



Social Movements And Tourism-Related Local Action

By: Nancy Gard McGehee, **Carol Kline**, and Whitney Knollenberg

Abstract

Social movements often emerge as a response to oppression generated from uncertain economic conditions. This study focuses on the role of HandMade in America, a regional economic development organization, in cultivating the change-agent components of social movements (consciousness-raising, networking, and self-efficacy) in seven tourism-reliant communities. Results from interviews, focus groups, and a review of archived publications indicate that HandMade's distinctive approach cultivates social movement components via its Visioning and Charrettes, Clean, Green and Screen Projects, Project and Grants Cycles, Annual Cluster Meetings, and Ongoing Contact with HandMade. These important findings force a theoretical debate as to what constitutes a social movement organization and a practical debate for tourism developers to view their efforts in a different light.

McGehee, N. G., et al. (2014). "Social movements and tourism-related local action." *Annals of Tourism Research* 48: 140-155. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2014.06.004>. Publisher version of record available at: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0160738314000802>

Social movements and tourism-related local action

Nancy Gard McGehee^{a,†}, Carol Kline^b, Whitney Knollenberg^a

^a Virginia Tech, USA

^b Appalachian State University, USA

a b s t r a c t

Social movements often emerge as a response to oppression generated from uncertain economic conditions. This study focuses on the role of HandMade in America, a regional economic development organization, in cultivating the change-agent components of social movements (consciousness-raising, networking, and self-efficacy) in seven tourism-reliant communities. Results from interviews, focus groups, and a review of archived publications indicate that HandMade's distinctive approach cultivates social movement components via its *Visioning and Charrettes*, *Clean, Green and Screen Projects*, *Project and Grants Cycles*, *Annual Cluster Meetings*, and *Ongoing Contact with HandMade*. These important findings force a theoretical debate as to what constitutes a social movement organization and a practical debate for tourism developers to view their efforts in a different light.

Keywords:

Regional tourism development
Rural tourism
Social movement theory
Consciousness-raising
Self-efficacy
Networks

Introduction

Rural tourism experts are often in search of examples of rural tourism development that minimize negative effects of tourism while maximizing positive impacts. This notion has been applied to a number of areas of rural tourism research, including cultural impacts (George, Mair, & Reid, 2009; Griffiths & Sharpley, 2012), agri-tourism (Di Domenico & Miller, 2012; Ohe & Kurihara, 2012; Phelan & Sharpley, 2012; Tew & Barbieri, 2012), rural community behavior and resident attitudes (Davis & Morais, 2004;

[†] Corresponding author. Tel.: +1 540 231 1201.

E-mail addresses: nmcgehee@vt.edu (N.G. McGehee), klinec@me.com (C. Kline), knollenw@vt.edu (W. Knollenberg).

Hwang, Stewart, & Ko, 2012; Kastenholz, Carneiro, Eusébio, & Figueiredo, 2013; Lee, 2013), leadership (Haven-Tang & Jones, 2012), the environment (Ferrari, Mondéjar-Jiménez, & Vargas-Vargas, 2010) and perhaps most relevant to this research, economic and entrepreneurial impacts (McGehee & Kline, 2008; Stevens & Partridge, 2011). When framed in a critical perspective, this means that researchers are looking to expose issues of power differentials, oppression, and inequalities (Tribe, 2006) in order to develop an understanding of alternate world views and political perspectives (Bramwell & Lane, 2014), while enhancing the opportunities for emancipation and economic security (McGehee, 2012). In utilizing a critical perspective, this work contributes to a growing body of tourism research that began with Urry's (1990) classic examination of the 'tourist gaze'. Recent studies in this area have focused on the power relationships amongst tourists, locals, and other members of the tourism system (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Wearing, Wearing, & McDonald, 2010), the manifestation of power through a destination's image (Feighery, 2009; Jenkins, 2003; Soguk, 2003), and amongst the various players in volunteer tourism (Lyons & Wearing, 2008; McGehee, 2012; Wearing, 2001; Wearing & Wearing, 2006). Like many prior studies, this work operates from Foucault's (1977) perspective that power produces realities and knowledge which may lead to oppression. In the geographic region targeted for this study, Western North Carolina, the hegemonic view of economic development emphasizes the value of extractive industries such as forestry and mining that exploit local residents in order to serve the urbanized and powerful places. This has contributed to unsustainable development in the region, impacted the health and well-being of residents, and resulted in high levels of unemployment and environmental destruction (Appalachian State University Center for Economic Research & Policy Analysis, 2013). The contribution of this work is to illustrate how a non-profit organization, HandMade in America, utilizes a process similar to that of social movements to introduce new knowledge about economic development opportunities to this region. In this scenario, it may be observed that such knowledge contributes to the emancipation suggested by Foucault (1977) as a potential result of power. Therefore, by utilizing a critical perspective, this study advances the examination of tourism as a force for progressive change and emancipation (Bramwell & Lane, 2014; Wilson, Harris, & Small, 2008).

A social movement framework was applied to illustrate how this new emancipatory knowledge has been implemented by HandMade in America in Western North Carolina. At the simplest level, modern social movements are "an organized effort by a significant number of people to change (or resist change in) some major aspects of society" (Marshall, 1994, p. 489). Generally, social movements take place outside the mainstream political system. They often consist of people who either choose to be or are excluded from routine institutionalized channels of participation. Examples include the civil rights movements in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s, the more modern, early 21st century examples of the Arab Spring, or efforts to eliminate genetically modified produce from European markets (Goodwin & Asper, 2009). While some may consider the Occupy Wall Street Campaign a social movement (Crane & Ashutosh, 2013; Gleason, 2013), many have countered that it was not in actuality a social movement as it did not have a formalized structure or obvious goals and objectives (Calhoun, 2013; Gitlin, 2013). Social movements may result in collective action anywhere from the supranational level to the local level (Della Porta, Kriesi, & Rucht, 2009). The challenge of applying this theory to rural tourism development lies in identifying organizations that may exhibit the components of a social movement, and contribute to communities similarly, but most likely do not envision themselves as such. This study sets out to examine one potential organization known as HandMade in America as a potential case study of one such organization that contributes to tourism.

Handmade in America

HandMade in America (HandMade) is a non-profit organization whose mission is to "grow handmade economies through craft, cultural heritage and community assets" (HandMade in America, n.d.). The organization got its start in the early 1990s when it received a development grant from the Pew Partnership for Civic Change, which had roots in much of the social justice/war on poverty efforts of the 1960's and 1970's, as did the organization's founder, Becky Anderson. HandMade focused on establishing Western North Carolina as the center of handmade crafts in the United States. To accomplish its mission, HandMade developed the Small Towns Program (STP), a more inclusive version of the U.S. National Trust for Historic Preservation's Main Street Program, which uses a "four point

approach” of human resource organization, economic restructuring, design, and promotion to guide communities toward the interconnected goals of preserving heritage, developing local enterprises, and fostering community pride and empowerment (National Trust, n.d.).

The success of HandMade’s initial programs in the 1990’s attracted the attention of local and national non-profit community development organizations (CDOs), economic development offices, tourism marketers, travel media, artists, and other rural communities wishing to emulate the HandMade model. The STP holds strong today in fourteen towns in the region; HandMade’s approach is credited as the reason for the program’s longevity and successful track record. The HandMade model is comprised of several stages: *Visioning and Charrettes*, *Clean, Green and Screen Projects*, *Project and Grants Cycles*, *Annual Cluster Meetings*, and *Ongoing Contact with HandMade*. The first step of the program is the *Visioning and Charrettes*, which are collaborative planning, design and discussion sessions that pull together community residents to weigh in on priority issues for the future. In step two, each town selects a *Clean, Green and Screen Project*, a simple activity that results in a positive, noticeable outcome and a first, collective success. Examples include *cleaning* up a littered area of town, *greening* by improving the landscape of a bleak public space, or *screening* an eyesore via public art.

Once the *Clean, Green and Screen Project* is completed, the community takes on a more ambitious goal which requires external funding. This is known as the *Project and Grants Cycle*. HandMade provides five essential elements for this step: technical knowledge on proposal writing, guidance on approaching funders, a letter of support, confidence-building in the abilities/ideas of the community, and a certain cache through association with HandMade. Subsequently, a grant is successfully obtained, furthering the confidence of the CDO, raising the visibility of the organization, and underwriting physical change in the town.

The *Annual Cluster Meetings* are gatherings where volunteers from the communities come together to share lessons learned, celebrate successes, provide peer learning, and inspire each other. The meetings last for one day, but the impact lasts much longer. The fourth step, *Ongoing Contact with HandMade*, consists of regular, supportive meetings and other contact between the CDO and HandMade, which add valued continuity. Additionally, an on-going relationship with HandMade staff is vital for its network of organizations that provide funding, technical assistance, training, planning services, and marketing.

It is also important to note that as a result of the environment of the region (including the mountainous, remote topography), its deep craft heritage, and HandMade’s mission to promote craft, the communities involved in the STP often focus on cultural assets as a base for economic development efforts. Although the towns are dispersed across a region spanning 11,000 square miles (28,000 square kilometers), their economic development efforts are regionally-focused and collaborative. HandMade engaged a wide variety of partners to fulfill the goals of each town, including the North Carolina Rural Economic Development Center, the Appalachian Regional Commission, the NC Department of Commerce, and local community development corporations and arts councils. This resulted in a natural relationship with tourism developers as well. For a more detailed description of HandMade’s efforts, see <http://handmadeinamerica.org/>.

Social movement theory

Social movement theory has emerged over several decades, in the context of individuals, organizations, and events (Della Porta & Diani, 2009). At the individual level, the social psychological aspects of *consciousness-raising* and *self-efficacy* are central. Mueller (1992) characterizes consciousness-raising as an individual’s identification with and awareness of the “battlegrounds” of social conflict. Consequently, it is closely bound with participation in and support for social movements (Eisenstein, 2001). Self-efficacy may be defined as one’s sense of an ability to overcome obstacles in life. Without a strong sense of self-efficacy, a person would be disinclined to participate in social movements. At the organizational level, resource mobilization has received a great deal of attention. This involves the examination of how and through what *networks* social movement organizations obtain economic, political, and human resources. Theorists argue that systematically excluded people participate in social movements to implement social change in ways that maximize their limited power and resources (Goodwin & Asper, 2009; McCarthy & Zald, 1973).

One of the major issues in regional tourism development is a lack of practical frameworks for community-centered development. While social movement theory has been utilized in the context of volunteer tourism (McGehee, 2002; McGehee & Norman, 2002; McGehee & Santos, 2005) and efforts to stop tourism overdevelopment (Kousis, 2000), there is room for growth in its application to tourism. McGehee's work examined how volunteer tourism experiences impacted volunteers' social movement participation upon their return home; Kousis highlighted the efforts of anti-tourism development protestors. The primary contribution of social movement theory in this current study lies in the fact that it provides a potential location for praxis and agency in support of grassroots-level sustainable tourism development. While it must be stressed that a non-profit organization such as HandMade is not a social movement organization in a traditional sense, we hope to explore whether it can facilitate and nurture mainstream resource mobilization activities that provide a conduit for social change, regional development (McGehee, 2002), and perhaps a change in the way that we look at entrepreneurship in a neoliberal society (Routledge, 2003). Recent research has argued that the changing face of social movements includes less radicalized channels for working- and middle-class individuals looking for ways to enable collective action. Specifically, Tarrow (2011) calls attention to the growth of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and their role in social movements.

Social movement theory offers a strong lens through which researchers can examine how organizations may act as catalysts for change in tourism development. In particular, social movement theory can provide a framework whereby good practices in regional development may be discovered, capturing improvements in self-efficacy, opportunities for consciousness-raising experiences, and the development of networks that lead to resource mobilization targeting community-centered regional development. This paper aims to explore how the social movement theoretical perspective may serve as the foundation for the assessment of tourism development within the context of regional development.

Social movement theory and consciousness-raising

Consciousness-raising is seen as an important tool in gaining participation in social movements as "organizers know that during episodes of collective action, a participant's consciousness is raised considerably" (Klandermans, 1992, p. 92). Additionally, this experience may transform an individual in a way that can endure for many years (Eisenstein, 2001; Vijayanthi, 2002). First-generation activists often make consciousness-raising a top priority (Colquhoun & Martin, 2001). As an individual becomes aware that they are part of a larger movement, there is a greater sense of the possibility for success and more motivation to participate. Studies of consciousness-raising focus on social movement organizations such as the Civil Rights movement of the 50's and 60's (Evans, 1979) as well as more recent episodes of collective action and protest which include the Arab Spring (Bennett, 2012; Hirsch, 2009; Khondker, 2011).

Consciousness-raising can occur over a period of time or suddenly and dramatically. Both can have an enduring effect on participation (Goodwin & Asper, 2009; McAdam, 1989). Those who study consciousness-raising within social movements recognize its complexity. It occurs through collective action within the movement, and through interactions with members of counter-movements and outside coalitions, as well as relationships with political parties and the media (Klandermans, 1992). McAdam and Rucht (1993) were among the first to find that consciousness-raising is transmitted across organizations that are inspired and educated by each other. Furthermore, while some activists are affected through direct movement-related channels, others are affected through indirect channels (informal, casual, word-of-mouth communication). The irony of consciousness-raising is that it is an intensely individual experience that frequently occurs within a group context (Colquhoun & Martin, 2001; Gordon, 2002).

Finally, it is important to note that experiential enlightenment resulting from consciousness-raising may translate to sympathy for a cause, rather than action (Klandermans, 1992). Sympathetic spectators may also be influenced by both the charismatic leaders and the affective ties or social relationships with members of the movement (Hirsch, 2009). Spectators may not be directly involved, but they may become more sympathetic and supportive of a cause.

Social movement theory and networks/resource mobilization

In addition to their early work on consciousness-raising, Knoke (1988) and Klandermans (1992) were among the first to find another important component of social movements: social networks, or the relationships created by associates who share and/or support one's ideas and goals that facilitate resource mobilization. In some of the early work in this area, Knoke (1988) and others (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; McAdam & Rucht, 1993) argued that these linkages of multiple social relationships within a social movement may help individuals identify with the movement (Gamson, 1992) and may predict participation in social movement activities (Barkan, Cohn, & Whitaker, 1995). More recent work supports this perspective that social networks are prerequisites and predictors of participation and support, and in turn perpetuate social movement activities and successes, (Diani, 2005; Diani & Bison, 2004; Lichterman, 1996).

Social movement researchers differ on a number of points. For example, some have criticized the perspective that social movement networks exist only *within* social organizations, and believe that an individual's social networks may also exist *outside* the parameters of her/his social movement activities (Bodin & Crona, 2009; Ernstson, Sörlin, & Elmqvist, 2008; Opp, Voss, & Gern, 1995; Shemtov, 2003; Teo & Loosemore, 2010; Tindall, 2002). On a different note, Nicholls (2009) was the first to recognize geography as an influence on social network structure, namely that networks are shaped by the unique values and unspoken rules of the place in which they originate.

Social movement theory and self-efficacy

Proponents of social psychological explanations of social movements have argued that a high level of self-efficacy is an important prerequisite for participation because an individual must possess a personal sense of her/his ability to overcome obstacles before participating in an organization advocating change to the *status quo* (Bandura, 1997, 2000; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996). Bandura (1997, 2000) has been a particularly strong advocate of the role of self-efficacy as a link between one's capabilities/potential and action. If a person is highly efficacious, that person will feel competent, welcome a challenge, and express confidence in her/his ability to implement change.

Self-efficacy has also been examined as a link between attitudes toward social issues and social movement participation (Drury & Reicher, 2005; Emig, Hesse, & Fisher, 1996). For example, a person with low self-efficacy may have strong attitudes about marriage equality, but will feel powerless to resolve the problem and therefore unlikely to join a social movement combatting policies against gay marriage. In order to become involved with and committed to social movement activism, one must possess an optimistic view of how participation can re-create society (Gamson, 1988; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996).

Along with being a pre-requisite for participation in social movements, there is some evidence that once a person engages in participation, self-efficacy is further strengthened, perpetuating additional participation in social movements. Maton (2008) highlights these outcomes of self-efficacy in a review of social movement activities related to the empowerment of Afghani women and community leadership. Women who had a greater sense of their potential and abilities were more likely to participate in community action, but were also beneficiaries of an increased sense of self-efficacy which further spurred their efforts. Indeed, research in self-efficacy is closely related to work in empowerment.

The research problem

Given the results of the review of the literature in the area of social movements and on community development, the following research statement drives this study: HandMade, through its distinctive approach to working with small communities on arts-based tourism development, acts as a catalyst for economic and social change in very similar ways to social movement organizations. It is expected that the catalyst will be manifested via the creation of events and processes that result in the consciousness-raising of the community, the development of networks that work to mobilize scarce resources, and the improvement of individual self-efficacy.

Method

Study area

Western North Carolina is part of the Appalachian Mountain Range and covers around 28,000 square km (11,000 square miles), with a population of slightly over one million. The population of the largest municipality in the region is 83,313 (U.S. Census, 2010). Twenty-three of the twenty-five counties in the region are considered economically distressed (NC Division of Tourism & Sports Development., 2012). The region has been a tourism destination for over 100 years; some of the earliest tourists would come to the mountains seeking the “good air”. The area has one resort, multiple mid-level chain hotels, inns and bed & breakfasts, and many family-owned lodges, campgrounds, cabins, guesthouses, and second homes. National chain restaurants exist, however locally-owned restaurants that source food from many of the surrounding farms are abundant (Appalachian Sustainable Agriculture Project, 2007). Tourists visit for the scenery, outdoor recreation, the flourishing arts and music scene, history, culinary and farm tourism, small farmers markets, and architectural attractions (NC Division of Tourism, Film, & Sports Development, 2012).

Approach, data collection, and analysis

The overall methodological approach for this study was critical-interpretivist (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). The researchers support the arguments made by Jamal and Hollinshead (2001) and others (Gouthro, 2010; Ryan, 2011; Sharpley & Stone, 2011) who call for greater use of qualitative research and its dynamic, reflexive, and experiential approaches that account for power and context, and actively cultivate the voices of the objects of study. Ontologically and epistemologically, the authors place this work in Denzin and Lincoln’s 7th moment (2000), in that we are attempting to make connections between tourism and the greater debate of the role of social movements, but in a manner that allows for the uniqueness of context. The researchers recognize and value reflexivity in this study, and worked to design the project in a way that assured trustworthiness as opposed to the post-positivist perspective of reliability and validity (DeCrop, 2004). For example, the primary researcher has a long-term connection to HandMade through previous employment at HandMade from 2002–2004. Given her entrée to the community, the primary researcher was able to make initial contact with the organizations and gain access that normally would have been beyond the bounds of the typical researcher. The location and subjects of the study were selected as a purposive sample to ensure the inclusion of active participants in the HandMade STP. In an attempt to achieve a broader understanding of HandMade’s role in the development of these communities, the primary researcher included a variety of residents and HandMade staff as informants.

In keeping with the recommendations of qualitative methodologists (DeCrop, 2004; Tribe, 2005), multiple data sources were triangulated in three phases from May to October. Interviews were conducted with twelve HandMade staff, including the founder and employees that span early and current years of operation. HandMade news archives, publications, and reports were reviewed; and interviews and focus groups were conducted with 123 residents in seven participating towns. The interviews with the HandMade staff were conducted to provide the organization’s perspective of their efforts. The archives, publications, and reports provided researchers with information about HandMade’s operations. Finally, the input of residents through interview and focus groups provided a perspective of those impacted by HandMade’s programs.

For the interviews and focus groups, HandMade provided introduction to the primary liaison of each community, who typically held an officer position in the local CDO of the small town. The endorsement of HandMade allowed the researcher a high degree of entrée into the community. Each primary liaison orchestrated meetings with community residents, either as focus groups, single interviews, or two-person interviews (Table 1). The researcher provided the primary liaison with guidelines of criteria for inclusion in the study. The residents were to be varied in their official community role; their tenure, role, and participation level in the CDO; and their residential tenure in the community.

Table 1
Data Collection Methods.

Location	Number of Informants	Single Interview	Dual Interview	Focus Group	Phone Interview
Town 1	29	2	0	4	1
Town 2	18	7	3	1	1
Town 3	12	12	1	4	0
Town 4	27				
Town 5	6	2	0	1	0
Town 6	18	5	2	2	2
Town 7	8	0	0	1	0
Others	5	0	0	0	2
HMA staff	12	12			

Initial data analysis was performed from January to December 2010. Confirmatory meetings with the small town representatives as well as key HandMade staff were held January through October 2011. Special care was taken in the development of the research design to assure Lincoln and Guba's (1985) classic and well-regarded parameters for validity in qualitative research: credibility, which corresponds to the internal validity, truthfulness, and plausibility of the data; transferability, which refers to the degree to which the findings apply to settings outside of the research setting; dependability, which refers to whether the data were collected in an internally consistent manner in relation to the research plan; and confirmability, or the neutrality of the findings.

Credibility was safeguarded using techniques of prolonged engagement and persistent observation by the primary researcher and verification of findings with community residents through member checks with both town residents and HandMade staff. Any changes were noted in the draft findings. Transferability was accounted for through purposive sampling. Dependability and confirmability were accounted for through the development of a detailed research plan which included an audit trail of the transcripts and of the research process, as well as engaged discussion of the project over time between the primary and secondary researchers. Confirmability was further enforced through the use of excerpts from interview transcripts throughout the manuscript to support the findings and discussion. In addition to the data, method, and informant triangulation mentioned above, investigator triangulation was utilized as the primary researcher selected a co-researcher who could provide a critical view of the process, the data, and the primary researcher's role in the data collection.

Findings

The following is a presentation of the rich evidence of the three major components of social movements that exist within the five stages of HandMade's STP as framed within social movement theory: consciousness-raising, networks/resource mobilization, and self-efficacy.

Consciousness-raising

Consciousness-raising occurred at both the individual and organizational levels, particularly during the *Visioning and Charrettes, Clean, Green, and Screen Projects, Annual Cluster Meetings, and Ongoing Contact with HandMade*. The process utilized by HandMade caused members of the community to think differently: first about what was missing in the community, and second, about the future possibilities. The HandMade staff struck a balance of authority and expertise with a feeling of safe space for even the most marginalized groups:

When HandMade has their survey of the town here, they brought in some of the nicest people you'd ever want to meet. And they're all experts in their own field, but they're also well-versed in human relations. And they never made anybody feel uncomfortable. They were masters at being able to come in and make people feel comfortable. (Town 4, musician)

While terms like “battlegrounds” and “conflict identification” commonly used in consciousness-raising may be too strong in this case, community awareness was raised regarding what was absent or under-utilized in terms of economic development:

When you live in the forest, you are too close to trees. HandMade brings the ability to step back and say “have you thought about this?” and they do it in a way that doesn’t offend anyone. (Town 3, businessman)

Through the *Visioning and Charrettes* process, residents grew to value the talents within their own community:

You find the expertise in your midst that you didn’t know existed. I’m not sure they even knew . . . but they realized how wonderful together they could make it be. (Town 5, artist)

The *Clean, Green, and Screen Projects* held their unique form of consciousness-raising in that this first project symbolized a collective movement forward for the entire community. Not only were the CDO volunteers made aware of the potential, but the public became aware that positive changes were occurring:

It (the gazebo project – the first HandMade project) symbolized that we were going to do something downtown and turn things around. And now all the graduation pictures, all the prom pictures are taken down there, there have even been some weddings at the thing. And now everybody assumes the gazebo has been there forever but it’s only been there 10 or 12 years. You should have heard all the “goofawing” and everything but it symbolized that we were going to do something, hey, we’re going to do something ourselves, locally, and grow the downtown. (Town 3, local elected official)

HandMade’s non-controversial approach, particularly in the *Clean, Green, and Screen Projects* stage may be counter to that of many high-visibility social movement organizations (e.g. protests, boycotts, celebrity spokespersons), but it is an approach that is effective in rural development. This was a point made by many informants:

HandMade’s advice was to do a project that isn’t controversial. . .that everyone would approve of. . .and to go humbly but competently about what we did. (Town 1, focus group)

Consciousness-raising also occurred on two levels at the *Annual Cluster Meetings*: first, interaction across communities identified the economic and socio-cultural “battlegrounds” the towns found they had in common:

It greatly enhanced problem solving here to see how other communities solve their problems. It was extremely helpful to see how similar problems are in each of the communities. (Town 1, focus group)

Second, to continue the process of consciousness-raising amongst new members:

Over all the years, I’ve been to about all the (cluster) meetings. I didn’t make the last meeting – I couldn’t, so I had some of the new people go. . .a new alderman and some of those. . .and they were thrilled. I wanted them to see what was going on in other communities. (Town 3, town manager)

Here, informants reflect on how *Ongoing Contact with HandMade* kept them aware of their region’s community development challenges and solutions and encouraged accountability and strategic thinking:

We’re more grown up, if you will, more rational, in analyzing our strengths and weaknesses, so that we were ready then, as a team, to look at the problems. (Town 1, CDO president)

Network/resource mobilization

As discussed earlier, social networks such as personal ties and organizational alliances are prerequisites and predictors of participation and support of social movement activities and successes. These networks serve to maximize scarce resources in rural communities. While it makes intuitive sense that an organization like HandMade could facilitate networks and resources, no empirical research had been conducted to date that attempted to measure this intuition. This data offers evidence of network and resource mobilization in each of HandMade's STP stages. The informants repeatedly praised HandMade for facilitating alliances amongst residents with a variety of backgrounds, viewpoints, and agendas. The collaborative nature of the *Visioning, Planning, and Charrettes* process provided a forum for creating ties where discontent once thrived. In particular, there were often schisms between new and long-time residents, different socio-economic statuses, and white and blue collar residents:

There is always the dilemma of cultural disparities...those who have recently moved here and those who have lived here all their lives. . . and that was certainly the case when we started that there were major points of view, and Handmade was especially critical I think in helping to lessen the scale of the disparity, helping to find middle ground, just being a sort of feedback/ bounce off mechanism, helping to focus the group on what were some of the more vital aspects of points of view. That distillation process that they were about were particularly helpful at a time when the sense of cultural differences between outsiders and locals was even stronger. It still exists, and that is a process that towns go through over a long period of time but HandMade was particularly effective in helping us bridge that gap and forge a unity in a revitalization effort. (Town 1, musician)

The initial *Clean, Green and Screen Projects* activity also created opportunities for networks to be forged because residents shared a common goal so aptly stated in the following quote:

Instead of focusing on the 'we vs. them', we all were focusing on the dirty street. (Town 1, focus group)

While HandMade worked to create networks within the community that cultivated in-kind and hands-on support, the *Clean, Green and, Screen Projects* were not without other financial and/or technical resource costs. HandMade utilized its extensive external networks to connect communities with resources, facilitate introductions to outside leaders, and act as references for community residents, which ultimately assisted communities in securing needed funds and/or expertise:

The people we needed to know . . .if it hadn't been for HandMade, we would not have met them. And we didn't even know that we needed to meet them. (Town 5, mayor)

Often, a town's success in procuring a grant during the *Project and Grants Cycles* was a result of HandMade's ability to leverage their own relationships with the funders:

Just having the cache of HandMade associated with your town means that somebody somewhere is probably going to listen to you more than they otherwise would. (Town 2, CDO president)

You got that grant because HandMade knows them and they say, listen, these folks are really trying to do the right thing. (Town 6; town manager)

The administration of Handmade recognized that networks be created and nurtured as well. Each project, and each grant application submission of the *Projects and Grants Cycle*, was completed and celebrated as a team. The founder of HandMade, Becky Anderson, excelled at forging relationships and creating partnerships along the supply chain of a grant project. And once those resources were mobilized, they were also celebrated; Becky recognized the synergistic nature of success. Ribbon-cuttings, media events, and parties were all part of the strategy to keep residents excited about their accomplishments:

There is a spirit about HandMade. . .Becky will push you out in front not herself, because she believes in a collaborative model, and sees success in working together, not because Becky is out front. I think the

critical piece of that model is seeing that collaborative work and being able to celebrate others. (Town 3, elected official)

Celebrations of achievements continued at the *Annual Cluster Meeting*. Volunteers learned to appreciate another town's success as vital to the success of the region overall. It fostered a spirit of teamwork and support rather than competition:

We celebrate success – it doesn't have to be in our town. The other thing is we don't want to go to those meetings and not have something to report. (Town 3, local elected official)

During the *Annual Cluster Meeting*, workshops were offered to help all of the towns with the common issues they face. Many individuals spoke to the supportive benefits to being a part of a larger movement:

While you are training, you are making very dear friends. It's more than just learning. We've connected...our spirits have connected. We all are on the same page. All of the small towns...the people want to make where they live the best that it can be...and we're all driven in that we love where we live. And they love it too. (Town 5, mayor)

Finally, while the towns came to feel competent through the various phases of the STP process, they still appreciate knowing HandMade's guidance was available if they had a problem that required external resources through their *Ongoing Contact with HandMade*:

Every time we needed something, HandMade has been there to advise us. (Town 1, CDO president)

They are always so helpful and open.. and if they have the answer, they will put you in touch with somebody. (Town 6, town manager)

Self-efficacy

All of the STP stages offered evidence of strengthening self-efficacy among participants, but the *Visioning, Planning and Charrettes* component was especially abundant. For example:

... they (HandMade) were the first ones to say "as a community, all of you can get together and make this happen." (Town 5, artist)

We weren't sure [we could do it], but they were, and that meant something. (Town 1, CDO president)

[HandMade is] effective in bringing out the can-do attitude and making people aware that they can be effective living in the community and survive. (Town 3, businessman)

At this point, town residents became inspired to take on their own collective destiny:

The single greatest influence I have seen with HandMade is to convince folks that we need to take a bootstraps approach to economic development in the region. (Town 3, local elected official)

The initial *Clean, Green, and Screen Project* also instilled self-efficacy amongst participants. Through these non-controversial, highly visible, and easily attainable projects, residents learned that they had the power to control the direction of their town's future:

Once you understand you have the wherewithal...once they understand they can work together, then that political thing starts to happen, you know, you raise your voice and become more confident. (Town 5, attractions manager)

Further gains in community members' self-efficacy emerged in the *Project and Grants Cycles* where they become aware of their own collective power through:

Through the process with HandMade we passed municipal services taxes, we've been able to affect change in this community that honest to God I never thought I'd see. I dreamed about it, but I never thought it would happen. I really think the impact and the influence of HandMade made it happen. (Town 5, attraction manager)

...even expanding the self-assurance of elected officials:

The leaders were here, HandMade pulled them together and provided that guidance. The leadership has always been here but I think HandMade gave them the nerve. (Town 2, community realtors)

Specific to acquiring funding, HandMade instilled the confidence to try something new and daunting:

They said "anyone can write a grant, you just have to know how to do it." (Town 5, mayor)

Nearly all of the informants brought up the topic of the *Annual Cluster Meetings*. They were effusive about the spiritual, psychological, social, and logistical benefits of the annual gathering where all the towns would share their accomplishments and lessons learned through the previous years' activities. The impact on the participants' individual and collective self-efficacy, the overall social capital of the group, and the rejuvenation of passion for their community development work was evident:

These mountains are isolating factors, they are barriers, so you have for all of these hundreds of years people sitting in their corner of the world. Now you've got folks from Hayesville and West Jefferson all interacting and sharing and that kind of networking, I think, builds confidence in these communities. (Town 2, CDO president)

The last stage of STP, *Ongoing Contact with HandMade*, also bolstered residents' self-efficacy even if their influence was only felt in the background:

Although some of their programs I don't feel like impact me directly, but it gives me motivation to know that they are out there. Just knowing that HandMade is here, and that they are interested in this, and that they are doing this, makes me want to continue doing what I'm doing. I feel like when you have people behind you, that really makes a big difference. It's like support. You know that there is a group out there doing things that are going to help your business. (Town 2; gallery owner)

The HandMade staff members make you feel like anything is possible. ... [They're] very positive but grounded at the same time. ...that's a huge part of what HandMade is here. (Town 4, artist)

Community residents reported receiving the emotional support, perspective, and technical assistance they need to continue down a path toward locally-inspired development.

HandMade brings out the best in everybody. . .or it helps us find our good spot. I just feel that they play a very, very important role in bringing out the best in all of us. (Town 5, mayor)

With HandMade's help, we really are bridging the past to the future. These people are the future. . .these people are the past. . .and it's amazing how the two have to go together. . .and it's amazing how the past is being brought back to life by these efforts. (Town 7, focus group)

Finally, while HandMade's influence was first felt over 15 years ago, it seems their initial approach still resonates in each of the communities, creating a long-term sense of self-efficacy:

I've spent 15 years out in a rural county. I can really see the effect that HandMade has on smaller communities. HandMade seems to be really open. It's not coming in and saying "this is what we're going to do." And that's nice. So that Bakersville can get a river walk and some other town wants to do something else. But again, I think it encourages people who are in that area to feel like "oh, there is someone who is

watching and not taking care of us, but who cares.” And I think that helps to Town create and reinforce community in the strangest of ways. . . . ways you can’t measure. (Town 4, artist & entrepreneur)

There is still a sense that things can be accomplished if you put your mind to it, and that definitely was not here 10-12 years ago. (Town 1, focus group)

Conclusions

This study provides evidence that indeed HandMade acted as a catalyst for tourism-related economic and social change in similar ways to social movement organizations via creation of processes that result in consciousness-raising within the community, development of networks which mobilize scarce resources, and strengthening of individual self-efficacy. Each component was identified in multiple instances across the five-stage STP process. Because the STP program introduced new knowledge to residents regarding economic development opportunities, the community leaders and volunteers felt empowered (Foucault, 1977; Scheyvens, 2003) and focused on contributing to their own emancipation from economic stagnation. There is also evidence that the STP process fostered social emancipation, as it created space for relationships between groups of residents that previously did not share common community interests. Social change was present at broader scale as well, as indicated by stronger relationships between the communities across the region. Such results support Tribe’s (2008) suggestion that tourism can help to support increased human agency and autonomy.

As revealed in this study, actions similar to those applied in social movements facilitate positive impacts of tourism development. For example, informants reported instances of consciousness-raising in four of the five stages of the STP. As is consistent with the literature in social movements, consciousness-raising experiences were especially evident during the early stages of the STP, primarily the *Visioning, Planning, and Charrettes* as well as the *Clean, Green, and Screen Projects*. These activities supported consciousness-raising among individuals within the group (Colquhoun & Martin, 2001) and provided the personal experiences necessary to trigger behavioral change (Gordon, 2002). Respondents also indicated that the public nature of the *Clean, Green, and Screen Projects* allowed for consciousness-raising among members of the broader public, indicating support for Klandermans’ (1992) claim that sympathetic spectators outside a movement may also become enlightened of the need for change. Such consciousness-raising efforts may be especially impactful in rural communities where affective ties can be dense and multi-faceted, allowing for a stronger ripple effect of consciousness-raising throughout the community. Informants felt that these stages were crucial for creating momentum to support further STP development projects. For those interested in tourism development, it may be particularly important to ensure that a variety of tourism-oriented residents are involved early on in any development efforts in order to raise awareness across the community. Interestingly, respondents’ discussion of the latter stages, particularly *Annual Cluster Meetings* and *Ongoing Contact with HandMade*, characterized a more longitudinal method of creating awareness for social change. This supports McAdam and Rucht’s (1993) conclusion that consciousness-raising is fostered through long-term inspirational and educational group interactions.

The ubiquity of network creation opportunities within the STP stages extends the parallels between social movements and HandMade’s approach to rural development. Respondents reported that the *Visioning, Planning, and Charrettes* and *Clean, Green, and Screen Projects* activities opened space to cultivate social networks. As these networks facilitated the sharing of ideas and innovation (Tarrow & McAdam, 2005) their cultivation was vital for enacting change as well as resource mobilization. Equally important for the communities targeted in this study, and a finding that has not often been illuminated in previous research, the creation of these networks also helped alleviate long-held tensions between residents. This provides evidence that diverse groups can be unified through networks, certainly a common dilemma in tourism development (Davis & Morais, 2004). Respondents involved in the STP also reported numerous examples of networks created across CDOs as a result of the *Annual Cluster Meetings*. The meetings provided a safe space for organizations to compare notes and support each other through peer-to-peer learning rather than viewing other CDOs as competitors for scarce resources. Additionally, both the *Projects and Grants Cycles* and *Ongoing Contact with HandMade*

provided opportunities for CDOs to gain much-needed access to resources outside the region. Creation of these networks resulted in resource mobilization and subsequent development projects that often benefitted the tourism industry. This finding mirrors [Ernstson et al's \(2008\)](#) conclusion that successful social movement organizations create networks both within and across organizations.

Successful social movements require self-efficacy among participants ([Bandura, 1997, 2000](#)), and all the STP stage provided opportunities for participants to discover their personal strengths. In the *Visioning, Planning, and Charrettes* stage, the confidence of HandMade's staff cultivated self-efficacy among community members. Specifically, the charisma of HandMade's founder put residents at ease and made everyone feel welcome and capable ([Hirsch, 2009](#)). Participants reported that the success of activities in the *Clean, Green, and Screen Projects* and *Projects and Grants Cycle* stages led to additional changes in their communities, increased feelings of their ability to overcome obstacles, and long-term commitment to the successful completion of tangible community projects. This finding supports [Drury and Reicher's \(2005\)](#) argument that continual involvement in successful social movement activities builds self-efficacy which results in sustained participation in social change. Participants emphasized that the design of the STP helped maintain their feelings of self-efficacy. Specifically, the *Annual Cluster Meetings* created an environment where they were reminded of their successes with other CDOs, and *Ongoing Contact with HandMade* was structured so that they were required to reflect upon their successes and be held accountable to HandMade. This finding suggests while involvement in successful activities is important, more is needed to sustain self-efficacy over the long term. Opportunities must be created for participants to share and reflect upon their success with others who support similar causes.

By revealing numerous examples of social movement activities within HandMade, this study has diversified the application of social movement theory, broadening the notions of social movements to include development organizations involved in tourism. These findings help set a precedent to consider the tourism development process as an opportunity for facilitating social change and expanding the utility of social movement theory across a broader spectrum of social existence. While the authors fully support the continued critical examination of the tourism development process and its outcomes, this study provides a theoretical framework that has the potential to illuminate oppression and provide opportunities for emancipation from difficult economic, social, and environmental circumstances. Rural stagnation, in general, is a chronic issue within the U.S. as the outmigration rate continues to rise and income disparities widen ([United States Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service, 2012](#)). Aggressive efforts are being made to bridge urban and rural economies (e.g. 2013 Association for Environmental Studies and Sciences conference: Linking Rural & Urban Societies & Ecologies: Central Appalachian Network conference: The Rural-Urban Connection), however, current best practices and new models and approaches are urgently needed as economies continually shift at the local, regional, and national scale. The theoretical conceptualization of tourism development as an instrument for social and economic change presented here, particularly in rural contexts, may address many of tourism's shortcomings revealed through critical analysis.

In order for tourism to act as an agent of social and economic change in rural communities, tourism development professionals must take action to implement processes similar to social movements. Replicating the HandMade process in other communities may redefine the role of tourism development professionals as potential agents of social change, and link tourism more firmly to other development efforts. As seen in the outcomes of HandMade's STP, community members became supportive of and actively involved in changes in their community when development incorporated social movement components. Tourism professionals should consider creating opportunities to initiate consciousness-raising, develop networks, and foster sentiments of self-efficacy among community residents. By creating tangible programs with these goals in mind, tourism professionals will foster the intangible but crucial elements of self-determination, confidence, and collaboration that will move the community forward.

This study is not without limitations and opportunities for future research. First, the findings were drawn from the examination of tourism development in a rural location that was known for a specific suite of cultural and natural amenities. Future research should address a variety of forms of tourism development such as ecotourism, volunteer tourism, and mainstream mass tourism. Second, given previous work that argues for the impact of geography and place on social networks ([Nicholls,](#)

2009) future research in more varied locations is needed. Third, many of the informants of this study were sources closely involved the HandMade STP and therefore may have felt obligated to speak strongly in support. Fourth, it must be recognized that HandMade held a great deal of power of its own in each of the communities; this begs for deeper research in this vein. Fifth, there are a variety of different contexts that could be examined to further develop the connection between tourism development and social movements, including NGOs versus private or public organizations; organizations located in regions seen as more or less appealing for tourism; research that includes variations of support and/or barriers for regional development in local policy and leadership. There are numerous opportunities for continued research in this area. Social movement theory not only has the heft but also the flexibility to be applied to social change through tourism, advancing both the theory and the practice.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to extend their sincere appreciation to the HandMade staff, past and present, to the CDO representatives in each town, and to each of the stakeholders in Western North Carolina who participated in the project. Without your assistance, this would not have been possible.

References

- Appalachian state university center for economic research and policy analysis (2013). *Western North Carolina Economic Index*. <http://www.advantagewest.com/uploads/file/WNCIndex_March2013.pdf> Retrieved 17.02.14.
- Appalachian sustainable agriculture project. (2007). *Growing local: Implications for western north Carolina*. <<http://asapconnections.org/downloads/growing-local-implications-for-western-north-carolina.pdf>> Retrieved 16.08.13.
- Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. New York: Freeman.
- Bandura, A. (2000). Exercise of human agency through collective efficacy. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 9, 75–78.
- Barkan, S. E., Cohn, S. F., & Whitaker, W. H. (1995). Beyond recruitment: Predictors of differential participation in a national antihunger organization. *Sociological Forum*, 10(1), 113–134.
- Bennett, W. L. (2012). The personalization of politics: Political identity, social media, and changing patterns of participation. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 644(1), 20–39.
- Bodin, Ö., & Crona, B. I. (2009). The role of social networks in natural resource governance: What relational patterns make a difference? *Global Environmental Change*, 19(3), 366–374.
- Bramwell, B., & Lane, B. (2014). The “critical turn” and its implications for sustainable tourism research. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 22(1), 1–8.
- Calhoun, C. (2013). Occupy Wall Street in perspective. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 64(1), 26–38.
- Cheong, S., & Miller, M. (2000). Power and tourism: A Foucauldian observation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27, 371–390.
- Colquhoun, R., & Martin, B. (2001). Constructing social action. *Philosophy and Social Action*, 27(4), 7–23.
- Crane, N. J., & Ashutosh, I. (2013). A movement returning home? Occupy Wall Street after the evictions. *Cultural Studies M Critical Methodologies*, 13(3), 168–172.
- Davis, J. S., & Morais, D. B. (2004). Factions and enclaves: Small towns and socially unsustainable tourism development. *Journal of Travel Research*, 43(1), 3–10.
- DeCrap, A. (2004). Trustworthiness in qualitative tourism research. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative research in tourism: Ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies* (pp. 156–169). London and New York: Routledge.
- Della Porta, D., & Diani, M. (2009). *Social movements: An introduction*. Malden, MA: Wiley and Sons.
- Della Porta, D., Kriesi, H., & Rucht, D. (2009). *Social movements in a globalizing world*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. (2000). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Di Domenico, M., & Miller, G. (2012). Farming and tourism enterprise: Experiential authenticity in the diversification of independent small-scale family farming. *Tourism Management*, 33(2), 285–294.
- Diani, M., & Bison, I. (2004). Organizations, coalitions and movements. *Theory and Society*, 33, 281–309.
- Diani, M. (2005). Cities in the world: Local civil society and global issues. In D. della Porta & S. Tarrow (Eds.), *Transnational protest and global activism* (pp. 45–69). Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Drury, J., & Reicher, S. (2005). Explaining enduring empowerment: A comparative study of collective action and psychological outcomes. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 35(1), 35–58.
- Eisenstein, H. (2001). Raising consciousness, eyebrows, and hell. *Science and Society*, 65(1), 145–147.
- Emig, G., Hesse, M., & Fisher, S. (1996). Black-white differences in political efficacy, trust, and sociopolitical participation: A critique of the empowerment hypothesis. *Urban Affairs Review*, 32, 64–76.
- Ernstson, H., Sörlin, S., & Elmqvist, T. (2008). Social movements and ecosystem services: The role of social network structure in protecting and managing urban green areas in Stockholm. *Ecology and Society*, 13(2), 1–27.
- Evans, S. M. (1979). *Personal politics: The roots of women's liberation in the civil rights movement and the New Left*. New York: Random House Inc.
- Feighery, W. (2009). Tourism, stock photography and surveillance: A Foucauldian interpretation. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 7(3), 161–178.
- Ferrari, G., Mondéjar-Jiménez, J., & Vargas-Vargas, M. (2010). Environmental sustainable management of small rural tourist enterprises. *International Journal of Environmental Research*, 4(3), 407–414.

- Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Gamson, W. A. (1988). Political discourse and collective action. In B. Klandermans, H. Kriesi, & S. Tarrow (Eds.), *International social movement research. From structure to action* (Vol. 1, pp. 219–244). Greenwich: JAI Press.
- Gamson, W. A. (1992). The social psychology of collective action. In A. Morris & C. McClurg Mueller (Eds.), *Frontiers in social movement theory* (pp. 53–56). New Haven: Yale University Press.
- George, W., Mair, H., & Reid, D. G. (2009). *Rural tourism development: Localism and cultural change*. Bristol, UK: Channel View Publications.
- Gitlin, T. (2013). Occupy's predicament: The moment and the prospects for the movement. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 64(1), 3–25.
- Gleason, B. (2013). #Occupy Wall Street exploring informal learning about a social movement on Twitter. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(7), 966–982.
- Goodwin, J., & Asper, J. (2009). *The social movements reader: Cases and concepts* (2nd ed.). Oxford, UK: Wiley and Sons.
- Gordon, L. (2002). Social movements, leadership, and democracy: Toward more utopian mistakes. *Journal of Women's History*, 14(2), 102–117.
- Gouthro, M. (2010). Qualitative method research and the 'tourism experience': A methodological perspective applied in a heritage setting. In R. Sharpley & P. R. Stone (Eds.), *Tourist experience: Contemporary perspectives* (pp. 201–204). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Griffiths, I., & Sharpley, R. (2012). Influences of nationalism on tourist–host relationships. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(4), 2051–2072.
- HandMade in America (n.d.). *About us: Mission and vision*. <<http://handmadeinamerica.org/about.html>> Retrieved 17.02.14.
- Haven-Tang, C., & Jones, E. (2012). Local leadership for rural tourism development: A case study of Adventa, Monmouthshire, UK. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 4, 28–35.
- Hirsch, E. (2009). Generating commitment among students. In J. Goodwin & J. Asper (Eds.), *The social movements reader* (2nd ed., pp. 96–105). Oxford, UK: Wiley and Sons.
- Hwang, D., Stewart, W. P., & Ko, D. W. (2012). Community behavior and sustainable rural tourism development. *Journal of Travel Research*, 51(3), 328–341.
- Jamal, T., & Hollinshead, K. (2001). Tourism and the Forbidden Zone: The underserved power of qualitative inquiry. *Tourism Management*, 22, 63–82.
- Jenkins, O. (2003). Photography and travel brochures: The circle of representation. *Journal of Tourism Geographies*, 5(3), 305–329.
- Kastenholz, E., Carneiro, M. J., Eusébio, C., & Figueiredo, E. (2013). Host–guest relationships in rural tourism: Evidence from two Portuguese villages. *Anatolia*, 24(3), 1–14.
- Kelly, C., & Breinlinger, S. (1996). *The social psychology of collective action: Identity, injustice, and gender*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Khondker, H. H. (2011). Role of the new media in the Arab Spring. *Globalizations*, 8(5), 675–679.
- Klandermans, B. (1992). The social construction of protest and multiorganizational fields. In A. D. Morris & C. M. Mueller (Eds.), *Frontiers in social movement theory* (pp. 77–103). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Klandermans, B., & Oegema, D. (1987). Potentials, networks, motivations, and barriers: Steps toward participation in social movements. *American Sociological Review*, 52, 519–531.
- Knoke, D. (1988). Incentives in collective action organizations. *American Sociological Review*, 53(3), 311–329.
- Kousis, M. (2000). Tourism and the environment: A social movements perspective. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(2), 468–489.
- Lee, T. H. (2013). Influence analysis of community resident support for sustainable tourism development. *Tourism Management*, 34, 37–46.
- Lichterman, P. (1996). *The search for political community: American activists reinventing commitment*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lincoln & Guba (1985). *Naturalistic enquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Lyons, K., & Wearing, S. (2008). Volunteer tourism as alternative tourism: Journeys beyond otherness. In S. Wearing & K. Lyons (Eds.), *Journeys of discovery in volunteer tourism: International case study perspectives*. Oxfordshire, UK: CABI.
- Marshall, G. (Ed.). (1994). *Oxford dictionary of sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Maton, K. I. (2008). Empowering community settings: Agents of individual development, community betterment, and positive social change. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 41(1–2), 4–21.
- McAdam, D. (1989). Recruitment to high-risk activism: The case of freedom summer. *American Journal of Sociology*, 92(1), 64–90.
- McAdam, D., & Rucht, D. (1993). The cross-national diffusion of movement ideas. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 528(1), 56–74.
- McCarthy, J., & Zald, M. (1973). *The trend of social movements in America: Professionalization and resource mobilization*. Morristown: General Learning Press.
- McGehee, N. G. (2002). Alternative tourism and social movements. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(1), 124–143.
- McGehee, N. G. (2012). Oppression, emancipation, and volunteer tourism: Research propositions. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(1), 84–107.
- McGehee, N. G., & Kline, C. S. (2008). Entrepreneurship and the Rural Tourism Industry: A primer. In G. Moscardo (Ed.), *Community capacity building and tourism* (pp. 123–141). Oxfordshire, UK: CABI.
- McGehee, N. G., & Norman, W. C. (2002). Alternative tourism as impetus for consciousness-raising. *Tourism Analysis*, 6(3/4), 239–251.
- McGehee, N. G., & Santos, C. (2005). Social change, discourse, and volunteer tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32(3), 760–779 (Impact Factor 3.616).
- Mueller, C. M. (1992). Building social movement theory. In A. D. Morris & C. M. Mueller (Eds.), *Frontiers in social movement theory* (pp. 3–25). New Haven: Yale University Press.
- National Trust (n.d.). *What is main street?* <<http://www.preservationnation.org/main-street/about-main-street/>> Retrieved 17.02.14.
- NC Division of Tourism, Film & Sports Development. (2012). *2012 North Carolina Regional Travel Summary*. <[http://www.nccommerce.com/Portals/8/Documents/Research/Visitation/2012 North Carolina](http://www.nccommerce.com/Portals/8/Documents/Research/Visitation/2012%20North%20Carolina%20Regional%20Travel%20Summary.pdf)> Retrieved 16.08.13.

- Nicholls, W. (2009). Place, networks, space: Theorising the geographies of social movements. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 34(1), 78–93.
- Ohe, Y., & Kurihara, S. (2012). Evaluating the complementary relationship between local brand farm products and rural tourism: Evidence from Japan. *Tourism Management*, 35(2), 278–283.
- Opp, K. D., Voss, P., & Gern, C. (1995). *Origins of a spontaneous revolution: East Germany, 1989*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Phelan, C., & Sharpley, R. (2012). Exploring entrepreneurial skills and competencies in farm tourism. *Local Economy*, 27(2), 103–118.
- Phillimore, J., & Goodson, L. (Eds.). (2004). *Qualitative research in tourism: Ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Routledge, P. (2003). Convergence space: Process geographies of grassroots globalisation networks. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 28, 333–349.
- Ryan, C. (2011). Ways of conceptualizing the tourist experience: a review of literature. In R. Sharpley & P. R. Stone (Eds.), *Tourist experience: Contemporary perspectives* (pp. 9–20). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Scheyvens, R. (2003). *Tourism for development, empowering communities*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Sharpley, R., & Stone, P. R. (Eds.). (2010). *Tourist experience: Contemporary perspectives*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Shemtov, R. (2003). Social networks and sustained activism in local NIMBY campaigns. *Sociological Forum*, 18(2), 215–244.
- Soguk, N. (2003). Incarcerating travels: Travel stories, tourist orders, and the politics of the 'Hawaiian paradise'. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 1(1), 29–53.
- Stevens, H. M., & Partridge, M. D. (2011). Do entrepreneurs enhance economic growth in lagging regions? *Growth and Change*, 42(4), 431–465.
- Tarrow, S. G. (2011). *Power in movement: Social movements and contentious politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tarrow, S., & McAdam, D. (2005). Scale shift in transnational contention. In D. della Porta & S. Tarrow (Eds.), *Transnational protest and global activism* (pp. 121–150). Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Teo, M. M. M., & Loosemore, M. (2010). Community-based protest against construction projects: The social determinants of protest movement continuity. *International Journal of Managing Projects in Business*, 3(2), 216–235.
- Tew, C., & Barbieri, C. (2012). The perceived benefits of agritourism: The provider's perspective. *Tourism Management*, 33(1), 215–224.
- Tindall, D. B. (2002). Social networks, identification and participation in an environmental movement: Low-medium cost activism within the British Columbia wilderness preservation movement. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, 39, 413–452.
- Tribe, J. (2005). New tourism research. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 30(2), 5–8.
- Tribe, J. (2006). The truth about tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(2), 360–381.
- Tribe, J. (2008). Tourism: A critical business. *Journal of Travel Research*, 46, 245–255.
- United States Census Bureau (2010). *Quick facts by state*. United States Department of Commerce. <<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/37000.html>>. Retrieved 04.06.13.
- United States Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service (November 7, 2012). *Rural poverty and well-being*. <http://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/rural-economy-population/rural-poverty-well-being/income-nonfarm-earnings.aspx#_Uu_OS_ZRdz0> Retrieved 02.02.2014.
- Urry, J. (1990). *The tourist gaze*. London: Sage.
- Vijayanthi, K. N. (2002). Women's empowerment through self-help groups a participatory approach. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, 9(2), 263–274.
- Wearing, S. (2001). *Volunteer tourism: Experiences that make a difference*. Wallingford, UK: CAB International.
- Wearing, S. L., & Wearing, M. (2006). Rereading the subjugating tourist in neoliberalism: Postcolonial otherness and the tourist experience. *Tourism Analysis*, 11(2), 145–162.
- Wearing, S. L., Wearing, M., & McDonald, M. (2010). Understanding local power and interactional processes in sustainable tourism: Exploring village–tour operator relations on the Kokoda Track, Papua New Guinea. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 18(1), 61–76.
- Wilson, E., Harris, C., & Small, J. (2008). Furthering critical approaches in tourism and hospitality studies: Perspectives from Australia and New Zealand. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, 15, 15–18.