

• *Articles* •

**Agrarian Eve to Original Sin:
Cultural Narratives of Women in the American Cider Industry**

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Abstract: *Contemporary narratives of agriculture continue to perpetuate a romantic historical notion of farming in America as the wholesome occupation of the self-sufficient farmer. Cider's agrarian associations present a relatively conservative, but positive cultural framework from which women have emerged to reposition themselves as producers, consumers, and industry-shapers who wield new kinds of autonomy and power in an ever more inclusive cultural narrative expanding to include diverse racial, ethnic, gender, and sexual identities alongside the growing prominence of women. This article examines the agrarian narrative associated with cider and presents three case studies of women reimagining their place within that framework or creating entirely new frameworks for their participation in the hard cider industry today.*

At the 2019 United States Association of Cider Makers, the first official meeting of the Pomme Boots Society drew almost 100 women and a smattering of men to discuss the goals and projects of a group dedicated to supporting women in the cider industry. Enthusiasm was high, generated by the belief that in this young, rising craft beverage industry, women might be able to set a new standard for gender and racial equality before the habits and power structures of white male dominance have the opportunity to take over. Pomme Boots, modeled on the beer industry women's group Pink Books Society [1], "was created to promote and encourage the involvement of women in the cider industry. The group's mission is to support positive network connections, education, and professional development for women in the dynamic field of cider," according to Jana Daisy-Ensign, founding member of the group and sales ambassador for Finnriver Cider. [2]

The emergence of the Pomme Boots Society reveals a unique aspect of the American cider industry: the prominence of women as both producers, consumers, and industry-shapers. In this article, I explore the cultural frameworks underpinning the cider industry's relatively welcoming culture to women. I argue that the heart of the hard cider industry's woman-positive cultural framework grows out of associations of cider with idealized American narratives of agrarian subsistence based on the value of the farm family, within which women had a recognizable role. While these particular colonial historical narratives may seem distant or unimportant to the contemporary consumer, they are recapitulated in contemporary frameworks of local food and artisanal production that emphasize idyllic agrarian spaces, and iconic notions of the American farm family.

Contemporary narratives of agriculture continue to perpetuate a romantic historical notion of farming in America as the wholesome occupation of the self-sufficient farmer. Through these nostalgic wholesome narrative associations with its agrarian base, the hard cider industry avoids other cultural narratives that could be inhospitable to American women, such as the elitist or ethnic European narratives of wine, the working class masculine narratives of beer, and narratives of the immorality, danger, and licentiousness of spirits and hard liquor that have characterized those drinks both before and after the speakeasies of Prohibition. Cider's agrarian associations present a relatively conservative, but positive cultural framework from which women have emerged to reposition themselves as producers, consumers, and industry-shapers who wield new kinds of autonomy and power in an ever more inclusive cultural narrative expanding to include diverse racial, ethnic, gender, and sexual identities alongside the growing prominence of women.

Emergence of the contemporary cider industry

The cider industry has had a recent and meteoric rise, seeing 70% annual growth since 2012, reaching more than 500 million dollars in sales in 2018. [3] The industry has been comparatively more welcoming to women than other industries and has high gender parity amongst consumers compared to other beverage industries, with women making up approximately 49% of cider drinkers, while they only comprise 39% of beer drinkers and 47% of spirits consumers. Women dominate in wine consumption, at 53% of consumers.

[4] The beer industry has long had a reputation as a "bros club" at the level of both consumer and producer cultures. And while the world of wine may be dominated by female consumers, the culture of production is often male-dominated and tied to traditional cultural divisions of labor, where women face an upward battle in production-oriented roles. Women who work in sales and marketing across the beverage sector routinely face sexual harassment, and women fight daily battles to assert themselves as business owners. Nicole Ann Todd of Santa Cruz Cider Company shared this experience in a recent issue of the cider industry journal/zine *Malus*, which focused several pieces on the issues of women in the cider industry: "There are many times when we are at an event pouring cider as a family and customers automatically start talking to one of our husbands as if they are the owners and makers. They are the first ones to say, 'Hey it's not me, this is the girls' product.'" [5]

While other industries continue to fight back against white male oppression, these women of the Pomme Boots Society are banding together in the hope that they can set a standard for equality at the beginning. Ambrosia Borowski, manager of the Northman Cider Bar in Chicago, wrote in the recent women-focused issue of *Malus*,

Cider here is new, fresh, interesting, and has a clean slate. White men in powdered wigs are not required. Cider also doesn't come with the gendered stigma of almost every other beverage category that has a gendered foothold. Imagine coffee or cocktails, and you get a cis white male with suspenders and a mustache. Trade the suspenders for flannel and the mustache for a bear, and you have beer and whisky. Cider is too new in Chicago to have strongly gendered stereotypes in place. [6]

Craft Cider and American Colonial Identity

This current emphasis by groups such as Pomme Boots on the opportune moment for intervention and change in the contemporary cider industry is incredibly important. To understand how women have come to have a presence in the cider industry from the beginning, both as producers and consumers, we must look more broadly at the way cider fits into a cultural narrative of alcohol in America, and most importantly, a narrative of agriculture. The culture of the cider industry draws heavily on the culture of the American family farm. By understanding how women have been framed as participants and

producers in the American family farm, we can better understand how women have found a foothold in this craft beverage industry.

Popular historical narratives perpetuated by the cider industry and the media focus on the disappearance of cider as a result of the nineteenth century temperance movement, capped off by the devastating effects of Prohibition. This popular—and misleading—narrative, can be found in articles from publications as noteworthy as National Geographic:

Cider vanished from the American landscape during Prohibition, when many cider orchards were burned to the ground by die-hard temperance advocates. Even after the repeal of the Volstead Act in 1933, cider never recovered. The nation, by the early 20th century, had turned to beer, and the apple crop reverted to eating apples—the kind used by hopeful kids to woo their teachers. [7]

In fact, writer Ben Watson argues that the decline of cider and cider orchards has much to do with agricultural and economic developments that parallel and complement the temperance movement, such as the increasing commercialization of farming and the move away from subsistence agricultural production. [8]

In the popular historical narrative, however, cider's decline, hurried by temperance and capped by prohibition, is preceded by its identity as a foundational drink of the American farm family, with orchards tended by subsistence farmers from colonial settlement on the eastern seaboard, continuing with the westward expansion through the Midwest. In its colonial setting, cider was beloved of John Adams and other founding fathers. The narrative of cider in the westward expansion is facilitated by the legendary efforts of Johnny Appleseed (John Chapman), planting his seedling orchards a few steps ahead of settlers as they pushed westward to create new farms. Presidential candidate William Henry Harrison of Indiana ran on a platform extolling him as the self-made frontier man, the "log cabin and hard cider" candidate. In these popular narratives, filtered through folk hero mediators such as John Adams, Johnny Appleseed, and William Henry Harrison, cider is wholesome, all-American, and foundational to the nation in multiple eras of colonial settlement. [9] Cider is for the family, the farm, and the nation. In these narratives, Cider is not just alcohol, it is one of the essential building blocks of the national story of settlement, order, and democracy. Within these cultural frames, cider is a drink that

women can be comfortably associated with, as long it, and they, conform to the agrarian narrative and the uphold the virtues of the farm family.

Women and the American Family Farm

The realities and myths of the family farm, and women's roles within it, remain powerful frames for organizing how we understand the relationship of women to farm life, and through farm life, to cider. Just as cider was part of a subsistence farming pattern that occupied a short-lived reality but a long life in the American imagination, women's roles in farming have changed dramatically in practice, while shifting little in respect to their imagined role within a patriarchal family unit. From early farm and family labor relationships where women exerted both cooperative and individual economic power in collaboration with male family members, women's labor on the family farm was gradually relegated to the realm of domestic labor as capitalism has created economics of specialization and consolidation. Farm labor that once was dominated by women and allowed them to produce capital for the household—such as the production of butter and eggs—was mechanized and specialized throughout/during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Increasing emphasis for white women on domestic labor interior to the house and focused on childcare increasingly removed farm women from the fields during the nineteenth century. Yet while industrialization led to more stark separation of domestic and wage labor in urban contexts, on the family farm, domestic labor still comprised an important part of the household economy and its identity. In her foundational study of farm women in America, Carolyn Sachs says, "In the United States, the family farm is a last vestige of organizing labor through the household. The household is not completely physically separated from the realm of production, and therefore the public / private split that is characteristic of a capitalist society is not a necessary feature of the family farm." [10] Thus, while farming shifted from the subsistence self-provision of early settlers towards more specialized production for capitalist markets, the domestic labor of farm women was still integrated into the business of the farm in a way that domestic labor of urban women was not as integrated into the wage labor performed by their husbands away from the private domestic household.

Even as farm life and farm economies have shifted dramatically since the subsistence farming practices of colonial and settler eras, the idea of the subsistence or small mixed family farm remains a cornerstone of American identity. The return to or conservation of the small family farm has become the object of contemporary social movements that attempt to reposition the role of agriculture in American life away from capitalist, corporate, and global commercial economic forces. The local food movement seeks to restore familial and community relationships to agricultural production, and to re-invest values of environmental stewardship alongside or in lieu of commodity capitalism. As a craft beverage defined in many ways by its agricultural and agrarian identity, its seasonal production, and its relationship to *terroir*, cider is aligned with these local food movements and partakes of the complex narratives of the farm family and the position of women within it.

However, even though the cultural framing of cider presents a more open forum for women's participation, and though there are women at the forefront of the field, women still experience difficulties. One female cider maker remarked to me about a research trip that was funding an expedition of orchardists to the UK. The trip had no female participation until she brought up this fact to the organizer, who promptly issued her an invitation. Women in marketing and sales may experience sexist attitudes, especially in the beverage trade, where marketing strategies still rely on heavily sexualized messages. Farmers and fermenters must contend with a labor culture that still does not see women with operating heavy machinery or performing manual labor.

Although the narrative of the American agrarian family farm has created a limited cultural framework within which women have a more positive part to play in the production and consumption of cider than in other beverage industries, this framework is based on the inherent exclusions and constraints of the agrarian narrative and its roots in patriarchal white settler colonialism. Its roles for women are based on patriarchal norms of within the scope of the farm family, and it is defined by a colonial narrative of America's agrarian origins. The limited positive framework the agrarian narratives opens to white women makes significant erasures of other narratives that do not fit the romantic agrarian theme. It erases the theft of land and genocide of Native Peoples, the labor of enslaved men and women, and the labor of migrant workers or temporary workers, and the contributions

of diverse cultural and ethnic traditions to farming over waves of many immigrant groups. The nostalgic, romantic narrative of the American family farm erases so much, that even within the cider industry today, significant conversations about the necessity of revising that narrative through the specific restructuring of language and imagery used in marketing, media, and even in personal conversations are underway in conference discussions at Cider Con and in publications such as *Malus*.

From this new perspective based in a critique of the agrarian narrative, women in the contemporary cider industry are finding ways to reposition themselves as producers, consumers, and industry shapers who do not conform to the conservative agrarian narrative. Some are also beginning to look for ways to create solidarity with other people whose identities have been excluded or erased from the agrarian narrative. Calls for racial justice and gender inclusivity are beginning to flow alongside calls for reframing women's roles on the farm and in the cider industry. In the Spring 2019 issue of *Malus*, author Olivia Maki addresses the legacy of this romantic agrarian narrative in her article, "Whose Heritage? American Cider in Black and White." She writes, "There is a trend in cider to romanticize the history of cider-making in America, to cite the Founding Fathers as avid cider drinkers, and to talk about the heritage of American cidermaking and American cider apples. That trend fails to recognize the reality behind this history. Enslaved black men, women, and children were the ones growing the crops and making the cider, beer, and wine on the plantations owned by many of the Founding Fathers." She goes on to suggest remedies to this narrative, including, "I urge our entire industry to stop referencing colonial times and the Founding Fathers unless they plan on sharing the story of their slaves, who made their lives possible. I also urge our industry to consider making a certification and annual award named after Jupiter Evans [enslaved man on Thomas Jefferson's estate, whose duties included making cider]." [11]

Maki's article created a wave of discussion and controversy within the cider industry, breaking apart the agrarian narrative upon which so much of the industry's identity has been founded. In doing so, she suggests ways in which the agrarian narrative not only constrains white women in the conservative frame of the family farm, but also shows that even so, this conservative framework allows them more agency than those who are erased from it altogether. With this in mind, my case studies will sketch examples of

how these women are repositioning themselves within the conservative agrarian framework as producers and consumers and suggests that they are beginning to break down this framework in significant pragmatic ways, even as the narrative continues to circulate through popular media. Maki's call to arms suggests that the agrarian narrative needs to be deconstructed entirely anyway, to offer justice and opportunity to those previously erased from it. These case studies may show evidence of where this restructuring is currently taking place in the cases of white women's increasing empowerment and hopefully gestures to ways in which such restructuring can be channeled into the racial justice work Maki advocates.

In the following case studies, I present examples of: 1) a producer who reframes women as farmers, 2) a marketing campaign that deploys sexualized marketing to capture the attention and energy of female consumers, and 3) introduce the work of women who are acting as industry shapers behind the scenes, engaging in the work of creating markets, educating consumers, and supporting producers. This industry-shaping work departs most dramatically from the gender expectations of the agrarian framework, ushering women into the arena of creating economic realities, rather than simply existing within them. From this position, we can see how the agrarian myth often becomes a marketing tool in selling cider, rather than a lived reality, and it is also from this industry-shaping vantage point that women are beginning to imagine a new cultural framework beyond the agrarian, where the production and consumption of cider might signal an entirely new way of imagining how farming, family, race, gender, and class interact in the construction of American identity.

Producers, Consumers, and Industry Shapers: Case Studies

With the cultural narratives discussed above shaping the field of action, let us now turn to specific experiences and case-studies to show how women interact in the cider industry as producers, consumers, and industry shapers. Naturally, these case studies do not represent all experiences, but they provide a lens for seeing how the cultural narrative described above refracts in particular circumstances.

Eve's Cidery: The Agrarian Working Girl Producer

Autumn Stoscheck began her business, Eve's Cidery, in 2001, well before the current cider industry boom. She had grown up in the Finger Lakes region of New York, stumbled on a love of orcharding, and financed her businesses by waitressing and saving money for many years. She identifies her region as a northern part of Appalachia, and though she has been selling her cider to upscale purveyors in New York City and beyond, she is usually to be found on her farm in a t-shirt and jeans, with her husband Ezra and their two children. Drive up to her barn on a twisty back road, and you may likely find her on the tractor, perhaps with her daughter, whom she has proudly taught to drive the tractor as well. [12] She has sought mentoring from prominent men in the industry, including Steve Wood of Farnum Hill Cider, and worked for many years alongside local orchardists in the Finger Lakes region. In an article from the Village Voice, Autumn explains the name of the cidery, derived from a song by Pete Seeger, linking it to a feminist identity of action and influence:

A song by Pete Seeger—my name is Autumn, and my parents were hippies. But Pete Seeger wrote a song called "Letters to Eve" that uses Adam and Eve as a metaphor for how you approach solving problems in the world. Adam is a pacifist—he's more resigned, and he says we should just play music and make the world beautiful. Eve is a freedom fighter—she says we have to create the world that we want to see. So it's my secret feminist take on things. It's also an obvious reference to an apple. [13]

In many ways, Autumn's story is the continuation of the American agrarian dream. She and her family live on and run their own small farm. She values her deep community ties and her commitment to the land. She and her husband run the business together, selling both at local farmers markets and at upscale farm-to-table restaurants in New York City. Her working class story echoes the agrarian ideals of manual labor on the land but transforms the gendered division of farm labor and domesticity that characterized the farm family in the nineteenth century as subsistence farming moved to mechanized labor and specialized markets.

Autumn has reclaimed the role of farm producer for women like herself, but still operates within a paradigm of family farming. In this way, she, like many farm-based female producers, is still legible in an evolving agrarian ideal. However, her specific role as a mother has influenced her choices about how she farms. In this interview on the radio

podcast Ciderchat, Autumn explains how she moved from a conventional agricultural practice towards an organic one:

I got into orcharding through IPM—integrated Pest management... I had a mentor who shall remain unnamed who told me, Roundup is the most benign substance on earth. It was a protein that was derived from a soybean plant. And the worst thing in it is the surfactants—like the detergents in it. And he didn't tell me to do this, but I've sprayed miles and miles and miles of Roundup in shorts and sandals. I've been exposed to so many chemicals I can't even tell you and I believed it was impossible to grow fruit organically. I believed that chemicals were safe. I believed that this was the way that you grow apples. What happened to me was the year my daughter was born, we were doing a big top-grafting project in the other orchard up in Newfield. And I often worked with her, doing different things in the cidery. And I didn't bring her to the orchard that day because we had sprayed for apple scab—it was in the early spring—and I worked all day in the orchard and I went home and I thought - oh I better change my clothes before I see her. I could smell the chemicals on me. And I realized, 'Oh I can smell them in my hair and smell them in my skin and I thought oh I am going to take a shower.' And then I realized that I'd been there for eight hours and it was in my skin and now I am going to breast feed her. And it just hit me. And then I was like, we have to figure out a way to do this or I don't want to grow apples anymore. This has to be a place where my kids can come with me and they can play. And other people's kids can come and other people's kids can play. And it's safe. And I know it's safe. And that was the beginning, eleven years ago. [14]

Autumn's narrative directly links her turn to environmentally-informed agricultural practice to her experience as a parent, and particularly to the female experience of breastfeeding. By entering into agricultural production work as a woman, she was crossing into spheres of manual labor often performed by men. The physical realities of motherhood and breastfeeding brought the risks associated with conventional chemical farming into relief for her in a way that might not have happened to a man. The impact that women can have on farming practice by virtue of their unique physical experiences and the risks they encounter through childbearing are significant to contemplate as they reshape family roles on the family farm.

Original Sin: The Pin-Up Cider Consumer

Begun in 1996, Original Sin Cider was founded by upstate New York farm kid turned city dweller, Gidon Coll, who has nurtured his business through determined salesmanship and relationship-building with tavern, bar, restaurant, and retail businesses in New York City and across the country. My focus with Original Sin is not on women in producer roles, but rather on the consumer identity that this company has fostered through its marketing. Original Sin capitalized early on its name. Whereas Eve's Cider may have repositioned the original woman as the farmer, maker, and producer of divine fruit, Original Sin returns to the frame of the original woman as a consumer of forbidden fruit. If Eve's Cider casts a second-wave feminist in the cider maker role, reorienting women within the agrarian American family, Original Sin casts a third-wave feminist in a consumer role, reorienting women simultaneously as objects of desire and agents of consumption.

The use of sexualized marketing and the objectification of women to sell products is nothing new. And the pin-up girl genre itself, according to author Maria Buszek in her book *Pin-Up Grrrls: Feminism, Sexuality, and Popular Culture*, "has presented women with models for expressing and finding pleasure in their sexual subjectivity." [15] In this light, the marketing campaign by Original Sin deserves further scrutiny, because it marks a reorientation of sexualized marketing from a specific appeal to a male consumer to the co-creation of a female consumer who is complicit in her sexualization and perhaps beginning to deploy, enjoy, and control what it means for her. This is extremely important for an industry where fifty percent of consumers are women, compared to its industry cousin, craft beer, where female consumers only make up between thirty and forty percent of total consumers, according to varying estimates. [16]

The evolution of Original Sin's pinup girls speaks to the self-defining and self-consuming sexuality of the third wave of feminism. In 2014 the company issued a competition for women to pose as pin-ups for its marketing campaign, and it also uses female colleagues and friends as models. The advertisement for the campaign in the *Hard Cider News* blog described what they were looking for:

Original Sin, the unique and independent craft producer of award-winning hard ciders, is seeking iconic, sexy and empowered women from across the country to participate in the Original Sin Pin-up Poster Model Contest starting this summer [...] "We

are looking for memorable, artistic and independent women who reflect our commitment to creativity and boldness," said Gidon Coll, Founder and President of Original Sin Cider. The tour celebrates the company's own grassroots origins with the theme of welcoming all. [17]

These voluntary and collegial models signal a collaborative staging of sexualized female consumer identity, rather than strictly one-sided sexualized depiction of women as marketing objects. Artistically, the evolution of the Original Sin pin-up girl has morphed from the obvious emphasis on curvy figures, voluptuous breasts, and revealing clothing, to more nuanced and stylized depictions of women that imply sexuality through selective corporal concealment and poses that emphasize seductive gaze by, as well as of, the woman depicted. These more recent Original Sin pin-up girls invite you to look at them and co-create a sexualized consumer identity in which they participate, in a way that is markedly different than sexualized marketing which is mostly created by and for male audiences. The design also went through evolutionary phases emphasizing agrarian and agricultural themes and now incorporates men as subjects as well as women, diversifying both the subjects depicted on the marketing materials and the general tone of the brand.

The marketing mode of the pin-up girl transforms in order to accommodate the need to shape a consumer identity that frames women at the least as co-authors of consumption and at the most as agents who direct the roles they want to play as consumers (of) themselves. The challenge here, as in third-wave feminist movements in general, is whether the freedom offered by the neo-liberal economic system to frame oneself as a consumer really offers agency to its participants, or simply rehashes sexualization that reinforces a patriarchal paradigm? Similarly, the agrarian frame presents women the opportunity to innovate versions of cooperation within the farm family that either reproduce or subvert patriarchy. The marked shift in both cases, is that opportunities now exist to use and shift the cultural framework away from the patriarchal basis of existing agrarian producers' roles within the family and objectified consumer roles. And this potentially active role coincides with the self-determining sexual politics of third wave feminism. Shifts towards a more empowered and self-determining roles within both producer and consumer arenas are certainly possible for individuals, and gradually, for American women more broadly. But the work being done by industry-shapers shows

where women are simultaneously breaking accepted frames altogether, and ironically where the agrarian myth cycles back into the popular consciousness.

Industry Shapers: Pomme Boots and Beyond

As producers and consumers of cider, women's roles have been influenced by the agrarian cultural framework of cider either by their innovation of producer gender roles within the farm family or their shift into new consumer gender roles facilitated by the positive influence of the agrarian myth. Another role bears more scrutiny: the role of industry shapers. Industry shapers include women in administrative, marketing, and sales roles. In these roles, women create the relationships and business conditions for products to find appropriate consumers.

In reality, many producers—both orchardists and cider-makers—are also heavily involved in industry-shaping activities. And likewise, some enthusiastic consumers become industry advocates while never engaging in production work, or even in official sales or marketing. Industry-shapers are engaged in the labor that moves the agrarian family farm out of the realm of the subsistence myth and into the realm of the capitalist economy of the 21st century, where producers must find a way to not just fulfill the needs of markets, but must create those needs and desires in the first place.

Much of the success—and much of the work—of the cider industry in the last ten years, has been in the creation of a consumer market that wants what the product producers have to sell. As that market has emerged and evolved, the cider industry has also iterated its products, finding the best match between what it can create and what the consumer wants. But the creation of that consumer, as the case of the Original Sin Pin-Up girl suggests, is both influenced by the agrarian ideal and moves considerably beyond it. This is in no small part because industry-shaping women have worked closely with—or have been themselves—agrarian producers and collaborative consumers.

Some of the most visible roles where industry-shaping work takes place are in board member, executive, or director positions for the national and regional organizations. In early 2019, women occupied significant roles in these positions. The executive director of the United States Association of Cider Makers (USACM) is Michelle McGrath, and on the elected board of the USACM, two of the eleven members, Eleanor Leger and Brooke Glover,

are women. Executive directors Emily Ritchie of the Northwest Cider Association and Jennifer Smith of the New York Cider Association both brought extensive experience in agriculture and beverage industry marketing to their roles. Sara Grady, formerly Vice President of Programs at Glynwood, a non-profit supporting sustainable agriculture in the Hudson Valley, was instrumental in creating early exchange and educational programs between American and European cider makers, and helped launch the marketing event known as Cider Week, which has now spread across the country into numerous regional events that help grow the cider industry in local and national markets. Caitlin Braam, as brand strategist for Angry Orchard cider, America's largest cider producer, commanded a powerful role, which according to the press release announcing her hire in 2018, included, "driving education and engagement for the brand, stoking growth, and attracting new drinkers to the cider category." [18]

By creating a space for women to meet and network, Pomme Boots is actively cultivating women to move towards being industry-shapers, and specifically, to shape that industry into a diverse, inclusive, and egalitarian industry. USACM Executive Director Michelle McGrath notes the importance of Pomme Boots in acting as a leadership forum for women in the industry. In a personal communication responding to research for this article, she stated:

USACM is supportive of the organization Pomme Boots. They are really helping to build camaraderie for women in the industry, and I think that is so important. I see a lot of talented women in the industry, but not so many of them stepping up to play a leadership role. I think that lack of confidence comes from traditional power dynamics, and building a community of women in the industry will help provide some of that confidence. I do my best to reach out to women and encourage them to get engaged with USACM. Representation really matters. [19]

Rising from a collective of female friends in the cider industry towards the hope of founding their own 501(c)3 organization, Pomme Boots is actively seeking ways to engage the needs of a growing number of constituents, especially after the enthusiastic attendance at its inaugural meeting at the 2019 cider industry convention, CiderCon. The organization currently has a closed group on Facebook. On the main page, member women can post news, questions, and thoughts for others to comment and dialogue upon. Occasionally,

moderators prompt new members to introduce themselves to the group. The "Fuck-Yea Friday" prompt post encourages members to talk about what they accomplished during that week. The "Tap-Room Tuesday" prompt encourages members to engage on issues related to customer service in tasting establishments. As an observer of the group, it has been interesting to see how intimate and personal a community the page creates. Not in the sense that personal details are shared, but that the spirit of dialogue is very welcoming to all to post questions about the mechanics of fermentation, the challenges of opening a tasting room, or marketing strategies.

Conclusion

Women in industry-shaping roles have the power to shape not only the tangible environment of supply and demand, linking producers and consumers, but also to shape new cultural narratives. The question remains, what will those narratives be? Though it is the most conservative cultural narrative, agrarianism remains a strong influence among those producers and consumers interested in local, artisanal products. Women farmers continue to change the patriarchal paradigms of the farm family, but in the increasingly industrialized agricultural sector, both the farm family, and women farmers, remain a marginal sector of society. According to a report on the characteristics of women farmers, women operated fourteen percent of American farms in 2007, but three quarters of those women operated farms making less than ten thousand dollars in sales. [20] Other narratives, oriented towards urban female consumers like those interpolated in the Original Sin pin-up contest, are conservative in their sexualized stance but invite women to participate in this framework in a way that affirms their co-creation and consumption of female desire as active participants rather than as merely objects of desire. Perhaps the most disruptive, most revolutionary cultural narrative is being born in the collective identity that women are forming in venues like the Pomme Boots Society and in the pages of the women-focused issue of *Malus*, where for the first time, women are imagining out loud what it means to be in an industry co-created by and for a diverse and inclusive community.

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