ACADEMIC ARTICLE

LA PICADORA: A CASE STUDY IN CUBAN AGROECOTOURISM

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Abstract

Agroecotourism is growing worldwide, with a Latin American focus on both cultural and environmental sustainability. In this case study, the authors immersed themselves in the seven-year-old agroecotourism venture of La Picadora, living among neighbours and conducting formal interviews with 14 persons to learn about agricultural practices,

hosting approaches, and the effects of tourism on life at La Picadora. Results showed a community practising and committed to sustainable use of land and human resources, and revealed agricultural practices typical of broader Cuba. Foods served to tourists reflected a combination of Cuban tradition and ingredient availability. Residents noted cultural and monetary benefits of welcoming tourists to their communities. In conclusion, the La Picadora collective is a microcosm of sustainable tourism, affecting and affected by broader socioeconomic forces. It is likely that this early agroecotourism adopter will become a model for other Cuban visitor hubs operating outside traditional beach-based ventures.

Keywords: Cuba, organic, agriculture, foodways, identity, culture

Introduction

At the 20th century's end, the tourism industry acknowledged that awareness of mechanized food systems, environmental degradation, and labour exploitation was growing (Clarke 1997). In response, some providers began offering less industrialized and more sustainable experiences. The World Conservation Union defined this new form of tourism, ecotourism, as one that “has low negative visitor impact, and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local populations” (Ceballos-Lascuráin 2003: p. x). Agroecotourism, an offshoot of ecotourism, is a grassroots movement that emphasises sustainable farming for “job creation, education and capacity-building, community involvement, business viability, a more even distribution of revenue streams, sustainable supply chain lineages, habitat restoration, carbon sequestration, and a decrease in agrochemical use” (Cavaliere 2010: 34). Agroecotourism communities teach visitors about the importance of low-petroleum, small-scale and environmentally attuned farming (e.g. Rogerson 2012; Addinsall et al. 2017) and foodways (e.g. Sims 2009) while maintaining their social and cultural traditions (e.g. Johnson et al. 2016). In Latin America, agroecotourism is most common in rural communities, and specifically aims to establish connections between natural and cultural sustainability (Ramírez Castellanos 2014).

In the Latin American nation of Cuba, overall tourism rates as well as agroecotourism experiences are expanding. The nation saw little overall tourism from the 1959 Cuban Revolution (*Revolución Cubana*) until the 1990s, when the national government centred its economic platform on initiatives including attracting foreign visitors (Gutiérrez Castillo and Gancedo Gaspar 2002). From 1995 to 2012, the number of international tourists increased 279% (Duffy et al. 2017: 5), and Cuban tourism growth exceeded global rates (Rutty and

Richardson 2019: 3340). The 1997 Cuban Economic Resolution primarily promoted heritage and “sun, sand, and sea” activities for international visitors (Calderón García et al. 2003; Carty 2009), and while most visitors came from Canada and western Europe, US tourism also rose; this might have been in response to targeted marketing attempts (Kendrick et al. 2015). Scholars note that foreign tourists, especially Americans, hold stereotyped views of Cuba which are often reinforced through state-generated programming (Babb 2011; Kozak 2016; Látková and Wilson 2016; Látková et al. 2017; Zhang et al. 2018). Foreign tourists also tend to pursue experiences that reify a static notion of Cuban identity (Bacsán 2019).

The dissolution of the Soviet Union and loss of Cuba’s principal trading partner drove the government to explore economic alternatives during what became known as the Special Period in Peacetime (colloquially, *el tiempo de los flacos* – the skinny period) (Kruijt 2019). Interestingly, the issue of agricultural diversification has a long history in Cuba. Since the 1790s, Spanish government officials had recommended decreasing sugar production in order to make sure that island residents had more local access to food and did not have to rely extensively on imports (Benjamin et al. 1984: 121). By the 1970s and 1980s, the Cuban government had created a highly mechanised sugar industry reliant on Soviet imports. More than 50% of Cuba’s energy, fertilisers, herbicides and livestock feed concentrates were imported, and in exchange Cuban sugar was exported to Soviet bloc countries at inflated prices to undergird Cuba’s financial stability (Funes-Monzote 2010: 17). By the early 1990s sugar, along with tobacco and citrus, covered 50% of all Cuban agricultural lands (Funes-Monzote 2010: 18). The Soviet Union’s collapse led to a 70% drop in fertiliser availability and 50% reduction in pesticide and petroleum imports to Cuba (Rosset and Benjamin 1994: 21; Pérez and Vazquez 2002: 136). In addition, animal feed components, of which 60–93% were imported, nearly disappeared (Nova 2002: 34). This might have been less disruptive for small or medium farms run by *campesinos* (12% of Cuban agricultural land at the time), which already utilised polyculture and more sustainable practices, but it caused nationwide agricultural upheaval (Álvarez 2002: 87–8; Funes-Monzote 2010: 226). Changes in import availability helped trigger the adoption or spread of sustainable agricultural practices among Cuban farmers (Funes-Monzote 2010: 206–7). First, lands that had previously grown exported monocultures like coffee and sugar were converted into community farms. Next, cities modified open spaces for *organipónicos* (urban farms) to produce fresh fruit and vegetables for local residents. Finally, Cuban researchers focused on agricultural approaches using compost, biocontrols and low-petroleum methods of working the land, and shared results with farmers (Funes Aguilar 2017: 9–10).

From the late 20th century until now, large-scale nation-level changes in agricultural land use swept Cuba (Altieri 2002: xi–xiii; Reardon and Pérez 2010; Koont 2011; Leitgeb et al. 2016). Total Cuban land devoted to production of sugar, once its primary export, declined 64% from 1992 (Machado 2018: 5); this decrease meant an overall reduction in land used for agriculture. At the same time, hectares devoted to staple food crops, including vegetables and tubers, have seen significant increases, and 45% of all Cuban land is now devoted to crop production or pasture (Galford et al. 2018: 1). There has also been a shift from state to non-state harvests, with individual and cooperative farming increasingly prevalent (Machado 2018: 5). Today, the Cuban government's policies and local practices make it a global model of sustainable agriculture (Funes 2002: 1; Buchmann 2009: 707; Reardon and Pérez 2010: 909; Leitgeb et al. 2016: 422), although Cuba's approach was initially born of necessity rather than environmental idealism (Funes 2002: 23; Gonzalez 2003: 728).

The Cuban government has spotlighted the island's communal agricultural processes, organic farming techniques and small-scale restaurant ownership to tap international interests in sustainability and attract more sightseers (Rutty and Richardson 2019). Environmentally focused visitors see Cuba as an antidote to the hyper-commercialised and industrial food systems of the Global North and want to learn about the nation's food practices (Kline et al. 2016: 32; Duffy et al. 2017). The growing numbers of *paladares* (privately owned restaurants) and *organipónicos* in cities like Havana have also altered the structures of state-run tourism, giving more autonomy and economic opportunities to individuals, families and communities (Torres et al. 2010: 69; Deere and Royce 2019: 680–2). A 2016 law allowed individuals and families to establish *casas particulares* (bed and breakfasts) near Cuban tourist sites that bring in additional income (Duffy et al. 2017: 207). Finally, UNESCO (2019) has acknowledged Cuba's role in the production of tobacco, coffee and sugar, recognising specific agricultural sites for their historical and cultural significance (López Segrera 2009; Canales Martínez and Sabariego Díaz 2011).

La Picadora, which lies four kilometres west of Mayajigua in north central Cuba, is an example of a small-scale, agroecotourism programme, with associated *casas particulares*, a small store which accepts *la libreta*, a nearby *organipónico* and an on-site *paladar*. The community is centrally located in Santí Spiritus Province, which has historically had little tourist traffic (Oficina nacional de estadística e información n.d.). Today, La Picadora is home to 85 families and 216 individuals who primarily work in agriculture. Sugar production dominated the region's economy starting in the 19th century; Mayajigua housed a sugar mill, and two other mills were located in Yaguajay, approximately 18 kilometres to La Picadora's west (de la Pezuela 1866: vol. 4, 59–64; Soler 2014: 152, 172–3, 254, 464–5). With the

Revolución Cubana, residents continued to work in local mills or grow sugarcane for export. These mills and a fertiliser plant supplied a large number of jobs until the early 2000s when the Cuban government, unable to compete in international markets, closed them all (Heredia 2002; Alvarez 2004; Pollitt 2004).

Since the Cuban Revolution, residents at La Picadora have consistently pooled resources and labour to support communal endeavours. A subset of residents participates in the local CPA (Cooperativa de Producción Agropecuaria; Agricultural Production Cooperative). CPAs, which make up 9% of Cuban lands (Nova González and Figueroa Alfonso 2018: 3), are voluntary profit-sharing economic and social organizations administered by landowning farmers; the CPA owns equipment, buildings and crops, members vote on profit-sharing and individuals retain control over their lands (Álvarez 2002: 75–7; Rosset and Bourque 2002: pp. xvii–xviii). Other members of La Picadora’s community have joined a local CCS (Cooperativas de Créditos y Servicios; Credit and Service Cooperative). CCSs were first formed in the 1960s and now make up 51% of Cuban land (Nova González and Figueroa Alfonso 2018: 3). In a CCS, property is privately held and can be passed down to the next generation; however, lands are economically integrated so that the group can receive bank credit together and share profits proportionally (Funes-Monzote 2010: 218). UBPCs (Unidad Básica de Producción Cooperativa; Basic Units of Cooperative Production), established in 1993 to convert state-held lands to leases by groups of farmers, could significantly increase agricultural production (Burchardt 2001: 144). Although these comprise 23% of lands in Cuba (Nova González and Figueroa Alfonso 2018: 3), La Picadora residents do not participate in UBPCs.

La Picadora locals decided to create an agroecotourism venture about seven years ago (Pérez and Font Abreu 2016: 90), after resident Esther Denis Pérez participated in the Programa Integral de Alimentación Local (PIAL) workshop, based in Viñales (Pinar del Río, Cuba). PIAL, sponsored by local universities, empowers rural women to pursue income through tourism, keeping men focused on agriculture, which remains critical to national food security (Sinaí et al. 2009). The creation of economic opportunities for women at La Picadora reflects the Revolution’s broader focus on gender equality in Cuba, with policies to promote this formalised in the later 20th century (Lamrani 2016). For instance, the Family Code (1975) attempted to reform gender roles, especially in rural areas where patriarchal familial structures remained and women had few economic opportunities (Smith and Padula 1996: 104; Molyneux 2000: 300–2). As part of PIAL, Pérez travelled to the Universidad de Murcia in Spain to study tourism management. She also visited Spanish agroecotourism sites to learn how to implement these practices in her home community (E. Pérez, personal communication, 9 May 2018). Pérez’s spouse, José “Titi” Rodríguez Sanchez, a local

delegate to the provincial government and farmer, owned land that could be used for La Picadora's agroecotourism programme. Pérez and Sanchez's home stands on a former apiary once owned by Sanchez's uncle and worked by his extended family. After Titi's uncle died, his uncle's widow gave the land to Titi upon completion of Titi's formal education (BS in economics; J. Sanchez, personal communication, 9 May 2018). Such family farms are essential to Cuban socio-ecological resilience (Casimiro Rodríguez and Casimiro González 2018).

La Picadora's agroecotourism programme, which Esther and Titi spearhead, supports community development while preserving natural areas and pre-European archaeological sites in the vicinity. They partner with French tourist agencies and mostly attract French and Spanish tourists, although they have hosted people from six nations (Belgium, Canada, France, Honduras, Spain, United States; La Picadora Guestbook). Educational exchange programmes from the United States (Colorado College, Northern Kentucky University, University of North Carolina Asheville, and COPLAC (Council on Public Liberal Arts Colleges)-affiliated institutions) have also taken undergraduates to La Picadora. The programme has a food supply and lodging capacity of 12 persons a day, and as many as 20 total persons can be housed throughout the community. La Picadora's main goal is to teach foreign tourists about rural life in contemporary Cuba. Farmers introduce visitors to local crops and agricultural practices, highlighting organic approaches. Women within the community prepare all meals and teach visitors about local food traditions in a community kitchen. Musical performances, hands-on discussions of native plants and animals, brick making using local clays and sands, and hikes to indigenous archaeological sites are also available. At the end of the visit, community members roast a pig to celebrate the creation of new friendships, with the hope that tourists have a better appreciation of Cuban rural life and will share their experiences with others (J. Rodriguez Sanchez, personal communication, 9 May 2018). When we conducted interviews in May 2018, 32 of the neighbourhood's families and 43 individuals were directly involved in the programme.

In this case study, we visit the agroecotourism collective at La Picadora, using semistructured interviews and informal interactions eased by pre-existing relationships to examine and document grassroots sustainability practices among local foodways and agricultural production systems. We investigate agricultural practices and food traditions. Finally, we explore the ways in which residents affect, and are affected by, foreign visitors.

Materials and Methods

The 2014 reopening of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States (Cuban thaw, *deshielo Cubano*) led to a surge in scholarly exchanges between

the two countries (e.g. Bausch et al. 2017), including in oral history work. Oral histories are a powerful way for scholars to explore the complexity of Cuban life and give voice to everyday experiences, allowing deeper understandings of the ways in which large-scale forces are felt by individuals (Dore 2017: 106–7). Other scholars have noted the limitations of conducting interviews in a communist country (Panichelli-Batalla and Saavedra Montes de Oca 2017: 34–5); however, our ongoing collaboration between Cuban and American scholars, initially established with a multi-university COPLAC grant, allowed more thoughtful discussions of potentially sensitive topics (i.e. Wright 2016). The Cuban scholars also had a long-standing relationship with the community from which we collected oral histories, and three of the investigators had previously stayed there.

This work built on those informal relationships begun with previous site visits to establish lines of communication among authors and La Picadora leaders. In May 2018, authors conducted 14 individual interviews with those associated with or living adjacent to the La Picadora agroecotourism site (Table 1), coordinated by José “Titi” Rodríguez Sanchez. To recognise La Picadora’s research support, we provided community supplies, including books for the local library and writing instruments. Interviews began with a discussion of the project’s goals, and participants read and signed a consent form in Spanish. Although Institutional Research Board (IRB) principles guided our research approach, the US government has excluded oral histories from IRB oversight since January 2018 (HHS 2018). Two interviewing pairs, each consisting of a Cuban and American scholar, administered a 29-part questionnaire (Appendix A) to each subject over a 20–120-minute period; interviews were audio recorded. Transcriptions, translations and notes taken during interviews were used to create data tables summarising responses. Additional informal conversations during our trip, and electronic correspondence afterwards, also informed our project.

Our visit to La Picadora coincided with local recovery efforts from Hurricane Irma; community responses to hurricanes and their aftermaths are central to Cuban identity (Pérez 2002; Sheller 2020), and have been since the 19th century (Pérez 2002). Irma made landfall nearby, on Cuba’s north central coast, as a Category V storm in September 2017. It was only the second Category V hurricane to hit the nation and the most economically costly (Agencia EFE 2017). For the region around La Picadora, it was cataclysmic (Chew et al. 2018). Schools closed for two weeks, putting students behind in their studies, and tourism operations were suspended for nearly six months. Participants received rations but also had to plant new crops, particularly plantains, which were completely uprooted (Subject 1). The hurricane destroyed many avocado, banana, cashew, mamey, orange, plantain and soursop trees in addition to coffee bushes and cedar trees, which are used for wood (construction). Eleven homes in the

Table 1 Demographics of Interview Subjects

Participant	Age	Gender	Marital Status	Household	Education	Employment
1	44	Female	Married	Spouse and 3 children	Associate Degree (Technician)	La Picadora
2	18	Male	Single	Lives with parents	High School (college plans)	La Picadora
3	57	Male	Single	Lives with mother and grandfather	High School	Sugarcane worker until Special Period; now Farmer/La Picadora
4	52	Male	Married	Spouse and 3 children	B.A. in Economics	Farmer/La Picadora/Local Representative
5	53	Female	Married	Spouse and 3 children	9th Grade	La Picadora
6	45	Female	Married	Spouse and no children	High School	Farmer/La Picadora
7	48	Male	Divorced	1 child and mother	9th Grade	Worked at Yaguajay torula factory before Special Period; now Construction/La Picadora
8	32	Female	Married	Spouse and no children	B.A.	Nurse/La Picadora
9	22	Female	Single	none	Medical School	Medical student
10	72	Male	Married	Spouse and 1 child	High School	Sugar farmer before Special Period; now Retired/La Picadora
11	67	Male	Single	1 child	High School	Farmer/La Picadora
12	70	Male	Married (common law)	Spouse and 3 children	6th Grade	La Picadora
13	65	Male	Married	Spouse	3rd Grade and 1960s literacy programme	Farmer/La Picadora
14	61	Female	Married	Spouse and 5 children	6th Grade	Housewife

community were lost completely (Subject 2), and residents worked collectively in the hurricane's aftermath to rebuild roofs (Subject 7); repairs to elderly residents' properties were prioritised. Interviewees mentioned the community's response to Hurricane Irma as one of the positives about La Picadora. For instance, members cleared the road to Mayajigua and Yaguajay (Subject 11), and La Picadora's kitchen had the equipment, supplies and fuel to feed the area residents in the two weeks between the storm and the arrival of additional government food rations (Subject 9).

Results

Responses to our questions plus additional conversations with residents revealed specific patterns of agricultural and foodways practices at La Picadora. Although residents rely on the government's food rationing programme known as the *libreta de abastecimiento* (informally, *la libreta*) for specific items not available locally, farming also provides food for individual families, producing fruit, vegetables, grains, milk and meat. In addition, Mayajigua's *organíponico* provided additional seasonal fruits and vegetables for local consumption and for the

Image #1 Peppers growing in Mayajigua's *organíponico* (Courtesy Krystyn R. Moon)

collective, which serves foreign tourists a specific menu based on locally obtained food items. Some animals are kept to work in the fields, replacing machines that use imported and polluting fuels, such as leaded gasoline. Local farmers describe their use of organic fertilisers and pest control, sustainable approaches to food production, which they also share with visitors.

During interviews, respondents noted major changes in local agricultural practices over their lifetimes, particularly since the onset of the Special Period and subsequent shutdown of regional sugar mills. The first change was in crops grown. Before the *Revolución Cubana*, families grew food for their own consumption, including rice, beans and meat (chickens, pigs, cows) on private land. By the 1960s, farmers primarily grew sugarcane on government land for centralised processing and distribution, and purchased food at sugarcane factories. Subject 14 reminisced that her family rented small parcels of land (*conocos*) at this time to grow food for her family and cut sugarcane. By 2018, La Picadora families raised a variety of fruits and vegetables (Table 2) and animals (Table 3) for personal

Table 2 Fruit and Vegetable Crops Grown by Respondents

Crop	Number of Respondents	Estimated Nationwide Acreage Change, 1992 to 2018 (Machado 2018: 5)
Beans	5	−4 to +99%
Rice	5	+196%
Coffee	4	
<i>Coffea arabica</i> (30 lb/y)		
<i>Coffea robusta</i> (100 lb/y)		
Corn	3	+96 to +118%
Fruit Trees (unspecified)	2	-
Banana	3	-
Orange/Mandarin	2	-
Papaya	2	-
Cherimoya	1	-
Mango	1	-
Plantain	1	+25 to +55%
Yellow Mamey	1	-
Yucca	2	+70%
Bell Pepper	1	+86%
Boniata	1	+54%
Cachucha Pepper	1	+123%
Malanga	1	+103%
Melon	1	-
Potato	1	+49%
Tomato	1	+49 to +101%

Table 3 Animals Raised by Respondents

Animal Raised	Number of Respondents	Nationwide Change in Production, 2007 to 2018 (Nova González and Figueroa Alfonso 2018: 6)
Chickens	5	
<i>Came</i>		no change
<i>Huevos</i>		+109%
Pigs (2–3/Family; for Celebrations)	5	+127%
Cattle	2	
<i>Carne</i>		+91%
<i>Leche</i>		+190%
Horses	2	-
Ducks	1	-
Oxen	1	-
Sheep	1	-
Turkeys	1	no change

consumption, with surplus yields given to the La Picadora collective or bartered among residents (Subjects 1, 11). For instance, Subject 6 trades roasted coffee for cheese and buys pumpkins from travelling farmers; another noted the option to sell excess crops from their own land to the state for redistribution (Subject 8).

Rice and beans were the most common crops grown, followed by coffee (Table 2). Respondents noted that the *robusta* coffee variety had higher yields, but they preferred the taste of *arabica* beans. The majority of respondents owned animals for food, and the most common livestock were pigs and chickens (Table 3). Although interviewees attributed their crop choices to personal preference, they also noted the influence of agriculturalists from the Universidad de La Habana. Changes included adding new crops like cow peas, which serve the dual purpose of nitrifying soil and providing forage for pigs, cows and goats. The university also introduced cover crops like sorghum to reduce rates of soil erosion (Subject 2).

Personal preference and technological availability influence agricultural practices, but climate and weather have even more effect on crop choices and yields (Subjects 4, 6, 9). Season dictates the timing of planting; corn is put into the ground at the start of the rainy season, which is May, while rice is planted in July, the peak of the rainy season. Subject 4 and others noted that rain is much less predictable than in the past, such that rice now needs to be grown in depressions where water tends to accumulate. Several farmers noticed changes in hurricane patterns that also affected agriculture. Beans are planted in October/November or January, and tomato and malanga are dry season crops. Ploughing is typically only done in the dry season; in the wet season, seeds are sown directly

into the soil (Subjects 4, 13). Six persons reported saving their own seeds (Subjects 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 13), and La Picadora has a seed-saving cooperative.

A second agricultural change discussed during interviews was mechanization. Before the *Revolución Cubana*, sugar cane was cut by hand; oxen and *huatacas* (short hoes) were used to till and terrace the land. Between the Revolution and Special Period, when machines and petroleum were regularly imported, tractors from Bulgaria and the USSR mechanised sugar planting and harvesting. After the cessation of regular trade with the USSR, farmers returned to using oxen to plough or renting tractors for short-term use (Subject 12). La Picadora residents still keep oxen to work in the fields (Table 3). Communal tractors are also used to carry water for dry-season irrigation or to plough large areas. In La Picadora, animals are typically pastured, and are fed a combination of corn, grown by respondents, and table scraps. Feed is supplemented with torula yeast grown on bagasse, sugarcane waste (Subject 2).

A final agricultural transition discussed during interviews was in the use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides, which began after the *Revolución Cubana*. Reductions in access to imported chemicals during the Special Period (Subject 9) meant a return to traditional solutions, informed in part by new research from the Universidad de la Habana and other academic institutions. The majority of respondents who added fertiliser to their crops utilised manure or compost (Table 4).

Respondents discussed multiple agricultural challenges, especially rust (*roya*), a fungal infection of beans. Their solution to this is crop rotation, skipping several years between bean plantings. Another issue is *la langosta* (snails), which can be treated with lime (Subjects 2, 9). Lime is also used to control insects (*la mancha*); Cuban pepper weevil, *Faustinus cubae* (Boheman), (Subjects 2, 9) or as a fungicide (Table 4). Only one respondent used manufactured chemicals to control pests or weeds (Table 4).

Table 4 Agricultural Practices

Soil Amendment	Number of Respondents
Fertiliser	
Manure (Pigs and Chickens)	5
Chacaza (Cane Waste)	1
Chemical	1
Pest Control	
Lime	2
Chemical	1
Herbicide	
Chemical	1
Hand Weeding/Hoeing	5

Table 5 Fruits and Vegetables from Mayajigua’s *Organipónicos*

Winter Crops (reported)	Summer Crops (observed May 2018)
Broccoli (<i>el brocóli</i>)	Bananas (<i>el plátano</i>)
Cabbage (<i>el repollo</i>)	Beets (<i>la remolacha</i>)
Garlic (<i>ajo</i>)	Carrots (<i>la zanahorias</i>)
Lettuce (<i>la lechuga</i>)	Fennel (<i>el hinojo</i>)
Sweet chili pepper (<i>la aji cachucha</i>)	French green beans (<i>la habichuela</i>)
Swiss chard (<i>la acelga</i>)	Green bell peppers (<i>el pimiento verde</i>)
Tomato (<i>el tomate</i>)	Oregano (<i>el orégano</i>)
	Parsley (<i>el perjol</i>)
	Radishes (<i>el rábano</i>)
	Sweet chili pepper (<i>la aji cachucha</i>)
	Swiss chard (<i>la acelga</i>)

Due to high heat and humidity, the *organipónico* does not grow crops from July through September.

La Picadora utilises Mayajigua’s *organopónico* to feed tourists and supplement the diet of community members with fresh fruit and vegetables not grown there (Table 5). Subject 2 travels to that *organipónico* by bicycle to gather food for La Picadora lunches and dinners (Table 6). These trips happen daily when visitors are in residence.

Women working in La Picadora’s community kitchen describe foods given to tourists (Table 6). Visitor meals involve multiple dishes offered at breakfast, lunch and dinner. Picnic baskets are also made for day trips to nearby Caguanes National Park (Subjects 1, 5, 9), and fiestas are held at the end of each group’s stay. With the exception of tisanes, coffee and milk, breakfast includes items that do not need to be cooked, such as fruit, vegetables, fresh cheese, guava paste, cookies and bread (E. Denis Pérez, personal conversation 6 May 2018). Honouring tourists’ dietary restrictions can be challenging; for instance, Subject 6 notes that she never heard of vegetarianism before meeting foreigners.

Members of La Picadora noted tourist involvement in multiple facets of community life. In the kitchen, tourists help with cooking and learn to make traditional Cuban dishes like rice and beans (*crisianos y moros* or *congrí*; Subjects 1, 5, 8). Visitors also participate in agriculture by helping with plantings and harvests (Subjects 2, 6). Residents commented on the positive effects of cultural exchanges and meeting new people (Subjects 1, 5). Such interactions prompted them to do things like learn new languages (Subject 2) or eat more vegetables (Subjects 8, 10). Working with tourists, however, poses many challenges, including differences in language, diet and hygiene that can impact programming. La Picadora’s infrastructure capacity also limits the number of tourists who can visit simultaneously. Sometimes, they noted cultural chasms between themselves

Table 6 Foods Served to Tourists at La Picadora

Breakfast	Lunch/Dinner	Pack Lunch	Dessert	Fiesta
Bread	White Rice	Fruit (see “Breakfast”) Bread	Flan	Congri
Cookies	Red or Black Beans		Dulce Fruta Bomba, Coco, or Naranja with Toronja	Yuca with Mojo
Salad (Tomatoes, Lettuce, Okra, Cabbage, Radish, Carrots)	Meat (Pork, Chicken, Goat, Ocean Fish)*	Cookies or Crackers	<i>Boniatillo</i> [Sweet Potato Pudding]	Roasted Whole Pig
Fruit (Oranges, Plantains, Pineapple, Guava, Watermelon, Mango)	Soup (<i>Ajiaco</i> or Noodle Soup)	Honey and Sugar	<i>Arroz con Leche</i>	Salad and Dressing (see “Lunch/Dinner”)
Guava Paste with Fresh Cheese	<i>Viandas</i> (Potato, Sweet Potato, Malanga, Plantains, Squashes, Yuca)	Guava Paste	Mango or Guava Jam with Fresh Cheese	Fruit Juices
Fruit Juices	Salad (Tomatoes, Lettuce, Okra, Cabbage, Radish, Carrots)	Water	Pudding	Dessert (see “Dessert” column)
Tisanes and Coffee	Salad Dressing (Bitter Orange, Oil, Garlic, Salt, Vinegar, Brown Sugar)	Tisanes and Coffee	Coffee and Sugar	
Warm Milk		Salad and Dressing		
Honey		Chicharrones		
Butter		Canned Meat (make your own sandwiches)		
Periodic Offerings: Eggs				

*Freshwater fish, most notably tilapia, is only available for tourist venues, and not the general public.

and visitors. For instance, Subject 7 stated, “I think what they want is for us to be weird people, but the mysterious ones are them.”

Interviewees discussed extensively the economic opportunities created through La Picadora, and how those made them desire more tourists. One respondent reaped direct economic benefit by selling coffee to tourists from her home (Subject 6). Funds generated by the project were used to construct new buildings (including a classroom), improve housing and add water pumps (Subjects 2, 4, 6, 7, 8). Subject 3 summed up the feelings of many when he said, “The first thing that I think about is that I meet another person and we exchange cultures.”

Discussion

Typical tourism utilises industrialised food systems and detachment from the processes of food production, but the agroecotourism programme at La Picadora immerses visitors in a high-touch alternative. It is important to note that agricultural patterns in this part of Cuba were born of economic necessity and access, although deliberate choices since then have maintained sustainable systems of growth, distribution and consumption. La Picadora is indeed a microcosm of larger agrifood transitions throughout the Cuban nation (Fernandez et al. 2018) and the use of multiple forms of food production to ensure food security (e.g. Ludlam 2014). La Picadora’s grassroots approach to teaching tourists about Cuban rural life could be a model for other communities seeking sustainable ways to empower residents and educate foreigners about environmentally friendly agricultural practices and foodways (e.g. Pérez et al. 2017).

Agricultural Practices

Changes in agriculture noted by respondents correlated roughly with the agricultural periods noted by researchers (Febles-González et al. 2011), and culminated in a primarily organic approach to farming. La Picadora’s farmers plant diverse crops, the bedrock of Cuban agricultural sustainability (Leyva and Lores 2018: 10). Crop choices at La Picadora reflect a desire to supplement the Cuban ration card. The latter allows for the purchase of food products including rice, beans, sugar, bread and oil; however, *la libreta* does not provide fresh fruit, vegetable or meat. Many fruits and vegetables grown by La Picadora’s farmers reflect national planting trends, and have seen their national production increase since the Special Period (Machado 2018: 5; Nova González and Figueroa Alfonso 2018). In addition, locally raised chickens produce eggs, an important source of protein, but their production fluctuated, much like the rest of the country (Nova González and Figueroa Alfonso 2018: 7). For three months after Hurricane

Irma, the chickens that survived did not produce any eggs, and for several months afterward, egg production was episodic (E. Pérez, personal conversation 6 May 2018). In addition, private livestock ownership patterns follow those seen throughout Cuba, with farmers and scientists continuing to develop new ways to increase numbers (Nova González and Figueroa Alfonso 2018: 3; González et al. 2004). This, plus a mismatch between livestock ownership and small quantities of grazing land (Funes-Monzote 2010: 219), meant that animal food supplementation was important. Since the 1990s the Cuban government has grown torula yeast as an inexpensive alternative to soy feed, and a way to use stillage sludge, otherwise a toxic pollutant (Lezcano 2005).

Respondents discussed their cooperative relationship with university agricultural extension offices and reflected on the need for new seed varieties and technologies (Rodríguez Gago 2016: 81). Through workshops and demonstrated successes in local trial plots, the university has convinced La Picadora's farmers, who are generally reluctant to adopt new practices, to use more sustainable approaches like cover crop use and utilise the national seed-saving organization (Carrasco et al. 2003: 7). Growing practices at La Picadora honour the principles of agroecotourism in decreasing agrochemical use. Approaches were primarily organic, including fertilisers made of manure or bioearth, organic waste inoculated with bacteria (Treto et al. 2002: 169–76). This is, in part, a response to the loss of chemical fertiliser access (Funes-Monzote 2010: 224). Cuba remains one of the world's leaders in implementing biological pest control, which they began in 1930 (Nicholls et al. 2002: 2; Pérez and Vazquez 2002: 112) and which contributes significantly to sustainability (Nicholls et al. 2002: 1–2; Pérez and Vazquez 2002: 136–7; Pérez-Consuegra et al. 2018: 11); La Picadora residents did not focus on this specific practice in interviews, however. Notable was the small number of people who used chemical fertilisers or pesticides, reflecting import levels that are less than a third of 1980s levels (Pérez and Vazquez 2002: 113). After the collapse of the Soviet bloc and loss of that trading partner, Cubans were without most chemical imports until 2000. At that point, Cuba and Venezuela signed the Comprehensive Cooperation Agreement which established the trade of oil and petrochemical products from Venezuela for medical services and personnel from Cuba. However, beginning in 2013, economic and political changes reduced most Venezuelan exports (Fonseca et al. 2020: 28).

Few interviewees relied on tractors for everyday agricultural activities. In 1989, Cuba had over 90,000 tractors, with regular import of equipment, parts and fuel (Funes-Monzote 2010: 225). The Special Period and its associated loss of imports meant a return to traditional approaches to ploughing and harvesting. Farmers trained approximately 300,000 teams of oxen, mostly for use on

small private farms (Ríos Hernández and Aguerrebere Toledo 1998); these practices continue in La Picadora. In spite of economic troubles in Venezuela, small quantities of petrochemicals are still imported from there to avoid another Special Period (Fonseca et al. 2020: 28). This allows residents to share tractors for occasional use.

Food

Along with learning about agricultural practices, the food served at La Picadora is a highlight of the tourist experience. In the guest book, visitors frequently wrote about hospitality and food (La Picadora Guest Book 2017–18). Primary cooks rise early in the morning to prepare breakfast, while farmers and tourists work in the fields. Almost all of the meals use crops grown in and around La Picadora and animals slaughtered nearby. These agricultural networks, combined with food from the local *organopónico* and the neighbourhood store, allow the cooperative to feed visitors and members. It should be noted that the sustainability of hyperlocal and regional supply chains undergirds the agroecotourism principles typified at La Picadora, and networks like these could help counteract Cuba's increased reliance on imports of food and livestock feed, which currently comprise 15% of total supplies (Nova González and Figueroa Alfonso 2018: 8).

In addition to growing their own food, respondents noted the use of formal and informal networks to supply food for both individual households and tourists. In other rural communities in Cuba, residents also rely on social networks to access food items that are not available in state-run stores (Paponnet-Cantat 2003: 20; Bono and Finn 2016: 8). The neighbourhood store, located across the street from La Picadora's main buildings, also provides food and other household items (e.g. soap, tobacco, toothbrushes) for sale, including things available through *la libreta*.

Unlike most foods served at La Picadora, bread, cookies and crackers are always purchased, since wheat does not grow in Cuba. Wheat products, particularly bread, are a staple of Cuban cuisine, and have been imported since the earliest Spanish settlements. Cuba's indigenous peoples had created breads with yucca and cassava and passed this knowledge to Spanish settlers (Ortiz 2014: 462, 469); however, by the mid-19th-century, wheat flour became synonymous not only with Christianity and civilization but also the modern nation-state, which many Cubans hoped to establish, and indigenous bread practices became increasingly marginalised (Pilcher 1998: 29, 92–7; Dawdy 2002: 48; Paponnet-Cantat 2003: 13, 16; Englehardt 2011: 51–82). Because of its physical proximity and American economic interests, the United States was Cuba's major supplier of

wheat until the Revolution and subsequent embargo. Today, wheat is imported from Europe (Zahniser and Cooke 2015) and the United States (Wilton 2015: 5).

The residents at La Picadora also use a traditional Cuban food service for meals in the 21st century. Fernando Fornet Piña, who has written extensively about modern Cuban food traditions, argues that, for what he believes to be a traditional meal, everything is served at once with the exception of coffee and dessert, which are offered at the end of the meal. All of the food is placed in serving bowls or trays in the middle of the table with their own serving pieces, and individual place settings are set around the table (Fornet Piña 2015: 9). At La Picadora, all guests are served together, and they pick and choose from what is placed on the table. Despite the emphasis on teaching foreigners about everyday life in rural Cuba, neither cooks nor other residents eat with tourists. This division potentially undermines the overall goal of agroecotourism by not using meals as an opportunity for intercultural exchange (Kozak 2016: 100, 106).

Lunch, dinner and the fiesta at La Picadora also play into narratives of typical Cuban fare found in cookbooks and other prescriptive writings (Benjamin et al. 1984). Fornet Piña outlines what he believes are the components of a traditional

Image #2 “Traditional” meal service with chicken, yuca and salad at La Picadora (Courtesy Krystyn R. Moon)

Cuban meal, which aligns with many – but not all – of the foods served to tourists at La Picadora. For example, he argues that rice is eaten with every meal in Cuba, and others note the Cuban saying, “Without rice, it’s not a meal” (Benjamin et al. 1984: 105). Additionally, he mentions soups made with *viandas* and beans, such as *ajiaco*, are important, but are not as popular among Cubans as they were in the past. *Viandas* that are fried, boiled, pureed or mashed (such as *fufu*) are also demarcated as traditional Cuban dishes. Cubans eat a variety of meats, but pork and beef are preferred (Benjamin et al. 1984: 105; Fornet Piña 2015: 8). The fiesta organised by La Picadora residents includes a freshly slaughtered pig, which is roasted for a day in a submerged oven. Nitza Villapol, one of the most popular Cuban cookbook writers and celebrity chefs in late 20th-century Cuba, writes that roasted pigs are central to fiestas in rural areas (Villapol 1992: 54). Silvia Caunedo in *La cocina cubana* also argued that roasted pork, especially if it is cooked outside in a pit, “is a national dish that is usually accompanied by rice and black beans” (translated by author; Caunedo 1999: 132).

Despite the emphasis on offering what is articulated as traditional Cuban cuisine in the 21st century, La Picadora’s menus differ from those presented in Cuban cookbooks due to ingredient access. For instance, Fornet Piña classifies fried foods as traditional (Fornet Piña 2015: 7). At La Picadora, fried foods like *chicharrones* are produced, but croquettes, which use a low-supply ingredient (breadcrumbs), are not. Beef is also not served at La Picadora because it is not available. Because of the island’s early role in ranching, Cubans preferred beef and pork in contrast to mutton, which had become a status symbol in early modern Spain (Luzón 1998: 28, 30–1; Nadeau 2016: 48). By the late 20th century, the American embargo and the Special Period affected feed imports and resulted in a 50% loss of beef cattle (Paponnet-Cantat 2003: 17), and 2013 beef imports were about a quarter of 2007 rates (Nova González and Figueroa Alfonso 2018: 8). Today, cows are primarily used to produce milk, which is rationed and given primarily to young children. Nonfat dried milk is imported from New Zealand (Zahniser and Cooke 2015). *Paladares*, small, family-owned restaurants in larger cities such as Havana, purchase beef from state CUC stores, which sell frozen beef imported from Brazil or Argentina. The overseas supply of beef, however, remains erratic (Deere and Royce 2019: 684).

Desserts and fruit-flavoured drinks, both of which are prominent in Cuban cuisine, are also offered to tourists at La Picadora. In *Cocina Cubana*, Villapol writes that regional differences and family recipes have led to a great variety of desserts; however, sugar is still a defining component in all Cuban recipes because of its accessibility (Villapol 1992: 119–20). Fornet Piña lists desserts with lots of sugar as an important part of a traditional Cuban meal, but also notes that most Cubans today prefer sodas to fruit-flavoured drinks (Fornet Piña

2015: 8). At La Picadora, juices made with tropical fruits grown on local farms are offered throughout the day, and tourists and residents can buy sodas at a nearby café. Locally available ingredients like sugar, fruit or tubers, eggs and milk are the main components of La Picadora desserts. Spices are sometimes used, but have to be imported. Desserts that require wheat flour, such as *buñuelos*, *polvorones* and *panetela borracha*, are not served at La Picadora.

An example of the hybrid nature of 20th- and 21st-century Cuban cuisine can also be found through the use of canned meats for packed lunches. Not all cookbooks emphasise what they deem to be traditional, and instead note that Cuban cuisine is a mixture of foods: indigenous, African, Spanish, French, Chinese, American, Haitian and even Italian (Fornet Piña 2015: 5–6; Fernández Monte and Gutiérrez Lezcano 2016: 25–37). Fernando Ortiz, a Cuban anthropologist who researched food and identity in the 1930s and 1940s, also argued that “Cuba is an *ajiaco*”, a mixture of indigenous, African and European traditions that came together to make this popular stew and by extension, the Cuban nation (Ortiz 2014: 477–8). None of these writers, however, recognise the social and economic inequalities that enslaved and indentured men and women faced that also impacted Cuban foodways (Paponnet-Cantat 2003: 11–12). For most food writers, Russian and Eastern European cuisine is not viewed as part of the mixture that makes Cuban cuisine today; however, Cuba’s reliance on the Soviet Union as a trading partner in the late 20th century led to the introduction of several new foods from Soviet bloc countries. Starting in the 1960s, Cubans ate canned meats (*carne rusa*), caviar, anchovies, black bread and borscht and mixed them with their own cuisine (Prieto Samsónov and Martínez Shvietsova 2012: 149–50; Yoss 2012: 215, 218). Canned meat, because it does not spoil quickly or need refrigeration, continues to be eaten in Cuba today.

During the Special Period, the Cuban government supported the establishment of *organíponicos*, especially in urban centres, to feed residents, and many scholars have documented their successes in improving daily caloric and nutrient intake (Nieto et al. 2002: 47–9). In fact, these markets can sometimes sell produce less expensively than state-run enterprises (Nova González and Figueroa Alfonso 2018: 5). In spite of the availability of fresh produce, La Picadora residents, however, did not consume fresh vegetables until tourists requested salads as part of lunch and dinner (Subjects 1 and 5). The salads offered at La Picadora were not invented locally, but can be found in Cuban cookbooks, most notably Villapol’s recipes that include chopped, fresh vegetables with a vinaigrette (Villapol 1992: 85). The introduction of salad to cater to tourists has influenced the food preferences of at least two respondents. Subject 2 noted that tomatoes were one of his favourite foods; Subject 6 also mentioned enjoying cucumbers, carrots, tomatoes and lettuce.

Image #3 Salad dressing offered at La Picadora (Courtesy Krystyn R. Moon)

Finally, food requirements of foreign tourists (such as vegetarianism, allergies and religious regulations) at La Picadora have challenged cooks in other ways. Paponnet-Cantat’s article, “The Joy of Eating”, argues that most Cubans view a meal without meat as “eminently unsatisfying” and “lacking in nutrients” (Paponnet-Cantat 2003: 16). Vegetarianism as well as religious food regulations (specifically *kashrut* and *halal*) have been difficult to navigate because the local diet is centred on pork and its byproducts; however, cooks have accommodated by preparing more dishes with chicken and, when possible, fish. La Picadora also has access to a variety of fruits, vegetables and grains that are served to visitors. These are similar to accommodations made by independent dining locations that host tourists in other parts of the world (Oktadiana et al. 2020: 514–15). Residents of La Picadora, however, view these food practices as reflections of the

Image #4 Community constructed classroom and furniture at La Picadora to teach foreign tourists (Courtesy Krystyn R. Moon)

dichotomy between poorer and richer countries; in the latter, people can be more selective about what they eat because they have more food options.

Socioeconomic Effects of Agroecotourism

La Picadora typifies the sustainable ideals articulated by other agrotourism programmes and activists by employing a broad array of community members. As in other communities, La Picadora ensures the surrounding community's livelihood by creating programmes to educate foreigners about organic agricultural practices, local foodways, and other social and recreational activities (e.g. Sims 2009; Addinsall et al. 2017), and directly selling local products (Madaleno et al. 2018). The monies brought to the community through tourism, little of which

goes to the state, operates as a financial feedback loop at the local level. The inflow of cash in the form of Cuban Convertible Pesos (CUCs), pegged to international markets, provides more income than traditional wages, which are paid in Cuban pesos (CUPs; e.g. Posada 2011). These monies have facilitated the community's reinvestment in itself, including structural improvements to their homes and tourist facilities. While we visited, we watched the installation of new tiles in the kitchen, improving the overall workspace for cooking and making it easier to clean after meal preparation. Residents also highlighted a classroom building and furniture that they constructed for tourists (E. Pérez and J. Rodríguez Sanchez, personal conversations 6 May 2018). Community reinvestments at La Picadora are similar to those found in Reardon and Pérez's research,

Image #5 Newly installed tiles in La Picadora's kitchen (Courtesy Krystyn R. Moon)

which documented “input costs and improving income possibility through diversified production and processing at the on-or near-farm level” (Reardon and Pérez 2010: 909). These practices contrast significantly with other tourism sites where local populations face displacement, unequal distribution of monies and other benefits, and the disappearance of traditional functions and practices to provide services that fit tourist and/or governmental expectations (Gravari-Barbas et al. 2015: 6–7; Keshodkar 2015: 93–5; Conti 2017: 175, 179).

In addition, the establishment of La Picadora has led to changes in the social and economic position of women within the community. These attitudes and practices complement findings by other scholars on the impact of tourism on social roles (Facio et al. 2003: 140–2; Akpinar et al. 2005: 483–5; Shortliffe 2015: 110–15). The focus of women’s labour continues to be cooking, cleaning and caring for children and elders at home; however, instead of the isolation faced by many married women on Cuban farms, there are increased interactions with community members and tourists (Smith and Padula 1996: 97–9; Molyneux 2000: 309–10; Barrueta 2001: 71–81; Jennissen and Lundy 2001: 45–69; Holgado Fernández 2002: 93–5; Davidson and Krull 2011: 70–1; Kersh 2019: 63–70). Women spend much of their time cooking together in a communal kitchen, which creates opportunities for sociability and emotional support with other women while sharing the burden of domestic work. Women also enjoy interacting with tourists and teaching them about local food practices. These interactions, although tied to the expansion of gendered work, have fostered a form of rural cosmopolitanism among residents, in which they view themselves and food preparation through a global lens. In a few instances, male residents participated in food preparation too. For example, Pérez mentioned that her spouse sometimes made coffee in the morning and cooked breakfast (E. Pérez, personal conversation 6 May 2018). Another woman (Subject 14) discussed how her son cooked when it was convenient to him. In these cases, food preparation was not part of their daily responsibilities within the household or community. Other aspects of food preparation were considered quintessential masculine activities, such as killing and roasting pigs for tourist fiestas (Dummitt 1998: 214–16).

In addition, tourism has influenced the ways in which residents articulate Cuban culture and identity. Almost all of our interviewees noted how much they enjoy talking with foreign tourists and learning about other parts of the world. These exchanges have not only influenced La Picadora’s tourism programming but also the attitudes and behaviours of residents. As a result, these intercultural exchanges ensure that the community is not presented as frozen in time or untouched by the forces of globalization (Wergin 2017: 110). As other scholars

have argued, the discourse of authenticity within tourism promotes a more static understanding of culture and identity that makes little room for intercultural exchanges or local investments that occur in agroecotourism programmes such as La Picadora. In these situations, the emphasis on authenticity also obscures the power relationships inherent in the delineation of identity and culture and who can and cannot participate in its creation (e.g. Johnson 2007; Ogden 2019). Finally, the willingness of residents to adapt to both tourist tastes and Cuba's limited access to certain goods complicates more homogeneous depictions of Cuban life in the 21st century (Brulotte and Di Giovine 2014: 2–6).

Conclusion

Agroecotourism at La Picadora demonstrates the potential of locally driven tourism in rural communities (Sheller 2020: 10). Most tellingly about its impact is La Picadora's resilience after Hurricane Irma in fall 2017. Irma not only destroyed homes and ripped roofs off buildings, but also knocked down trees and killed animals and crops. Many residents discussed the destruction of their coffee plants and fruit trees, which are important sources of both food and barter. However, the agricultural diversity inherent in their *campesino* model of production, divorced from the use of external resources such as fertilisers and pest controls, sped the rate of recovery. Economic benefits from the community's agroecotourism programme also gave La Picadora the money to rebuild and purchase new trees to plant on members' properties.

La Picadora, however, has impacted local lives in more subtle, nuanced ways beyond its social and economic well-being after a catastrophic meteorological event. While farming remains central to the community's survival, residents recognise the importance of sharing their skills and knowledge with a broader international community in hopes of changing the conversation about sustainable agriculture and rural life in Cuba. The monies earned as an agroecotourism site are reinvested into La Picadora's programming and infrastructure so that it can continue to do this type of work and simultaneously improve members' lives. In particular, women, although still participating in gendered work, have more autonomy, complete domestic chores communally and interact with a broader global community. These intercultural exchanges have altered the foods that are not only served to tourists but also eaten by residents, diversifying their diet through the incorporation of vegetables. Finally, La Picadora residents reflect a more fluid understanding of Cuban culture and identity through the continuous retooling of their programmes to better engage tourists and the limited access to certain resources compared to other parts of the country. Small-scale tourist sites like La Picadora, alternatives to sand and

sun sites, could contribute further to the contemporary sustainability of the Cuban tourism industry (e.g. Sharpley and Knight 2009).

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Appendix A: Interview Questions

Context:

- Can you tell us a little history of this farm? Was it always used for growing vegetables and caring for animals?
- How did the 1959 Revolution impact your farming practices? In what ways did this area change?
- Can you describe what agriculture was like in the 1980s?

Farming:

- When did you become a farmer? Did you grow up on a farm?
- Are there any differences in the way you farm now than when you were a kid?
- What role does your family play on the farm? Does anyone have jobs off the farm?
- How has technology impacted your farm?
- How do you view your role within the community?
- What are you currently growing?
- How do you decide what you are growing?
- What do you grow in the dry season? What about the wet season?
- Can you tell us about the seeds you use?
- What do you use for fertiliser?
- What are the major pests and/or diseases on your farm? How do you deal with them?
- What animals do you care for?
- What do your animals eat?

Agricultural Networks

- Can you describe the process of selling products in local agromercados?
- Where else do you sell your products?
- Are there any food items that do not come from your farm? How do you typically get these items?
- How did Hurricane Irma affect you and La Picadora? What hurdles do you feel you face rebuilding La Picadora?

Tourism:

- How has tourism affected your farm? Do you want more tourists? Why or why not?
- What is desirable about having tourists visit your farm?
- What is challenging about having tourists visit your farm?
- Why do you bring tourists to your farm? What do you hope to teach them?
- How do you think tourist activities affect you and your farm?
- How do tourists participate in activities on the farm?
- What dishes do you like to serve to tourists? Can you describe how they are made?
- Do you find that tourists from different places have different interests?
- Can you talk about American tourists? How are they similar or different from tourists from other countries?

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