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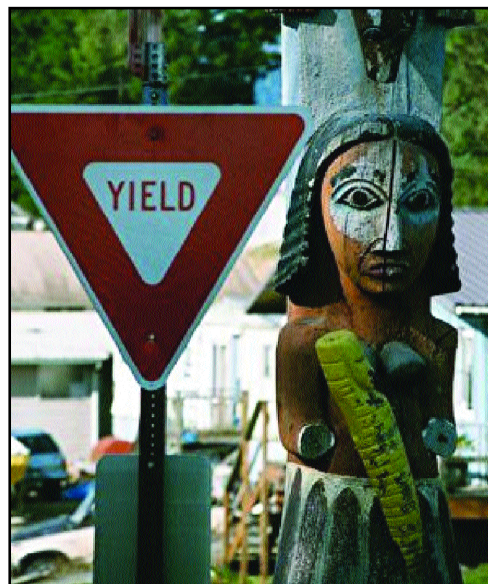
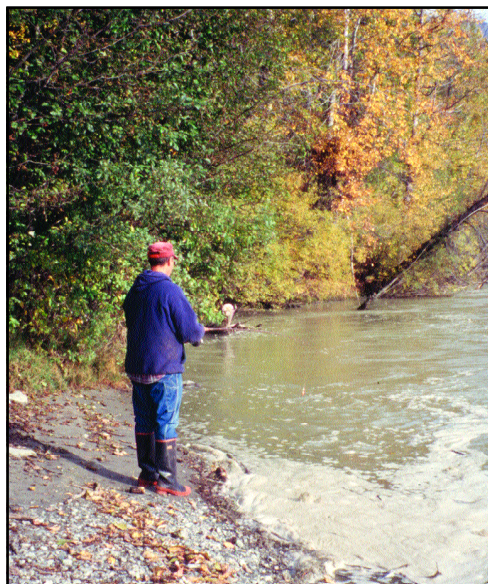
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Tourism and Its Effects on Southeast Alaska Communities and Resources: Case Studies From Haines, Craig, and Hoonah, Alaska

Lee K. Cervený



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Abstract

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Tourism has become integral to southeast Alaska's regional economy and has resulted in changes to the social and cultural fabric of community life as well as to natural resources used by Alaskans. This study incorporates an ethnographic approach to trace tourism development in three rural southeast Alaska communities featuring different levels and types of tourism. In addition, the effects of tourism from the perspectives of local residents are explored, including economic effects, sociocultural effects, and effects on human uses of natural resources.

Keywords: Tourism, community effects, social sciences, anthropology, Alaska.

Summary

Tourism has become integral to the economy of southeast Alaska and has resulted in changes to the social and cultural fabric of community life as well as to natural resources used by Alaskans. This study examines tourism development in Haines, Craig, and Hoonah and is based on field research conducted between 2000 and 2001 and followup research through 2004. In each site, data were collected through indepth interviews with key informants and a representative sample of community residents. These three communities were selected as case studies because they represent the range of tourism experiences occurring in southeast Alaska. The communities selected are of similar size, demographic composition, and economic structure, with historical reliance on timber and fishing. Despite these similarities, tourism has developed along very different paths. Moreover, the perceived effects of tourism on community life and the surrounding natural resources have also differed.

Tourism to southeast Alaska grew rapidly in the late 20th century, with the number of visitors doubling from 473,000 in 1985 to nearly 700,000 in 2001 (McDowell Group 2002). (By 2004, this number had exceeded 900,000.) By 2001, cruise passengers accounted for 75 percent of visitors to southeast Alaska. To meet surging demand, cruise lines expanded their capacity by increasing the size and quantity of ships. Larger ships have meant larger impacts, both to the environment and to host communities. Other forms of tourism in southeast Alaska include packaged tourism and independent travelers. In 2001, more than 188,000 visitors participated in guided commercial tours in the Tongass National Forest. Between 1982 and 2001, the number of charter fishing boats in southeast Alaska swelled from 139 to 1,343. As charter fishing grows in popularity, charter fishing guests increasingly compete with commercial fishers for salmon and halibut. Independent travelers are those who plan their own itineraries and rely to a greater extent on local accommodations and visitor services. They may fly to Juneau and then visit the region by ferry, or sail to southeast Alaska on their own vessel and stop in at port cities for supplies as they sightsee and fish. It has been estimated that the number of independent travelers to southeast Alaska has declined in the last 10 years.

Tourism growth has created new opportunities for communities struggling for survival as resource extraction industries decline. Many workers who lost their timber industry jobs turned to tourism for economic survival. Commercial fishermen also have turned to charter fishing to supplement their income amidst declines

in fish prices. Yet, with renewed economic vigor come other unwanted and unplanned social consequences and impacts to the surrounding environment. This study explores the effects of tourism development on the economy, the culture, and human uses of natural resources through the perspective of local residents in Haines, Craig, and Hoonah.

Haines is located on the main tourism corridor in the region, and cruise-based tourism grew rapidly there through 2000. Craig is more remote and has cultivated a tourism industry based on charter fishing. Hoonah is also located on the main cruise ship corridor. At the beginning of this study, Hoonah had not developed a tourism infrastructure. However, the development of a cruise destination in Hoonah in 2004 portends important changes to community life. These three case studies illustrate the variety of experiences faced by southeast Alaska communities involved with tourism. Haines leaders invited large cruise ships into their community and experienced a significant growth in business activity as well as an increased economic dependence on the cruise industry between 1994 and 2000. Consequently, when the cruise lines altered their itineraries in 2001 and docked less frequently in Haines, the local economy suffered. Tourism in Craig was largely based on consumptive activities, fishing and hunting, with potential to expand into nonconsumptive tourism, such as wildlife viewing and cultural tourism. Local and nonlocal entrepreneurs led the tourism industry in Craig with little proactive involvement by public agencies. Meanwhile, Hoonah residents and city leaders were initially cautious about tourism development, and the community mainly attracted independent hunters, boaters, and anglers. However, the cruise destination created by Hoonah's village corporation in partnership with the cruise lines and cooperation from the tribal government has radically transformed the tourism landscape.

Visitor volume and visibility differed significantly among the three study communities. The more visitors appearing in town, the more opportunities there were for visitor-resident interactions in the shops, streets, or favorite recreational areas. Cruise visitors to Haines were highly visible because they arrived in volumes that exceeded the population, and because their activities were confined to specific areas. In Craig, visitor volume was moderate, with roughly 4,000 to 6,000 visitors annually, most of whom were associated with fishing lodges. Visitors to Craig were far less visible, as most of their time was spent fishing or relaxing in the lodge. Visitor volume to Hoonah was modest in 2001, with pleasure travelers likely numbering fewer than 2,000. Although visitors were few, they were highly visible because of the compact nature of downtown. The arrival of thousands of cruise passengers in 2004 brought new opportunities for resident-visitor interaction.

Economic Effects

The three study communities have approached tourism at different rates and welcomed tourism growth to different degrees. In communities with higher visitor volume, residents were more likely to observe additional economic benefits, such as new business growth, tax contributions, and the secondary effects of tourist spending. Tourism dollars filtered through the local economies with direct and indirect spending. Nearly everyone interviewed agreed that tourism led to job creation and allowed many displaced timber workers and fishermen to continue working and living in their home communities. Tourism provided a range of employment opportunities for both residents and seasonal workers; however, many of these jobs tended to be low-wage positions without benefits or advancement opportunities. Few families relied on tourism as a sole source of year-round income. Tourism also allowed existing business to grow and contributed to new business growth. Four emerging trends in business ownership are noteworthy.

1. Respondents in all three communities expressed concern that outside corporations would eventually dominate the local tourism scene. At the time of this study, locally owned enterprises were most prevalent, but in more developed cruise ports, there was a tendency toward increased outside investment. Corporate decisions by the international cruise corporations to change the number of dockings in a community had penetrating repercussions throughout the local economy.
2. Native corporations created as a result of the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act had invested significantly in tourism. These investments resulted in jobs and potential dividends for corporation shareholders. Although there was some debate among residents about whether these corporations made decisions that extended benefits community-wide, most agreed that their involvement in tourism was a positive step toward asserting local control of tourism development.
3. There was an expansion in capacity of many tourism businesses with local roots. Some respondents worried that if current business owners sold their businesses, there would be a great likelihood that nonlocal entrepreneurs would assume ownership; few local residents would be in a position to afford the enterprise. Many respondents worried that the next generation of business owners might not share the same sense of commitment to the community.

4. A number of business owners in Haines, Craig, and Hoonah adopted seasonal residence patterns. Residents were concerned about the growing trend toward seasonal business owners, who spend a portion of their earnings outside the community and who may not be as committed to local economic growth as year-round residents might be.

Sociocultural Effects

Tourism development also fostered concerns about changes in the character of community life, including the pace of life, the tendency toward commercialization, and the integrity of cultural traditions and practices. Many respondents enjoyed the opportunity to talk with new people and exchange ideas. However, others disliked the presence of so many strangers in town. Some associated the influx of visitors with a reduced sense of safety and security. Residents sometimes felt that their lives and routines had become part of a performance geared to visitors. Other observable changes to community life included the change in merchandise carried in local stores. Tourism affected each community differently; some of the sociocultural impacts are summarized below.

1. In Haines, where visitor volume was highest, residents described a wide variety of changes associated with tourism, most notably: congestion in town, the quickened pace of life, growing commercialism, and social frictions among key stakeholders. Craig residents did not comment extensively on the sociocultural effects of tourism, possibly owing to their limited interaction with visitors. Although tourist volume was low in Hoonah, the sociocultural effects observed were more significant, because of the compact nature of downtown and local attitudes toward strangers.
2. Residents of host communities typically perceived the seasonal tourism workforce as a separate subpopulation of the community. Often the seasonal workforce was assumed to have different values, habits, priorities, and levels of commitment to the community than other residents. A few residents in each site felt that this social group represented a shift in traditional Alaskan values and lifeways.
3. Tribal officials in each community stressed the importance of protecting cultural resources and traditions from exploitation by outsiders. Yet many saw benefits in promoting the sharing and learning of cultural traditions through tourism, resulting in the need for young people to learn stories, songs, dances,

and aesthetic traditions. Some residents hoped that today's tourists would become tomorrow's supporters for resources and needs of Native people.

4. Tourism impacted some neighborhoods more than others. In Haines, tourism providers expanded into new geographic areas to avoid other tour groups and to offer guests diverse venues. This dispersal of tourism increased the frequency of visitor-resident interactions in rural neighborhoods and remote recreation places. The increasing frequency of these interactions took a toll on residents, who found fewer places and times to avoid visitors. Residents in the downtown areas were more likely to speak out about the problems associated with tourism.
5. Vocal groups in each study site raised important issues about the effects of tourism and the need to protect important community attributes. In Haines, citizens organized against a tourism development at Glacier Point and the increase in overhead flights from airplanes. In Craig, fishermen warned about the implications of an uncontrolled charter fleet. In Hoonah, clan elders cautioned tourism officials about the need to protect cultural resources and community life. The reactions of various stakeholders to tourism growth shaped the nature and pace of tourism in each site.

Resource Effects

The overall increase in visitor volume to southeast Alaska has resulted in a subsequent escalation in the frequency and intensity of use of natural areas with special scenic qualities or wildlife viewing opportunities. Tourism providers have expanded into new sites to provide visitors with a unique Alaska experience. Tour operators rely on new transportation options to allow access to previously remote areas. These trends affect the way southeast Alaskans interact with these same resources. Several themes emerged in the analysis of resource effects.

1. The emphasis on consumptive tourism (hunting and fishing) caused many residents of the study communities to worry about the long-term resource sustainability. The rapid growth in charter fishing activity was viewed as a threat to those relying on fish for their livelihood or personal consumption. According to local fishermen, the increase in charter activity has caused them to shift their harvest patterns of salmon and halibut. These shifts evoked local conversations about entitlement to Alaska's resources and the desire for local protections.

2. The expansion of tourist activity into more remote areas meant that Alaskans using these areas for subsistence harvest had to share these spaces with visitors. Although tourism had not impeded access to subsistence resources to a great extent, some active subsistence users wondered about the quality and integrity of these resources, given cruise ship pollution. Because subsistence is considered both an economic activity and a cultural practice, changes in subsistence patterns will provoke discussion.
3. Tourism resulted in shifted patterns of local recreation use. Residents frequently reported that they had curbed their use of some high-volume areas and shifted to less desirable sites to escape tourists. Those who continued to use these high-volume areas reported a diminished experience. In some cases, the development of tourism facilities in remote areas resulted in the perceived loss of natural spaces and the encroachment of civilization into the natural realm.
4. Some residents resented the commoditization of natural spaces, namely the packaging, marketing, and sale of “developed wilderness” to visitors. In Haines, a local kayak destination and a goat-hunting ground became a “wilderness safari” tour. The imposition of the tourist landscape, with an entirely new set of definitions and activities, onto these natural areas conflicted with use and perception of these spaces by local residents.
5. The expansion and proliferation of tourism providers throughout the region resulted in user conflicts (a) among tour operators with different group sizes, (b) among tour operators engaged in different types of activities (e.g., whale-watching, fishing, bear hunting), and (c) operators using different means of transportation. Public agencies are beginning to apply tools for establishing optimal carrying capacity of recreation sites.

The expansion and proliferation of nature-based tourism providers had implications for public land and resource managers, who saw increases in permit activity by commercial providers. State and federal agencies overseeing fish and game activities saw an increase in license requests and harvest levels. In some cases, public agencies were not equipped to manage the changes experienced. Resource managers often lacked capacity to monitor recreation activity over vast areas or to regulate commercial recreation use. Some regulations and policies for resource

management were based on outdated assumptions. The heterogeneous nature of tourism makes the industry more difficult to manage than previous resource-based industries, such as timber, and requires new tools and expertise.

Management Considerations

Study results suggest a variety of implications for resource managers.

1. The economic benefits of tourism could outweigh the costs associated with the industry for many more people if local workers were trained and employed and local households directly benefited from the industry. Providing opportunities for year-round employment and training for entry-level and middle-management positions in the local tourism industry might encourage the disbursement of economic benefits throughout the community.
2. The desire for local control over the process of tourism development echoed throughout each of the research sites. Large-scale tourism growth typically was sparked by private corporations and nonlocal actors with little public involvement or planning at the outset. Communities were forced to react to shifts in the use of public spaces and local resources. Residents sought greater control over the pace of tourism development, the type of tourism being pursued, and the process of managing tourism growth.
3. Understanding that the benefits and costs of local tourism may not be evenly distributed within the community enables community leaders to develop mechanisms that minimize any undesirable effects associated with the industry as perceived by various stakeholders and social groups.
4. Research has shown that involving stakeholders during the planning process promotes social equity and maximizes local control over tourism development. Local planning efforts that are initiated and supported in a proactive fashion so as to influence and shape future tourism developments, rather than reacting to existing problems, will likely be more satisfying to those involved. Some stakeholders may need extra assistance from state and federal agencies to be effectively involved.
5. Resource management agencies at the federal and state levels may consider ways to cooperate, to ensure that tourism growth does not outpace capacity to manage this growth. Agencies can strive to improve awareness of their own policies and programs as they affect tourism, and how these programs complement the efforts of other agencies. Coordination among governmental

and nongovernmental agencies concerned with transportation, economic development, resource use, and the environment is important. Successful planning mechanisms promote involvement from multiple stakeholders in private and public sectors.

Preface

This study represents a final reporting of results on tourism-community interactions from three communities in southeast Alaska. Primary fieldwork was conducted in 2000 and 2001, with followup field visits in 2002, 2003, and 2004. Detailed results from one of the study communities, Haines, Alaska, were published in 2004 (Cerveny 2004a). This study addresses research and information needs identified in the 1997 Tongass National Forest Land and Resource Management Plan to understand community relationships with Tongass-related tourism.¹ The design for this project was developed by a team of researchers based at the Juneau Forestry Sciences Laboratory, with input from officials in the USDA Forest Service Alaska Regional Office and the Tongass National Forest. Study results provide information for municipal leaders charting the future courses of their communities and for public resource managers in a position to shape the flow and flavor of tourism on a regional level. This research also may provide important insights for communities worldwide negotiating their relationships with the tourism industry. In addition, this study was conducted as requirement for completion of a doctoral dissertation in anthropology at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University. This study contributes to the development of a theory related to tourism and its impacts on communities and resources.

¹ See USDA Forest Service (1997) Tongass Land and Resources Management Plan, revision. Final environmental impact statement. Appendix B (B-9, B-10, B-11).

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Introduction

Southeast Alaska, which is defined as the section of Alaska extending from Yakutat to the Dixon Entrance south of Ketchikan, represents an important part of the state's economy, history, and cultural heritage. The heavily wooded islands and protected waterways that characterize this 966-kilometer archipelago have long supported healthy populations of fish and wildlife, providing sustenance for the area's inhabitants for many generations. In recent history and up until the present, these natural resources have formed the backbone of the regional economy based in mining, fishing, and logging. Communities have grown up around the mines, canneries, logging camps, and mills, surrounded largely by publicly held lands, including the Tongass National Forest. Throughout the 1990s and into the early 2000s, these industries experienced setbacks owing to globalization, price competition, and economic recession, creating economic uncertainty for the region and its 73,082 residents.

A more recent trend in resource-based development has been the emergence of the tourism industry. Visitors have traveled to southeast Alaska since the 1880s; however, tourism has been recognized as an important part of the regional economy beginning in the early 1980s with the initial expansion of cruise ships. The number of visitors to southeast Alaska climbed steadily from 300,000 in 1989 to nearly 1 million in 2004, with the majority arriving by cruise ship. Travelers also visit Alaska for guided fishing trips or to participate on package tours and eco-adventures. Tourism growth has partially offset downturns in traditional industries, causing community leaders throughout the region to consider transforming their own communities into tourist destinations. Although tourism has generated employment, it also has brought changes to communities and natural resources. Southeast Alaska residents in cruise ports have had to adjust to crowding and congestion in town and in favorite recreation areas. Noise made by aircraft and speedboats has raised concerns. Moreover, tourism providers often rely on public lands to bring guests closer to glaciers, bears, and whales. The startling increase in Alaska cruise ship capacity and the lack of governing structures or institutions engaged in planning or regulation have enabled tourism to grow in a largely unregulated fashion, with significant implications for the sustainability of Alaska's communities and public lands and resources. This study is an initial examination of tourism growth in various communities and community responses to the opportunities and costs that tourism presents. This research summary represents results of field research conducted in 2000-2004 in three rural southeast Alaska communities: Haines, Craig, and Hoonah. The purpose of the study was to examine the social, cultural, and

Tourism is the experiences of travelers, the industry that caters to them, and the interactions between hosts and guests.

resource effects of tourism in three diverse sites. A qualitative approach was developed that emphasized indepth interviews and extensive fieldwork in the study sites.

This report is structured in six sections. The first section describes findings in the social science literature that shed light on the various effects of tourism on local economies, communities, and resources. The surge of interest in sustainable tourism is also highlighted. Section 2 outlines the goals, theories, and methods employed in this investigation. Section 3 reviews the history of tourism development in southeast Alaska and describes the structure of the tourism industry, with special emphasis on the role of transnational cruise corporations. In section 4, the development of tourism within each study site is described, and findings across the cases are compared. The economic, sociocultural, and resource effects of tourism identified by residents as significant are described in section 5, which relies on the words of residents for evidential support. Section 6 presents key findings of the study and explores implications for local and regional officials. This report is one of several publications being prepared based on the study data. In addition to this summary, individual community reports investigating tourism effects in each site are being prepared for publication (e.g., Cervený 2004a). A more comprehensive analysis of the complete data set is available in a doctoral dissertation from Syracuse University (Cervený 2004b).¹

¹ The doctoral dissertation employs a political ecology approach to explore the role of local and nonlocal stakeholders in shaping tourism development and the distribution of tourism effects among various stakeholder groups. Persons interested in understanding the complex power dynamics among agencies and institutions and its effects on tourism communities and resources should consult this document. (See Cervený 2004b.)

Section 1: Understanding Tourism

What is a tourist? Numerous definitions of tourists and tourism have been put forth in the social sciences literature. For this study, a tourist has been defined as a leisured traveler, or one who has temporarily left their habitat and journeyed to another place for purposes of recreation, relaxation, or enjoyment (Burns 1999). Both the process of travel (including planning) and the destination itself are part of the tourist experience. From the social science perspective, tourism includes three important components: (a) the experiences of travelers and the economic, social, and cultural factors that shape their travel; (b) the global industry that caters to the needs of travelers and its impacts on the sociocultural, economic, and physical environment, and (c) the interactions between hosts and guests (Jafari 1987, Mathieson and Wall 1982, Smith 1989). In sum, the study of tourism explores humans engaged in leisure travel away from home and the global industry that responds to their needs (Mathieson and Wall 1982, Pearce 1982). Tourism research also involves the impacts of visitor behavior and the visitor industry on the surrounding sociocultural, economic, and physical environments (Jafari 1987).

Tourism occupies a large and rapidly growing part of economic and social activity worldwide. With improvements in transportation technology enabling rapid travel around the globe and the institutionalization of a “paid vacation” as a common labor practice, people in industrialized nations have invested considerable resources in vacationing and leisure travel (Lofgren 1999). Tourism has evolved into a highly integrated industry geared to the production of tourist experiences and large-scale movements of people around the world. Resort owners, taxi drivers, airline executives, tour guides, cruise ship workers, travel agents, travel writers, and campground hosts all make up the growing and diversifying tourism industry that caters to the modern travel experience. In 2004, the travel and tourism economy accounted for \$5.5 trillion in spending, or 10.4 percent of global gross domestic product and employed 215 million people worldwide (WTTC 2004).² Since 1950, international travel increased from 25.3 million visitors to more than 702 million in 2002, while travel expenditures increased from \$2.1 billion in 1950 to \$474 billion in 2002 (World Tourism Organization 2004). Every year tourist destinations are created worldwide as more regions seek a piece of the tourism pie.

² The travel and tourism economy looks at both the direct and indirect tourism producers. The travel and tourism industry refers to all of those industries directly involved in the provision of tourism products or services. In 2003, the travel and tourism industry accounted for \$1.2 trillion in spending and the creation of 67 million jobs worldwide. These figures include leisure and business travel. See the Web site of the World Travel and Tourism Council (<http://www.wttc.org>) for more information.

Although tourism brings economic benefits to communities, it is based on low-skill jobs, is seasonal, and profits often leave the community.

In rural, remote areas, economic development options often are limited by higher costs of transportation, operations, and labor. Tourism represents one potential strategy for achieving economic growth in rural areas with unique scenic and wilderness resources (Burr 1995). Eager to sustain local economies, municipal officials and institutions have cooperated to develop tourism infrastructure and bolster marketing efforts to attract visitors. Public officials devote resources to tourism development and create incentives to attract the tourism industry, business leaders pool resources to create visitor organizations and train workers, and state and national officials promote their regions through marketing. Destinations are created by a combination of tourism industry professionals, local and regional governments, coalitions of business leaders, and travelers themselves. As tourism grows, various stakeholders, local and nonlocal, negotiate for control of tourism resources (Pi-Sunyer and Thomas 1997). As these destinations evolve to suit visitor needs and preferences, they also experience changes in community life. Maintaining a healthy tourism-community relationship is important because the host community is an essential component of the tourism product (Pearce 1980).

Tourism is associated with many positive economic effects and is promoted by governments and international lending institutions around the world. Tourism can lead to the creation of new businesses and promote new job opportunities (Mansperger 1995, Mathieson and Wall 1982). Tourism also may result in economic growth as spending by nonlocal visitors and tourism enterprises trickles through the local economy. Visitor spending directly benefits tourism industry professionals and indirectly supports other local industries such as fuel, transportation, retail, automotive repair, construction, and agriculture. Tourism also may contribute to municipalities through sales taxes, bed taxes, and specialized taxes and fees. Moreover, host communities benefit from tourism by having more diverse and better quality products and amenities (Mathieson and Wall 1982). In rural locales with scenic attributes, tourism may be the best known option for economic development and the only way to keep residents living and working in their communities. Tourism jobs may be the only employment option in areas with declining employment in other sectors.

Although tourism brings tangible economic benefits to communities, research also has pointed to the limitations of these economic benefits. Tourism promotes an economy based on low-wage, minimal-skill jobs with few benefits (Faulkenberry et al. 2000, Mathieson and Wall 1982). In many parts of the world, including Alaska, tourism is a seasonal industry, offering few year-round jobs and relying heavily on migrant tourism workers as well as local residents (Faulkenberry et al. 2000).

Moreover, local economies do not always receive all of the benefits from tourism promised, because of the structure of the tourism industry and the role of transnational conglomerates (Britton 1982, Hannerz 1973). The tourism industry is vertically integrated, with companies owning interests in several aspects such as hotels, restaurants, travel agencies, transportation, and tours (Crick 1989: 316, Lickorish and Jenkins 1997). Local tourism providers often face stiff competition from corporate owners, who benefit from greater access to capital and economies of scale (Bandy 1996). Meanwhile, tourism can result in a loss of local autonomy as communities become dependent on the economic decisions of corporate actors, leaving communities unprepared for an economic downturn or shift in corporate policy (Crick 1989, Munt 1994, Pi-Sunyer and Thomas 1997). Another economic cost of tourism is its relation to localized inflation, particularly in land values, making it difficult for some local residents to afford housing or escalating property taxes (Faulkenberry et al. 2000, Mathieson and Wall 1982). In addition, incoming visitors and tourism industry workers can strain local infrastructure and utilities. Municipal services must be upgraded to support the needs of the industry, with the burden of these changes placed on taxpayers (Faulkenberry et al. 2000). For example, cities with limited resources may be forced to choose between funding construction of sidewalks in tourism corridors and funding senior centers or other community services (Freitag 1994).

The sociocultural effects of tourism also have been the focus of much social inquiry (Burns 1999, Chambers 2000, Stronza 2001). Although data on community impacts of tourism are plentiful, few studies have compared results among similar communities to explore factors leading to specific types of impacts. Several social scientists have commented on the social and cultural benefits of tourism, including the revitalization of arts and crafts markets and folklife (Boissevain 1996, De Kadt 1979, Duggan 1997); restoration of historical, cultural, and religious buildings (Mansperger 1995, Sharpley 2003); and the establishment of national, regional, and ethnic identity (Boissevain 1996). In many parts of the world, tourism is viewed as an avenue for cultural revitalization--generating interest in the cultural history of indigenous peoples among both hosts and guests (Adams 1990, Crystal 1989). Educational benefits related to social exchange among hosts and guests often are attributed to tourism (Mansperger 1995).

Tourism also may be associated with changes in host communities. Tourism often attracts workers from outside the community as seasonal employees or new residents (Brown 1999, Sharpley 2003). These new tourism workers may bring new sets of values to the community that must be integrated (Nash and Smith

Although several studies have explored the effects of tourism on ecosystems and environmental health, few social scientists have explored the relation between tourism and human-resource interactions.

1991). Tourism may affect social groups of host communities unequally and can cause tension between groups with differential access to resources (Adams 1990). Tourism may divide the community or elevate the social status of some resident groups over others (Smith 1997). And, tourism has been linked with moral problems, including crime, prostitution, gambling, and illegal drug use (Mathieson and Wall 1982). Tourism also is identified with changes in cultural practices of indigenous people (Deitch 1989). Some research has shown that tourism leads to the commoditization of rituals, religious rites, and other indigenous practices, and a potential loss of cultural integrity (Greenwood 1989). Commoditization refers to the process by which something is transformed into a product or service for consumers to purchase (Cohen 1988). When the tourism industry commercializes key religious or cultural ceremonies, it can contribute to divisiveness and tension between traditionalists and modernists within the host community (Crystal 1989). Locals must decide which cultural traditions to gear to the public and which to keep private (Pearce et al. 1996).

Although several studies have explored the effects of tourism on ecosystems and environmental health, few social scientists have explored the relation between tourism and human-resource interactions. What research does exist reflects a mixed set of outcomes. Tourism can benefit local populations by promoting resource conservation and the creation of parks and preserves (Mathieson and Wall 1982, Urry 1995). Moreover, the presence of visitors in rural communities can result in new or improved recreation facilities or opportunities that also benefit locals (Lankford et al. 1997). Although the creation of national parks and preserves can result in increased recreation opportunities (Honey 1999), in some cases, parks prevent access for local residents with historical and cultural ties to these areas (Catton 1997, Gossling 2002, Keller and Turek 1998, Olwig 1980). The expansion of tourism has been known to alter local subsistence patterns and disrupt traditional land-tenure arrangements for host communities (Faulkenberry et al. 2000, Mansperger 1995, Oliver-Smith 1989). In addition, studies have documented the role of tourism in altering the pattern of local commercial activities such as fishing (Young 1999). These shifts in resource use represent a threat to the survival of local economies and the integrity of cultural systems, where access to resources plays a role in maintaining links between past and present and in shaping local identity (Gossling 2002).

Given the wide range of potential effects of tourism on communities and their resources, the tourism industry has recognized the need for alternative tourism approaches, resulting in the call for sustainable tourism and ecotourism (McLaren

2003). Since the early 1990s, consumers have become increasingly aware that some forms of travel can transform places they visit, and these visitors seek more responsible approaches to travel. Sustainable tourism grew out of the broader concept of “sustainable development” defined by the United Nation’s Brundtland Commission in 1987 as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED 1987). Sustainable tourism, therefore, strives to benefit local communities and protect natural, cultural, and historical resources on which tourism is based (McCool and Moisey 2001). Meanwhile, ecotourism represents a form of low-impact, nature-based tourism that strives to minimize the effects of tourism on the destination’s environment and culture (Horochofski and Moisey 2001). Ecotourism is generally conceived as an attempt to promote tourism growth that benefits host communities without overwhelming them, protects natural and cultural resources, and assumes ethical behavior of visitors and tour operators (Dawson 2001). The tourism industry has embraced the need for “balancing economics with people, culture and environment” in the “Blueprint for New Tourism” by the World Travel and Tourism Council, an international trade association of tourism corporations (WTTC 2003).

Although many scholars remain enthusiastic about sustainable tourism approaches, some critics have pointed to new effects associated with bringing guests to areas previously untouched by tourism in the name of ecotourism or nature tourism (Begley 1996, Lindberg 1998, Pattulo 1996). Some suggest that the concept of ecotourism has become appropriated by powerful corporations for marketing purposes while the tendency toward consumption of nature and the environment continues (Bandy 1996, McLaren 2003). Although perhaps not the panacea many had hoped for, the concept of sustainable tourism remains a model for communities hoping to build a tourism industry that promotes the economy without diminishing community resources. Research has shown repeatedly that the ability of community leaders to participate in tourism development is central to the creation of a sustainable tourism industry (Horochofski and Moisey 2001, Stronza 2001).

Although a significant amount of research has taken place to understand the sociocultural effects of tourism in the developing world, few studies have used ethnographic approaches to systematically analyze tourism-community relations in rural North American sites. One exception is the work by Faulkenberry et al. (2000), which showed that in rural South Carolina coastal communities, tourism altered historical patterns of employment by moving workers from agricultural work to the service industry. The tourism industry provided low-level employment opportunities for African-American service workers and teenagers while benefiting a small

The ability of community leaders to participate in tourism development is central to the creation of a sustainable tourism industry.

number of managers and business owners. In addition, low-income workers were struck by rising land values and escalating property taxes as agricultural land became converted to tourist resorts (Faulkenberry et al. 2000).

Virtually no research to date has focused on the community impacts of tourism in rural Alaska. Tourism research in Alaska largely has catered to industry needs and has focused on understanding visitor patterns and behaviors with the goal of tourism promotion. One study focused on Alaska's image and issues of tourism marketing (GMA Research Corp. 1996). A comprehensive series of studies known as the Alaska Visitor Statistics Program sponsored by the state of Alaska has explored visitor statistics, opinions, and spending patterns four times since the mid-1980s³ (McDowell Group 1993, Northern Economics, Inc. 2002) and the economic impact of the tourism industry (McDowell Group 2002). One study examined the role of tourism in both local and regional economies (Robertson 2001). In 2001, a survey of outfitter-guides was conducted (Alaska Division of Community and Business Development 2001).

³ For a complete list of studies conducted for the Alaska Visitor's Statistics Program, see the Web site: <http://www.commerce.state.ak.us/oed/toubus/research.htm>.

Section 2: Study Goals, Theories, and Methods

The overall goal of this study was to deepen our understanding of the many ways tourism interacts with rural southeast Alaska communities. This research incorporated a comparative case study approach in three sites to describe the historical process of tourism development within the study communities, with emphasis on the involvement of local and nonlocal stakeholders in tourism development, and the effects of tourism on host communities and their local resources, with particular emphasis on the distribution of tourism effects among various groups. In particular, this study had three main goals that addressed the effects of tourism on human communities. In each case study, tourism is investigated both on the community level and from the perspective of various stakeholders within the community.

1. Investigate the role of local and nonlocal stakeholders in tourism development. Few social science studies of tourism have offered empirical evidence describing the process of tourism development within a community or the role of various stakeholders in that process (Stronza 2001). Scholars of tourism often view communities as passive recipients in the tourism dynamic and assume tourism has been imposed by outside institutions, such as multinational corporations or national governments (Chambers 2000). Although global corporations and state agencies do generate tourist demand through marketing and regional infrastructure development, local actors also may play an important role in attracting initial investors and in identifying and mitigating ongoing tourism effects. This study attempts to sort out the roles and motivations of local and nonlocal institutions and assess the relative strength of these forces in shaping tourism within southeast Alaska communities. I propose that both local and nonlocal forces influence tourism development. In addition, many have argued that tourism expansion results in greater involvement of nonlocal corporations in the local economy. Along with the involvement of global stakeholders comes a potential loss of local control, threatening long-term economic survival of the community (Pattullo 1996, Pi-Sunyer and Thomas 1997). This study seeks to understand the nature and level of nonlocal involvement in community decisionmaking.

2. Examine resident perceptions of tourism effects on economic and socio-cultural aspects of community life. The development of tourism in rural areas can have immediate effects on the local economy and the social and cultural life of the community. This study explores the extent to which residents perceive the economic benefits promised by tourism. It also analyzes residents' perceptions

Locals may play an important role in attracting initial investors and in identifying and mitigating ongoing tourism effects.

of tourism impacts on the social and cultural fabric of community life. The nature and extent of these effects likely depend on the community's primary mode of tourism and total visitor volume. Yet, the literature lacks cross-case comparisons helpful for understanding what factors may promote certain kinds of effects (Stronza 2001). These effects are compared across three cases to understand dynamics between the dominant tourism mode within a community and the magnitude of tourism effects experienced by residents. I explore whether tourism perceptions differ based on the volume and scope of tourism taking place. In addition, tourism typically results in winners and losers (Eadington and Smith 1992, Stonich 1998). I analyze tourism effects among various stakeholders to understand tourism at the subcommunity level.

3. Measure resident perceptions of tourism and its effects on local patterns of natural resource use. Rural Alaskans value natural resources. For some, these resources are the basis for their livelihood in fishing or timber. For others, natural resources represent something unique to Alaska to be protected or preserved. For residents of host communities, potential shifts in resource use may be perceived as a threat to the survival of local economies and to the integrity of cultural systems where access to resources plays a role in maintaining links between past and present. This study explores how the growth and development of tourism, particularly nature-based tourism, has affected other human uses of natural resources. There is wide variation among tourists, local tourism providers, global tourism corporations, and local residents in the way they use and value natural resources. This study analyzes the role of tourism in shaping patterns of resource use and access among stakeholders (Young 1999).

Theoretical Framework

A political ecology framework has been used to understand the effects of tourism on rural Alaska communities within a broader regional and global context (Biersack 1999, Paulson et al. 2003). Political ecology is an interdisciplinary approach that analyzes the complex interactions between humans and their environment. Relationships among actors on multiple levels shape local tourism outcomes (Stonich 2000). A political ecology approach typically includes understanding the power relations among various stakeholders involved in access to or management of natural resources (Stonich 2000). A stakeholder is defined as a person, group, or institution with interests in a project or program (ODA 1995). A stakeholder is anyone significantly affecting or affected by a decision or project (Chevalier 2001). Stakeholder analysis refers to a set of tools and processes used to identify and describe stakeholders

on the basis of their attributes, interactions, and interests related to a given issue (Ramirez 1999). Within each study site, tourism stakeholders were identified and their roles and relationships to tourism discussed. The approach has been successful in situations where complex and interdependent relations exist among groups sharing common resources such as forests, land, or water. Stakeholder analysis is especially useful where resources crosscut multiple jurisdictions (Chevalier 2001).

Other studies have also employed a political ecology approach to the analysis of tourism. Stonich (1998, 2000) studied tourism development, water resources, and environmental health in Honduras, identifying stakeholders and assessing their relative power regarding the management of water resources and evaluating environmental health outcomes for various social groups. Young (1999) used a political ecology approach in Mexico to understand whether ecotourism (whale watching) resulted in greater stewardship of marine resources than that achieved by commercial fishing. Young (1999) found that conflicts over access to marine resources intensified as ecotourism expanded because of the unequal distribution of benefits from marine resources. Faulkenberry et al. (2000) investigated tourism impacts on social groups in rural South Carolina and found that tourism development perpetuated a “culture of servitude” for rural African-American workers. These studies revealed the various roles of stakeholders in tourism development and reviewed the subsequent effects of tourism on these stakeholder groups.

Tourism development has tremendous potential to influence and alter relations between residents and their environment. This study focuses on the community as the primary unit of analysis but situates the community firmly within the broader realm of the regional and global environment (Kottak 1999). A political ecology approach was useful as an organizing framework to highlight the interactions among stakeholders operating at scales ranging from local to global; this approach enabled an analysis of these interactions and their effects on the manifestation of tourism in Alaska communities (Bryant 1992). The approach also promotes an assessment of how tourism impacts social and economic groups differently.

Methods and Analysis

An ethnographic approach was employed to understand tourism-community relations in the three study sites. Ethnography is a scientific approach for discovering and researching social and cultural patterns and meanings within a community, institution, or cultural group. The researcher’s goal is to understand a social phenomenon, in this case, tourism, by observing its effects directly and by assigning importance to the residents’ views (Schensul et al. 1999). An ethnographic study is

Ethnography is a scientific approach in which the researcher attempts to understand a social phenomenon by observing its effects directly and by assigning importance to the residents’ views.

different from a survey, which gathers specific information from a large, representative sample of the population. Instead, this study incorporates indepth interviews with a smaller sample of the population to gain a deeper understanding of the social phenomenon being investigated. In this investigation, I sought to understand tourism-community relations from the vantage point of local residents. Multiple approaches were used in data collection, including participant observation, interviewing, and the use of secondary data sources, such as economic and census data (Stewart 1998: 6).

Multiple sites—The study was enhanced by use of a multisited approach, which permitted the exploration of tourism-community relations in sites exhibiting vastly diverse tourism conditions, but in a shared geopolitical region (Kottak 1999, Pi-Sunyer and Thomas 1997). A multisited ethnography promoted an understanding of intraregional variations in tourism and facilitated my understanding of shared patterns mutually affecting southeast Alaska communities. This research was conducted in three southeast Alaska communities that reflected a wide range of examples of Alaska tourism. Site selection was based on criteria that permitted broader understanding of the effects of tourism within communities experiencing different levels and types of tourism (Pelto and Pelto 1978). Communities were chosen based on similarities in population (between 800 and 1,200 residents), economic history (both timber and fishing), and the proportion of Native residents. Given these constant factors, sites were selected based on their vastly different relations with tourism (table 1).⁴ Haines was chosen as an example of a small community on the main tourism corridor experiencing rapid growth in cruise-based tourism. Craig was included because it represented an example of a more remote community that had cultivated a tourism industry focused on charter fishing. Hoonah was selected because it is located on the main cruise ship corridor but did not have a

⁴ Thirty-one southeast Alaska communities were analyzed based on the presence or absence of tourism infrastructure. These variables included the presence of the following tourism institutions: large cruise ships, small cruise ships, fishing lodges, charter fishing operators, tour companies (cultural, adventure, sightseeing), lodging (hotels, motels, bed and breakfasts), camping facilities, and restaurants. Five distinct categories emerged (table 1). The category, “no organized tourism,” reflected communities lacking basic tourism services, such as restaurants, lodging, or organized tourism activities. The category, “minimal signs of tourism,” represented communities with a basic level of tourism accommodations and services, including a choice of lodging, restaurants, and some tourism activities. “Specialized tourism” included communities with tourism catering to package visitors on guided tours and guests in full-service lodges, but with few services for independent visitors. “Developed tourism” reflected communities with a diverse array of visitor services, including a wide range of accommodations and a variety of attractions and services. The final category, “cruise-based tourism,” emphasized the role of large cruise ships in ports that experience a high visitor volume.

Table 1—Types of tourism in southeast Alaska communities

Tourism type	Features	Examples
No organized tourism	No basic accommodations No established eateries for guests No or minimal guest facilities Low visitor volume	Tenakee Springs, Hydaburg, Hollis, Edna Bay, Klukwan, Meyer’s Chuck, Angoon, Kasaan
Minimal signs of tourism	Basic accommodations and eateries Some charter fishing or guided hunting Low visitor volume Predominantly locally owned businesses	Hoonah , Pelican, Klawock, Thorne Bay, Coffman Cove, Naukati
Specialized tourism	Few hotels/lodges for independent travelers Self-contained facilities (e.g., lodges) Moderate visitor volume Local and nonlocal ownership	<i>Fishing</i> : Elfin Cove, Waterfall, Port Alexander, Yakutat, Point Baker <i>Cultural</i> : Saxman, Kake, Metlakatla
Developed tourism	Full range of lodging and guest services Moderately diversified tourism activities Developed tourism infrastructure Moderate visitor volume Mixture of local and nonlocal ownership	Wrangell, Petersburg, Craig , Gustavus
Cruise-based tourism	Full range of lodging and guest services Highly diversified tourism activities Developed infrastructure High visitor volume Local, nonlocal ownership and some investment from tourism corporations	Juneau, Ketchikan, Skagway, Sitka, Haines

developed tourism infrastructure during the primary study period, but which recently developed as a cruise destination. Although these sites had different levels of involvement with the tourism industry, each was similarly affected by regional economic transformations and shifts in resource policy decisions.

Fieldwork—The ethnographic approach also implies an extended fieldwork period (Bernard 1999). Fieldwork was essential to the development of a sociocultural framework through which tourism was perceived by Alaskans. Although much can be learned by studying tourism-community relations from analysis of secondary sources, living in the community and interviewing residents while the cruise ships are docking or fishing parties are returning with their day’s catch elicits a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics present. By living in study sites for extended periods during both tourism season and the off-season, I experienced the changes that occurred in these settings and have a better context for understanding comments residents shared about tourism. Fieldwork for this research was conducted

between May 2000 and July 2001, with followup interviews in 2002, 2003, and 2004. I spent 3 to 5 months living and working in each study community.

Participant observation—Participant observation suggests the dual importance of participating in community life while at the same time observing it from the perspective of an outsider. Participation in the daily lives of Alaskans was an important component of the data collection process because “part of the fieldworker’s ethnographic knowledge becomes embedded in his or her daily routines” (Pelto and Pelto 1978: 68). Part of the research included attending public meetings and hearings, city council sessions, and forums on a variety of community issues. It also involved participation in local community events, such as holiday festivals, community picnics, school functions, and sporting events. These events brought community members together and highlighted important shared cultural symbols (Durkheim 1965). In addition, direct observation of tourist activities and tourist-resident interactions took place. These observations aided in understanding aspects of resident-tourist behavior that did not emerge in interviews, providing a backdrop for comparing resident accounts of tourism.

Sampling—Data came from interviews with residents and tourism stakeholders in each site. Interviews occurred in two rounds: initial key informant interviews and semistructured interviews with a sample of community residents. Data from the key informant interviews were used to create a list of key social groups and tourism stakeholders in each study site.⁵ A research sample was then created by using a combination of purposive sampling and chain referral selection. A purposive sample was created based on the social categories and tourism stakeholders identified by key informants (Schensul et al. 1999: 232). Chain referral selection (also known as snowball sampling) refers to the process of asking informants to identify other potential candidates appropriate for the research (Bernard 1995: 97). Every effort was made to ensure that significant representation in each of the established groups was achieved (see app. 1). Throughout data collection, demographic variables were collected to ensure a cross section of the community was achieved (see app. 2).

⁵ Each key informant was asked to identify the social groups that made up the community. In addition, they were asked to identify individuals and institutions who were directly involved with the development of tourism or who were somehow affected by tourism (or tourism stakeholders). From these lists of groups provided by the study participants, the researcher created a final category of significant groups in each site. The social and stakeholder categories were somewhat different at each site.

Phase 1: key informant interviews—Key informants are defined as those individuals with special expertise in tourism and community life (Schensul et al. 1999). For this study, key informants were identified based on their leadership role in government or civic organizations, including municipalities, tribes, state and federal agencies, nonprofit organizations, citizen groups, and the media. Key informants also were drawn from local industry and the tourism economy, including Native corporations, business associations, and tourism providers. These initial interviews typically were unstructured, conversational meetings that promoted familiarization with principal issues and actors and local frames of reference (Spradley 1979: 25). The issues and concerns raised in this early round of interviews informed interview guides used in subsequent rounds of interviewing. Key informants also provided important contextual information helpful for establishing sample parameters for later interviews.

Phase 2: resident interviews—Semistructured interviews were conducted with residents belonging to key social groups, stakeholder groups, and neighborhoods. A semistructured interview was used to encourage uniformity of response among research participants while allowing the flexibility to delve deeper into a topic of special interest to interviewees. By using similar interview guides at each site, comparisons could be made between the study sites. Interviews focused on understanding the interviewees' relationship with tourism, overall attitude toward tourists and the tourism industry, perceived benefits and disbenefits of tourism, and interactions between tourism, community life, and local resource use. Questions encouraged research participants to elaborate on the ways tourism touched their lives personally and affected the community in general. Interviews typically ranged between 1 and 2 hours and were held in public venues and private homes. Interviews were recorded by handwritten notes that were later transcribed. (See app. 3 for the interview guide.) In total, 232 formal interviews were conducted with 213 southeast residents: 96 interviews in Haines, 82 in Craig, and 54 in Hoonah.⁶ Several residents were interviewed two or three times to explore topics more deeply. Another 18 Hoonah residents participated in focus group interviews.

In addition to the formal interviews mentioned, data were obtained through less formal contacts, such as impromptu conversations, which were systematically analyzed along with the more formal interviews. Many of these insights turned out to be very important for understanding aspects of community life and tourism. In

⁶ In Hoonah, two focus group interviews, involving an additional 21 residents, were used in addition to individual interviews to gather information among key tourism stakeholders (Morgan 1988). Focus groups were conducted in city hall with business owners and subsistence users. (See app. 3 for focus group interview guide.)

addition to interviews, various types of quantitative data were collected to illustrate community characteristics, including data on demographics, economics, and timber harvests, commercial fishing harvests, subsistence uses, and visitation trends. Numerous published research reports assisted in understanding the social, political, and economic context of the region.

Stakeholder analysis—Stakeholder analysis was used to identify social actors involved in the development of tourism and to assess the distribution of tourism impacts (Chevalier 2001, ODA 1995, Stonich 2000, World Bank 2002). The creation of stakeholder tables served as an effective strategy for organizing and analyzing data. For each stakeholder group, responses were analyzed to identify common themes. These themes were compared among groups of respondents at each study site. For tourism stakeholders, data were used to identify (a) the overall scope of the group and its diverse interests, (b) the group’s predominant position or “stake” related to tourism, (c) tourism impacts on the particular group, and (d) the group’s resource base, expertise, and relative power in the community (Ramirez 1999). This analysis helped reveal the interactions among stakeholder groups involved in tourism development and the distribution of tourism effects among key social actors.

Continue