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Agritourism as a new social movement: Entrepreneurship based on values

Abstract

The issue of new social movements has predominantly been discussed in the context of urban areas. Manuel Castells underscores the significance of this field of activity for social movements. In late modern society, it appears that the city is not the only environment where new social movements can emerge; such collective activities may also take root in rural areas. The primary question addressed in the paper is whether there exists an agritourism movement in contemporary rural areas of Poland that serves as a driving force for value-based entrepreneurship. It seems that entrepreneurship within agritourism may contribute, on one hand, to the implementation of a specific set of post-materialist values, and on the other hand, may lead to the creation of an agritourism movement with characteristics akin to a new social movement, which serves as a tool for conducting entrepreneurial activities within agritourism. The empirical section of the article is based on research involving 20 agritourism farms from the Lesser Poland Voivodeship and 35 leaders of agritourism associations operating in Poland. The research aimed to test the hypothesis that an agritourism movement exists in rural areas, providing a framework for value-based economic activity.

Keywords: social movement, agritourism, entrepreneurship, values

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Introduction

Describing the role of values in organising entrepreneurship in rural areas is quite challenging. Phenomena such as agritourism and social movements, along with a vast range of human activities that may initially appear unrelated, are involved here. Such an analysis necessitates a disciplined approach to narrowing down the issues for reflection to adhere to the capacity constraints of this paper. Therefore, it is essential to begin with crucial terminology and define entrepreneurship, agritourism and social movement for the purposes of this article. Entrepreneurship in rural areas, particularly in the form of agritourism activities, may present a coherent set of interconnected issues often present in analyses devoted to the economic aspects of rurality and multifunctional rural development. However, reflection on social movements in rural areas is somewhat novel, especially when combined with the entrepreneurial aspects of agritourism. It must be noted that contesting peasant social movements have been thoroughly analysed in the social sciences (see Stinchcombe 1961; Moore 1966; Paige 1973; Shanin 1973; Wolf 1973; Landsberger 1974; Migdal 1974; Scott 1976, 1990; Jenkins 1982; Halamska 1988; Forýs 2008). However, so-called new social movements, which have significantly influenced social life in recent decades (Offe 1985), remain somewhat overlooked in rural areas or outside the interest of the social sciences. Until now, new social movements have predominantly been situated in urban contexts, with authors such as Manuel Castells (1983) emphasising the urban orientation of activities conducted by major social movements, contributing to transformations in cities. Of course, the values promoted by new social movements are universal, and it can be assumed that they also find followers in rural areas; this, however, has not been the subject of particular exploration by researchers thus far. As contemporary research on social movements has expanded beyond urban settings, this article aims to portray rural areas as suitable environments for the development of new social movements and conducive to the formulation of post-material values that characterise them. The presence of new social movements in rural areas may be relatively new but is already well recognised and validated in sociological literature (see: Mooney 2000; 2004).

This work will focus on entrepreneurship in rural areas and the formation and emergence of an agritourism movement in Poland, examining wheth-

er entrepreneurship can be seen as a causative factor in its early stages, or whether the agritourism movement serves as a tool for entrepreneurial activities undertaken by rural residents. To delve into these matters, more specific questions must be asked regarding rural areas and collective activities. Why do rural areas provide a conducive environment for new social movements? What are the structural causes underlying the emergence of new social movements in the rural areas of Poland? Why can the agritourism movement be perceived as a new social movement? What functions does it fulfil in rural areas? What values are manifested through entrepreneurial activities combined with the agritourism movement?

The empirical section of this article is based on a study conducted through in-depth interviews with 20 agritourism farm operators in Lesser Poland and 35 leaders of agritourism associations across Poland. The agritourism farm owners who participated in the study were divided into three groups. The first group comprised individuals attached to the traditional peasant ethos; the second group included those who work on the farm but do not identify with the peasant ethos and somewhat distance themselves from the farming profession despite their involvement; and the third group consisted of immigrants who deliberately moved to the countryside to start agritourism activities. The research among the leaders of associations was conducted across 11 voivodeships, divided into two groups (the number of surveyed associations from a given voivodeship is indicated in brackets). The first group included voivodeships in which agritourism is developing well, evidenced by a large number of registered agritourism farms: Małopolskie (7), Podkarpackie (5), Podlaskie (3), Warmińsko-Mazurskie (6) and Wielkopolskie (1) – as a reserve in this group. The second group examined associations from voivodeships with the smallest number of registered farms: Kujawsko-Pomorskie (4), Lubuskie (1), Łódzkie (4) and Mazowieckie (2) – also as a reserve. Additionally, two nationwide organisations were included from Dolnośląskie (1) and Lubelskie (1). As with the agritourism farms owners, in-depth interviews were conducted with the association leaders. Most often, these leaders were the presidents of their respective associations (29) and rarely vice-presidents (2; as substitutes). In one case, it was the treasurer, and in three cases, other individuals from the respective association's management.

The research was conducted using in-depth, face-to-face interviews. One of the research goals was to verify the assumption that agritourism entre-

preneurship may, on one hand, contribute to the appreciation of a specific set of post-materialist values and, on the other, lead to the emergence of the agritourism movement acts. Such a movement shares many characteristics with other new social movements. This similarity can be utilised as a tool for successful agritourism entrepreneurship. The issues raised in the interviews concerned, among others: motivations related to running agritourism activities, the participants' attitudes towards social change, shared values related to rural lifestyles and rusticity, the relationship between these values and entrepreneurial activity, as well as the issue of relations with the environment and interactions within the agritourism movement. The article employs data generated based on the responses to some of the questions posed in the interviews.

The main content of the article, following the introduction and preceding the conclusions, is divided into three parts. The first and second parts are primarily theoretical and contain key definitions describing the studied phenomena, namely entrepreneurship, agritourism and social movement, as well as quantitative data illustrating the state of agritourism in Poland. Due to the limited capacity of the article, this reflection will not extend beyond elementary, fundamental and key findings while acknowledging the complexity and multifaceted nature of the described phenomena. The third part presents the characteristics of this new social movement emerging in rural areas and focusing on agritourism. It emphasises the relationships between the values the movement embodies and its entrepreneurial attitudes.

Entrepreneurship in rural areas

Entrepreneurial development in rural areas constitutes one of the key issues of public policy in both Poland and the European Union (EU). This is reflected in the second pillar of the EU's common agricultural policy, which aims to foster opportunities for the emergence of non-agricultural income sources for rural residents who have ceased farming or consider farm incomes insufficient for a living. In other words, contemporary agricultural policy assumes that modernisation must be combined with the development of non-agricultural entrepreneurship. In a broader perspective, this aims to advance the development of rural areas. The successes of such a policy are confirmed by

the increasing percentage of rural residents who work outside agriculture. In Poland, data indicate a growing trend: 27% of rural residents worked outside agriculture in 2003, 29% in 2006, and 31% in 2010 (GUS 2011: 60–61). By 2016, this figure reached 52% (Karwat-Woźniak 2018: 213). In 2020, only 9% of people living in the Polish countryside supported themselves exclusively through farming. Comparatively, in the EU, this percentage oscillated around 4.5% in 2016 (Karwat-Woźniak 2018: 216).

In Poland, non-agricultural economic activities in rural areas are stimulated in three major ways: 1) public support financed through the EU, primarily within the framework of the common agricultural policy; 2) increasing demand for goods and services produced and/or sold by rural residents (ecological food, agritourism); and 3) migration of urban residents to rural areas, which diversifies income sources and ensures the transfer of new ideas and values to the countryside. As these processes unfold, entrepreneurship is an important factor impacting the dynamics of economic activities in rural areas.

Defining entrepreneurship may not be straightforward for a variety of reasons, including changes in the historical understanding of the term and its multidimensional character. The work of Michael H. Morris, Pamela S. Lewis and Donald S. Sexton (1994) is helpful here, as they reviewed a vast array of definitions of entrepreneurship, presenting nearly 80 conceptions of the term. These authors provided a foundation for the chief characteristics of entrepreneurship, such as: creation of wealth, creation of enterprise, creation of innovation, creation of change, creation of employment, creation of value and creation of growth (Morris, Lewis and Sexton 1994: 22). The main strength of their approach lies in highlighting the complexity and multifaceted character of entrepreneurial processes, though it was not without flaws, such as insufficient reference to new concepts of organisation. Therefore, to augment the recommendations of the three aforementioned authors, it should be emphasised that the contemporary understanding of entrepreneurship applies to knowledge management or, more broadly, intellectual capital, with an emphasis on a specific set of values. In that sense, 'entrepreneurship may demand decisions and actions promoting the vitality of organised activities, which serve to perfect the implementation of the set of values characteristic to [a] particular collective of people, reflecting what these people want and desire the most' (Bratnicki 2001: 9).

Keeping values in mind, two angles of entrepreneurship can be distinguished: economic and non-economic. The former can be seen as 'hard' entrepreneurship, encompassing wealth creation, enterprise building, job creation and economic growth, while the latter, considered 'soft' entrepreneurship, includes innovation, introduction of changes and, most importantly, the emergence of new values. For the purpose of this article, entrepreneurship is defined as a particular type of human activity wherein people act individually or within an organisation, utilising existing opportunities to conduct their business, which entails the introduction of innovation, creation of new organisations or renewal of existing organisations. Entrepreneurship results in both economic and non-economic effects, impacting the involved subjects and their immediate surroundings (Kraśnicka 2002: 14). This work concentrates on the relationships between entrepreneurship and values, emphasising the non-economic 'soft' aspects of entrepreneurship. On an individual level, these 'soft' characteristics are reflected in human qualities such as active involvement, creativity and an interest in innovation. They may also be manifested in the agritourism movement, which carries and promotes a specific set of the values that include ecology, landscape and rurality. To quote Bratnicki: 'Intelligent entrepreneurship is simultaneously conducted on three levels of action logics: operational (creation of values), strategic (building potential for emergence values), normative formation of vitality (ability for autonomous existence) as it is contributing to the development of larger social entity [...]' (Bratnicki 2001: 9). This understanding of entrepreneurship closely aligns with the concept of entrepreneurial spirit introduced by Jan Szczepański, who does not attribute economic growth to the ruthless egoism of entrepreneurs and their drive to maximise profit but rather to the engagement of their individual abilities in the businesses they run and the autonomy of their activities as opposed to formalistic constraints (Szczepański 1988: 18).

Agritourism entrepreneurship is inherently oriented towards economic goals such as income, growth and development through investments and/or job creation; however, these are not the primary focus of this work. The genesis of the Polish agritourism movement appears to be tied to the 'soft' aspects of entrepreneurship, which align with the values promoted by the agritourism movement. Therefore, for the purposes of this article, I propose viewing the agritourism movement through the lens of the values it represents,

even though such a movement can be explicitly linked to non-agricultural entrepreneurship conducted in rural areas and generating new jobs. This approach will accentuate certain non-economic aspects of entrepreneurship that are connected to the creation and preservation of post-materialist values.

Agritourism and Social Movement

Agritourism is a type of rural tourism, alongside rural tourism and forest tourism. An agritourism farm is an agricultural farm that offers a form of recreational tourism set in rural conditions. In other words, it involves the provision of tourist services by farmers on their farms. Additionally, for a farm in Poland to attain agritourism status, it must meet several conditions, including offering a maximum of five guest rooms, which allows its owners to benefit from preferential tax settlement rules. Agritourism activities constitute a significant source of non-agricultural income in Poland's rural areas. In the second decade of the 21st century, over 1.5 million farms in Poland had non-agricultural sources of income, including agritourism (Matlegiewicz 2015: 224).

The number of agritourism farms in Poland began to grow at the onset of post-communist transformations in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In 1993, there were approximately 1,000 agritourism farms in Poland, and by 2002, their number had increased more than sixfold to reach 6,546. In 2006, there were 7,214 agritourism farms and by 2011, this number had risen by over 600, totalling exactly 7,852 (2013: 42). By the end of 2019, the number of agritourism farms had grown to 8,100 (Gralak and Kacprzak 2021). Currently, the number of agritourism farms in Poland is average for the EU, but it places the country behind European leaders in contemporary agritourism, such as Italy (over 19,000 agritourism farms) and France (14,000). In describing the relationships between entrepreneurship and agritourism, as well as the development of the agritourism movement as a new social movement, statistical data may not be the most helpful but should also not be overlooked, as presentation of the phenomena in numeric values illustrates its true scale. These figures provide general knowledge of the material basis for such a movement, particularly the number of subjects that tend to share a specific set of values. These values play a significant role in linking agritourism with social movements in rural areas and merit attention.

Post-materialist values serve as an important reference point for both agritourism and new social movements. To a great extent, these values can be viewed as a consequence of the development and modernisation processes that societies undergo. Consequently, societies transform themselves, experiencing various phases of development, i.e. from modernity to late modernity. In a narrower perspective, such transformation involves the abandonment of materialist values in favour of post-materialist values, as well captured by Ronald Inglehart: 'The Postmaterialists brought into the political arena a number of issues that had been largely ignored and neglected; in doing so, they help correct a course that tended to sacrifice the quality of life to one-sided economic considerations' (Inglehart [1990], 2005: 333–334). This reassessment of goals and values assimilates post-material values into a new synthesis, demonstrating the profound changes that have occurred in contemporary societies, as well as in social movements and their surroundings. Their consequences are also observed in rural areas and manifested in the appreciation of values connected with nature and landscape.

The multitude of approaches to defining social movements, not to mention the number of definitions themselves, makes it impossible to present the entire theoretical output concerning social movements (see: Misztal 2000). For the analytical purposes of this article, the definition proposed by Piotr Sztompka seems most appropriate due to its general and neutral character, allowing me to bypass additional explanations and interpretations not suited to the length of this article. For Sztompka, social movements are 'loosely organised collectivities acting together in a non-institutionalised manner in order to produce change in their society' (Sztompka 1993: 276). Remarks on understanding new social movements must also be brief here, especially considering that the discussion on the novelty of new social movements lacks academic consensus, with some scholars questioning the concept of new social movements (see Offe 1985; Plotke 1990; Tarrow 1991; Buechler 1995).

I will primarily concentrate on characteristics that distinguish new social movements from the 'old' ones. First, the social base of new social movements largely comprises individuals from the old and new middle classes, as well as those who remain somewhat outside the social system (e.g. students, retirees and housewives). Second, their manner of operation may internally resemble loose organisations in every phase of a given movement's existence and development. There is an inherent striving for a sense of community,

but externally, the movement engages in novel and unconventional activities (happenings, publications raising awareness of public opinion, conferences and parades). Third, new social movements activate around social conflicts that are not class-based, do not pertain to materialist issues and deal with new concepts of social life and cultural matters. Fourth, new social movements have different goals than old social movements and, due to their post-materialist character, aim for lifestyle changes affirming a common good and individual well-being. Their implementation is not a zero-sum game, meaning that achievement and enrichment for some involved parties do not result in the deprivation of others. Typical goals of new social movements include social justice, environmental protection, human rights, sustainable development, peace and civil rights. These goals and the values new social movements represent are of key importance for this article and also connect new social movements to agritourism.

Agritourism in this article is understood as a specific kind of rural tourism (alternative tourism) organised by farm families using their housing and holiday resources, as well as the natural and cultural assets of the countryside and the region, along with its infrastructure (Sikora 2012: 65). Although agritourism is recognised as a certain type of tourism, I would like to emphasise that I do not equate the two. Agritourism is a subcategory of rural and forest tourism (Sikora 2012: 63), but in a much narrower sense of that phenomena. Two factors distinguish agritourism from other types of tourism. First, a family farm with plant and/or animal production serves as a place of leisure for tourists. Second, the farm is equipped with recreational and cultural infrastructure and is located in a naturally attractive area.

Agritourism plays several important functions for the farm, with its economic function, understood as both a source of income and a workplace, being key. Equally important is its cultural function, which deals with the maintenance and development of rural culture. Other functions include the cognitive function related to culture and nature; the integrational function involving relations between agritourists and local residents; and the social-humanistic function shaping social bonds, cultural exchanges, responsiveness to nature and learning processes. A closer examination of the non-economic functions of agritourism reveals them as a genuine and important foundation for the implementation of post-materialist values, including the discovery of new aesthetic and ethical values in relations with the rural pop-

ulation, through exposure to nature and appreciation of its beauty. These values also lend validity to environmental protection and underscore the importance of rurality and folk culture.

Everything offered by agritourism aligns with larger social changes described as a cultural shift, characteristic of late modernity. Evidence of this shift is quite noticeable in human relations with nature, particularly in how people perceive, experience and treat nature, which constitutes the cultural aspects of agritourism. Rurality and the countryside comprise a broader context, where rural space, lifestyle and non-materialist values intertwine. However, rurality that is socially constructed, negotiated and experienced could easily be mistaken for an idyllic picture that bears little resemblance to reality but reflects the new conceptualisation of relations between humans and nature (Cloke 2006: 22). This essentially means abandoning the exploitative approach towards nature in favour of engagement in its contemplation and celebration, as well as the consumption and commodification of its best assets. According to Harvey C. Perkins (2006: 244), rurality 'in general terms becomes therefore the repository of the good things we have lost as a result of urbanization' and currently strive to regain. Such sentiments form the basis for what Perkins calls 'imagined geographies', describing them as fictional accounts of rural life that obscure its inconvenient aspects, such as poverty and powerlessness.

Agritourism, within the larger context of tourism, may initially be perceived as something externally new, introduced to rural areas from the outside world. Over time, however, it becomes part of rurality, and through this process, new rural resources, such as rural landscapes, attractive locations, lifestyles, as well as leisure and recreation forms, are created. To reiterate Perkins (2006: 245), these resources become 'continually developing commodities in the form of products, processes, activities and technologies [...]'. These new forms of commodity have in some cases reproduced well-established rural spaces and in others produced new ones. The new rural spaces comprise new resource bases and changed landscapes, and new meanings, practices and imaginations of rural areas. To counter Perkins, it should be noted that agritourism encourages a more sophisticated consumption of rurality, not necessarily in the manner characteristic of commodity societies, where one value is exchanged for another. Agritourism, similar to the consumption of tourist attractions in urban areas described by Meethan (1996: 324),

‘involves visual consumption of signs, often in the form of staged events and increasingly, simulacra and staged events [...] [They are] transformed into aestheticised spaces of entertainment and pleasure [...]’. Within such an approach, agritourism appears to foster the preservation of rural tradition, culture and lifestyle while simultaneously becoming part of the tourism industry. The development of agritourism in Poland manifests both tendencies, but the former seems to dominate as owners of agritourism farms are more likely to identify with broadly understood rural culture rather than the drive to commodify and sell various aspects of rurality. This quality likely stems from a certain backwardness of Polish agritourism in comparison to more industrially developed countries such as Germany, France and Great Britain.

It should be emphasised that whichever development path is taken, the processes outlined here demonstrate that at the centre of contemporary agritourism are post-materialist values connected with a healthy lifestyle, ecological or organic food, nature, landscape, the traditional countryside and its culture or ecology. This makes rural areas a suitable space and foundation for the formation of new social movements (i.e. ecological/environmental movements), with goals not just similar to those of agritourism but identical to them. To support this notion, additional conditions that foster new social movements in rural areas can be referenced, as indicated by Patrick H. Mooney (2000): the weakening of territorial isolation of rural residents (i.e. improvement of communication possibilities and transportation, which fosters the mobilisation of rural populations); less diversity in rural communities than in urban areas; well-defined farmers’ interests (helpful in marking farmers’ presence in the political arena); strong kinship at the expense of individualism; the closeness of cognitive frames between ecological movements and rural movements, including agritourism movements; and a heightened perception of threat to collective identity compared to that urban areas (resulting in greater mobilisation efforts to defend it); as well as the emergence of numerous associations based on direct relations (this type of relationship is essential in social movements).

The Agritourism Movement as Entrepreneurship Based on Specific Values

The presentation of values essential to the agritourism movement should not lead to the misconception that economic aspects of entrepreneurship are unimportant to the owners of agritourism businesses in Poland. Research conducted for this article has shown that individuals engaged in agritourism initially viewed it as a source of income; financial motivation was of primary importance when such businesses first emerged. Nevertheless, the owners prefer to consider this income as a side effect of fulfilling the values discussed in the previous section, which are connected with tradition, culture, landscape and ecology. Over time, some re-evaluation occurred, shifting economic issues into the background and highlighting the businesses' post-materialist values. This was confirmed in the conducted interviews by nearly all agritourism farm owners and leaders of agritourism associations. Such declarations regarding motivations for initiating economic activities indicate the significant and decisive role of entrepreneurship in the establishment of agritourism businesses, but they also point to a certain reassessment of incentives. Consequently, the role of values gains appreciation, affirming the relationship between entrepreneurship and a specific set of values.

Social movements are typically described as possessing a rather constant and firm set of characteristics (see Gliński 1996; Misztal 2000; della Porta and Diani 2009; Forýś 2016), such as interactivity, orientation towards social change, organisation, self-awareness, collective goals and opinions, spontaneity and distinctness. As the capacity of this article does not allow for elaboration on all these characteristics, I will focus solely on those that apply to agritourism activities, implying the existence of a social movement and particularly highlighting the participants in such a movement.

In order to declare that a certain collective has formed a social movement, its members must self-identify as participants of such an entity. In the case of the agritourism farms owners and individuals directly or indirectly engaged in these types of economic activities, such self-identification was present. The interview participants shared that in the initial stages of agritourism activities, they did not perceive themselves as part of a social movement, but over time, they came to the realisation that they were. All but two of the participants expressed strong convictions about their participation in a community

resembling a social movement. More importantly, in defining this community, they alluded to non-materialist values related to nature, lifestyle and agritourism numerous times.

Values (among others: landscape, ecology, interpersonal contacts) appear to play an important role, although in most cases, they are not the primary motivation for initiating agritourism activities. They become more essential in later stages of engagement with agritourism, generating a sense of community and reinforcing the underlying conviction that agritourism is a mission. The promotion of these values contributes to rural development. To illustrate these matters, the interviewed agritourism farms owners expressed the following opinions: 'For sure, we are (a social movement – G.F.), see how often mass media and the press show people who start similar ventures like us. It is because other people need it' (Interview no. 4).

I think that yes (we are a social movement – G.F.), but some articulate that, while others don't. Most of us don't articulate that but do what they are supposed to do and that's it. Probably, if you visited more and were asking these people questions according to some system, they would tell you the same thing or something very similar. This goes to the core of what we plant, what we do (Interview no. 6).

A sense of distinctness from others and belonging to the movement is grounded not only in self-awareness but also in collective opinions and solidarity. Agritourism operators and leaders of agritourism associations share opinions on three essential issues: 1) the necessity to cultivate plants and raise animals to fulfil one's own needs, which could be understood and highlighted as the need to implement a peasant ethos; 2) the importance of environmental and landscape protection, perceived as a mission to fulfil the peasant ethos; and 3) the indispensability of maintaining and preserving rural traditions and culture. The shared opinions and views reflected in the interviews strongly supports the notion that values play a motivational role (e.g. ecology, landscape preservation, peasant ethos, peasant culture), while economic activity connected with agritourism serves as a tool for implementing those values. A sense of community and identification with the social movement indicate the presence of an agritourism movement, but organisation is equally important.

The analysis of the network of relations between agritourism farm operators, agritourism organisations and other entities, whether individuals or in-

stitutions, reveals the prevalence of a collectivist character in the social movement organisation. Although other types of organisational aspects, described by various theoretical models of structural networking (such as reticulate, segmented and decentralised: see Freeman 1979) are present in the agritourism movement, certain premises indicate its communal character. First, there are noticeable homogenous characteristics among movement participants who reside in rural areas, work on farms and are strongly attached to the land. Second, the relations between agricultural farm owners are consensual, with no significant levels of tension among them or with the leaders. Consequently, the element of power is of little importance, and rivalry within the movement is relatively low. Third, it can be stated that the institutional context induces a certain structure within the movement, and this is done through various institutions' initiation and support of agritourism activities (e.g. Agricultural Advisory Centre, extension services and agricultural chambers). Therefore, the formation process of the agritourism movement somewhat diverges from a theoretical model that emphasises spontaneity and voluntary involvement. Within the institutional context, accommodation providers are encouraged through financial incentives and promises of economic assistance. From this perspective, the agritourism movement plays a secondary role in relation to the primary goals of the institutions that have both voluntarily and involuntarily contributed to its emergence and shape its development.

In sociological literature, shared opinions, beliefs and core themes within a social movement are considered crucial in forming the ideology of the movement (see: Beck 2013; Gerlach 2001). A broad and lasting consensus of shared opinions and views is essential to this process. Ideology within a social movement can be viewed from several angles (Beck 2013). There is a psychological perspective, which allows individuals to validate their sense of social reality and ascribe meaning to it. There is also an interactionist angle, which shapes relations between the movement itself and its leaders, participants and surroundings.

Ideology and social movement can also be linked through the concept of a frame that organises meanings and interpretations, as seen in the work of David A. Snow and Robert D. Benford (1988). Beck's understanding of ideology within the agritourism movement can be best presented through a psychological perspective and framing process. Attachment to the set of values discussed earlier provides a basis for self-identification for individuals in

general, not only in the context of agritourism activities; individual identity and collective action in the form of the agritourism movement are interconnected. The framing concept accentuates non-psychological aspects of social movements by emphasising harmony between values related to nature, the countryside and lifestyle that the participants uphold and those recognised by a larger society entering the stage of late modernity. Therefore, framing can be used to conceptualise ideology, as accommodation providers preserve and cherish shared assumptions and meanings in a unique way, which impacts the way in which they interpret the world around them.

The final characteristic of the agritourism movement that should be presented here relates to its goals to authenticate the relationship between entrepreneurship and the values that form part of the movement's ideological makeup. The goals indicated in the interviews with accommodation providers can be analysed in terms of their implementation time frame (medium- and long-term) or according to their importance as superior and subordinate.

This paper focuses on the superior and subordinate goals discussed in the interviews but also addressed them with a timeframe. Subordinate goals related to specific agritourism activities, such as improving service quality, cooperation between farms and participation in training workshops. Superior goals were oriented towards the values addressed earlier in this article. The medium-term goals involve practical matters such as meeting tourists' needs, promoting agritourism farms and cooperating with local authorities. The long-term goals were responsible for the general framework of agritourism and could be directly identified with the following values: maintenance and preservation of the family farm (attachment to the land stemming from the peasant ethos), environmental protection, landscape preservation, interpersonal gratification through contact with accommodation providers, educational activities increasing social awareness about environmental protection and landscape conservation. The above goals refer to the non-materialist realm, but this does not imply that practical goals of an entrepreneurial character are absent. Such goals include the promotion of farms, the countryside and the region where they are located; grant-writing and applications for agritourism projects; and customer acquisition, all in addition to generating profits from agritourism.

The above list of goals intertwines those related to values and entrepreneurial goals. It should be noted that hierarchically, goals pertaining to en-

vironmental protection and conservation of the countryside and rural landscape are situated at the top, while the interviewed agritourism farm owners also defined the relationships between various goals. As revealed in the interviews, acquired profits and all activities leading to them (training, improving service quality, customer acquisition, etc.) were instrumental to the implementation of supreme values. In other words, agritourism activities reflecting entrepreneurship were intended to serve higher goals such as the conservation of landscape beauty, environmental protection and the preservation of the traditional image of the countryside. This attitude developed over time and through certain dynamics. In the initial stages of their agritourism activities, accommodation providers were primarily profit-driven, focused on customer acquisition and ensuring service quality. Over time, they re-evaluated their motivations and the utilitarian goals became overshadowed by post-materialist inspirations. This shift in priorities has three important consequences: 1) the formation of the new social movement in rural areas is a byproduct of entrepreneurial activities described as agritourism; 2) such a movement should be regarded as a new social movement as it refers to a specific set of values and becomes a tool for conducting entrepreneurial activities; 3) agritourism activities are based on post-materialist values, regarded as superior values, but it should also be emphasised that accommodation providers do not abandon their utilitarian goals related to entrepreneurship.

So far, only selected characteristics of the agritourism movement have been discussed, those usually analysed in literature devoted to social movements. However, my interests extend further, addressing the sense of community, social bonds and distinctness of the individuals forming the social movement, as well as the organisational aspects of that movement. The entity possessing these characteristics is undoubtedly a collective of people formed as a social movement. The interview participants' self-identification as members of this collective enhances the notion of agrotourism defined as a social movement. To identify who constitutes that movement besides accommodation providers, it is necessary to consider its organisational dimension and examine the interactive structures. Consequently, such an analysis will need to include agritourism organisations and associations as they cooperate with and within the agritourism movement.

The development of agritourism and the emergence of the agritourism movement are facilitated by cooperation among rural residents and further

enhanced by agritourism associations. These associations are voluntary organisations that bring together rural residents engaged in tourist activities or those planning to undertake such activities in the near future (Strzembicki 2003: 19). They aim to provide an institutional framework for cooperation and coordination, allowing the actions of individual farms to merge into more collective and institutionalised forms. Associations shape the organisational structures of the agritourism movement, a role that can be considered novel compared to their more typical economic and service-oriented functions (see: Zuba and Zuba 2007; Koniusz 2009).

The number of agritourism associations in Poland is difficult to ascertain, but estimates from 2015 indicated the existence of 128 associations, roughly the same number as in the first decade of the 21st century (Foryś 2016). Accommodation providers primarily interact with one another, creating a horizontal interactive field. In contrast, the interactive field of associations is more complex, comprising both vertical and horizontal dimensions. This can be represented as a pyramid topped by the Polish Federation of Rural Tourism (Polska Federacja Turystyki Wiejskiej; PFTW), which encompasses several agritourism associations. However, most agritourism associations do not belong to hierarchical organisations, and their interactions are predominantly horizontal. Vertically, these associations engage 'upwards' with the state and its institutions, with PFTW acting as an intermediary. Vertical interactions 'downwards' are directed towards agritourism farms and other enterprises. Horizontal interactions can be observed in collaborations with local authorities, other agritourism associations, and agricultural organisations. All these relationships constitute an interactive field for the agritourism movement and delineate its influence at an institutional level. This aspect of the agritourism movement's functioning highlights the entities that constitute it, such as agritourism farms and associations, as well as what can be termed agritourism communities.

These communities occasionally emerge at the local level as a result of cooperation on agritourism initiatives and matters pertaining to rural areas, with shared values among participants serving as a common denominator for the entire agritourism movement. Although these communities become an important element of the agritourism movement organisation, albeit unarticulated institutionally as distinct entities, their emergence is a consequence of the institutional solutions implemented within the movement, such as reg-

ulations that accommodation providers or agritourism associations must adhere to in order to receive financial assistance from the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development. Laws governing the functioning of Local Action Groups, which ensure the involvement of various groups and individuals, are also important here.

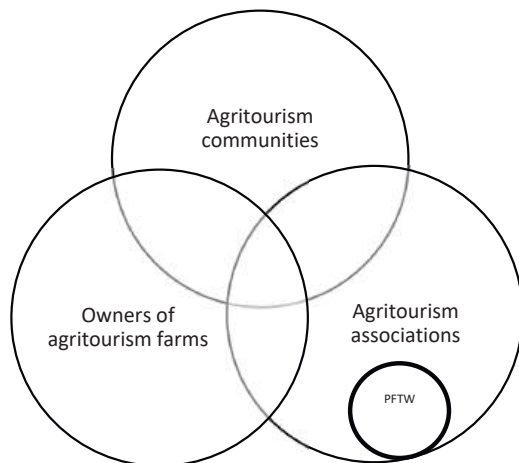


Figure 1: Construction of the agritourism movement

Source: the author

To further detail the composition of these communities, the following subjects should be identified: accommodation providers from a specific municipality, and in some cases a county; folk artists; food producers (particularly those offering organic products); local activists collaborating with agritourism proprietors and operators; managers of rural tourism; rural women's circles; and folk bands. This description underscores the flattened, horizontal structure of the agritourism movement, its communal character and the prevailing horizontal relations among its participants (applying also to most associations outside of PFTW), which are established at the local level, where PFTW remains the most crucial, if not the only, organisational arm of the agritourism movement.

The next elements to consider are the relationships between values and entrepreneurship at the general level of agritourism movement. Such re-

relationships are particularly evident in the articulation of characteristics of the agritourism movement that make it similar to a new social movement. Therefore, it is essential to present the functions of the agritourism movement in rural areas.

The characteristics that position the agritourism movement among new social movements can be outlined in several points. First, the most significant 'novelty' of the agritourism movement is that its goals – previously described as oriented towards nature, rurality, ecology, environmental protection and interpersonal connections – are somewhat compromised by profit expectations. A reality check reveals that profits are modest, which may lead to a re-evaluation of goals, with a predominance of post-materialist objectives. Non-material values are discovered by individuals who initially engaged in agritourism with profit-generation motives. Second, the organisational structure of the agritourism movement, characterised by a lack of clear hierarchy, also aligns it with new social movements. Direct contacts and interactions predominate within the agritourism movement, and its position within local organisations is not distinctly marked. Internally, the agritourism movement seeks to foster a sense of community, thereby embedding itself and fostering its establishment within local communities. It promotes direct action for social change at the local level.

Third, the two primary modes of action of the movement further confirm the characteristics typical of new social movements. The agritourism movement influences public opinion, including that of rural residents and society at large, through organising and participating in conferences; preparing educational and promotional materials; engaging in environmental causes; promoting sustainable development; and organising fairs, picnics, and festivals. It also strives to cultivate a sense of community at both local and broader levels (practising direct democracy, adopting a *laissez-faire* leadership style and collaborating with the agritourism communities described earlier).

Fourth, the social base of the agritourism movement also aligns it with new social movements as the majority of its constituents belong to the middle class (due to education, human capital and shared values) or exist outside mainstream professional life (e.g. unemployed individuals, homemakers and retirees). Fifth, similar to most new social movements, the agritourism movement distances itself from official, institutionalised politics, a sentiment frequently expressed in the interviews with accommodation providers and

leaders of agritourism associations. Sixth, the agritourism movement actively engages in the process of social development occurring in rural areas, attempting to implement the aforementioned set of non-materialist values.

The depiction of the agritourism movement should not be limited to merely enumerating its characteristics; it should also address the role it plays in rural areas. This will illuminate the connections between the values represented by the movement and entrepreneurship, which are already somewhat evident in the characteristics of the agritourism movement.

There are several roles that the agritourism movement plays in rural areas. First, it inspires and stimulates local activities while building a network of cooperation. Both these effects are closely linked to entrepreneurship, either instilling it (through inspiring activities) or reinforcing it (through networks of cooperation). This also applies to social entrepreneurship, which is not oriented towards individual profits but focused on the common good and fulfilling certain missions such as rurality and nature preservation. Second, engagement in agritourism movements contributes to the development of human and social capital, with the interplay of these two types of capital enhancing development opportunities for local communities and facilitating their adjustment to a changing world. Moreover, human and social capital are essential for the emergence of entrepreneurship.

Third, the agritourism movement not only fosters entrepreneurship and development but also implements its own desired path of sustainability. Sustainable development, in this context, aligns with the values discussed in this article, and the activities of the agritourism movement reinforce these values. Fourth, the agritourism movement acts as a steward and conservationist of nature, landscape and folk culture, paralleling its involvement in sustainability issues. This role allows for clear manifestations of the values shared within the movement and promoted by its members.

Fifth, the agritourism movement, as a harbinger of late modernity in rural areas, plays a role in shaping and transforming the identity of rural residents, who must adjust to the new realities of late modernity. Sixth, the agritourism movement directly influences the operation of individual agritourism farms. Engagement in the movement increases the likelihood of pursuing this type of entrepreneurship. The agritourism movement may suggest what types of agritourism activities should be conducted, while also offering participation in networks of relationships that enhance the probability of economic success.

Seventh, considering all the roles of the agritourism movement presented here, their collective effect on rural areas contributes to their development. Eighth, and finally, applying a broader perspective to the agritourism movement positions it in a participatory role within a more general societal struggle to mitigate the negative effects of the transition from modernity to late modernity. Interestingly, the agritourism movement in this process serves as both the subject and object of change. It strives to defend certain values but also, to some extent, compromises them. This refers to the instrumental treatment of these values and their commodification.

Conclusions

The analysis of the relationships between the agritourism movement and entrepreneurship confirms their mutual character. Entrepreneurial activities can be viewed as the first factor that initiated the agritourism movement. However, the creation of a social movement was not a conscious intention of those engaging in agritourism entrepreneurship. What drives these entrepreneurial activities is the desire of rural residents to generate additional income from agritourism sources. This type of entrepreneurship aligns well with a specific set of values and interpersonal relationships, leading to the emergence of a social movement. The agritourism movement initiates a sequence of processes, including the most significant process: changes in mentality and increased awareness of rurality. The tangible existence of an agritourism movement provides a forum for entrepreneurs and serves as a tool to enhance existing agritourism activities. In return, the agritourism movement stimulates and enriches entrepreneurship. A specific set of post-material values is nurtured and cherished, while the agritourism movement becomes one of the agents of change in rural areas. It acts as a filter, mitigating the negative effects of modernisation while preserving aspects that affirm rurality. The agritourism movement can be viewed as a transmission belt, allowing certain values important to broader society to permeate rural areas. In this sense, the agritourism movement offers a glimpse into the future of rural areas, suggesting that they are becoming increasingly similar to urban areas. This process involves the expansion of external influences to rural areas through the promotion of values that resonate with a larger segment of society, as well as

innovations (e.g. a return to traditional cuisine, architecture and educational activities for children and adults).

The agritourism movement, situated in rural areas, maintains strong ties to rurality and special relationships with entrepreneurship, distinguishing it from other social movements classified as new social movements. Two aspects that distinguish it from other social movements can be identified. First, the relationships among its participants are direct, primarily due to the nature of the agritourism activities conducted. Second, the direct relationships indicate that the agritourism movement is deeply embedded in local communities, where its resources are also located. Consequently, the agritourism movement becomes an invisible part of everyday life for those engaged in agritourism.

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