CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction
Many scholars have examined the major issues and questions surrounding social movements, which include: who participates in social movements, and why do they participate? I have drawn upon their research and contributions to the body of knowledge about social movement participation as a foundation for my study of change in social movement participation and support for activism as a result of an Earthwatch expedition. I focused primarily on the different predictors in the theoretical literature about who participates in social movements and why. The two major theoretical camps from which I drew were resource mobilization and social psychology. I utilized the concept of networks from resource mobilization theory and the concepts of self-efficacy and consciousness-raising from social psychology.

This chapter contains a selective review of the literature: the first segment focuses on social movements, the second, tourism. The social movements segment begins with a definition of social movements and then delineates two perspectives of social movement theory and their shortcomings – resource mobilization and social psychology. The focus then narrows slightly to include a review of 1) social movement participation and support for activism, 2) networks and network ties, 3)self-efficacy, and 4)consciousness-raising. The tourism segment discusses the rising economic and social importance of tourism, defines mass and alternative tourism, and concludes with an overview of Earthwatch expeditions and their possible role as facilitator to social movement participation and support for activism.

2.2 Social Movements
Defining Social Movements
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 aspect or aspects of society" (Marshall 1994:489). Generally, social movements take place outside the mainstream political system. Often, social movement organizations consist of people who either choose to be or are excluded from routine institutionalized channels of participation. Social movement organizations are usually composed of people who are experiencing domination and/or inequality, or those who seek to address pressing social problems. A social movement may operate within the law, outside of it, or a combination of both, and may be a loosely organized group or a highly bureaucratized organization. Examples of modern social movements include those in support of civil rights, gay rights, feminism, pro-life, pro-choice, environmental issues, animal welfare, peace, and labor.

Tarrow's (1994:4) definition of social movements focuses on long-term interaction between the oppressed and the oppressors: "collective challenges by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities." Tarrow (1994) argues that social movements have four components: 1)disruptive action, 2)claims against opponents, 3)solidarity and/or collective identity, and 4)long-term sustainability of the 3 previous components.
In this study, social movements will be defined broadly to include any formal or informal group of individuals working collectively for social change. These groups can range from small, local community action groups to large, global environmental groups.

**Social Psychological Perspective of Social Movement Theory**

The earliest models of social activism, documented in the late 19th century, consisted of grievance or attitude-based models, explaining the social activist as deprived, deviant and structurally dislocated (LeBon 1960[1895]). Urbanization and industrialization were blamed for breaking apart social bonds, which in turn created individuals who felt anomic and dislocated from society. These anomic feelings in turn developed into feelings of deprivation, which then led to participation in social movements.

Proponents of this psychological perspective wrote that individuals who participated in collective behavior outside legitimate channels were "fickle,' irrational,' or 'spontaneous'" (Smelser 1963:1), and the resultant groups bred "fanaticism, enthusiasm, fervent hope, hatred and intolerance" (Hoffer 1951:x). Often social movements were seen as nothing more than “people going crazy together” (Martin 1920:57). In this view, a "rational" person would attempt to implement change through more institutionalized channels such as the government rather than through protest in the streets. This value-laden and class-biased perspective viewed the social activist as deviant. Perhaps one of the most classic examples comes from LeBon’s (1960[1895]) analysis of the French revolution. He argued the changes brought about by the revolution would have come naturally, in time, without the violence and bloodshed brought about by what he thought of as irrational masses who caused the revolt.

**Shortcomings of the Social Psychological Model**

The psychologically deviant interpretation became difficult to sustain as many sociologists and their students became activists themselves in the 1960’s, adding a wealth of personal and professional data, broadening the interpretation and understanding of social movements, and rebelling against the use of social psychology to "disparage their motives and their good sense" (Gamson 1992a: 53). If participants in social movements were deviant and irrational, why were some of the greatest minds of the time becoming involved? In addition, social movements were being recognized not as spontaneous, mob-like, unorganized frenzies, but as structured, rational, well-organized campaigns to implement change (Zald 1992).

The social psychology model was also criticized for ignoring the extensive structural support for oppression, exploitation, and discrimination that became evident during the civil rights and women’s movements of the 1950’s and 1960’s (Gamson 1992a). The shift began to be away from the psychosocial explanations of social movements and toward more structural, organizational-level explanations. Finally, social movements were no longer seen as only operating outside dominant social structures, but within them as well (Ferree 1992). From these critiques of social psychological theory, resource mobilization theories became the new foundation for the study of social movement participation.

**Resource Mobilization Perspective of Social Movement Theory**
From the experiences of the 1960’s, and from the burgeoning area of organization theory, resource mobilization theory was developed (Cohen, 1985). Resource mobilization theory analyzes social movements from the perspective of organizations in need of and in search of resources. According to Mueller (1992:3-4), "the new questions became: where are the resources available for the movement, how are they organized, how does the state facilitate or impede mobilization, and what are the outcomes?" Jenkins defines mobilization as “the process by which a group secures collective control over the resources needed for collective action” (1983:532). Freeman (1979) defines resources as both tangible and intangible. Tangible resources include money, facilities, and means of communication, while intangible resources include the skills and labor of an organization’s supporters.

Jenkins (1983) also pointed out that early ideas about resource appropriation were that social movement organizations obtained their resources through non-institutionalized means. He argued that since social movement organizations were seen as on the fringe of society, resources had to be procured outside institutionalized channels. Recently, as social movement organizations become more “legitimized,” the dominant paradigm has begun to shift to include more institutionalized channels such as private foundations and corporations as sources of support for social movement organizations. In their study of a national antihunger organization, Cohn et al. (1993) discuss the importance of both formal, institutionalized channels (foundations and institutions) and informal, non-institutionalized channels (friends and family) as sources of support for and participation in social movements. For my study, I believe that Earthwatch could serve as a resource conduit connecting individuals to both formal and informal sources of support.

Another important part of resource mobilization theory is the concept of rational choice. Actors participate in collective action/social movements because it is the most rational method of gaining resources previously denied to them (Foran 1993). The rational actor (as individual or group) replaced the chaotic crowd of grievance or attitude-based models as the primary unit of analysis (Cohen 1985). This perspective was especially appealing to economists such as Olsen (1965), whose microeconomic analysis of collective behavior stated that the non-rational collective behavior problem can be overcome by considering the role of organizations that are created for the purpose of providing private goods. In other words, collective action makes good economic sense, providing a maximum return on investment.

Shortcomings of the Resource Mobilization Model
Over time, the concept of the rational actor was criticized for what is known as the “free-rider problem” (Cohen 1985). If the primary motivation for collective action was rational, and if successful collective action results in benefits available to all regardless of level or type of participation, wouldn’t the most rational action be to “ride free” and let others do the work? "If every citizen acted as a rational actor, no one would ever participate and social movements would be inconceivable" (Klandermans 1997:6). There had to be other motivations for participation in collective action besides a strictly rational perspective. In addition to the “free-rider” problem, rational choice theory was based on
a “misleading postulate, namely, that individuals will always act to maximize their personal benefits and reduce their costs” (Ferree, 1992:30). In other words, rational choice theory posited that there was a common, agreed-upon definition of rationality that explained participation in social movements. Critics countered that there were numerous accounts of individual spontaneity, unpredictability, and selflessness that appeared in the media daily that questioned the definition of rationality and whether people possessed it.

In spite of these critiques, resource mobilization theory -- and especially rational choice theory -- enjoyed a long reign as the dominant paradigm of social movement theory from the end of the 1960's to the 1980's. In addition to the above criticisms, social psychologists argued that resource mobilization explained only the structural aspect of social movements, and that the individual was more than a pawn in the scramble for collective resources among social movement organizations. Resource mobilization theory began to be criticized for a lack of attention to social psychological variables such as "values, grievances, ideology, and collective identity" (Mueller 1992:5), and "subjective experience...meanings intentions, ideas, values, and emotions" (Shweder and Fiske 1986:7) that lead a person to participate in social movements. Others argued that focusing on structure neglected the importance of individual actors (Zurcher and Snow, 1981; Ferree and Miller, 1985). In resource mobilization theory, organizational mobilization was the major explanation of participation in social movements, while motivations for individual participation were minimized or completely ignored.

Resource mobilization theory assumed that individuals' collective beliefs, values and ideologies were subjective, and therefore difficult – if not impossible -- to measure. These subjective elements obscure and prevent the understanding of the more objective -- and more measurable -- structural outlets and networks of mobilization within and between social movement organizations. Some theorists (Snow and Benford 1988; Melucci 1996; McAdam 1994; Johnston, Larana, and Gusfield 1994), argued that both components - organizational mobilization and individual participation - were a necessary part of the study of social movements.

In her study of conventional and non-conventional activism among voters using data from the American National Election Studies conducted in 1972, 1974, and 1976, Sayles (1983) found support for the integration of resource mobilization and social psychological theories. Sayles found that while resource mobilization was an important factor to understand participation in social movements, social psychological issues such as alienation (the sense of estrangement of people from one another) and relative deprivation (lack of resources as compared to others) continued to play a role among political activists (both conventional and non-conventional). Barkan et al. (1995) supported the idea that an integrated approach of both social psychological (they used the term ideological) and resource mobilization (microstructure) was necessary to understand social movements. Jenkins (1983:552) emphasized an integrated approach that included “resources, organization, and political opportunities in addition to traditional discontent hypotheses.” Jenkins (1983:549) also claimed that “The central
concern of the mobilization model [was] the link between individual interests and the pooling of resources”.

Collective Identity: Resolving the Fissure
How can social movement researchers link individual interests and structural resources, operationalizing them in a way that adequately explains the “why” of social movement participation? One attempt to address this tension between the structural orientation of resource mobilization theory and the individual orientation of social psychological theory has resulted in the concept of collective identity (Kelly 1993). Collective identity theorists claim that the discovery of common grievances and attitudes help to motivate individuals’ participation in social movement organizations.

Taylor and Whittier (1992:105), in their study of mobilization of lesbian feminists, define collective identity as “the shared definition of a group that derives from members’ common interests, experiences, and solidarity”. They used both published materials and interviews to develop a collective identity model that is defined by boundaries, consciousness, and negotiations. These three concepts help illuminate why some women participate in lesbian feminist organizations.

Boundaries identify the parameters of a social movement. In other words, what are the borders between social movement participation and interaction with friends, family and colleagues outside the social movement? Do the borders influence individuals’ participation in social movements?

Consciousness refers to an individual’s struggle to identify herself as in opposition to the dominant order. Taylor and Whittier (1992:114) define consciousness as a person’s realization that “actors attribute their discontent to structural…causes rather than to personal failing or individual deviance.” Again, Taylor and Whittier point out the importance of combining individual and structural forces to address why women participate in lesbian feminist organizations. Negotiations are the ongoing construction and reconstruction of a person’s individual identity, her collective identity derived from social movement participation, and what society perceives as her identity. Social movement organizations are one “safe place” where these negotiations occur.

Friedman and McAdam (1992:157) define collective identity as a "designation announcing a status -- a set of attitudes, commitments, and rules for behavior -- that those who assume the identity can be expected to subscribe to." Collective identity is "constructed and maintained at both an individual and collective level" (Snow and McAdam 1997). "Many participants join and maintain commitments to social movements and movement organizations at least partially because of pre-existing loyalties and collective identities" (Hannon, 1990:30). Collective identity is a proclamation of a connection to and association with a package of social attachments within a social movement organization (Major 1994). If, for example, an individual labels herself a feminist, she is announcing a status, claiming to possess similar attitudes and beliefs that other feminists possess -- i.e., that inequalities exist between women and men and those inequalities are supported and perpetuated by social
structures (Friedman and McAdam 1992). She maintains her identity at an individual level, through her dress, career choices, and friendships, and at a collective level, through her memberships and affiliations to various feminist organizations. Her identification with the feminist movement comes at least partially from pre-existing loyalties to other network ties and relationships such as supportive friends and family.

Friedman and McAdam's (1992) work views collective identity as a tool to address the inadequacies of both resource mobilization and social psychological explanations of social movements. The research on collective identity provides a rationale for predicting that participation in alternative tourism may increase participation in social movements. The concept of collective identity is vital to this study, although the focus is not within a specific movement but rather toward a more general identity in support of collective activities – social movement participation and support for activism.

The interplay of collective identity and society is dialectic, constantly being constructed and reconstructed (Klandermans 1997). Collective identity is dynamic, negotiated and re-negotiated through associations with individuals and groups (Klandermans 1997). This study will examine how one element of society, alternative tourism, influences individual identity construction by analyzing perceived support for various types of activism. I will analyze if and how the social movement participation and support for activism of participants in an Earthwatch expedition changes as a result of the experience.

The concept of collective identity also helps overcome the structural bias of resource mobilization theory. The "fusion of prized roles" that is important to the development of networks (a staple of resource mobilization theory that will be discussed later in this chapter) is important to the strengthening of collective identity as well (Friedman and McAdam 1992: 163). For example, during the civil rights movement, many African-Americans who were active in their churches participated in the civil rights movement because African-Americans perceived this activity as part of their Christian duty or their role as an active church member. One role "piggy-backed" onto another, expanding social movement network ties and collective identity. Similarly, in the 1960's and 1970's, "participation in the burgeoning women's liberation movement was virtually required if one was to retain one's [identity] as both a woman and a radical" (Friedman and McAdam, 1992: 163). Kiecolt (1997:12) refers to this concept as "perceived interconnectedness of identities." My study used this concept to determine if an Earthwatch member's common role of volunteer in an expedition expands her/his collective identity and network ties, and therefore their social movement participation and support for activism, as part of a fusion of prized roles.

How have others delineated the construction processes of collective identity? Snow and McAdam (1997:90) draw upon the social psychology literature on identity to analyze four processes in which "personal and collective identities are aligned or joined". These processes are identity amplification, identity consolidation, identity extension, and identity transformation. Identity amplification implies "the embellishment
and strengthening" (1997:90) of an identity. For example, an Earthwatch expedition to the Amazon might amplify a volunteer’s previously held environmentalist identity to the point that she/he decides to become a member of the World Wildlife Fund. When a person combines formerly disparate identities, Snow and McAdam (1997) refer to the second identity construction process, identity consolidation. This could occur when two seemingly disparate identities, one's identity as consumer and one's alternative tourist identity (Piliavin and Callero 1991), are combined through participation in an Earthwatch expedition.

The next identity construction process delineated by Snow and McAdam (1997) is identity extension, in which collective identities that align with social movements are broadened to include everyday life – a collective identity which could include the everyday nature of leisure activities. For example, for a feminist, an Earthwatch expedition to assist with maternal health in Africa might present the perfect melding of social movement and everyday life. Finally, identity transformation, or a deep, epiphany-like changing of one’s self-concept, could occur through an Earthwatch expedition. A person may participate in an Earthwatch expedition that consists of building solar ovens in Southeast Asia and return home completely committed to changing to a more sustainable lifestyle and becoming active in organizations that support sustainability. Each of Snow and McAdam's (1997) four processes of identity construction were utilized to measure change in an Earthwatch expedition participant's social movement participation and support for activism.

The concept of collective identity can do more than provide a bridge between resource mobilization and social psychology theories of social movement participation. Collective identity can help sociologists go beyond the traditional examination of collective action as a result of common socio-economic ties to reach the deeper layers and complexities of the modern collective actor (Pfaff 1995). Collective identities provide the sociological “glue” that holds a social movement together. Whereas earlier studies of social movements focused on identities based on social characteristics such as race/ethnicity, class and gender, more recent studies focus on identities that transcend social classifications (Hannon 1990; Johnston, Larana, and Gusfield 1994; Melucci 1996; Pfaff 1995). For example, Taylor and Whittier (1992) pointed out the varied socio-economic and racial/ethnic backgrounds of the lesbian feminists they studied. Melucci (1996:79) argued that “the concept of collective identity is a permanent warning about the necessity of recognizing a plurality of levels in collective action.” Social movement theorists can no longer argue that people participate in social movements because of a common racial, ethnic, gender, or class identity. For example, the environmental or “green” movement and the peace movement are forms of collective action that are global in scope, and cross race/ethnicity, class, and gender lines.

Of course, race/ethnicity and gender may effect collective identity and participation in social movements (Paulson and Bartkowski 1997; Emig et al. 1996), and some theorists caution against under-emphasizing the role of social characteristics in social
movement participation and support for activism. Bartholomew and Mayer (1992), question Melucci’s ideas that the development of collective identities within “new” social movements despite high levels of heterogeneity and diversity make the study of race/ethnicity and gender pointless. They criticize Melucci for failing to concede that different classes, race/ethnicities, and genders may create "relations of hierarchy and unequal power" (Bartholomew and Mayer 1992:148), within social movement organizations, just as they do in larger society. Gamson (1992b) also emphasizes the importance of race/ethnicity, class, and gender as vital for collective identity. In this study I address the importance of race/ethnicity, class and gender by examining possible impacts of an Earthwatch expedition on collective identity that include other aspects of the respondent's lives such as race/ethnicity, class, and gender.

I have selected specific elements of social psychological and resource mobilization theories of social movement participation as a foundation for my investigation of why people participate in social movements. I have stressed the importance of combining both theories so as to minimize their shortcomings – an absence of structural analysis in social psychological explanations of social movement participation, and a lack of individual analysis in resource mobilization explanations of social movement participation. The concept of collective identity provides the bridge between the two theoretical perspectives. The following is a discussion of resource mobilization and social psychological social movement theory in the context of the specific variables used in this research: social movement participation and support for activism. Two predictors of social movement participation and support for activism were drawn from social psychological research: self-efficacy and consciousness-raising. One predictor of social movement participation and support for activism was drawn from resource mobilization research: networks.

Social Movement Participation and Support for Activism

The two principal dependent variables used in this research are social movement participation and support for activism. These concepts are vital to the examination of the major questions of social movement research: Who participates in social movements? Why do they participate? According to Barkan et al. (1995), defining and identifying social movement participation is more than simply recognizing the presence or absence of recruitment to a social movement organization. Belonging to an organization can mean different things to different people. One member may pay dues and receive a newsletter. Another may be an officer, may donate large sums of money and may attend rallies. In a study such as this one where a wide range of social movement participation and support for activism were considered, developing a typology for social movement participation was not an easy task. Simply defining membership can be daunting – does membership only require paying dues, or are there additional membership criteria?

There has been some research in the area of typologizing social movement participation. Important elements include Knoke’s (1988) external participation versus internal participation. External participation includes lobbying politicians, writing letters to politicians, attending rallies and demonstrations. Internal participation consists of
voting and/or running in organizational elections or providing various kinds of resources to the organizations -- time, money, transportation, office equipment. Barkan et al. (1995) found that external participation is more important to the success of a social movement organization than internal participation.

Another element of social movement participation comes from one of Taylor and Whittier's micromobilization processes: the "direct opposition to the dominant order" (1992:110). In other words, a sense of resistance and questioning of the dominant hegemony are important precursors to participation in social movements. Perhaps participation in a non-dominant form of tourism such as Earthwatch is a rejection of the dominant form of tourism -- mass tourism -- and hence resistance in everyday life (Mueller 1992). For example, participation in an Earthwatch expedition may increase participants' support for positions on global issues such as environmental degradation and cultural exploitation.

Based on Knoke (1988), two important predictors of social movement participation and support for activism are networks and network ties and self-efficacy. First, Knoke reinforces many others in the resource-mobilization camp (Klandermans and Oegema 1987; McAdam and Rucht 1993) by analyzing microstructure, or networks. Individuals and organizations that are linked together through one or more social relationships form a person's network. Personal ties, networks, and organizational alliances are valuable precursors to social movement participation and support for activism, in that they can reinforce or impede social movement activities. In fact, Barkan et al. (1995) argue that microstructures/networks are generally the strongest predictors of participation.

Second, Knoke points out the predictive power of self-efficacy for social movement participation and support for activism. Self-efficacy is based on one's perceived ability to control one's own life outcomes (Wiggins et al. 1994). Proponents of social psychological explanations of social movements argue that a high level of self-efficacy is an important prerequisite for social movement participation (Kelly and Brienlinger 1996). An individual will need to have a sense of her/his ability to overcome obstacles before participating in an organization advocating changing the status quo.

Social Networks and Network Ties
The primary theoretical source for the role of networks in social movement participation is resource mobilization theory. While Boyte (1980:26) argued that while some people may feel "hemmed in" by social networks -- "what will the neighbors think?" -- other people may also be enlightened, encouraged, and supported by those same networks. Social networks have been found to be an important element of social movement participation and collective identity, i.e., ties to friends and associates who support the ideals and goals of a social movement (Hannon 1990). In his study of the Boston Pledge of Resistance, Hannon (1990:10) stressed the importance of studying the life-long development of "commitments, affiliations, and subjective identities that made joining the Pledge nearly an automatic response." Pfaff (1995), in his analysis of revolution in Eastern Europe, argues that the role of informal social networks is vital in
social movement participation. Gamson (1992a) argues that the alignment of an individual’s overall non-social movement-related support system with her/his identity with a social movement is vital to participation. In other words, individual’s are much more likely to identify with and participate in social movements if those around them support their doing so.

Networks may be established formally or informally. Formal networks are developed through the established structural channels of organizations designed to encourage network development. Informal networks are developed through less structured, temporary, “unexpected” relationships. In this study I focused on the informal aspects of network development, given that the groups or “communities” formed through participation in an Earthwatch expedition are temporary and informal. According to Pfaff (1995:2) “informal groups provide for both a community of dissent and a potential vehicle of mobilization.” Network ties established during an Earthwatch expedition can provide that as well.

Resource mobilization theory examines how networks develop within social movements. More recently, analysts have criticized this view, citing its structuralist bias, and have begun to look beyond the organizations themselves toward pre-existing and/or external networks and network ties (Larana 1994; Gamson 1988). Networks often exist outside and prior to participation in social movement activities (Hannon 1990) and have been found to be vital to social movement involvement (Snow et. al. 1980). Many activists participate in informal or loosely formal groups, then join or create social movement organizations. The original groups are often where people establish social networks that "later function as the backbone of the movement" (Klandermans 1994:182). In his study of the Leipzig demonstrations of East Germany, Opp (1994) found that persons with networks of friends and associates in support of revolution and in opposition to the dominant regime more likely to participate in the demonstrations than those who did not enjoy the same networks of support.

Tilly (1978) and others (Mueller 1992; Taylor and Whittier 1992; Lichterman 1996; Pfaff 1995) support the idea that informal, external opportunities for establishing network ties permeate many aspects of everyday life and have a decided effect on participation in social movements and support for activism. Tilly (1978) refers to social networks as embedded in everyday life. If everyday life includes leisure, then logic follows that those involved in social movements will be further supported if they participate in alternative, non-dominant, socially active forms of leisure and travel such as alternative tourism. Earthwatch provides one kind of alternative tourism in which those involved in social movements might be likely to participate, strengthen and establish network ties, and reinforce their support for activism. As a result, the network reinforcement can strengthen participation in social movements upon their return home.

In his study of the Boston-Area Pledge of Resistance, Hannon (1990:1) recognized the influence of informal groups outside of specific social movement organizations in social movement participation and claimed "four dimensions in the development of a
subjective identity as a peace activist”: 1) childhood religious socialization, 2) a radicalizing college student experience, 3) a sponsor or mentor possessing an activist orientation, and 4) peers with a similar orientation. The fourth element is especially relevant to this study, which was used to justify the examination of an Earthwatch expedition and whether it brings together people with similar activism orientations. This may encourage the development of network ties, and in turn, social movement participation and support for activism.

Elements of an individual’s social networks can include non-social movement organizations, and these organizations sometimes act as a stepping-stone toward social movement participation (Kiecolt 1997). Lichterman (1996:24) found “important reference points - prior social movements, historical events, local community groups, personal experiences” as vital to network development, participation, and commitment to social movements. Boyte (1980:xiv) found similar elements across various social movements -- "hope, courage, confidence and vision" and interconnections among individual efforts, regardless of the type of social movement in which an individual was involved. In this study I examine Earthwatch expedition participation as a possible pre-existing non-social movement organization conducive to social movement participation and support for activism.

According to resource mobilization theory, social networks may be a source of information for social movement participants, encouraging their participation and support. McAdam and Rucht (1993: 56) present a model of social movement information exchange. They argue that international diffusion of ideas about social movement activities has occurred through social networks. They focus on the role of informal channels as a primary method of sharing methods and techniques for social action. In other words, groups that are completely unattached to social movement organizations are often a major source of ideas and innovation for social movements because of intricate social networks. Organizations need not be “geographically or temporally proximate” (1993: 61) in order to gain knowledge from one another. By implication, perhaps a non-political, global organization such as Earthwatch may draw together like-minded individuals from far-flung geographical areas, creating network ties and idea exchange. In turn, these new network ties may encourage social movement participation.

Self-Efficacy
I now examine the first contribution to this study that comes from the social psychological theory of social movement participation – self-efficacy. The first concept is self-efficacy, the “sense of mastery, causality, and control in affecting one’s environment” (Gecas and Mortimer 1987: 268). Self-efficacy can be defined as our sense of control over what happens to us. If a person is highly efficacious, that person will feel very competent, welcome a challenge, and feel confident in her/his ability to implement change. Self-efficacy has been examined as a link between attitudes toward social issues and social movement participation (Sigelman and Feldman 1983). For example, a person may have strong attitudes about racism, but if that person has low
self-efficacy, she/he will feel unable to do anything about the problem and will be less likely to join a social movement organization to combat racism.

In order to become involved and committed to social movement activism, one must possess an optimistic view of what his/her participation in social movements can do to re-create society (Kelly and Breinlinger 1996; Gamson 1988). Sayles (1983) indicates that high political and personal efficacy was a predictor of both conventional and non-conventional activism among Americans in the mid- to late 1970’s. Kernis (1995:37) cites Bandura (1989) for making the case that self-efficacy is a critical antecedent of social action. Emig et al. (1996:274) found self-efficacy to be “related directly and positively to levels of activism for both blacks and whites” among citizens of Mobile, Alabama. I will examine how and if participation in an Earthwatch expedition changes self-efficacy, therefore facilitating an individuals’ participation in social movements.

In their study of the overthrow of the Somoza dynasty by the Sandinistas and radical Catholics in Nicaragua, Andrain and Apter (1995) found that protestors were usually high in political efficacy – protestors believed in their ability to influence the political policy process. Andrain and Apter (1995) argued that political efficacy comes from many places, including adult learning, the workplace, educational institutions, and other socializing agencies. I posit that Earthwatch could be included as a socializing agency, and could impart a sense of both self-efficacy and political efficacy upon its participants. Self-efficacy has greater predicting power for social movement participation when measured in specific domains rather than as an overall “global” self-efficacy (Wiggins et al.: 1994). Wollman and Strouder (1991:564) found that “although a relationship exists between believed efficacy and behavior, the more specific the measure, the better the prediction.” In this study, I am interested in self-efficacy specific to social movement participation and the Earthwatch expedition.

Consciousness-raising

Consciousness-raising is the second concept relevant to this study on social movements that comes from the social psychological perspective. Consciousness-raising is closely bound with social movement participation. Mueller (1992) characterizes consciousness-raising as an individual’s identification with and awareness of the "battlegrounds" of social conflict. This is an important “first step” to identification with, participation in, and commitment to social movement activism. Consciousness-raising is usually strengthened through interaction with others who have similar attitudes and values. Becoming aware that you are part of a larger movement gives a person a greater sense of the possibility of success and more reason to participate. Interaction with others with similar attitudes who have been successful in their collective action efforts “encourages individuals who are less committed” (Klandermans 1992: 94) Additionally, a consciousness-raising experience may transform an individual in a way that can endure for many years (McAdam 1989).

Consciousness-raising has traditionally been an important tool for social movement organizers. "First-generation" (Klandermans 1994: 182) activists often make consciousness-raising one of their top priorities. "Organizers know that during episodes
of collective action the participants’ consciousness is raised considerably” (Klandermans 1992:92). Studies of consciousness-raising have focused on social movement organizations such as the Civil Rights movement of the 50’s and 60’s (Evans 1979), modern labor movements (Fantasia 1988), anti-nuclear arms protests in Europe (Rucht 1996) or other episodes of collective action and protest (Hirsch 1990; Klandermans 1997). Some have examined other activities that resulted in consciousness-raising at public meetings or hearings, such as Walsh (1988) who analyzed the social movement that resulted from the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant accident.

Consciousness-raising is closely connected to an individual's networks, a topic discussed earlier. "Networks, groups and organizations that are part of the alliance system of an actor......play an extremely important role in consciousness-raising” (Klandermans 1992). He points out the inter-relationship between networks and consciousness-raising, showing that most people are involved in a number of associations/organizations throughout their lives. The organizations are usually consistent in their social categorization and often serve to reinforce and support each other. A person may have a consciousness-raising experience while involved in one organization, but that experience may spill over into involvement in other organizations. These groups need not be social movement organizations. “We can no longer analyze mobilization and participation within the simple frame of an organization that appeals to separate individuals. We have seen that individuals occupy positions within multiorganizational fields, and depending on their place in these complex fields, they become more or less involved in events” (Klandermans, 1992:94).

Consciousness-raising sometimes can occur suddenly and dramatically and can have an enduring effect on participation in social movement organizations (McAdam 1989). Those who have studied consciousness-raising in a single social movement recognize its complexity (Klandermans 1992). Consciousness-raising occurs not only through collective action within the movement, but also through interactions with members of counter-movements, coalitions formed outside the social movement, and relationships with political parties and the media. McAdam and Rucht (1993) trace an extensive path of consciousness-raising transferred from one social movement organization to another, beginning with a group called the Clamshell Alliance in the U.S., which was inspired by a citizen occupation to prevent industrial construction in Germany, which was encouraged by a successful citizen occupation of an industrial site in France, which was preceded by an act of civil disobedience in Switzerland, and so on. The chain of consciousness-raising continues through many more groups and organizations that were inspired and educated by each other. Some activists were affected through direct movement-related channels, while others were indirect, i.e. informal, casual, word-of-mouth communication or through the media’s coverage of events. Perhaps an Earthwatch expedition can provide an informal channel for exchange of ideas, and in the process, consciousness-raising experiences.
One important element of consciousness-raising is seeing the personal as political. An example of the concept of the personal as political is found in Taylor and Whittier's (1992) examination of lesbian-feminist mobilization. Women who participated and supported the movement did not limit their involvement to political activism such as letter-writing campaigns and protests, but included their activism in every aspect of their lives. For example, women who identify with the lesbian feminist movement may shop only at gay-friendly stores, subscribe to magazines that promote their political and social platform, and travel using only gay-friendly airlines, accommodations, and restaurants. Their activist identities seep into every personal element of their lives -- in other words, the personal becomes political. It is arguable that persons participating in Earthwatch expeditions do so because they wish to expand their activist identities into one of the most personal elements of their lives --their leisure time. The concept of “personal as political” will provide the methodological foundation for the operationalization of consciousness-raising in this study.

Development of collective identity may come about through a consciousness-raising experience such as public meetings or protest. Walsh (1988), in his study of the Three Mile Island accident, found that people were more likely to become active if they had attended a public meeting, hearing, or rally. For this study, it is especially important to utilize the concept of collective identity because it is arguable that a consciousness-raising experience as a result of participation in an Earthwatch expedition could strengthen and reinforce an existing collective identity that aligns itself with participation in a specific social movement. While this is normally defined within the context of a specific social movement organization, I am interested in examining how certain manifestations of collective identity, e.g. social movement participation and support for activism, are affected outside the realm of a specific social movement organization. One could hypothesize the following scenario: an Earthwatch expedition attracts and recruits individuals who are concerned with various global and social issues and hold common beliefs, values, and ideologies. They participate in various social movements in their communities (local, global, cyber, or otherwise). When individuals participate in an Earthwatch expedition, they find the collective elements of their identities reinforced through consciousness-raising experiences. Earthwatch participants return home with their consciousness raised and collective identity reinforced, ready to strengthen their commitment to the social movements in which they are involved.

Klandermans (1992:92) recognized that sometimes consciousness-raising experiences occur that may not change social movement participation immediately, but do change support for activism. A consciousness-raising experience may not always result in action, but instead it may increase sympathy for a cause. “Consciousness-raising can occur among sympathetic spectators” (Klandermans 1992:92). He illustrates his point by citing White’s (1989) work on support for the activities of the Irish Republican Army by nonparticipants. By becoming aware of social inequalities people may not become directly involved, but they may become more sympathetic and supportive of a cause. From this theoretical perspective comes the argument that an Earthwatch expedition
can provide opportunities for exposure to social inequities, raising people’s consciousness and their sympathy or support for various forms of activism.

The focus will now shift from the sociological theoretical perspective of this paper to a discussion of tourism. I will highlight the economic and social importance of tourism, and more specifically, Earthwatch expeditions. I will also focus on participation in an Earthwatch expedition as a facilitator of network ties, self-efficacy, and consciousness-raising.

2.3 Tourism

Why Tourism?
"So important is tourism to modern life, as economic force and as mentality, that one might expect many sociologists to follow the lead of Durkheim, who in the canonical *Rules of Sociological Method* named tourist attractions in his basic list of social facts" (Stephen 1990:151). As recognition of the global impact of tourism becomes more widespread, the need to study it has gained importance. Because of the economic significance of tourism, a great deal of research has focused on marketing, economics, and development (Calatone and Manzanec, 1991; Hawes, et. al., 1991; McQueen and Miller, 1985) while the social, anthropological, environmental, and cultural impacts of tourism have been under-analyzed (Fridgen, 1991). According to Pearce, this lack of research on social impacts is unfortunate, since "tourism does indeed have profound sociological consequences, by changing the distribution of the labor force, altering people’s work habits, and encouraging new forms of stratification" (1982; p.16).

An abundance of sociological theory can be applied to tourism research. Cohen (1979:18) argues that a tourism research strategy should preserve "theoretical pluralism and eclecticism, [while] safeguarding continuity and the ability to generalize by developing a common research style for the sociology of tourism." Various types of tourism should be thoroughly and individually studied from various perspectives -- the host, the guest -- while keeping an awareness of the aggregate -- the global effects of the world's leading industry. Social movement theory can provide a sound theoretical foundation for the study of one specific type of tourism, alternative tourism, and its effects on participants and their societies.

Mass vs. Alternative Types of Tourism
Much of the research on tourism has focused on mass tourism, which is the predominant form. Mass tourism is a large-scale, well-developed industry with specific channels of communication and distribution, an established infrastructure of transportation, accommodation, and food service, and the hosts are on average of lesser socio-economic status that the guests. More recently, scholarly research has focused on non-mass, or alternative tourism. It has been examined in a number of different contexts, including eco-tourism (Lindberg, Enriquez, and Sproule 1995), sustainable tourism (Hughes 1995) (although eco-tourism and sustainable tourism are not always mutually exclusive of each other or of mass tourism), or edu-tourism (Holdnak and Holland 1996).
Defining alternative tourism is difficult. Some define it as a form of resistance to mass tourism and mass society, a form of travel that "self-consciously situates itself in opposition to the organizing structures typically associated with more conventional forms of mass tourism" (Neumann 1993:201). Others implicitly use it interchangeably with sustainable tourism, defined as a two-pronged effort to 1) make tourism compatible with global ecosystems and 2) maintain a high level of accountability and responsibility among members of the tourism industry (Hughes 1995).

Some view alternative tourism as a more responsible, resource-conserving form of tourism that allows for greater respect of cultures and the environment (Cater and Lowmen 1995). Others argue that alternative tourism can be invasive, and may actually be more harmful to host communities and their permanent residents than mass tourism (Wheeler 1992). Alternative travelers avoid mainstream tourism systems. As a result, rather than visiting mass destinations that are prepared for tourists, they frequent areas that have previously experienced very little tourism traffic. This can tax the economic, environmental, and cultural resources of a community. This argument is far from resolved, and this study does not address this issue.

"The mission of Earthwatch is to improve human understanding of the planet, the diversity of its inhabitants, and the processes that affect the quality of life on Earth" (membership application, Earthwatch 1998 Annual Expedition Guide). Earthwatch is an organization that has been bringing volunteers and researchers together for 25 years. Earthwatch is one of an ever-growing group of organizations that specialize in alternative tourism. Individuals pay to volunteer as field researchers during their "working" vacations in more than 130 different projects being conducted around the globe, in places as diverse as Finland, Turkey, Alaska, Cameroon, Virginia, and Papua New Guinea.

Earthwatch expeditions fit at least 5 of the 6 criteria laid out by Cazes in Cohen (1989:119-120) as the basic elements of alternative tourism:

1. A unique motivation for travel that focuses on self-sacrifice and effort.
2. Travelers as practitioners rather than clients or consumers.
3. Unique destinations considered relatively unexplored or virgin.
4. Types of accommodation seen as "supplementary" or separate from "hotels and commercial holiday villages" (120)
5. Travel organizers not associated with traditional channels of tourism (travel agents), such as associations, societies, or non-profit organizations.
6. The only element not definitively aligned with Earthwatch is the "mode of insertion into the host community" (122) - the completely "stimulated, chosen, defined, and managed" aspect of tourism by the local community. This is arguably not the situation with all of the Earthwatch expeditions, but a reasonable percentage of Earthwatch expeditions do include local control and involvement, fulfilling the 6th criteria for Cazes' elements of alternative tourism.

Earthwatch project categories include animal behavior, archaeology, biodiversity and ecology, coral reefs, culture and tradition, health and nutrition, marine mammals, and
resource management. Conditions for the expeditions range widely in fitness level necessary (from easy to what Earthwatch calls "the real thing" -- strenuous), type of accommodations (from tents to resort hotels), presence or absence of a cook, plumbing, and "extras" (couples' rooms, college credit, showers, and luxury accommodations). Since 1972, Earthwatch reports that "more than 50,000 people from all walks of life have participated in our expeditions, raising $3,000,000 in funds and contributing 5,360,000 hours of labor to understanding the Earth" (inside cover, Earthwatch 1998 Annual Expedition Guide).

Earthwatch claims that its "volunteers" (as opposed to "tourists") come from a variety of professions, backgrounds, and life stages. They are citizens of 48 different countries, who possess various political and social orientations. The common thread, according to Earthwatch, is "a desire to contribute something to the world, to make a difference in a very tangible way. They are willing to give their time, their money, their hard work, and their unique insight to answer difficult questions, solve thorny problems, and make the world a better place" (Earthwatch 1998:5). Such claims and such individuals beg for sociological examination, specifically in the area of social movements.

The Earthwatch Experience: Why Will It Affect Social Movement Participation and Support for Activism?

The active, participatory nature of an Earthwatch expedition makes it a unique form of travel. Because of its uniqueness, there are a number of specific reasons why participation in an Earthwatch expedition can increase network ties, self-efficacy and consciousness-raising.

High levels of interaction with other volunteers, primary researchers, secondary researchers, and local officials and residents facilitate the establishment of network ties. Earthwatch volunteers often share meals, sleeping areas, training time, and even travel to and from the expedition sites over the 10-14 day excursions. Their interaction with researchers, locals, and each other may not be lengthy, but often the intensity of interaction makes up for the duration. These various interactions provide many opportunities to exchange information about networks and develop network ties.

The challenges and rewards of an Earthwatch expedition can increase participants' self-efficacy in a number of ways. While a variety of difficulty levels exists among Earthwatch expeditions, all involve the logistical stresses and strains of travel and the responsibility of participation in scientific research. Some of the more difficult expeditions require enduring primitive living quarters, extreme weather conditions, and limited food supplies. Participating in the training programs of Earthwatch expeditions can also be an onerous task. Perhaps by mastering difficult training and learning research skills, self-efficacy may increase. This study will examine whether simply by participating in an expedition one may gain confidence in her/his abilities and see the results of one person's efforts as a part of a group working together to deal with social problems through participation in scientific research.
Consciousness-raising involves a major change in an individual's perceptions about society, more specifically about the origin, perpetuation, and solutions of social problems. Earthwatch expeditions have the potential to change volunteers' perceptions about society. Unlike mass tourism, participating in the research projects that typify an Earthwatch expedition involve examining environmental, cultural, and social problems. The ways volunteers perceive issues are tested and analyzed right before their eyes, often with their own hands through participation in Earthwatch research. Additionally, through the establishment of networks that result from interactions between volunteers, interactions between volunteers and primary and secondary researchers, and interactions between volunteers and locals often facilitate education and awareness about current issues that until that time may have been perceived differently by participants.

No one has examined how the interactions that occur during a leisure activity can affect or raise consciousness. It is arguable that while an Earthwatch expedition is not a social movement, it is a collective activity, and an "us-them dynamic" (Klandermans 1992:98) may develop. Out of that dynamic, an Earthwatch expedition may become a consciousness-raiser, identifying the location of conflict, illuminating the "battlegrounds" both abroad and at home, and providing opportunities for individuals to recognize that "they are not alone" in their views and experiences.

2.4 Hypotheses
My primary theoretical sources are resource mobilization and social psychological perspectives of social movement participation. I hope to add to the body of literature by examining who participates in social movements and why. Based on the previous review of research, theories, and critique of both the social movement and tourism literature, I developed a number of hypotheses to test in this study.

H1. New network ties from an Earthwatch expedition will have a positive effect on planned social movement participation.
H2. Perceived self-efficacy gains from an Earthwatch expedition will have a positive effect on planned social movement participation.
H3. Network ties from an Earthwatch expedition will have a positive effect on support for activism.
H4. Perceived self-efficacy gains from an Earthwatch expedition will have a positive effect on support for activism.
H5. New Network ties from an Earthwatch expedition will have a positive effect on overall network ties.
H6. Perceived self-efficacy gains from an Earthwatch expedition will have a positive effect on overall network ties.
H7. New network ties from an Earthwatch expedition will have a positive effect on overall self-efficacy.
H8. Perceived self-efficacy gains from an Earthwatch expedition will have a positive effect on overall self-efficacy.
H9. New network ties from an Earthwatch expedition will have a positive effect on consciousness-raising.
**H10.** Perceived self-efficacy gained during an Earthwatch expedition will have a positive effect on consciousness-raising.

**2.5 Conclusions**

This literature review has provided a theoretical and empirical foundation for the study of the impacts of an Earthwatch expedition on social movement participation and support for activism. The primary perspective came from a melding of resource mobilization and social psychological theories of social movements, with special attention paid to the concept of collective identity. From this theoretical base, I will use five concepts to explore the relationship among Earthwatch participants’ network ties, self-efficacy, and consciousness-raising and social movement participation and support for activism. Ten testable hypotheses were developed. The next chapter will focus on the methodological issues surrounding this study.