of agritourism can make them hard to measure (Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007). Goals associated with agritourism vary widely depending on region, agricultural product, individual characteristics, household position, gender, and stage in business life cycle (McGehee, Kim & Jennings, 2007; Nickerson et al., 2001; Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007).

Nickerson et al. (2001) identified eleven motivations for diversification into agritourism that they further categorized into social reasons, economic reasons and external influences. They further classified three types of farm/ranch entrepreneurs: (1) the multidimensionals, who have a variety of reasons for diversifying; (2) the economists, who are influenced by finances; and (3) the influentials, who are mostly influenced by the

outside forces. They found that these types of farmers differed based on location in their state.

McGehee & Kim (2004) took this classification one step further and analyzed it through Weber's theory of formal (economically-oriented) and substantive (non-economic) rationality. They found that, while each operation had its place on the formal-substantive continuum, certain variables were associated with where they fell on the continuum. Specifically, acres-owned, dependence on farming operation, household income, and the existence of pick-your-own produce as a primary activity influenced motivations for agritourism business.

In a subsequent study focused on gender, McGehee, Kim and Jennings (2007) concluded that while the alternative agriculture goals of men and women were similar, the meaning and context of these goals differed widely. For example, both genders sought independence, an opportunity to contribute to the community, and diversity of products. However, when examined more closely, in the context of independence, women were more focused on "expense-reducing" while men preferred "income-inducing" activities. More recent research suggests that, while women are perceived to be less successful than men economically, this is in part due to divergent and more comprehensive definitions of success used by women (Halim et al., 2020).

Other factors influencing motivations in agritourism include education, age of the operator, financial condition, and location of the farm (Khanal & Mishra, 2014). See Appendix A for summary table of agritourism motivations and attributes. Chiodo et al. (2019) determined that goals also varied between beginning farmers and experienced farmers. Finally, using qualitative analysis, Quella et al. (in press) found that while

operator motivations can be organized into thematic categories, the reality is that operator motivations are highly nuanced and intertwined, with farmer decisions at times failing to match professed goals.

Success factors

Most of the literature identifying variables associated with success in agriculture has defined success by purely economic terms. A notable exception is Tew and Barbieri's 2012 study on the influence of farm and household characteristics on agritourism goals. They found operator age, operator off-farm employment, number of full-time year-round employees, years in agritourism and number of marketing methods used all had significant associations with four categories of operator goals.

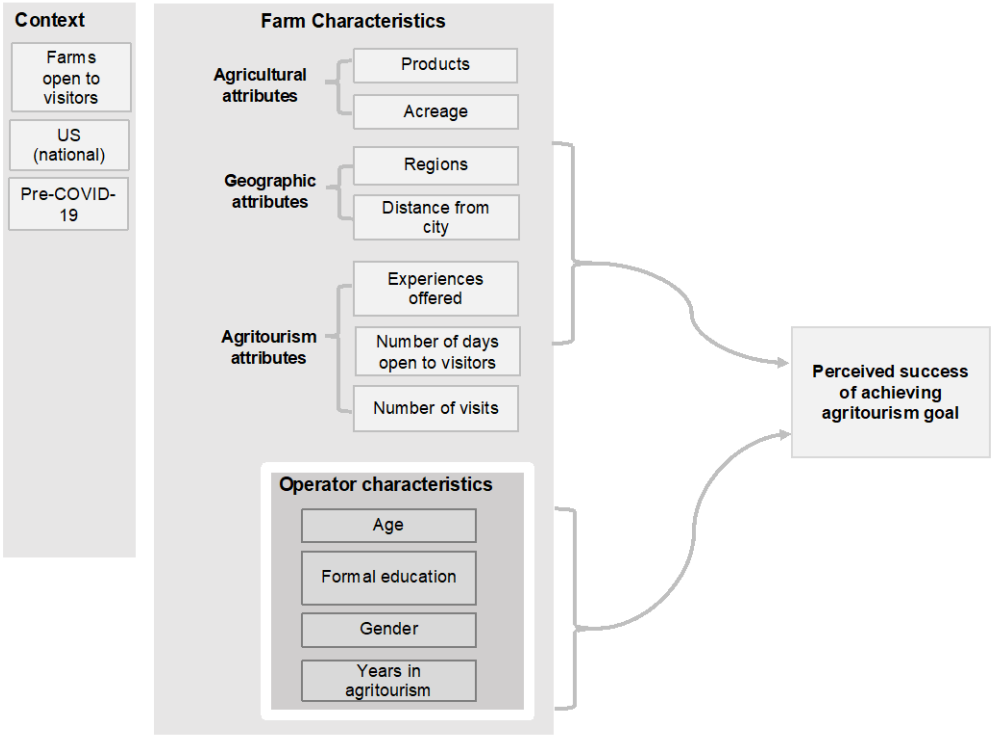
Other studies linking farm attributes and profitability have found that "length of time in business, the number of employees and the farm acreage have a positive impact on performance in terms of annual gross sales of agritourism farms" and "owners of farms with greater annual gross sales than the rest are male or white or their main occupation is farming" (Barbieri & Mshenga, 2008, p. 1). Whitt, Low and Van Sandt (2019) reported factors with a significant positive impact on agritourism economic activity included being located near natural amenities or in close proximity to other outdoor activities, being located in a more populated county, and producing grapes, fruit and tree nuts, and specialty livestock. Schilling, Attavanich and Jin (2014) found that agritourism has a positive effect on profitability for small and intermediate farms, but not for commercial farms, though profit impacts differ based on the definition of agritourism used.

Conceptual Framework and Hypotheses

Based on the previous literature, we hypothesized that the following variables could have a significant effect on perceived success in achieving agritourism goals: products, size (in total acres), location (region, distance from city), agritourism experiences offered, number of days open to visitors, number of visits, operator age, the highest level of formal education, gender, and level of experience (years in agritourism). We organized variables into two general categories: farm characteristics and operator characteristics. Farm characteristics were further subdivided into agricultural attributes, geographic attributes and agritourism attributes. Figure 2 below shows a conceptual model of variables in relation to the research question.

Figure 2

Conceptual model of perceived success in agritourism goals



4.3 Methods

Survey Development and Sampling Methods

Beginning in November of 2019 and ending in February 2020, we administered an online survey throughout the US titled "National Agritourism & Direct Sales Survey."

The survey was developed based on previous literature and informed by findings from 23 semi-structured interviews. We used instruments from 10 different previous research projects to design our instrument, with a focus on consistency in questions and parameters. For questions related to products, options were categorized based on the USDA National Agricultural Statistics Service (NASS) Census categories, which uses the NAICS classification system. A survey link was sent out through extension partners and tourism/agritourism professionals in all 50 states, who forwarded the link directly, via listservs and professional networks. The snowball sampling method was used (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981; Goodman, 1961).

Participants

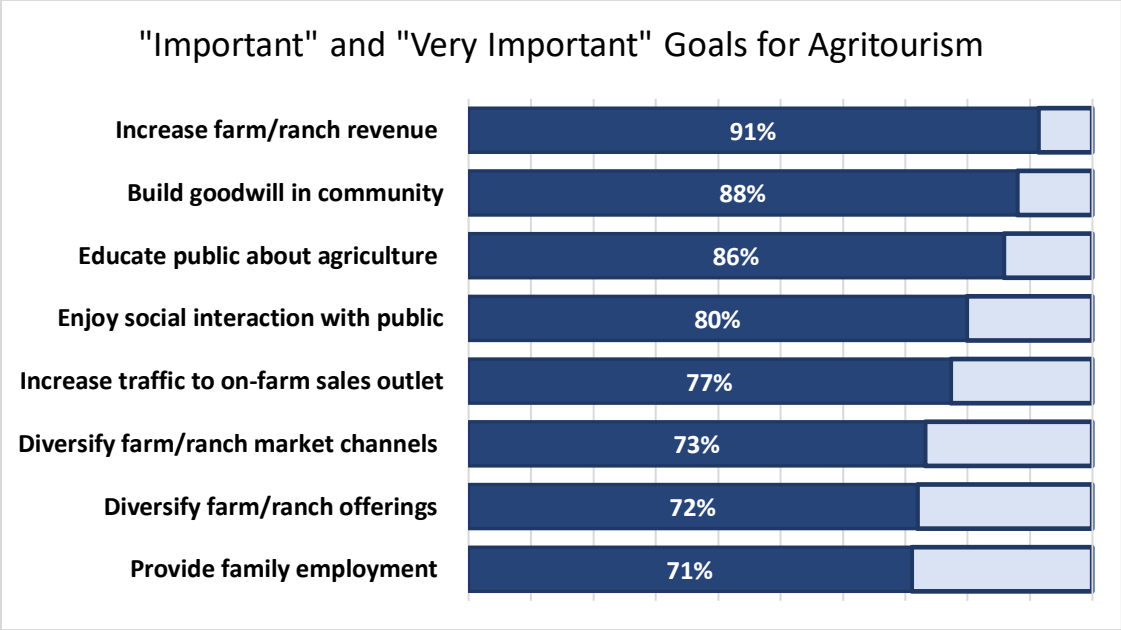
We received 1834 useable responses representing all 50 states from farms, ranches, and vineyards open to visitors. Respondents were screened using a required filter question asking if they had visitors to their farm, ranch, or vineyard. Respondents with direct-to-consumer sales that only took place off-farm (such as farmer's markets) were not included.

Analytic Strategy

Based on the survey results, we identified the goals that the respondents felt were most important. Figure 3 below shows the percentage of respondents that rated a goal "important" or "very important."

Figure 3.

Importance of motivations and goals in developing agritourism and direct sales in 2018.



Note: From Chase, L., Wang, W., Bartlett, R., Conner, D., Hollas, C., & Quella, L. (2021). *Agritourism and on-farm direct sales survey: Results for the US*. University of Vermont. https://www.uvm.edu/sites/default/files/Vermont-Agritourism-Collaborative/US_Agritourism_Survey_Report_2.2.21.pdf

Respondents also rated goals on a five-point Likert scale: Very Successful, Somewhat successful, Neither successful nor unsuccessful, Somewhat unsuccessful, Very unsuccessful, and Not applicable/not sure. N/A was recoded as missing. From those responses, we identified the goals that respondents felt they were the least successful in

meeting: increasing farm/ranch revenue, providing family employment, increasing traffic to on-farm sales outlets, diversifying farm/ranch offerings, diversifying farm/ranch market channels. We chose these goals because we wanted focus on information that would be of most use and have the highest impact.

Using SPSS version 24 we ran an ordinal logit regression using the PLUM procedure to determine which statistically significant variables, if any, were associated with a higher or lower likelihood of perceptions of success achieving each of the five goals, respectively.

The dependent variables for the regressions were:

- How successful are you in increasing farm revenue?
- How successful are you in providing family employment?
- How successful are you in increasing traffic to on-farm sales outlets?
- How successful are you in diversifying farm/ranch offerings?
- How successful are you in diversifying farm/ranch market channels?

Independent variables were recoded for regression analysis. The following table shows the variables with their respective questions and recoding.

Table 4.1

Independent variables for ordinal regression analysis

Variable	Question	Code
Animals & animal-related products Crops Value-added products	What type of products did you produce on your farm/ranch in 2018?	1 = produced; 0= not produced
Total acreage	How many acres is your farm/ranch?	

Southern region Midwest region Western region	Please choose the state in which your farm/ranch is located.	1 = state in USDA ARS region; 0 = not in region
Distance from city	How far is your farm/ranch from the nearest city of at least 50,000 people?	1 = 0 miles; 2 = 2.5; 3 = 7; 4 = 19.5; 5 = 39.5; 6 = 59
On-Farm direct sales Accommodations & lodging Education Entertainment & events Outdoor recreation Off-farm sales	Which of the following experiences did your farm/ranch offer in 2018?	1 = offered; 0 = not offered
Number of visits	Approximately how many visits (paid and unpaid) took place on your farm/ranch in 2018?	
Number of days open to visitors	About how many days per year is your farm/ranch operation open to visitors?	
Years in agritourism	What year did you begin offering agritourism including on-farm direct sales?	2019 - year given
Formal education	Please choose your highest level of formal education.	high school = 12; some college = 13; tech = 14; 4 year = 16; Post grad = 20
Female gender	Please indicate your gender identity.	1 = female; 0 = not female*
Age	What year were you born?	2019 – year born

*We acknowledge that gender is non-binary. Our final sample included one non-binary person. For the purposes of our results we will be referring to respondent samples more generally as male and female or men and women.

We ran statistical tests on our model to check for multicollinearity among independent variables, as well running a restricted model excluding any variable with a Wald statistic less than 1. We then ran a likelihood ratio test and rejected the null hypothesis, thus keeping the full model. After closely examining the results of the full model, and based on supporting previous literature, we also ran additional regressions with women-only and men-only samples.

4.4 Results and discussion

General Survey Results

Responses were received from 1834 farms in all 50 states with the largest contributions of data came from Vermont, Oregon, Tennessee and California (Chase et al., 2021a). Responding age 55 on average and the majority were women. Almost three-quarters had a college degree. Since the survey was conducted in the winter of 2019-20, responses reflect the state of agritourism in the U.S. before the COVID-19 pandemic.

Most farms were between 10 to 49 miles from a city of 50,000 and the average acreage was 370 acres. Over 25% of responding farms made no profit from agritourism, or operated agritourism enterprises at a loss in 2018. Seven percent of farms generated profits over $100,000 from agritourism and the largest number of responding farms generated profits between $10,000 and $100,000 from agritourism.

Motivations and goals

Respondents ranked the level of importance (from “Not at all important” to “Very important”) and level of success (“Very unsuccessful” to “Very successful”) in regards to

motivations and goals in their development of agritourism operations including on-farm direct sales (see Appendix). Over 90% of respondents felt that increasing farm/ranch revenue was important or very important to their agritourism operation. Generally, respondents felt they had been successful in all of the goals listed, though community-related goals were notably more successful than the rest.

Though farmers reported success in reaching goals, the relative levels of success achieved in meeting various goals did not mirror the importance of their goals, with the greatest success being reporting in educating the public about agriculture and enjoying social interactions. A large percentage of respondents felt successful in achieving community-related goals such as education, social interaction and building goodwill. Less successful were farm viability/market-related goals, such as increasing revenue, diversifying market channels and offerings, and increasing traffic to on-farm sales. In the realm of personal/family goals, providing family employment was in the midrange of success.

Regression results

The following table shows summary statistics for each independent variable in the full survey sample.

Table 4.2

Descriptive statistics of variables

Variable	N	Mean	Std. deviation
Animals & animal-related products	1775	.434	.496
Crops	1775	.623	.485
Value-added products	1775	.442	.497
On-Farm direct sales	1745	.774	.418

Accommodations & lodging	1745	.194	.396
Education	1745	.552	.497
Entertainment & events	1744	.483	.500
Outdoor recreation	1745	.273	.446
Off-Farm direct sales	1745	.429	.495
Southern region	1491	.292	.455
Midwest region	1491	.209	.406
Western region	1491	.258	.437
Number of visits	1513	6914.189	30234.253
Number of days open to visitors	1560	180.518	133.323
Total acreage	1420	369.892	2108.287
Years in agritourism	1592	2005.246	13.826
Age	1281	55.396	13.202
Gender	1407	.580	.495
Distance from city	1440	32.656	21.233
Formal education	1405	16.372	2.630

The results of the regression analysis yielded significant and unique findings. The table below provides an overview of the five different regressions, broken down by the full sample model, which includes both genders, and the women-only sample and men-only sample models. For brevity, only significant associations are reported. Positive associations are noted with (+); negative associations are noted with (-). Variables in bold are unique to that specific sample set within each goal, which means they do not appear as a significant variable in the other two samples (full, women-only, or male-only) within that goal. See Appendix A for full results.

Table 4.8
Summary of regression results

	Significant Associations		
Goal	Full sample	Women only	Men only
Increase farm/ranch revenue			**(+) Value-added products**
	(+) On-farm direct sales	(+) On-farm direct sales	
	(+) Accommodations & lodging	(+) Accommodations & lodging	(+) Accommodations & lodging
	(+) Outdoor recreation		
	(+) Number of visits	(+) Number of visits	(+) Number of visits
			(+) Age
	(+) Years in agritourism	(+) Years in agritourism	(+) Years in agritourism
	Distance from city (-)	Distance from city (-)	
	Formal education (-)		Formal education (-)
	Female gender (-)		
Increase traffic to on-farm sales	(+) Value-added products		(+) Value-added products
	(+) Western region		
	(+) Southern region		
	(+) On-farm direct sales	(+) On-farm direct sales	(+) On-farm direct sales
	(+) Entertainment & events	(+) Entertainment & events	
		(+) Off-farm direct sales	
	(+) Number of visits	(+) Number of visits	(+) Number of visits
	(+) Years in agritourism	(+) Years in agritourism	(+) Years in agritourism
	Animals & animal products (-)	Animals & animal products (-)	

	Formal education (-)		Formal education (-)
Provide family employment			**(+) Value-added products**
			(+) Midwest region
	(+) On-farm direct sales		
			(+) Accommodations & lodging
	(+) Entertainment & events	(+) Entertainment & events	
			(+) Outdoor recreation
	(+) Number of visits	(+) Number of visits	(+) Number of visits
	(+) Age	(+) Age	(+) Age
	(+) Years in agritourism	(+) Years in agritourism	(+) Years in agritourism
	Off-farm sales (-)	Off-farm sales (-)	
Diversify market channels	(+) Total acreage	(+) Total acreage	(+) Total acreage
		(+) On-farm direct sales	
	(+) Entertainment & events	(+) Entertainment & events	
	(+) Off-farm sales	(+) Off-farm sales	
	(+) Number of visits		(+) Number of visits
		Distance from city (-)	
Diversify farm/ranch offerings	(+) Total acreage	(+) Total acreage	
	(+) Midwest region	(+) Midwest region	
	(+) Southern region	(+) Southern region	
		(+) Western region	
	(+) On-farm direct sales	(+) On-farm direct sales	

	(+) Accommodations & lodging	(+) Accommodations & lodging	
	(+) Entertainment & events	(+) Entertainment & events	
	(+) Number of days open to visitors		(+) Number of days open to visitors
	(+) Number of visits	(+) Number of visits	(+) Number of visits

(+) denotes a positive and significant variable
(-) denotes a negative and significant variable
variables in bold are unique to that sample set within each goal

Across models and within models two variables emerged over and over: number of visits and years in agritourism. With the exception of diversifying farm/ranch offerings (which only had "number of visits"), all of the models, and all three samples within each model, had "number of visits" and "years in agritourism" as positively and significantly correlated with perceived success. Because we asked about perceptions of success, this finding brings up a chicken-and-egg line of inquiry: are operators more successful because they have more years of experience and host more visitors? Or, after their years of experience and many, many interactions visitors to their farms and ranches, have they fine-tuned their expectations such that their goals are more achievable? More likely, these variables are markers of success, rather than influences. Operators who have gone out of business, or who don't have many customers, are not likely to be or feel successful, by any definition. "Number of visits (+)" is also consistent with previous studies that found number of visits is positively correlated with both increases income for operators and perceived benefits of agritourism in general (Carpio et al., 2008; Barbieri et al., 2019),

Regionality is another theme that is worth spotlighting. Regionality, though a significant and positive variable in several models, did not have a consistent pattern throughout. For the goal of increasing traffic to on-farm sales, two regions were positive and significant in the general model, but not in the male- and female-only samples. Conversely, being located in the Midwest was positively associated with perceptions of success in providing family employment in the male-only model, but not the full or female-only models, while for the goal of diversifying farm/ranch offerings all of the non-Northeastern regions had positive associations in the female-only model, but not in the male-only or full models. Regionality is a complex variable in agritourism because

farm location influences so many other variables, such as farm size and availability of affordable land, weather and seasons, which in turn influences types of products and experiences offered. Regionality also plays a large role in terms of regulations and local supports. While our models did not yield any sweeping conclusions about regionality, they confirm previous findings that location plays an important role in agritourism success (Bagi & Reeder, 2012; Barbieri & Mshenga, 2008).

On-farm sales has a positive association with perceived goal achievement in 4 of the 5 of the full samples and women-only samples, suggesting that offering on-farm sales is correlated with meeting a spectrum of agritourism goals. It was only significant in one of the male-only samples.

Breaking up the full model into two separate models based on gender yielded important results. For the goal of increasing farm and ranch revenue, "on-farm direct sales" and "distance from city" were positively and negatively correlated with perceptions of success, respectively, in the women-only sample, but not in the male-only. Conversely, "value-added products" and "age" had positive associations in the male-only sample, but not in the women's sample. This difference was also a larger pattern in the models overall. The women-only models tended to have more positive associations with experiences, especially entertainment and events which did not have a significant association in any of the male-only models, but did in four out of the five women-only models.

These findings can be interpreted in several different ways. First, previous literature reports that women and men agritourism operators have very different ways of understanding "success," with women's definitions being nuanced and varied (McGehee

et al., 2007; Halim et al., 2020; Savage et al., 2020). Perhaps offering experiences helps women achieve a different set of goals than their male counterparts. Alternatively, the experiences that came up as significant, on-farm direct sales, entertainment and events and accommodations and lodging, tend to be more social in nature. The importance of the social aspect of agritourism among women is well-documented (Hashimoto & Telfer, 2011, Halim et al., 2020) and it could be the case that in addition to those experiences being better-suited to meet women operator goals, women operators are more engaged in offering those agritourism experiences in the first place based on their own preferences.

"Formal education" as a negative association was significant in the men-only models. This may be due to several factors: first, since we measured perceptions of success, perhaps those with higher levels of education perceive success differently, and with a lesser degree of achievability, than those who do not. In addition, in both models that show "formal education" with a negative association with perceived success, "years in agritourism" has a significant and positive association, suggesting that hands-on experience may lead to higher levels of perceived success than formal education.

This sits in contrast to previous findings on education and success in self-employment, where general education was found to have a stronger positive influence on success in entrepreneurship than experience alone (Robinson & Sexton, 1994). Barbieri and Mshenga (2008) found that the level of education of the owner was positively related to the amount of the gross income earned, however the strength of the relationship was not statistically significant. Education and its relationship to success in agritourism are worth studying further.

The pairing of "on-farm direct sales (+)" and "distance from city (-)" also came up in the regression for perceived success in diversifying market channels and "distance from city" was only seen in models that also had a positive association with "on-farm direct sales." Notably, this relationship only emerged in full samples and women-only samples. This implies that perhaps location and proximity to larger urban centers have a greater effect on farms offering on-farm sales vs other experiences, especially for women.

Other notable trends include value-added products, which came up as a positive and significant variable in three out of five of the male-only models, but in none of the women-only models. Not only does this highlight the aforementioned gender divide between products and experiences, but also emphasizes the importance of value-added products in association with perceived success, which suggests it plays a valuable role in meeting agritourism goals.

4.6 Conclusions

Agritourism operator goals are as unique and varied as farm businesses themselves and perceived success in achieving those goals also depends on a variety of factors. One of the most striking features of our results was the consistent difference between the male-only and female-only samples, in comparison with the full sample. Women who offered experiences had greater perceptions of success than those who didn't, while men who offered products had greater perceptions of success than those who didn't. Specifically, female-only samples highlighted on-farm direct sales, while male-only samples focused on value-added products. We theorize that perhaps offering agritourism experiences (vs products) both meets better meets women's professional

goals and emphasizes their social skills. For agritourism operators and those working to support them, understanding these differences is key to making and interpreting recommendations about where to focus offerings.

As noted earlier, agritourism operators benefit from information that helps them guide their businesses. Using the results from our analysis, operators can conclude that on-farm sales, which was correlated with feeling successful in meeting several goals, might be particularly good option for women operators located near urban centers and those wanting to increase traffic to on-farm sales. In addition, our findings suggested that operators interested in increasing revenue should consider offering accommodations and lodging. Experience has a stronger relationship with perceived success than education, especially for men. Finally, while regionality plays a role in successfully diversifying farm/ranch offerings and increasing traffic to on-farm sales, acreage and number of days open to visitors have very little effect on perceived success overall. Our hope is that operators use this information to guide them as they make decisions for their businesses, their families, and their communities.

Academically our results contribute to the growing body of research on success in agritourism. Due to the limited amount of national-level agritourism data this study adds valuable and novel information to the literature.

On a policy level, key findings on location are worth probing more deeply. As noted elsewhere, regulations around agritourism vary greatly based on location. Policymakers who want to support agritourism should consider policies that give operators maximum flexibility by not restricting types of experiences and products operators can offer through zoning and regulations. Our findings also show that operators

have many different goals for their agritourism businesses and, given all the benefits of agritourism, policy makers should also consider earmarking funding for operators to explore offering different experiences and products with less financial risk.

4.7 Limitations and future research

As mentioned earlier, several subthemes emerged that are worth studying in greater depth. Future research focused on perceived success in reaching stated agritourism goals based on gender would add to the growing and necessary research already being conducted in relation to agritourism and gender. It would also be worth looking more closely at variations in results based on region and age. Finally, while this study focused on farm and farmer attributes, other factors influence perceptions of success.

Limitations include a non-response bias based on our sampling method. In addition, because success was self-reported there may be variations between perceptions of success and more objective measures.

Appendix A

Summary table of agritourism motivations and attributes

Authors	Methods	Country	Topic	Key Findings
Pedreira and Fidago [41]	OLS	Brazil	AT potential	Family or small farms are potential for AT
Petrović et al. [42]	ANOVA, factor analysis	Serbia	AT impact	Full-time farmers develop agritourism
Barbieri and Mshenga [40]	Interval regression	USA	AT performance	Number of employees and total acreage dedicated to AT development
Nickerson et al. [28]	ANOVA	USA	AT motivation	Social, economic, and external influences motivate farmers to engage in AT
Lucha et al. [7]	Survival studies	USA	Profitability	Higher education and more motivation to earn more profit from AT
Ohe [32]	D.E.A. analysis	Japan	Efficiency	Skills from foreign countries increase the efficiency of owners

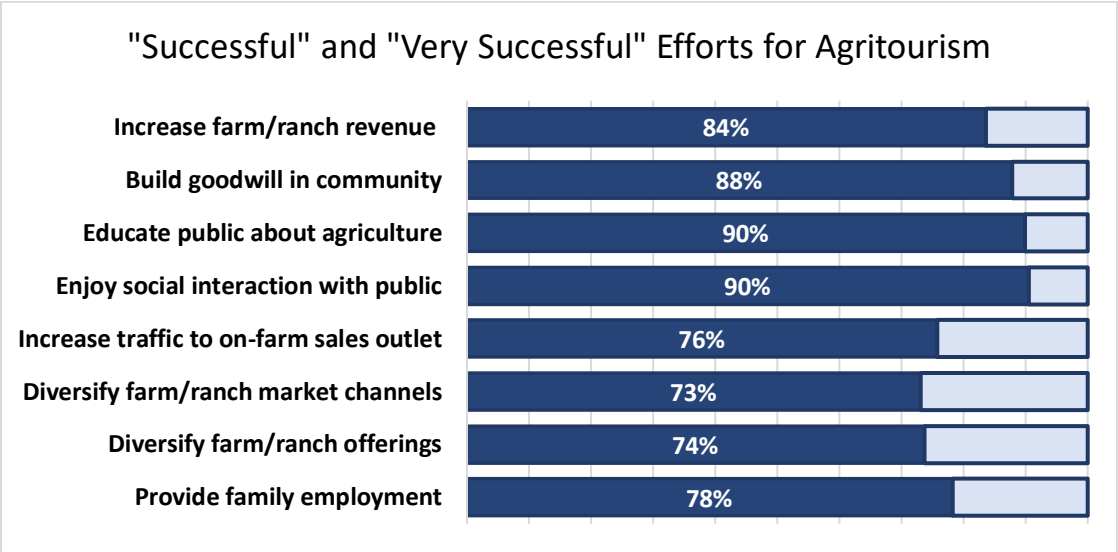
AT = agritourism; OLS = Ordinary least squares; D.E.A. = Data envelopment analysis. Source: Authors' sorting out.

Note: From "A Review of Quantitative Studies in Agritourism: The Implications for Developing Countries" by K. Bhatta and Y. Ohe, 2020, *Tourism and Hospitality, 1(1)*, p. 28 (https://doi.org/10.3390/tourhosp1010003). CC-BY-4.0.

Appendix B

Figure 4.

Success in achieving goals in developing agritourism including on-farm sales.



Note: From Chase, L., Wang, W., Bartlett, R., Conner, D., Hollas, C., & Quella, L. (2021). Agritourism and on-farm direct sales survey: Results for the US. University of Vermont. https://www.uvm.edu/sites/default/files/Vermont-Agritourism-Collaborative/US_Agritourism_Survey_Report_2.2.21.pdf

Table 4.3

Ordinal logit regression results: increase farm/ranch revenue

N = 1045

				95% Confidence Interval	
Independent Variable	Estimate	Std. Error	p-value	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Animals & animal-related products	-.086	.130	.510	-.342	.170
Crops	-.178	.132	.176	-.436	.080
Value-added products	.152	.130	.240	-.102	.407
Total acreage	.000	.000	.563	.000	.000
Southern region	.113	.168	.501	-.216	.442
Midwest region	.021	.181	.909	-.334	.375
Western region	.278	.186	.135	-.087	.642

Distance from city*	-.006	.003	.035	-.012	.000
On-farm direct sales***	.608	.177	.001	.262	.954
Accommodations & lodging**	.459	.164	.005	.137	.781
Education	-.028	.131	.829	-.285	.229
Entertainment & events	.113	.129	.379	-.139	.366
Outdoor recreation*	.296	.143	.039	.015	.576
Off-farm sales	-.154	.130	.236	-.410	.101
Number of visits**	.000	.000	.001	.000	.000
Number of days open to visitors	.001	.000	.236	.000	.002
Years in agritourism***	.018	.005	.000	-.028	-.008
Formal education*	-.060	.023	.011	-.105	-.014
Female gender*	-.291	.127	.022	.042	.540
Age	.009	.005	.066	-.001	.019

* p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01; ***p ≤ .001

Table 4.4

Ordinal logit regression results: increasing traffic to on-farm sales

N = 950				95% Confidence Interval	
	Estimate	Std. Error	p-value	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Animals & animal-related products**	-.373	.135	.006	-.638	-.108
Crops	-.128	.135	.342	-.393	.136
Value-added products**	.344	.132	.009	.085	.603
Total acreage*	.000	.000	.013	.000	.000
Southern region	.258	.170	.131	-.076	.592
Midwest region	.248	.186	.183	-.117	.613
Western region*	.443	.192	.021	.066	.820
Distance from city	-.003	.003	.270	-.009	.003
On-farm direct sales***	1.058	.202	.000	.663	1.453
Accommodations & lodging	-.139	.167	.407	-.467	.189
Education	.059	.136	.666	-.208	.325
Entertainment & events***	.442	.134	.001	.180	.704
Outdoor recreation	-.030	.149	.839	-.323	.262
Off-farm sales	.084	.132	.522	-.174	.343

Number of visits**	.000	.000	.005	.000	.000
Number of days open to visitors	.000	.001	.812	-.001	.001
Years in agritourism***	.018	.005	.001	-.028	-.007
Formal education*	-.060	.024	.013	-.107	-.013
Female gender	-.031	.131	.812	-.226	.288
Age	.005	.005	.347	-.005	.015

* p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01; ***p ≤ .001

Table 4.5

Ordinal logit regression results: provide family employment

N= 905				95% Confidence Interval	
	Estimate	Std. Error	p-value	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Animals & animal-related products	.001	.136	.996	-.266	.268
Crops	.082	.137	.551	-.187	.351
Value-added products	.132	.136	.332	-.135	.398
Total acreage	.000	.000	.788	.000	.000
Southern region	.137	.177	.438	-.210	.484
Midwest region	.166	.193	.390	-.212	.544
Western region	-.201	.195	.302	-.583	.181
Distance from city	-.001	.003	.654	-.007	.005
On-farm direct sales**	.526	.190	.006	.154	.899
Accommodations & lodging	.197	.170	.246	-.136	.530
Education	-.003	.138	.982	-.273	.267
Entertainment & events**	.371	.135	.006	.106	.636
Outdoor recreation	.180	.148	.225	-.111	.471
Off-farm sales*	-.334	.135	.014	-.599	-.068
Number of visits*	.000	.000	.027	.000	.000
Number of days open to visitors	.000	.001	.433	-.001	.001
Years in agritourism***	.017	.005	.001	-.028	-.007
Formal education*	-.049	.025	.048	-.097	.000
Female gender	-.011	.133	.936	-.250	.272
Age*	.013	.005	.013	.003	.023

* p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01; ***p ≤ .001

Table 4.6

Ordinal logit regression results: diversify market channels

N = 956				95% Confidence Interval	
	Estimate	Std. Error	p-value`.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Animals & animal-related products	.144	.132	.275	-.115	.403
Crops	.231	.133	.082	-.030	.492
Value-added products	.070	.131	.594	-.187	.326
Total acreage	.000	.000	.755	.000	.000
Southern region	.196	.171	.251	-.139	.531
Midwest region	.262	.185	.157	-.101	.626
Western region	.205	.185	.268	-.158	.569
Distance from city	-.003	.003	.384	-.009	.003
On-farm direct sales	.349	.186	.061	-.017	.714
Accommodations & lodging	.194	.166	.242	-.131	.519
Education	.179	.133	.179	-.082	.441
Entertainment & events*	.332	.131	.011	.076	.589
Outdoor recreation	-.041	.144	.774	-.323	.240
Off-farm sales	.247	.130	.058	-.009	.502
Number of visits	.000	.000	.361	.000	.000
Number of days open to visitors	.001	.001	.172	.000	.002
Years in agritourism	.009	.005	.083	-.019	.001
Formal education	-.030	.024	.209	-.077	.017
Female gender*	-.263	.129	.041	.010	.515
Age	.000	.005	.944	-.010	.010

* p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01; ***p ≤ .001

Table 4.7

Ordinal logit regression results: diversify offerings

N = 947	95% Confidence Interval

	Estimate	Std. Error	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Animals & animal-related products	-.145	.133	.277	-.406	.116
Crops	.006	.135	.967	-.259	.270
Value-added products	.225	.132	.089	-.034	.484
Total acreage	.000	.000	.698	.000	.000
Southern region*	.351	.173	.043	.011	.691
Midwest region	.327	.185	.077	-.036	.689
Western region	.301	.187	.108	-.066	.668
Distance from city	-.004	.003	.166	-.010	.002
On-farm direct sales*	.389	.186	.037	.024	.754
Accommodations & lodging**	.527	.167	.002	.200	.854
Education	.026	.134	.844	-.236	.288
Entertainment & events**	.364	.131	.006	.107	.622
Outdoor recreation	.044	.144	.758	-.239	.327
Off-farm sales	-.002	.132	.989	-.260	.256
Number of visits	.000	.000	.750	.000	.000
Number of days open to visitors*	.001	.001	.025	.000	.002
Years in agritourism	.003	.005	.565	-.013	.007
Formal education	-.028	.024	.246	-.076	.019
Female gender	-.091	.129	.481	-.162	.344
Age	-.001	.005	.781	-.011	.009

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

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Chapter 5: Conclusion

As agritourism increases in prominence and impact, farmers, scholars, and policy-makers all want to help farms achieve success. However, agritourism operators are not a monolith and key to this endeavor is first understanding how operators define success. Though there exists a cache of literature devoted to this topic, the qualitative methods described in Chapter 3 allowed us to probe more deeply into a multifaceted hierarchy of farmer priorities and goals. On the surface, it seemed as if financial motivations were a top priority, as is consistent with previous findings. However, diving deeper, participants suggested that on-going participation in agritourism provides many other non-financial benefits, some of which are equal to or even take priority over financial goals. In particular, participants felt strongly about their roles as community builders and community leaders.

In chapter 4, we examined the factors that influence perceived success in achieving agritourism goals. We found that location, gender, years in agritourism and experiences had significant effects on achieving stated goals. Specifically, offering on-farms sales and entertainment and events had positive associations with perceived goal success. Policy implications of these findings emphasized that agritourism goals are diverse, as are the attributes which are positively and negatively associated with goal achievement, thus enacting policies that allow operators to customize choices to their needs is of vital importance.

Some limitations of our research a non-response bias based on our survey sampling method. In addition, because success was self-reported there may be variations between perceptions of success and more objective measures.

Future research focused on perceived success in reaching stated agritourism goals based on gender would add to the growing and necessary research already being conducted in relation to agritourism and gender. It would also be worth looking more closely at variations in results based on region and age.

Agritourism encompasses many activities, and involves two wholly separate areas of study and industry. One of the biggest challenges in conducting agritourism research and reporting findings is ensuring that the results are generalizable enough to be useful and not so general that they eliminate the nuance and complexity of real agritourism operations. My hope is that this thesis has accurately captured the voices of farmers across the country, and synthesized and presented them in a way that gives fodder for better tomorrow—whatever that looks like.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol

1. Let's start with a little bit of history about your farm or ranch.

2. Our project is focused on 5 categories of agritourism:
   - Direct sales (e.g. on-farm sales, farmers markets, CSA, U-pick, etc.)
   - Education (e.g. classes, workshops, student visitors)
   - Hospitality (e.g. camping, airbnb/bnb, lodging/other rentals, retreats, farm-stay or guest ranch)
   - Outdoor recreation (e.g. hunting, fishing, horseback riding, biking, hiking, skiing)
   - Entertainment (e.g. music, events, weddings).

   Can you tell me about what kinds of visitors you have on your farm or ranch?

3. How has your use of those five categories of agritourism changed over time?

4. What key lessons have you learned about agritourism? When you first started in agritourism, what do you wish you knew then what you knew now?

5. How important is agritourism to your farm or ranch?

6. How do you define and measure "success" in agritourism?

7. In what ways does agritourism bring other benefits?

8. What are the key factors to success in agritourism that you have identified?

9. What are the risks associated with agritourism and how do you have adapted to those risks?

10. What infrastructure or resources are needed for success in agritourism? How does your management change with agritourism use?

11. What external resources contribute to or inhibit success in agritourism?

12. To what extent does agritourism contribute to your quality of life?

13. How does your farm connect with your local community? Tourists and visitors from other places?

14. To what extent are agritourism activities profitable?

15. What advice would you have for farmers or ranchers interested in bringing agritourism to their farm or ranch?

16. What role do you think agritourism plays in 'sustainable development'?