

People in Agriculture: The Intersection of Work, Gender, and Burnout in Organic Growing

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INTRODUCTION

Along with the development of community-supported agriculture (CSA) models and memberships, helping to drive production on small, organic farms, there has been an increase in the number of women entering the field of agriculture (Jarosz 2011, Trauger 2004, Trauger 2007, Trauger 2009, Trauger et al. 2009, Trauger et al. 2010, Wells 1998). While the work done in the field of agriculture has been historically gendered masculine (Beach 2013, Keller 2014, Pilgeram and Amos 2015, Pilgeram 2007, Trauger et al 2010), the work done in CSA productions can take on aspects of care work (DeLind 2001, Hassanein 1997, Janssen 2010, Jarosz 2011, Wells and Gradwell 2000, Trauger 2004, Trauger et al. 2009) associated with work that is gendered feminine. Examples of such care work are represented in the form of food work within family units and the traditional, domestic domains of farm wives, including poultry and livestock care, production of dairy products and vegetable growing (Whatmore 1988; Boulding 1980).

Understanding CSA production and recognizing the contribution of labor done in the form of care work, is then complicated by the central aspect of manual labor in agriculture. This research goes on to examine the ways in which women who work in agricultural are illegible because of the contradictory identities of femininity and the manual labor of agriculture. In this paper, I will argue that the interaction between the manual labor of agriculture, the care work associated with CSA production and the illegible identities of women who work in farming contribute to the burnout observed in seasonal interns. I will also argue that when an identity, such as gender, sexual orientation, and/or race, is rendered illegible within work, the illegibility contributes to burnout.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature is focused on women working in farm work and the gendered expectations of work and labor division, the ways in which people do gender can make them legible or illegible in their work and the care work ascribed to reproductive labor, specifically related to work in related to food and food preparation. In the research on agriculture in the United States, literature shows that the division of labor has served as an obstacle for women in terms of land access, access to knowledge and resources necessary for success and legibility as a competent farmer. This originates from the gendering of agricultural spaces as masculine, therefore, erasing work that women contribute to this field. There is also work to be done for women who enter into agriculture to be a legible woman; some of the work done in organic agriculture becomes visible and legible through the reproductive, care work that is associated with the relational work done in a direct market model, while erasing the productivist aspect of their work and identity. Women who farm, manual laborers, also become women who care for and nurture their communities, through the production of food. In the same vein, care work is closely connected to burnout, due to the work done in managing emotions, both with fellow laborers, as well as with customers.

Foundational Literature of Gendered and Work Division in Agricultural Communities

In order to understand the progression of women's identities in the agricultural work force, one must examine the literature origins on labor expectations and constructions of gender, within agricultural communities, including conventional, as well as sustainable and organic, farming and ranching. Some of the formative literature related to women working in the agricultural field is focused on the work of the 'farm wife', or a woman who works with her husband in aiding the family farm through acts of support (Whatmore 1988; Boulding 1980).

The research conducted by Whatmore focuses predominantly on labor that women married to farmers in conventional agriculture or the ways in which productivist farm tasks, performed by women, such as husbandry and poultry care and book-keeping, are erased.

This research establishes an informative platform to examine the precedents of the archetype 'farm wife' that exist for women working on and operating farms, in sustainable and organic agriculture. Whatmore's research indicates that the labor women perform within agriculture, whether conventional or organic, becomes invisible under two circumstances: a woman's labor on a farm is coded as "domestic labor" and, therefore, becomes private and invisible, falling to the farm wife. Examples of this type of domestic labor include tending livestock, doctoring livestock, growing vegetables for family consumption, balancing farm books, etc. If the woman is the main operator of the farm, her labor is often read through the archetype of a farm wife, stripping the woman operator of her productivist role on the farm, as well as ownership of the knowledge, and, therefore, her expertise in her specialty field. A main operator of agricultural production is a term used to describe a person who both works the farm physically, while also having a significant role in keeping the production healthy in terms of finances and growth. Hence, Whatmore's research supports the theory that the only possible role for a woman in agriculture is a farm wife (1988).

The research that Elise Boulding does on the labor of U.S. farm women brings in more nuanced data, adding the research component of hours worked per day, on both domestic and farm related tasks, for farm women (1980). The construction of rurality contributes a great deal to the identities and work expectations for rural women. Rurality is a concept that is framed in the context of rural life; the removal from urbanity, the strong-hold of traditions, the strict performances of gender including the division of public and domestic work spheres, the beliefs

held about occupations and other aspects of rural life that can become integrated into the identity of people living and working in rural communities. “Not all farm women do all or even some of the farm tasks listed, although no farm wife can evade ‘go-fer’” (Boulding 1980). Due to the geographic layout of rural communities, there is often a stretch of mileage between the farm and resource sites, such as co-ops, supply stores and even other farms. A “go-fer” is a term used to describe the job of *going* to get parts or other farm supplies for the main farm operator, while they continue to work in the field, pasture, or mechanical workspace. The work of a “go-fer” is typically coded as feminine and, therefore, included in the domestic work expectations of a farm wife (Boulding 1980). Whatmore attributes this to the strict and, to some extent, the invisible divide in labor, to the insular nature of many rural communities that are often determined and reified by local religious practices and the appropriate navigation of public and private spaces (1988). These ideologies and cultural beliefs, which are intimately tied to gender and work, are important to understand in examining the progression, as well as the shifting landscape and workforce of the agricultural field, as they contribute to the delegitimization and erasure of the work women do in all fields of agriculture.

Doing Gender in Agriculture

It is well documented that the work people do becomes intimately intertwined with their identity. The way that women in agriculture are expected to perform their identities, in terms of gender, becomes intertwined with their work identity, how they do work and, in some cases, the incongruity of these identities. Based upon research conducted on women farmers and ranchers, there are several theories as to why women enter into the field of agriculture, specifically the field of organic and sustainable agriculture. Comingled within these theories is the, sometimes hidden, interaction between occupation and the “doing” of gender associated with this work.

“...the process of becoming recognizable as farmers meant drawing on the symbolic resource of language. Disrupting the discursive power of *farmer* as a gendered category” (Keller 2014). The work performed by women farmers and ranchers is often illegible, in the current highly gendered binary that codes specific work with a “proper” gender.

To be female is... a facticity which has no meaning, but to be a woman is to have *become* a woman, to compel the body to conform an historic idea of ‘woman’, to induce the body to become a cultural sign, to materialize oneself into obedience to an historically delimited possibility, and to do this as a sustained and repeated corporeal project (Butler 1988).

Through repeated disciplining of the body, gendered performance expectations are reified and solidified to be understood as normal, right and natural. Women who choose to do work that women’s bodies are not expected to perform, create disconnect in legibility of identity. The work associated with agriculture and raising livestock is also repetitive in corporeal practice, and writes itself on the bodies that do this work. Some women who work as farmers, or work with livestock, engage in disciplinary practices such as highly feminized dress and manicures in order to make their gender identity legible, in contrast to the manual and masculine gendered work they actually carry out (Keller 2014, Pilgeram 2007, Trauger 2004). In the same way, other women in agriculture perform their work on farms, or in livestock auctions, through an ideal of hegemonic masculinity, reinforcing the belief that one has to be “tough, strong, and manly” to do the work properly, further reinforcing the masculinization of agriculture (Pilgeram 2007).

The corporeal training of a body in work and doing gender can be understood in the sphere of agriculture in terms of what kinds of bodies are understood as properly conditioned and capable of work tasks. As Whatmore’s research indicates, agricultural work using conventional or authentic methods, is a field of work traditionally occupied by men. While farming has been an occupation traditionally gendered male, (Beach 2013, Keller 2014, Pilgeram and Amos 2015,

Pilgeram 2007, Trauger et al 2010), there has been an increase in women seeking a profession in the agricultural field, mostly occupying the small scale organic and sustainable sector (Jarosz 2011, Trauger 2004, Trauger 2007, Trauger 2009, Trauger et al. 2009, Trauger et al. 2010, Wells 1998).

Care Work, Food Work, and Burnout

Although the majority of work performed on farms is highly physical, the CSA model of organic agriculture harbors many characteristics of reproductive labor within the context of doing food work. In research conducted by Beagan et al., the division of food work is defined as work associated with shopping, care for quality and sourcing, preparation and clean-up of food for the family, between couples and children, in households in Canada (2008). In most households that participated in the study, the food work fell to one partner, usually the woman, in heterosexual couples (Beagan et al. 2008). Many of the women who participated in the research of Beagan, et al., stated that one of the biggest contributing factors of them performing the majority of work associated with food was quality control (2008). The work associated with caring and nurturance work is a central aspect of domestic labor, which is coded as feminine (Beagan et al. 2008, Duffy 2005, Duffy 2007). Food work is also closely tied to emotion work, the management of conflict and, the masking anger or frustration, etc. (Beagan et al. 2008). Many people, specifically women, who have intentionally entered into organic and sustainable agriculture, cite nourishing their families, their community, and the land they grow on, as central factors in the work they do while growing vegetables and raising livestock (DeLind 2001, Hassanein 1997, Janssen 2010, Jarosz 2011, Wells and Gradwell 2000, Trauger 2004, Trauger et al. 2009).

The concept of quality control in household food work is a parallel to the decision by women to enter into agriculture in order to work as an active agent for change to food systems, food access, food quality and sourcing. The way that many organic growers approach this concept of food work in agriculture is by making CSA shares available to their communities. One of the foundational principles of CSA's is reconnecting the grower and the consumer by giving the consumer agency in the food production process through trust and buy-in to the successes and failures of the farm (DeLind 2011, Janssen 2010, Wells and Gradwell 2000, Thorsøe and Kjeldsen, Trauger 2008). This reconnection and personalization of the food production system, through the CSA model, is where we begin to see the striking similarities between care work and food work, through the lenses of the care work associated with the organic production.

...we observe caring for people (providing them with safe, healthy, and nutritious food; educating them on food and resource management issues); for community (knitting connection); for place (helping people reconnect to the land); and for the future (modeling a community-based alternative food system... CSA is a way to operate within a certain market that connects grower and member-shareholder in community context... CSA is also a system of resource management characterized by caring. These growers reveal the primacy of relationships as they speak of closing the gap between grower and eater, and between people and nature; of land, plants, and animals as community members, not commodities; and of moving from control of nature to partnership and respect (Wells and Gradwell 2000).

A CSA is a public sphere, associated with agriculture that allows a formal system of care work to be normalized and rationalized. Thus, the care work associated with the CSA becomes a back-stage aspect of the productive model, allowing the production to take front stage. In Janssen's research, she finds that some farmers associated with organic farm networks, who offer CSA programs at their own farm, including educational aspects of their work, experience burnout. This feeling of burnout is often associated with the belief that this work needs to be

distributed by other farmers taking a more active role in education and mentorships. This concept of burnout becomes an important theoretical and literary framework for conducting observational research on work undertaken by teams predominantly composed of women, working in both highly relational and reproductive work, as well as the highly physical, manual labor required by farming. Because farm work, like many other manual labor occupations, has been gendered as masculine work because of the association with physical strength, machinery use and the separation of domestic and public work. However, there has recently been an increase in women entering the agricultural field through organic production. The literature on women in agricultural work points to several systematic pressures that may cause women to pursue organic growing, including the notion of a knowledge gap and exclusively male spaces in conventional agriculture, with emphasized value on strengthening community systems through “good” food and organic farming tending toward smaller plots of land, which increases independent land accessibility (Pilgeram and Amos 2015).

METHODS

The purpose of this research project was to study the intersection of manual labor, care work and gender within the field of organic agriculture, including how the legibility, or illegibility, of the identities of people in agriculture, effect burn-out of seasonal workers and operators. The specific focus of my research was on the interaction of gender and the manual labor that is performed regularly in the agricultural field. My research was conducted on the Balm Organic Farm¹ located to the east of the city of Twin Rocks, in Twin Rocks County, in the northern part of Colorado. I was particularly interested in the impression management and performativity of gender and work among women in organic agriculture, as this is a type of

¹ All identifying names of places and persons have been changed to protect the identities and confidentiality of respondents.

agricultural food production that has become more accessible to women. I also wanted to further examine the occurrence of gendering work as “masculine” or “feminine” among a farm crew of predominately women, if and when does the gendering occur, which individuals on the team participate in which tasks and how does this inform their identities as growers? In what ways might this contribute to burnout, and how are identities made legible and illegible?

For the participant observation portion of my research, I spent a total of 12 days in the field, working beside the interns, ranging anywhere from 3 to 11 hours each day, with an average of 10 hours per day. I arrived between 7:30 a.m. and 7:45 a.m. most mornings, spending lunch with a group of interns and, on most days, working with them in the field until their workday was over. I worked beside them in the field, doing whatever farm work they needed to complete for the day. These activities included hand harvesting for CSA boxes and markets, doing inventory on produce, taking out drip irrigation, various animal chores, cleaning the chicken coop and weeding. During the workday, I would strike up conversation and ask questions about the processes of the farm. For example, over the first few days, I asked questions regarding the routine and distribution of work, specifically, who is in charge of what, what days do markets and CSA pick-ups take place, how often do specific tasks like animal chores and crop harvests occur, etc. In the days that followed, I asked questions more in the style of a casual conversation, such as what their families thought of them working for a season on a farm. When I noticed frustration over various tasks, I asked questions regarding the season, crop, or activity, in an effort to ascertain what were the main issues behind the frustrations. I also asked questions about how other people reacted when they found out that they were employed as farm workers. Conversations such as these built rapport and promoted a relaxed flow to dialogue during the

workday, as well as during the in-depth interviews that took place toward the end of my field work.

After each day of work on the farm, I would write my field notes somewhere off-site. Some evenings, the interns invited me to have dinner with them, which I often agreed to, in an effort to acknowledge their hospitality and their acceptance of my presence in their space. However, I did not continue my research while I was a guest in their home. On the occasions when I stayed late to have dinner with the interns, I would wake up early before entering the field again and write my field notes at that point in time.

In addition to collecting field notes, I conducted six in-depth, open-ended interviews. The interview questions were focused on getting at each individuals' interests and their personal history, specifically related to the agricultural field. My questions were also designed to get at what each individual considered the most rewarding and most frustrating parts of the season, in an effort to clarify what aspects of their farm work might be contributing to burnout. With my interview questions, I also attempted to get at how the interns believe others perceive them in the field of agriculture, as well as how they understand themselves in relationship to agriculture. Before conducting the interviews, the participants signed an approved IRB (Interview Review Board) consent form. These interviews lasted between 20 minutes to just over an hour and were recorded using a digital voice recorder, with my phone as a back up. The interviews took place onsite, at the farm, in the honey house, the farm store, the dining room of the farmhouse and outside, during a CSA pick up, making sure it was convenient for the intern and not interfering with the work being done onsite. After I collected all of my data through field notes and interviews, I read through them to code for gender, identity legibility, and burnout. A comprehensive description of Balm employees is attached in the appendix.

My research site, Balm Organic Farm is a small, family run farm that includes four distinct properties that have been leased by the operator, Mary Balm, since 2005. Balm Organic Farm's production includes 100 varieties of organic vegetables, herbs and flowers, as well as honey-bee hives, ducks, chickens, and hogs. My research focused on the work experience of interns who have been employed at Balm Farm for the past season and included an interview with the operator herself. I contacted Mary Balm, via email, a few weeks prior to starting research, to determine whether the farm would be willing to participate in my research. Mary and I met at the farm to discuss what the research would entail. After talking through the participant observation consent and how the identities of the interns would be protected, she asked me to speak with the whole crew about my research project. I explained, in broad terms, that my research would focus on all varieties of work that organic growers participate in. I then opened up for questions from the farm crew. Additionally, I responded to questions related to the participant observation consent form. Finally, I arranged with Mary to contact me by email if she and her crew decided that they wanted to participate in my research on agriculture.

How Sampling Procedures Affected Findings

Twin Rocks is a city that is both affluent, with the median household income falling around \$69,407, and predominantly white (90.6%) (Census Bureau)². The demographics of Twin Rocks create a market for organic CSA shares and local farmer's markets, both of which require consumers to have cultural capital in order to understand the status associated with buying local, organic produce, as well as the economic capital to be able to be able to do so and, potentially, the social capital to have made the proper connections to actually find the Balm Organic Farm CSA share. This creates a very distinct climate for the production on this farm,

² Demographic information was collected from the Census Bureau conducted for the city my research site was located near.

understanding the wealth disparity between people who might *want* to purchase a share, or loose produce from Balm, and people who are actually *able* to do so. The culture of the CSA and the direct marketing of organic produce, also supports the creation of a culture of health as a personal choice and, when done incorrectly, as a personal problem, rather than a very complex set of intersections that systemically allow or prevent access to food.

As for Balm Organic Farm, the scale of production of the farm is relatively small, with only about 14 cultivated acres during the past growing season. I spent my days in the field and conducted interviews with the seasonal interns hired by Balm Organic Farm, between the months of February and May, for the 2016 growing season. The sample size that I gathered data from is, admittedly, relatively small. The small size of my sample group, combined with time constraints, affected my findings because I was not able to collect data from other research sites to compare with my findings.

I entered the field as a white woman in the process of obtaining my Bachelor's degree. I was clearly an outsider who was not familiar with the day-to-day routine of the farm. However, aside from my outsider ignorance, I was quickly able to fade into the basic tasks of the farm, as a white woman in my twenties, who has done small scale growing and, therefore, understood the appropriate clothing that should be worn when doing farm work, was not hesitant to lend a hand in feeding the hogs, caring for the chickens, or providing additional manual labor to the seemingly endless work of the farm. I also entered the field at the end of the season, when the crew was two people down. I was someone who was new and had no real comprehension of the frustrations, making me a really convenient person to speak honestly to about the season.

FINDINGS

This research focuses on the ways in which gender and work intersect in the manual labor of organic agriculture. The theories of work developed in framing literature are complicated because employees and operators, in the production that takes place on CSA organic farms includes performance of both manual labor and care work, in the form of food work, through the everyday tasks associated with a CSA agricultural model. This intersection becomes complicated as the identities of women farmers become illegible through the signs of labor written on their bodies from working outside, working with their hands and performing repetitive tasks that include lifting heavy crates, full of produce, and operating farm equipment, work in opposition with a legible construction of femininity. At this intersection, the same women farmers become illegible as knowledgeable farmers and livestock producers *because they are women*. Because manual labor, such as farming, is coded as masculine labor, it makes women who perform masculine coded labor appear illegible and without credentials as they occupy space that they, based in traditional constructions of gender, shouldn't occupy and, in some cases, don't have access to. Further complicating this is explaining the burnout experience by people working in organic agriculture, as it occupies space in both food work, as a form of care work, and manual labor. I argue that women working in agriculture experience burnout as a result of managing legible identities, work and gender, that are illegible to the people they are serving through markets and CSA shares, family members or friends, who may have a history in farming, as well as people they do business with, such as employees of slaughter-houses or sale barns.

Care Work, Manual Labor, and Burnout: "You know, I love to feed people"

In the traditional deconstruction of care work, a common, continuous, thread is the distinction between reproductive labor, including care work, which has been coded as domestic, private and gendered feminine, while manual labor has been coded as productive, public and

gendered as masculine. In my research at Balm Organic Farm, I found that CSA models of production complicate these definitions due to the fact that employees and interns both perform highly physical manual labor, while placing tasks, such as an emphasis on relationships with CSA members and community members at market, listening to personal stories, and working within a team where there is an emphasis placed on managing emotions, for the sake of the team as a whole. The concept of care work is highly feminized and performed behind the scenes, while, in contrast, the farm work performed at Balm is public, visible, and masculine. There is also a distinction between the care work that the interns perform on a daily basis, as seasonal workers, and the care work the operator performs as someone who has been growing for most of her life.

Balm Organic Farm is successful for a variety of reasons, including market demographics, skill of operator and interns, time, commitment, and care, all of which are performed backstage in the fields, as well as the networks and connections that are fostered, in front stage, through the model of a CSA. In my field observations, there were many small interactions that were expected, in addition to the work necessary to successfully cultivate acreage, bring the produce in from the fields, and redistribute it via markets and shares. At this particular farm, every Wednesday is CSA pick up and market day through mid-October.

Onsite, at CSA pick-up, emotional labor is performed on several levels. As I watched shareholders gather around the produce tables, I noticed Jackie, an intern with a bubbly personality and a thick Minnesotan accent, greet nearly every shareholder she approached, or who approached her, by name, with warm inflection and a bright smile. She would often ask them about their spouse or children and wish them a good evening. In the same moment, Erika, soft spoken woman in her early twenties, could be observed working quickly to restock the tables

that were piled high with produce arranged in a square U-shape, outside the farm store. While Erika greeted people with a smile and a hello, she also worked to keep the choice of produce available as people circled around with reusable bags and children in tow, as Jackie continued to greet people warmly, making small talk, she was also restocking as needed. This balance of personalities was mentioned by Mary, during her interview, as something that she spends a lot of her time thinking about when she puts together market schedules, in an effort to ensure the best team of people, with complimentary skill sets, are serving the customers.

Mary Balm, the main operator of Balm Organic Farm, is a woman in her late 30s, who has been involved in agriculture her whole life, has long auburn hair, that is usually braided down her back, sometimes secured with a vegetable tie, intended for bunching produce. During her brief personal history of agriculture, which she shared in an interview conducted in her farm store, she touched on the care and work that is associated with a CSA a model of organic agriculture multiple times.

Balm was started in 2005 and we had 4 acres. And I think we had 85 CSA members our first year. A lot of them came with me from our previous farm, which was great. And we still have some CSA members that have been with us since I moved back in 2002. Which is...I mean that's the greatest compliment there is, right? *That people continue letting you feed them for that long* and supporting that cause (Mary; emphasis added).

In her responses, it is clear that there is care work performed, associated with caring for and nurturing, the community her farm serves with “good” organic food. While she problematizes the use of the words “organic” and “sustainable”, she does emphasize the draw to small, scale organic agriculture, both for consumers and for people entering the growing field. She also emphasizes that people “continue letting” her feed them through her agricultural production. This addresses, in some way, the belief that health is a personal choice as well as a form of care that Mary’s farm and produce provides for the surrounding community. Mary also alludes to the

concept of people purchasing a CSA share, creates the opportunity to build relationships with food, and this relationship is at the center of the success of the CSA model.

Burnout and managing emotions

Mary also acknowledges the deeply emotional connections and relationships associated with a direct market model of food production. Because of the way CSA systems are structured, people interested in becoming members of the share, choose to sign up and then come to the market or property every week in order to receive their produce.

You know the emotion part of it, especially in the direct market...because people want to connect here with your work. People come to the farm store, they come...they want to buy carrots but they also want the story, you know? And they want the relationship...they want to connect...which is why they come here. And the tricky part is, they're pulling out and paying with their money. And it's like well... "I lost my health insurance", "I just got laid off", you get all these stories. And that's why you'll never see me...I can't work the cash register here or at the market because I know too much about these people. I can't take their \$3.50 for the bunch of carrots, you know? 'Cause they just lost their house. [Mary starts crying] So I won't work the cash register... Which is why it's great I hire other people who can take the money and I can just take their stories. [laughs as she wipes tears from her face] (Mary).

As this specific CSA creates space, albeit a space that only the people who pay for a CSA have access to, makes room for relationships and community to be strengthened, for people to feel comfortable being honest and vulnerable, and to feel cared for. These relationships are strengthened through the buy-in and trust associated with CSA models. This does not come without consequence to the people performing the work in the CSA pick-up, farm store management and the act of growing, harvesting and preparing the food for consumers. This face-to-face model is a successful tool when the mission is to give a community of people the opportunity to reconnect with a food system by creating relationships with the farmers they buy from. However, this same connection and reconnection are problematized when it becomes

necessary for the same people who grow and sell produce to manage their emotions and find tactics to navigate the care work, as Mary has when she circumnavigates the exchange of money for vegetables, which is a central selling point for CSA farms.

It also is important to critically examine the interaction with gender in this work. While farming itself is gendered masculine, the care work associated with food and feeding is gendered as feminine work, as is the managing of emotions to try and ensure the overall positive experience of customers. While Mary, as well as the majority of the interns, assert that the relationships built through the process of working directly with customers and community is overwhelmingly rewarding, I would argue that it also contributes significantly to the burnout experienced by the interns, as well as the operator, though the manifestations may be different for each group. Hollis, a woman in her late 20s who worked in education and often used a socially critical lens to view organic agriculture through, also acknowledges that the managing of emotions is central to care work and the personal interactions that occur during CSA pick up, volunteer days and markets.

And then more around food...like interacting with people at market or school groups or knowing that sometimes I'm really tired on volunteer day and I don't really want to talk to people but, like, what difference does it make if I can try to consider whatever their needs are so that they engage with the process a little bit more. And that maybe that changes their connections to agriculture. Like remembering people's names at market...being able to show up seems important when you spend-- emotionally show up, when you spend 12 hours a day with people. 'Cause if I'm cranky and frustrated, then everybody feeds off that or people perceive that it's about them, when it's not about them. Whatever. So some of it is just self-regulating in order to preserve the wellness of the group I guess, maybe more than actively addressing everybody's needs. (Hollis)

In this quote from her interview, Hollis describes the ways in which she works to manage their emotions to better address the needs of her fellow interns. Other interns, in casual conversations, spoke about the frustrations of managing emotions in a team setting. She also addresses the work associated with letting people know, or at least acting in such a way that leads people to believe,

that farm workers care for them by remembering their name, the vegetables they purchase every week or something else specific to them, which demonstrates “showing up”, emotionally, for others and becomes a key part of the work done in CSA productions. As Hollis notes, this “self-regulating” of emotions and needs for the sake of others’ can sometimes lead to feelings of burn-out, as a result of not addressing personal needs or feeling that there isn’t enough time or energy to do so. Gwen, a woman in her mid-twenties and a fulltime employee in her second season at Balm Organic Farm, noted that one of her biggest frustrations was the emotional labor she expended when the crew was negative because they were a person down or, as the season was winding down, was exhausted and slow moving. She mentioned that she often felt worn down by attempting to maintain positivity among crewmembers, stating that:

It definitely wears you down quickly when you have, like, a negative like crew and you're the only person happy to be there, like, that definitely wears you down fast. So that was the hardest thing for me, this year. Was just trying to maintain positivity, just being like ‘Yeah! There's five of us, not nine, not eight, and yeah, I'm the only one who knows what we're doing but we're gonna have a good day’ you know that sort of thing.

This component of managing emotions was not limited to the work done on the farm itself, it was also present when speaking with interns about trying to understand where they, and the work they’ve done through the season, fit within the communities they have both served, and were unable to serve.

Burnout when the market community is not your community

The idea of community and, community buy-in, becomes complicated when an intern or an employee of a farm believes that they, themselves, do not have access or entre into the community they serve. This complication is exaggerated when the emotional management of care work is performed in combination with highly physical farm work. In these circumstances,

personalities, as well as perspectives, on social issues come into high relief and are emphasized by the intensity of the work and close proximity to each other.

When growing food, there is an understanding that the farmer is, in some way, serving the community by producing something that is central to the human existence; people must eat, and farmers must grow enough to serve all the people that the farmer has made a commitment to feed. In the model of CSA production, there is an expectation that the people involved in the growth and production of the food are also responsible for the enjoyment, participation, education and buy-in of volunteers, school groups, tour groups, and others in the community who are the recipients of the food. This model creates additional stress, in an already stressful agricultural production framework. It also introduces a precariousness to those who work in food production positions, especially as many within the extended communities, supported by the CSA model, continue to disconnect from the process of actual food production. This dichotomy places additional pressure on growers to ensure that those who have decided to “reconnect” with food production have a good time doing so. As described by interns throughout conversations and interviews, there are days when, because of the long hours, exhaustion, limited time to do things like eat a proper breakfast before arriving onsite at 6 a.m. combined with additional outside stressors, the result of which is an overwhelming feeling of not having the resources or energy to manage the experience or emotions of anyone else, yet understanding that this is also part of the job description of a farm intern.

Additionally, there is the problematization of access and community that is not often advertised in the CSA model. Several interns noted that it is problematic when the community that they, as an intern, are selling produce to, is not necessarily the community they belong to, identifies with, or has interest in serving. There is also a negotiation and management of an

identity that is not implicit in specific places and contexts. Twin Rocks, CO, is a predominantly white community. Jake, as a man, can be legibly read as a competent laborer in agriculture.

However, this is problematized as Jake navigates a predominantly white space as a man of color.

Essentially, just the discrimination...you know wherever you're going (regarding farm work) it's probably going to be mostly white, rural, you're the only one (person of color) ...what's going to happen when you know you're all alone one night or-(chuckles)-what happens if they tip off the KKK and like...I was obviously joking, but also kind of serious, just because I am concerned for my personal safety. I mean I think it's just because of this area but I get a lot...I notice a lot of people looking at me. But I don't think there's any...there's not a lot of me around. (Jake)

As Jake speaks on the intersection of the history of agriculture and race, including the ways that it is changing, especially in the organic field, he states “there’s not a lot of me around”, which contributed to people giving him side-ways looks. The faces of main operators in agriculture has been predominantly older, white men, constructing anyone else as an inauthentic representation of the face of growers in the United States of America. Jake, while gaining legitimacy in the field of agriculture as a man, in a predominantly white community, becomes illegible as man of color, in a predominantly white space, both in organic agriculture, as well as in Twin Rocks County. This may become a space in which Jake must manage and negotiate his identity as a man of color in a predominantly white space and the burnout associated with being the object of surveillance, as he mentioned in his interview.

The issue of access is intersectional and further complicated when health and the process of buying healthy foods, is constructed as a personal choice, i.e., to be healthy or not, rather than reading access as a set of structural access points or obstacles. This disconnect may act as a contributing factor to burnout for interns like Hollis, a queer woman, and Jake, a man of color, or the frustration expressed by other interns who were aware of where the intersections of race,

class, gender, education, and access to food, become more difficult to reconcile as a personal problem and drive acknowledgement of the intersection of structural issues:

And, like, in Twin Rocks, you might be able to sell strawberries for \$8 a pint. Like, do I really want to grow organic food for people who that can afford to pay \$8 a pint for strawberries? Not really. Because I can't afford to pay that... food justice is at the center of it, like that's the work they're trying to do... if justice is like giving what is due, for the sake of this conversation, then food justice would be relating that definition to agriculture... I think having women or gender and sexual minorities and people of color in agriculture and spaces for them to feel like they have access and feel like they're respected in those spaces is important and I think that is probably going to be most easily accessed through younger generations. And acknowledging that it's kind of central to everything and it's not just about growing a carrot or like growing corn... because food and agriculture are so central to people and the personal is political that food is inherently political (Hollis).

There is a further complicating aspect of the work done by people working in organic agriculture, specifically CSA models that, when approached from an intersectional lens, clearly becomes an issue of access, in other words, who has the privilege of defining “good” food and why that is, including determining who has access to this “good” food.

I would argue that this attempt to reconcile which community the farmer is serving and what community other individuals belong to, while attempting to deconstruct systems of oppression, is, in many ways, what organic agriculture contributes to, via care work and emotional labor, because this dichotomy leads some interns to conclude that they don't belong to the community that the farm is serving; it's not theirs and they don't have access to it outside of the work they do on the farm. It is therefore important to acknowledge that there are distinct communities of people, one that has the power of consumption and choice, the people who grow food and provide this choice, and communities of people who do not have this privilege of choice.

Bodily Signs of Manual Labor

The body is socialized and trained in the work that it is expected and required to perform. The work a body does is written upon it and, in turn, reinforces an identity, making it legible or incongruent with a legible identity, therefore deeming it illegible. Along these lines, there is an expectation for women to maintain appearances that are petite, clean and physically attractive. People who work in agriculture often have larger hands, weathered skin from working outdoors and are physically stronger than what is considered the “norm”, as a result of performing repetitive, hard, physical labor. Mary, the farm operator, often spoke about her body “being well trained” in the field of agriculture due to years of performing this type of manual labor. Mary, herself, is physically strong, with tanned, freckled, sun-weathered skin and large, more calloused hands, than people who do not work with their hands every day.

By the socially constructed beauty standard for women, combined with the way manual labor writes itself on their bodies, femininity and farming are not congruent. While working in the field with the women interning at Balm Organic Farm, there were often candid conversations regarding the way that manual labor writes itself on their bodies, sometimes putting their identity as a woman and identity as a farm intern at odds. An excerpt from my field notes of a paraphrased conversation exemplifies this tension between the manual labor that has written itself on their bodies for a season and the social constructions of femininity:

Jackie saw her mom this weekend and she said to her, “You should probably start wearing sunscreen.” Jackie was like: Oh God, am I aging that much? This comment seemed to lead Erin to muse while we’re bunching: My reasons for not wanting to farm as so shallow. Like I don’t want big hands. (Jackie: *laughs while agreeing with this statement.*) I know that the work would be rewarding and would make up for it, but I really don’t want to have big hands. I’m tired of my hands being dirty and people always commenting on them... Jackie: That’s why I keep my nails manicured: I have to maintain some *femininity* (emphasis added). Erika: I’m tired of not feeling pretty. Now, I feel uncomfortable—out of place, when I wear nice clothing. Like at the Pig Roast, or when I dress up people are like, “Oh you do clean up nice” and I’m like thank you? Jackie: Yeah, the other week, I was doing chores and the pigs splashed mud on my pants and I was standing in line somewhere and a guy behind me said to me, “What happened to

you?!” People also comment on the fact that my hands are dirty AND my nails are painted, like you’re not a real farmer.

Through this conversation between Erika and Jackie, it becomes clear that the bodily signs of manual labor are in opposition to the construction of femininity and perception of self. When people work everyday doing physical labor, it is virtually impossible to hide the visible effects on the body from performing this labor. In a rural setting, surrounded and in close proximity to a lively and affluent community, bodily signs of manual labor become a marker of difference and, potentially class, where farming is constructed as “low-class” work. In a conversation that took place with Mads in the field, she talked about how her wife’s family wishes she wouldn’t farm for several reasons, one of them being it’s “low-class” work that can be done without a degree, insinuating that she is better than people who labor in agriculture because of her degree. This statement makes a distinction between people who work with their hands in manual labor, where work is written on your body, creating a marker of difference between this type of work and that done by doctors or people who work in offices, who have also obtained a degree.

Manual labor, physical exhaustion, and burnout

This type of burnout, which is the result of working long hours for the entire growing season, and is experienced by the interns, is manifested in several ways that I observed while being in the field and was also revealed during the interviews I conducted with the interns. This work included, but was not limited to, seeding, transplanting, caring for the animals, harvesting vegetables by hand, washing vegetables in metal tubs at the wash station, cleaning the walk-in cooler and selling goods at the markets. The interns’ workday generally started at 6 a.m., or 5 a.m., if they were assigned to animal chores, and did not end until the work was completed in the evening, usually between 6 and 8 p.m., depending on the day of the week and time of the season. One of the most commonly discussed forms of burnout was negotiating physical exhaustion with

the long hours. Aside from Jake and Madison, the crew was comprised of completely ‘green’ interns, meaning they hadn’t experienced a full-season of farm work prior to this internship.

While in the field, I observed lethargy among the interns and, at times, indifference to the work. Mary made the distinction between her body, as someone who has worked in agriculture for her whole life, and the bodies of interns, many of whom are experiencing this type of labor for the first time, when she stated:

I mean the physical part of it, the interns ask me every year, like, ‘How does your body sustain this and do this?’ and I’m like ‘My body is well trained now’ like, yeah, I get a pinched nerve here but you know my body is there...it knows what is coming. Whereas I think new people feel the pain of farming...feel the intensity of working with your body because, it’s brand new for them, you know?

On almost a daily basis during my research time at the farm with the interns, physical fatigue and exhaustion were mentioned. Jackie often spoke of her “aching arse”, and “I just want two days off in a row; one to sleep and one day to get everything else done.” Hollis often wore a tired expression and when asked about it at lunch one day, said that she just wanted to sleep. Erika would move slowly up and down the rows while harvesting. One particularly memorable example of the level of fatigue occurred on the day when I was with a group of interns that had been instructed to pick the remaining tomatoes off the plants before the first hard frost, which was predicted for that night. It was a cold day and the sun didn’t really come out until mid-afternoon. In this cold bleakness, we moved up and down the rows on our knees, pushing the vegetable totes slowly ahead of us. At one point, the sun hit the field and, as I looked to my left, Hollis and Erika both sat back on their heels, with their eyes closed, resting and enjoying the Sun. The lethargy displayed on this particular day may have been more acute because the tomato picking had lasted nearly all day. Several interns informed me, that there had been tomatoes coming out of their ears since June or July and they were simply tired of picking

tomatoes. Hollis also spoke about the cumulative exhaustion that the interns felt throughout the season. She emphasized it's not just working 60 to 75 hours a week, one week out of the season, the job description actually requires working 60 to 75 hours a week, almost every week, all season.

I think that peak season was just exhaustion. Like, we start at 6 AM, and if you have animal chores you start at 5. It's 7 o'clock (PM), we are still not done and once we finish harvesting, we have to load the tomatoes in the truck and like the totes don't stack right and everyone's tired and everyone had plans that they really thought we were going to be able to make this week and we're all just impatient and, like, not always kind to each other (Hollis).

This physical fatigue of manual labor, limited days off, and being shorthanded, compounded by emotional burnout and managing irritation was echoed by most of the interns I spoke to. In contrast to Mary, who has worked in agriculture for most of her life, and has chosen this work as her career, most of the interns do not have this relationship with agriculture. The way this work writes itself on the bodies of the interns, who are with the unfamiliar physical exhaustion, the complication of the care work and emotion management that is required of them, both in their intern community and within the broader community of Twin Rocks, all of which is always exhausting and often overwhelming.

Legibility and Illegibility of Identity in Agriculture

Manual labor has traditionally been tied to masculine identities, constructing the only legible bodies in this work as gendered male. This notion problematizes the visibility and legibility of women working in agriculture, as both women and competent growers, where traditionally, these are not understood as congruent identities. There continues to be a belief, that due to perceptions of what men's bodies are capable of and what women's bodies are capable of, women could not possibly have the physical capacity to move livestock, erect an electric fence properly, drive a tractor or bale hay, though women are suited, in traditional farm family

structures, to tend livestock, keep farm books and grow large gardens that feed their families. For women in agriculture, their identities become split when read by others. In other words, you can't be the legible kind of woman if you're a farmer, and you can't be a legible, competent farmer if you're a woman.

Legibility and gender

Illegibility becomes apparent when identities and work are dismissed and erased, as a result of people transgressing traditional constructions of gender and how work interacts with gender performance and identity. For example, in an interview with Jackie, she mentioned that her grandpa comments on the work done around the farm, and when he perceives a job being done poorly, she recounts that he assumes "one of you girls must have put that up" referring to a fence that may have hung a little loose or crooked. In all likelihood, "one of you girls" probably did put the fence up, as there is only one man on the crew who could be held responsible and even then, would have needed help from one of the women on the crew. This statement, that is not specific just to Jackie's grandfather, erases and delegitimizes the work and competency of the women working in agriculture, when the crooked or loose fence could be a result of soil quality, needing to turn the electricity off and maneuver over the fence in order to check the hogs, or simply that most of the interns, on this particular crew, are in their first full farm season. Therefore, the meaning tied to the quality of their work is less about their gender identity and performance and more to do with experience, but is nonetheless constructed as being a result of gender and an inability to do work, because that is easier to delegitimize. This delegitimizing of

work that women do in agriculture can be read as *because* they are women, they are *unable* to be competent farmers, therefore, making them illegible as farmers, as described by Jackie below:

Like I've said, I've gotten comments before about like 'Oh, you're a farmer? Hmm, you don't have those working hands. Your nails are painted.' (uses a condescending and doubtful tone). Stuff like that, which is funny, also, because I think people really expect...again they stereotype, they put a box, like, what a female farmer would then be like. Like maybe someone who dresses androgynously and someone who is really tough. (Jackie)

Jackie emphasizes the interaction between the construction and performance of gender, and the legibility of these identities through work. For example, the only ways a woman farmer can be legible as a farmer is if she "dresses androgynously... is really tough". She cannot be legible as a farmer because she also engages in the disciplinary practices associated with emphasized femininity. Her gender performance and her choice in work create visual markers of difference, especially because there has been a tradition of exclusivity of men, usually white men, working as operators and public figures when representing agriculture.

There is a connection between the desire of women who are interested in agriculture to work for other women, as a way to be legible and visible as both women and as competent growers. Many of the interns sited Mary as a woman and an operator of her farm as a draw to the internship. There may be a connection between the legibility of the women farming under a woman operator: mistakes made or questions asked are not read as incompetency on the basis of gender identity but instead on an inability to learn self-sufficiency or simply the result of inexperience in the world of agriculture. During a conversation in the field, Mads, directly addressed importance of giving people space to learn, as well as the absolute necessity of being awarded the time to do so. Mads acknowledged the importance of women creating spaces for other women to grow, which she believed that Mary did with providing an agricultural space for women. According to conversations with other interns, Mads who has a season of experience

elsewhere, is often not recognized by men working in predominantly male spaces like slaughterhouses, as someone who is competent with the production of livestock.

The assumptions made by people working in traditionally male-dominated occupations, asserts that there is still a commonly held belief that women are only suited and, therefore, only legible, for reproductive labor. The traditional construction of women in agriculture also limits women to selling the product produced by men and deems women, who produced the vegetables or livestock, as illegible, because of an inability to reconcile femininity and manual labor in the same body.

Several of the women interns spoke about the instances in which people assume that they aren't growing the produce because of the performance of gender identity, creating cognitive dissonance for the people they interact with outside the context of the farm. This addresses an intersection at which women become illegible as farmers. In other words, when women are put in a position of selling a product, this is read as their femininity being used to sell a product, rather than being read as them being a farmer selling the produce they physically worked to plant, weed, irrigate, harvest and prepare for market and consumption. The part of their identity that is associated with growing, production, and manual labor becomes illegible and is erased because of its incongruity with the traditional mores and widely accepted notions of gender and work. These assumptions about the role women play as growers in agriculture also actively work to police people, specifically women, on the basis of both their gender performance and their choice of work. I argue that the dismissal of the work women do in agriculture, through the erasure of legitimized labor and the illegibility of their performance of gender through the gender binary, creates an environment in which women growers are constructed as invisible because of

the illegibility of their identities, as both women and growers, becoming more illegible as their identities move further away from the strict ideals of a binary gender system.

Legibility and knowledge

Throughout my time in the field and over a handful of interviews, the process of the interns being properly read as growers and the knowledge accumulated from working a season on this farm, was not consistently recognized. Mary and Gwen also recognized the legibility of their knowledge and the complications that can arise regarding knowledge. As the main operator, Mary was not only in charge of maintaining her farm business, she also had the task of training people to efficiently run the production aspect of her business. She described the distinct ways in which she is simultaneously seen as someone who holds all the knowledge necessary for interns to become successful farmers and is, at the same time, seen and treated as if she has no idea how to be a competent, visible farmer.

I think farmers are kind of perceived as...people still think farmers aren't very smart. Which is always funny because...someone will come and say like 'You know about...fill in the blank...' and they'll tell you about how to do something pretty mundane, something you've done all the time, and they're kind of new to it but they're like you know, 'I know how to grow...fill in the blank., you should be making this kind of compost' and you kind of listen to them for a little while and you appreciate their excitement and their enthusiasm and whatnot. But you realize, like, you're talking to me like I have...like I don't know what I'm doing...and it's just really funny how that is in life. You just say, 'OK...yeah...great, thanks' (Mary).

Mary also mentioned in the interview that people, new interns or people visiting the farm, sometimes approach working on organic farms as if they know everything they could possibly need to know before stepping into the work. In the following quote, Mary also addresses the issue of farmers, as a whole, being perceived as the “dumb farmer”. Mary, herself, is college educated and is also a successful farmer. As a woman operating a farm, she may experience both the effects of the “dumb farmer” stereotype and the belief that women are not suited to perform

the manual labor associated with farming, let alone do it successfully. Not only does she have to manage how she navigates these social interactions of people assuming, for whatever reason, that she is not knowledgeable in her specialty field of agriculture, but she must also work to not, as she puts it “fall off the pedestal” that organic farmers are often placed on, by making mistakes or having a negative interaction with a community member. This double-standard, expecting above average performance from organic growers who are female, while still constructing them as unintelligent and incompetent, puts CSA, organic farmers who are women in a precarious position, as they rely on community buy-in and commitment, along with people willing to work on their farm to make their business model possible.

Exchanging knowledge and making education central to the growing process is often a core component to CSA production models. Again, farmers must navigate various intersecting identities that complicate expectations of them. For example, many of the interns noted the lack of formal education as one of their main frustrations throughout the growing season. This may be an instance where expectations and realities were not communicated in ways that were mutually understood, and that there may be an expectation of women to nurture, educate, and be gentle with interns. This set of expectations place Mary in a position of needing to perform as a successful farmer and an educator dedicated to spending time prioritizing each of the interns questions and needs. In the interview with Mary, she discusses the ways in which the expectation of concerted educational tasks puts her in a position as the operator of needing to teach interns how to do straightforward, everyday tasks multiple times. While she acknowledges that education is important and that she wants to “ignite” more young people to be passionate enough about farming to want to enter the field, she also touches on the strain that places on her. She discusses later on in the interview the necessity of self-reliance as a skill learned through the

process of becoming a farmer. Part of learning the trade of agriculture is becoming comfortable learning *with your hands*.

CONCLUSION

In my research done at Balm Organic Farm, I found that interns experienced burnout in several ways including emotional and physical burnout. The burnout experienced by seasonal interns varied significantly from the type of burnout experienced by the operator, Mary, and the fulltime employees like Gwen. I argue that the burnout experienced by this group of interns was a result of the complex intersection of manual labor and care work, in combination with the legibility and illegibility of identities, viewed predominantly through the lens of gendered occupation expectations. It was necessary for both the interns and the operator of Balm Organic Farm to negotiate the ways in which they were expected to care for people, through food, emotional management and education, as well as address their physical needs, while working in a physically demanding occupation. The work that is necessary for a successful CSA requires people to be both physically and emotionally committed, in terms of both time and labor. This intersection of highly physical manual labor, care work, emotion management and gendered expectations about work, complicate the experience of people working in agriculture. Issues of assumed competency, in relation to gender performance and work expectations, create tension and feelings of identities being incongruent and are, therefore, illegible. This contributes to erasure of the labor that is performed to make the CSAs, the markets, the farm store, the tours and volunteer days, all possible, at this specific farm.

In much of the literature about women in agriculture, there is a lot about how much the farmers love growing and love interacting with CSA shareholders, how they believe this is their calling, including assertions that this work holds their overall complete commitment and passion.

All of this may true, yet I would argue that the interns working at Balm Organic Farm have similar feelings, while perhaps to a lesser extent. However, much of the research fails to acknowledge that sometimes people who are farmers also experience burnout related to managing emotions, managing legible identities, or a combination of all of the above. In conventional family farm productions, there is generally less of a discussion about how burnt out family members are, there are usually not discussions about who should shut the chickens in, nor are there discussions about when it is an appropriate time to end work for the day as that is always when the job is done. It is important to also acknowledge that conventional, family farms are usually highly mechanized, meaning there is utilization of large machinery that removes the necessity of labor intensive, by-hand processing, unlike small scale, CSA productions, which often pride themselves on the very aspect of their work which is the time intensive, by-hand processing.

All of this is true for operations like Balm Organic Farm; the day is done when the work is done, however, the difference is marked by the lack of heavy equipment and the demographic of the intern crew, who are often 'green' and recently graduated from university. While many of the interns spoke about being exhausted, as well as burnt out, and how their families believed they should pursue a "real" career, they all spoke about this being, in some way whether through education, working as a main operator, or working as a farm laborer, what they want to do with their lives. I would argue that even the women interviewed in previous research about their passion and love for growing and raising livestock, also feel burnt out emotionally, if not as well as physically.

In Jansenn's research, there is mention of some CSA farmers really desiring for other farmers to step up and take on a portion of the time-intensive work associated with teaching

people who are new to farming (2010). Even though people may love the work they do and feel incredibly passionate about it, it is also important to address that there is burnout associated with work that is both highly relational and intensely physical. People can love the work they do, believe it is important and, at the same time, feel that they spend a lot of time and energy focused on the emotions, education, and well-being of others.

Some of the burnout I observed was amplified by factors such as being short-handed for a majority of the season and down an additional person while I was on site. Regardless of being short-staffed, the work expectations and time were the same, even with less people. I was also onsite at the end of a very long season. Most interns were hired on in March or April, and had been working 60 to 70 hours a week, on average, throughout that timeframe. The interns were tired and were ready for the growing season to be over. I was the new person onsite, the one who was willing to listen and the one who people spoke openly with. Additionally, there is the stress factor of people entering into the field, having never participated in any type of work related to agriculture and their bodies not being accustomed to the repetition of the work, the urgency of the work, and the long hours associated with this work.

It is important to acknowledge the emotional labor associated with care work and food work, as well as laboring in an occupation where neither personal identity or work identity are legible together. In addition to working long and physical hours, there is a significant amount of work associated with continually managing frustrations and emotions for the sake of community members and crewmembers. There is also a significant amount of energy expenditure that is associated with repeatedly attempting to prove competency as a woman in food production rather than simply being acknowledged as only a marketing tool but not as a central member of a crew that worked to make produce available to the CSA and market communities and acted as a

central participant in doing the dirty work associated with growing vegetables and raising livestock. An exhausting amount of energy is exerted in listening to people who think women farmers are not capable of doing a quality job because they're weak or lacking knowledge in a specialty field. Farmers, in most types of production, are put in a position to prove their competency and intelligence. This is compounded when gender and race become factors for consideration as the face of agriculture continues to shift and reimagine itself.

This research is important as a way to acknowledge the work that is performed on both the front and back stages of agricultural production. In the shifting landscape of the United States, specifically in the areas of agriculture and food access, it is imperative to recognize the systems and structures at play, that systematically erect obstacles for access to farmland, access to knowledge for growing, and entre into agricultural communities for hopeful, future farm operators who are not white men. To erase both the labor performed by farmers, farm interns, and farm laborers, as well as make invisible all people working in this field who are not older, white men, does a great disservice to all people involved in the shifting face and practices of agriculture in the present and future of the United States. Flattening the labor related to agricultural production contributes to the dismissal and glossing over of the systems of oppression that actively work to create barriers to food access, organic or conventionally grown. Dismissing how systems work to create food as an inaccessible commodity is actively working to dismiss the ways in which food, food production, and food justice are highly intersectional. Several of the interns cited this as a frustration in working to serve the community of Twin Rocks, and the ways in which it seemed that intersectionality related to food was dismissed.

In future research, a larger sample would be necessary to determine if this type of burnout is a problem across small scale, organic farms in the United States or if this is a specific issue of

this specific farm. In order to gather more nuanced data, it would be ideal to conduct research throughout the season, not just during the final month of the internship, to better understand the ways feelings about the internship and farm work shift over time and growing season. More time in the field would also lend itself to better insight into the factors that influence team dynamic and the ability to observe more aspects of the seasonal work, such as attending markets regularly. It would also be important to work with farms in different areas of the country that may be serving populations with varying degrees of food access and more diverse demographics in terms of socioeconomic status, race, ethnicity, and education levels. This may help bring clarity to attitudes about whether growing organic produce is addressing issues of food justice, which may or may not influence feelings of burnout related to work and the issue of the market community not being the community the interns have access to, influencing buy-in to this particular agricultural production and market model.

APPENDIX. RESEARCH PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS

The seasonal interns included: Jake Greshen, a man in his late twenties, has obtained a Bachelor's degree in sociology and worked as a police officer before working at a farm in the east and then at Balm. He is the only man working as an intern this season and is also the only person of color working as an intern in the field. Erika O'Connor, is a white woman from Colorado who has obtained her bachelor's degree. Hollis Murphey, is a white woman in her late twenties who identifies as queer. She has obtained a Master's degree in education. She worked in education prior to coming to work at Balm. Jackie Roland is a white woman in her late twenties who is in the process of obtaining her Bachelor's degree. Her grandparents farmed in the Midwest and she grew up helping them with large grain harvests over her summer vacations. Madison Hofflander is a woman white in her thirties who has obtained her a degree in soil science. She was in the process of obtaining her Masters when she decided to farm. Gwen McConnel is a fulltime employee of the farm who worked as an intern the previous season. She is a white woman in her mid-twenties. She has obtained a Bachelor's degree. Mary Balm is the main operator of Balm Organic Farm. She is in her mid-thirties and has obtained a Master's degree. She grew up on an orchard in the east and has participated in agriculture her entire life.

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