Bridging the troubled waters of tourism studies: from social capital and rural community development to livelihood sovereignty

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Abstract: Through critical concept-building and ethnographic research, we examine how livelihood sovereignty is influenced by tourism development in rural coastal Alaska. Various scales of cruise tourism in this region provide an opportunity to explore theoretical ideas regarding how residents mobilise social capital to secure livelihood sovereignty during dynamic economic transition, climate instability, and socio-cultural change. Our rich ethnographic descriptions outline the unique contributions of bonding, bridging, and linking forms of social capital to this process. By favouring small-scale niche cruises, the study community was better poised to protect cherished identity, integrate tourism sustainably into existing livelihoods, and ensure greater community well-being than is occurring with the large cruise tourism development characterising neighbouring communities. This empirical introduction of the emerging concept of livelihood sovereignty to the tourism studies literature provides important theoretical, methodological, and practical contributions that will be relevant to scholars of tourism and of the Arctic region more broadly.

Keywords: social capital; cruise tourism; livelihoods; decision-making; community; climate change; identity; sustainable development; Alaska.

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1   Introduction

The tourism literature has been replete with both support and critique of tourism as a means of promoting sustainable rural development, as epitomised in the 1994 special double issue of *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* and the 2004 follow-up special issue in the *International Journal of Tourism Research*. While understanding success factors in rural tourism development has expanded greatly since early elaborations (e.g., Wilson et al., 2001), it is argued that there is still insufficient attention given to the ways that rural tourism influences traditional practices and livelihoods (e.g., Gascón and Milano, 2018). Furthermore, analyses of the interactions of rural tourism with livelihood dynamics in coastal and marine areas communities are almost entirely absent in the tourism literature.

Sustainable development literature identifies the distinct functioning of social capital as one potential tool to promote favourable outcomes in rural settings (Gittell and Vidal, 1998; Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). Social capital is conceptualised as the value stemming from social capacities or capabilities that enable access to power and resources which, in turn, can create community-level benefits. It is both derived from and a critical antecedent of the collective action necessary to enable effective and equitable environmental management by fostering the creation of social capacities, networks, and information flows between individuals and institutions (Adger, 2003), and as such, social capital is an essential element of what will be referred to in this paper as *livelihood sovereignty*. Initially identified by other rural studies scholars (e.g., MacRae, 2016; Tilzey, 2019), livelihood sovereignty has been defined in the context of tourism as, "the enhanced levels of local resident control and influence over management institutions and decision-making regarding the persistence of valued traditional practices, how new production opportunities are integrated into socio-economic systems, and how local community well-being is perpetuated over time" (Naylor and Hunt, 2021, p.5). A livelihood sovereignty perspective thus builds upon the work of other scholars who have demonstrated the role that tourism development can play in fomenting the kinds of capacities associated with social capital (e.g., Hunt et al., 2015; Mbaiwa and Stronza,

2010) and how social capacities among rural communities and other groups are critical in determining how tourism manifests (e.g., Diedrich et al., 2019; Park et al., 2012).

The concept of livelihood sovereignty places clear emphasis on enhanced local residents and community control over decision-making regarding the integration of new production opportunities into local socio-economic and socio-environmental systems. It combines the ideas of 'livelihoods', the multi-dimensional means of making a living, and 'sovereignty', the striving for full autonomy. The theoretical pedigree of livelihood sovereignty is drawn directly from the expanding use of related conceptual frameworks such as 'food sovereignty' and 'indigenous sovereignty' (Jarosz, 2014; Zimmerer, 2017; Moreton-Robinson, 2020; Zimmerer et al., 2020). Like these other frameworks, livelihood sovereignty is motivated by the recognition that increased pressures on rural communities and their livelihoods, including ones that emanate from expanded tourism, require the extension of analytical concepts beyond existing formulations of social capital and rural community development.

The purpose of the present study is to examine how tourism-related development in rural Alaska is influencing livelihood sovereignty in local coastal communities. Our ethnographic research design zeroes in on local residents' emic perspectives of the ways that tourism has quickly grown to rival the economic influences of traditional fishing and logging sectors in this region. It is through this understanding of emic views that we determine how existing and newly created *forms of social capital* are leveraged to ensure that tourism is managed in ways that support the longer-term sovereignty of livelihoods, cultural practices, and associated identities valued in this region. This study, therefore, has several novel components. First, the concept of livelihood sovereignty has only recently been introduced to tourism studies and has yet to be empirically examined. Here a theoretical link is established between this new thread of research and distinct social capital theory. Second, the relationship between rural development and tourism has often emphasised agricultural livelihoods. This study expands the sovereignty literature to focus on coastal contexts and other traditional (i.e., logging and fishing) and new (i.e., tourism) production activities. Finally, this study highlights the ways that communities contrast the impacts of small-scale, niches cruises of less than 250 passengers with the those resulting from the arrival of 3000 + passenger mega-cruises, distinctions that have yet to receive adequate empirical attention in the cruise tourism literature.

2   Conceptual orientation: social capital, rural development, and livelihood sovereignty

The term capital refers to any resources or assets that social actors (e.g., individuals, groups, governments, and nation-states) use to reach their goals (Bourdieu, 1986). Despite social capital receiving vast attention from development scholars for enabling individuals to interact and organise themselves to develop, grow and achieve broader sustainable development outcomes (Grootaert, 1998), there remain numerous theoretical debates regarding how it is best conceptualised. Some prior literature analyses social capital as both an attribute of an individual as well as a larger-scale attribute of a community as a whole (Levien, 2015). Social capital conceived at the individual level is an unequally distributed private good, a perspective associated with Bourdieu (1986), while in contrast, Putnam (2000) popularised the perspective of social capital at the community level, that is, a 'stock' owned by the collective. These perspectives are not

necessarily contradictory, as an individual's social capital can undermine processes of collective action, thereby reducing the 'stock' of social capital at the community scale (Portes, 2000).

Other pioneering scholars put forth what is now referred to as the *communitarian* approach to social capital, which emphasises issues such as trusts, norms, and reciprocity (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1995). Still others differentiate the behaviour of individuals (i.e., *structural* social capital) and individual perceptions (i.e., *cognitive* social capital), thereby extending social capital analysis beyond issues of trust and reciprocity to address additional constraints related to participation and behaviours (Harpham et al., 2002). While the communitarian and structural-cognitive approaches to social capital have often been mingled, consistent across these perspectives is the notion that social capital influences development outcomes via information sharing, coordination of activities, and strengthened local decision-making capacities (Grootaert, 1998; Hunt et al., 2015), all of which are characteristics shared with livelihood sovereignty.

2.1 Bonding, bridging and linking to livelihood sovereignty

One nuanced view of social capital that can be extended analytically via livelihood security is the *network* view which sees social capital as "the set of norms, networks, and organisations through which people gain access to power and resources, and through which decision making and policy formulation occur" (Grootaert, 1998, p.2). A critical emphasis in the network view is how resources, connections within and between groups of key actors, and power relationships are all mobilised in favour of desired development outcomes (Szreter and Woolcock, 2004; Onyx et al., 2007). Accounting for these issues has led to *bonding*, *bridging*, and *linking* forms of social capital (Gittell and Vidal, 1998; Woolcock and Narayan, 2000).

Bonding capital signifies the ties connecting individuals *within* a network who are similar in some form, the form most consistent with earlier communitarian conceptualisation of social capital (e.g., Putnam, 1995). Individuals within the network see themselves as being alike, creating trust and cooperation (Szreter and Woolcock, 2004). Bonding capital creates strong localised feelings of belonging, where the strength of the bonds determines how and if resources move in a network (Smith et al., 2012). Bonding capital can also be used to set boundary conditions disempowering those who wish to gain access to the group (Onyx et al., 2007). As such, it can be a critical factor in livelihood sovereignty by facilitating or undermining semi-autonomous decision-making in rural communities.

Bridging social capital represents the social ties *between* individuals across networks, for instance, the interactions between communities (Hunt et al., 2015). Bridging social capital is regulated by respect and affinity between people of differing socio-demographics (Aldrich and Meyer, 2015). The forming of bridging capital between members of different networks, institutions, or communities allows for new exposure and access to resources, funds, expertise, and information not otherwise available (Szreter and Woolcock, 2004). In rural and remote communities, such resources can be essential for ensuring the sovereignty of valued livelihoods.

Finally, linking capital represents the value of social ties that exist *at different levels of power*. Though power is intrinsic to all forms of social capital, as power dynamics exist within and between all communities, it is of critical interest in linking capital. Linking capital is often conceptualised as vertical connections to extra-local actors or

networks residing outside a given community or region, often at national and international scales (Onyx et al., 2007; Hunt et al., 2015). It exists between individuals or groups that differ substantially in resources and information availability (Szreter and Woolcock, 2004); thus, even few linking ties can yield considerable social capital. How interactions with extra-local actors at higher levels of power are managed will have direct implications for livelihood sovereignty in rural regions.

2.2   Social capital and rural tourism

The application of social capital theory in tourism is relatively recent (McGehee et al., 2010), and to date, there has been very little application to rural tourism development. Yet, social capital has a particularly important relationship to rurality. The value of trust, reciprocity, and cooperation are often tied to a specific type of rurality, notably the "agrarian communities of 19th century [more] than those of today", when face-to-face interaction dominated (Bridger and Alter, 2006, p.8). Thus, face-to-face interaction is critical to building community-level social capital and respect between actors differing in resource availability (Ryan et al., 2005; Cope et al., 2016).

Bridger and Alter (2006) further argue that instability is the distinguishing feature of many rural communities and that modern economic shifts limit social capital. Tourism can represent a major economic change in rural regions, directly impacting traditional livelihoods (Hunt et al., 2015; Hwang and Stewart, 2017; Naylor et al., 2021). Under certain circumstances, sustainable tourism development can enhance social capital in ways that foster beneficial economic development for livelihoods in rural, natural resource-based communities (Macbeth et al., 2004; Biggs et al., 2015). As with livelihood sovereignty more broadly, this requires determining how destination communities themselves define favourable outcomes (Jones, 2005).

Similarly, new economic opportunities provided by tourism can provoke a transition away from traditional activities. Such transitions may be viewed favourably when local residents retain control over management and decision-making of tourism activities (Mbaiwa and Stronza, 2010; Marcinek and Hunt, 2015; Guo et al., 2018). These studies show that social capital is both a pre-existing stock that enables improved outcomes of tourism development as well as outcomes resulting from responsible tourism development (McGehee et al., 2010; Moscardo et al., 2017). There is, therefore, compelling evidence that social capital can be employed to help rural communities retain local control over tourism development, and a perception of increased local control is a defining quality of livelihood sovereignty.

2.3   Research questions for livelihood sovereignty and tourism

Given that the concept of livelihood sovereignty is recently introduced in tourism studies (Naylor and Hunt, 2021), exploratory research is warranted to build an understanding of how tourism in rural areas is affecting traditional production activities and thus livelihood sovereignty. This study will explore these issues by analysing how the impacts of small-scale cruise tours on boats with less than 250 passengers contrast with the outcomes of large-scale cruise ship tourism for rural coastal communities in southeast Alaska. Though much prior tourism research addresses the impacts of large-scale cruise ships, making their economic, environmental, and socio-cultural implications well documented (Cerveny et al., 2020), scholars have given much less attention to

small-scale, niche, boutique, and micro-cruise alternatives (a notable exception is Pranić et al., 2013), who found distinct differences regarding satisfaction, revisit intentions, and word-of-mouth in floating 'B&Bs' micro-cruises vs. large-scale floating 'resorts' cruises). Such smaller alternative boat tours may hold more in the way of opportunity for local control of tourism in ways that support the sovereignty of traditional and emerging livelihoods.

Within the study context described further below, and the conceptual relations in the reviewed literature in mind (Figure 1), this research explores the following hypothetical statements regarding the role of bonding, bridging, and linking forms of social capital for livelihood sovereignty outcomes:

> ***Research Question #1****: Is tourism promoting favourable community development outcomes, including livelihood sovereignty, and thus is there evidence of strong local involvement in development decision-making within Petersburg (e.g., bonding forms of social capital)?*

> ***Research Question #2****: Is tourism promoting favourable community development outcomes, including livelihood sovereignty, and thus is there evidence of increased value arising from interactions with other communities in the region (e.g., bridging forms of social capital), including efforts to avoid undesirable outcomes of tourism observed in other communities?*

> ***Research Question #3****: Is tourism promoting favourable community development outcomes, including livelihood sovereignty, and thus is there evidence of increased value resulting from better connections to key actors in positions of power (e.g., linking forms of social capital), including influential extra-local actors within the cruise tourism industry?*

Figure 1 Conceptual overview
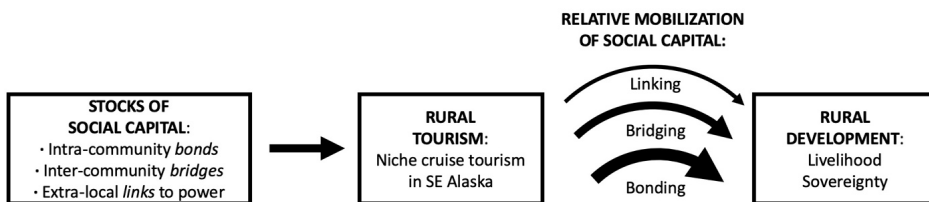
3 Study site

The current research was carried out in Petersburg, Alaska (Figure 2). In the rural communities of southeast Alaska, it is widely believed that natural resource wealth is, "one of the few means through which a vital economy can be constructed in Alaska is through the extraction of its natural resources" (Sherval, 2009, p.427). The US Forest Service manages 80% of the region as part of the Tongass National Forest (TNF), the world's largest temperate rainforest. Despite a strong timber heritage in this region, recent declines now leave logging concentrated in just two communities (Kruger and Mazza, 2006) In parallel to this decline, fishing and seafood processing grew into the largest private industry. Though this industry is now also in decline, the strong heritage of

fishing, artisanally by indigenous populations and commercially by later European immigrants, continues to be reflected in the Petersburg slogan, 'a town built by fish'.

Figure 2   Map of Southeast Alaska showcasing Tongass National Forest (see online version for colours)

Source: Authors

With a reduction in extraction-based livelihoods, cruise tourism has grown in prominence in southeast Alaska, instigating significant change to the region's economic profile (Cerveny, 2004). Alaska received 3.8 million cruise visitors in 2018, of which 80% come to enjoy the 'Inside Passage' tours among the islands of the Alaskan panhandle (CLIA Alaska, 2020). As it does in coastal regions across the globe, the cruise industry provides economic incentives for coastal communities to serve as ports of call (Adams, 2010; Klein, 2011; Weaver and Lawton, 2017). To negotiate these opportunities in ways that preserve community fabric, collective identity, and valued livelihood practices, community stakeholders are carefully considering what magnitude of cruise tourism they are willing to allow in the region (Kruger and Mazza, 2006).

Atypical of the broader region where larger-scale cruise tourism dominates, cruise tourism in Petersburg consists primarily of visitation via private yachts and smaller niche cruise ships of less than 250 passengers, as the local geography restricts access for larger cruise vessels and seafaring ships. Bear hunting, festivals, and fishing lodges attract additional visitors via ferryboats and regional flights, and most tourists originate from US (87%), or more specifically, come from the western US (62%) (Table 1). The development of a niche form of cruise tourism unique among other Southeast Alaskan

communities suggests this location may yield important lessons about how different forms of cruise tourism yield different outcomes for rural communities and their livelihood sovereignty.

Table 1 Petersburg visitor characteristics

Ave. length of stay in Alaska (nights)	*Ave. per-person total spending (US$)*	*Trip purpose*				*Transportation*		
		Vacation/ pleasure	*Friends/ Relatives*	*Business*	*Business/ Pleasure*	*Cruise*	*Air*	*Ferry*
11.2	280	69%	13%	11%	8%	23%	55%	22%

Source: McDowell Group (2017)

4 Ethnographic research design

An ethnographic research design is particularly well-suited for understanding emic views (Pike, 1967; Harris, 1976; Bernard, 2017; Babbie, 2020). "Anthropologists sometimes use the term *emic* perspective in reference to taking on the point of view of those being studied. In contrast, the *etic* perspective maintains a distance from the native point of view in the interest of achieving more objectivity" (Babbie, 2020, p.297). To capture emic views, this study employed several modes of ethnographic data collection: multiple forms of interviewing, participant observation, and extensive archival research. An Internal Review Board for Human Subjects Research provided study approval in April 2019, and fieldwork took place between May-August 2019. Participant observations occurred in public settings, leading to recorded observations of tourist interactions and exchanges, resident daily lives, and points of convergence between the two (Musante and Dewalt, 2011; Spradley, 2016a; Bernard, 2017). Archival research led to the elaboration of Petersburg history and the community's natural and cultural resource profiles. These were gathered before, during, and after on-site fieldwork.

Ethnographic interviews yielded the bulk of the data analysed here (Spradley, 2016b; Bernard, 2017). A semi-structured interview guide contained core questions for key informants addressing the temporal dynamics of informants' livelihoods, Petersburg's cultural heritage and livelihood history, and the onset of tourism in the community and across the region in recent decades. This initial interview guide's content evolved during the fieldwork as new knowledge was acquired (Guest et al., 2012). Purposive quota sampling was employed to gather idiographic understanding of emic views of tourism's influence on livelihood activities (Creswell and Poth, 2016). This strategy accessed individuals based on residence time and involvement in tourism to acquire insights into temporal changes. In several instances, chain-referral sampling at the end of one interview led to contact with an additional informant with similar cultural expertise (Creswell and Poth, 2016; Bernard, 2017).

Twenty-eight semi-structured interviews were conducted, ranging from 26 to 104 min in length. In total, 33 h of interviews were collected with 31 informants, including three multi-informant interviews. Interviews were recorded on either a cell phone or a digital voice recorder at locations selected at the informant's convenience. Throughout the fieldwork, additional data was also gathered through informal, ad hoc interviews as opportunities arose. Jot notes of these conversations were later elaborated into field note

entries. Both participant observation and informal interviewing helped build rapport, reduce reactivity, and uncover new topics of interest (Spradley, 2016a, 2016b; Bernard, 2017). These considerations facilitated access to difficult-to-reach populations (e.g., fisherman whose schedules and mobility limited interview opportunities).

All archival data, field notes, and verbatim interview transcriptions were incorporated into a MAXQDA software project file. Applied thematic analysis (Guest et al., 2012) was carried out in two stages. First, structurally coding organised the overall corpus of text. Then, thematic analysis applied the inductive coding techniques (e.g., focused, axial, and theoretical coding) outlined by Saldaña (2009). These inductive procedures yield a robust text-based thematic analysis for addressing the research questions guiding this study.

5   Tourism and livelihood security in Petersburg, Alaska

This section is divided into three subsections. First, the role of bonding forms of social capital on livelihood sovereignty is assessed. Second, the social ties between Petersburg residents and residents of surrounding communities are assessed to determine how bridging forms of social capital influence livelihood outcomes. Finally, linking capital is assessed by exploring relationships between local-level institutions and extra-local actors, primarily in the broader tourism industry, to determine if linking forms of social capital influence livelihood sovereignty.

5.1   Bonding capital: "Our community is a relationship-based community"

Petersburg was founded at the turn of the 20th century as a commercial fishing hub. Prior to this, Indigenous people of the Tlingit Nation used the site as a summer fishing camp for thousands of years. Regardless of their ethnic background or familial history, residents in Petersburg identify as members of this island community. The sense of community is conveyed by one resident "I think we have a lot of our natives and natives, I'm not talking like Aleut or Tlingit, we just are native here in Petersburg". Rather than identifying most strongly with an ancestral heritage, residents prefer to identify as a member of the Petersburg community first and foremost. Such emic views can be attributed to a myriad of shared experiences in the community, including meeting subsistence needs, responding to disasters, cooperation in the form of volunteering, and a general inter-dependence that island life necessitates. This sense of a 'relationship-based community' suggests strong bonds and shared interests exist among Petersburg residents, fostering a strong collective identity.

Evidence of bonding capital being leveraged was evident in the way local organisations participate in decision-making processes. Petersburg Borough Council is the highest governing body in the community, impacting the entirety of the 3800 square mile borough (Agnew Beck et al., 2016). Residents express confidence in the borough council and the extent to which it reflects the interests of the community when determining tourism-related policies, as described by this resident:

> "In a little town like Petersburg, if the democratic process doesn't work here, it doesn't work anywhere. And the reality is that it works really well here. We'll go through a process, it'll slow it down, and it always does. We'll have to have a dialogue at some point. The council will vote. If we don't like the results of

> the council. There's a new council coming in the fall and we'll continue to fight those battles until it's determined where we hit."

Statements like this suggest that the existing governing institution clearly has the trust of Petersburg residents, and the democratic process referenced in this quote reflects a reciprocal relationship between residents and the council. When processes stray from shared interests, residents believe the council will change until the community's needs are mirrored in the decisions made. This trust in local decision-making institutions to represent the collective interests of the community would often be tested in the context of tourism-related decision-making.

In fall 2018, a cruise company representative visited Petersburg to discuss the prospect of docking the largest cruise ships in the history of the community. In response, the mayor of Petersburg drafted a publicly available letter to be voted on by the borough council stating, "It is our request that you refrain from booking any trips to Petersburg until the community determines what level of tourism we can handle without changing the character of our town". The mayor's individual actions were seen as potentially harmful to the interested cruise operators and may not coincide with the collective interests of the community. The borough council rejected the letter six to one, with the only supporting vote from the mayor (Viechinicki, 2018). Though differences of opinion remained regarding large cruise ships, the mayor's letter was eventually valued by catalysing Petersburg's high level of pre-existing bonding capital and provoking a timely debate about tourism development options, thus providing an opportunity for pro-active collective action in favour of broader community interests.

Multiple borough assembly and town hall discussions took place to debate the advantages and disadvantages of providing port to the larger ships, including the submission of 17 additional letters from individuals and institutions. Chief among the expressed concerns was infrastructure conflicting with the commercial fishing industry, including congested roadways, capacity of grocers to cater to both industries, and highly contested marina space. Critically, the seasonality of both tourism and fishing exacerbated this conflict between traditional and new livelihoods. These tensions resulted in the formation of an Ad Hoc Tourism Committee, as referenced in this resident description of the composition of the committee:

> "The Borough has been really great about creating the ad hoc committee to collect data about tourism. On the ad hoc committee you have all these different people, people from the commercial fishing industry, the charter fishing industry, the canneries, main street business owners, the chamber of commerce, the Harbor master, museum director kind of coming together and thinking about all the different aspects of tourism and how it affects the community."

Capitalising on existing institutional trust, this extemporaneous form of collective action rejected large-scale cruise ships as a form of tourism likely to lead to sustainable development. In this case, sustainable development was defined by Petersburg community members themselves as decision-making regarding downtown businesses, the use of the marina, and potential impacts on other livelihood sectors (e.g., fishing, canneries). Bonding capital was leveraged to contest outside influences and development policies that would reduce livelihood sovereignty.

Despite diverse Indigenous and European heritages, bonding capital in this 'relationship-based community' is strong. Community cohesion supports a shared sense of purpose in maintaining local traditions, particularly around the fishing sector. This

common heritage has been threatened as the broader regional economy has transitioned away from natural resource extraction (i.e., logging, fishing) to the service-based tourism industry (Cerveny, 2004). One resident describes this succinctly, "instead of just letting it be passive and letting it happen, [we are] kind of thinking about what we can do to influence the tourist industry so that it can grow in a way that can fit into our culture so that we can continue to fish". This view provides further evidence that the Ad Hoc Tourism Committee is a manifestation of new bonding capital wrestling with how to proactively manage tourism to achieve locally-defined outcomes, with maintenance of the fishing industry as a perpetual concern.

High levels of bonding capital are evident in Petersburg, and this helps ensure that the strong collective identity and valued traditional production activities are safeguarded in development-related decision-making. The resulting trust is reflected in the overall stance towards tourism as described by one harbour employee: "the attitude, primarily, is the visitor industry is great as long as it doesn't change our way of life". This ethnographic evidence indicates strong trust exists in local decision-making institutions consideration of collective community interests. In sum, this section suggests that capacities and experience of bonding social capital promote steps toward livelihood sovereignty.

5.2   *Bridging capital fostering access to information*

A starting point for assessing bridging forms of social capital is to explore social ties between Petersburg residents and residents of other southeast Alaskan communities. Twenty of thirty-one semi-structured interviewees (65%) described unsustainable tourism practices in other parts of Southeast Alaska *prior* to being asked what impact the regional growth of tourism has had on decision-making processes in Petersburg. Once directly questioned, *every* informant described unsustainable practices observed in the region. The ability of all informants to easily rattle off a list of negative impacts resulting from poorly managed tourism in other regional destinations indicates how Petersburg residents have acquired valuable informational resources via bridging capital pathways with neighbouring communities. These inter-community relations provide valuable insights concerning potential alternative forms of tourism development that, in turn, have motivated local interest in protecting livelihood sovereignty.

Having seen Alaskan culture caricatured in other parts of the region, Petersburg residents expressed particular concern for the commodification of culture that often occurs when tourism is not controlled locally. Such an outcome was described by a resident this way, "We are not Ketchikan, Juneau, Skagway we haven't what they would say been bought out by tourists and they loved coming here because were an authentic working community. They love fishing and that we weren't dependent on tourism". This statement reinforces the widely held notion that successful tourism is dependent upon its ability to enable the perpetuation of traditional fishing livelihoods *and* the full scope of these activities (i.e., livelihood sovereignty).

Bridging with other communities enabled the transfer of ideas, values, and social norms that could not otherwise be accessed within a single network or community. Referencing a loss of local control (i.e., sovereignty) over tourism development, another resident reiterates, "what is planning for tourism? Instead of letting it just, like, happen to us, or what do we want to happen? Because we can look around at other communities!" The changes noted in neighbouring communities, be it loss of authenticity or the viability of the fishing sector, are deemed highly undesirable for Petersburg. Bridging capital has

provided a critical resource that is directly informing tourism and livelihood-related decision-making in Petersburg. Petersburg residents often described such sharing of tourism impact information first through conversations with residents in neighbouring communities following by their later confirmation of such stories during their visits to surrounding communities.

Concerns over the retention of valued local 'authenticity' as Petersburg experiences growth in the tourism industry is not restricted to those working in the fishing sector. One downtown business owner expresses concern about how authenticity has been lost in areas where large-scale cruises have a lengthy history:

> "Why would you go there when nothing's real? Nothing. You know what I mean? It's just all fake and you're not supporting anybody. You're not supporting the local that lives there. You're not seeing the real Ketchikan, I would hope when people come here, they see the real Petersburg."

Authenticity in the emic view of residents of Petersburg involves numerous livelihood sovereignty-related concerns regarding local ownership of downtown businesses, limited commodification, prioritisation of traditions for residents rather than tourists, and a symbiotic relationship with pre-existing economic activities, most notably, fishing.

Novel information about the crafty means by which large cruise tour operators seeks to establish 'obligation mechanisms', incentives to buy into contracts with the cruise companies, was also shared via bridging social ties. Once cruise ship operators establish footholds of business ownership in the community, these incentive systems further reliance on the large cruise industry. One Petersburg resident describes the transition from stores that local residents 'grew up' themselves to stores that 'clearly were not Alaska owned and operated':

> "Stores that were purchased by the tour companies and they were the operators. We had watched this one business that was suffering and were told by the locals that all the other businesses that had been successful had bought in, the cruise ship companies had bought a portion of their business."

Clearly, livelihood sovereignty is undermined via such obligation mechanisms. This highlights a critical aspect of bridging capital with neighbouring communities, that is, the degree of trust that exists.

This inter-community trust stands in particular contrast to the lack of trust associated with the offerings of large-scale cruise operators. Petersburg residents often first acquired information about exploitive relations with the large cruise industry, and the associated 'strong-arming' of local businesses, through discussions with neighbouring community residents. One resident describes a conversation with a downtown property-owning resident in a neighbouring community:

> "He said, 'I gotta tell ya, I've got this place here, but Princess Cruise Lines offered me twice what my rent normal rent charge for the space is. And I turned it down. I said, why would you do that? He said, 'because I can never do business in this town again if I did it. There is so much animosity in Sitka against the cruise ships."

Hearing how a resident of Sitka adhered to that community's social norms (i.e., acted in the interest of local bonding capital) led this Petersburgh resident to reinforce their view on engagement with large cruise ships aligning with his community's social norms. This rejection of large cruise industry infiltration into Petersburg, the protection of local

livelihoods, and thus the bolstering of Petersburg's bonding capital, would not likely have occurred without such bridging capital between residents of these two communities.

5.3   *Linking capital in the southeast Alaska tourism system*

Linking social capital is assessed here by exploring relationships between extra-local actors and institutions from outside the study region. Though such relations are often fewer in number, they can yield a disproportionately large amount of social capital. The first example offered here regards Petersburg's relation to external pollution regulation. Regulation programs are a key policy prescription for regulating wastewater output from both the fishing and cruise industry, as the issue is difficult to effectively manage at a local level. While cruise ships represent less than 1% of the global merchant fleet, they account for 25% of all wastewater generated (Butt, 2007). Widespread concerns about cruise ships' wastewater led to Alaskans voting in 2006 to initiate the Ocean Ranger program to pollution from cruise ships. This program brings US Coast Guard-licensed marine engineers aboard ships to act as independent observers. The program is funded by a $4 per berth tax is levied on all cruise ships (DEC, 2019; Mak, 2008).

In 2019, Alaska's governor vetoed the funds for the Ocean Ranger program despite the well-known case of a cruise ship illegally dumping grey water into Glacier Bay National Park earlier in the year (Resneck, 2019). Local outrage to this decision is epitomised by this Petersburg resident, "So now they're out there and we're just supposed to trust them. Last year there was a $20 million fine, given to one of those companies for not properly disposing, which the ocean ranger caught. You know, they are just going to go back to business as usual". As this Petersburg resident references, there is extensive lack of institutional trust between residents and the state's ability to govern marine resources. While the large-scale ships are yet to enter Petersburg, the lack of trust and perceived inability to effectively manage large cruise tourism's impacts elsewhere create even stronger opposition to the large cruise sector.

Linking capital is more evident around other pollution issues within the borough of Petersburg. In 2018, one small niche cruise vessel was caught releasing grey water in Petersburg's harbour. Though not strictly illegal, this action greatly angered local residents who place the interests of the fishing sector in higher regard than tourism. In essence, the town feels that cruise ship pollution could end up 'destroying what we built ourself [sic] on". One resident succinctly describes the delicate balance between the environmental and economic systems:

> "Even if you're not fisherman, someone who fishes, you're depending on fish for food, recreation, or subsistence. I think in some ways we make a lot of economic sacrifices in order to protect it, streams and fish. We do that for a reason. To have someone else come in, it's somewhat insulting to everybody. Like you care so little about where you're at and you're just passing through."

Residents of Petersburg are clearly ready to make sacrifices in the tourism sector to protect fishing activities.

For several residents, building linkages between the community and the cruise industry is key to resolving these conflicts. As one states, "I'm not personally connected to these [tourism] businesses. I'm more inclined to go with trying to save the Marine life in the water and overall beauty of the town because nobody wants to look at disgusting water". Unlike the traditional fishing livelihoods, where bonding capital has been built

through daily interactions over generations in both fisheries and canneries, the tourism industry necessitates interactions with extra-local actors unlikely to occur 'face to face'. However, with the heightened awareness of critical differences between large-scale and niche forms of cruise tourism that arose via bridging capital, Petersburg residents recognise a crucial distinction related to the development of linking social capital with extra-local actors. The niche cruise operators have "been visiting Petersburg for more than 20 years and value our relationship with the community. We've advised our fleet to secure their treatment systems while inside the Petersburg Harbor" (Viechnicki, 2019).

This tendency of smaller-scale niche cruise operators to have more opportunities for face-to-face interaction with Petersburg residents puts in even sharper relief how large cruise companies operate, as another resident notes:

> "My guess is the person who's scheduling Carnival Cruise lines in Juneau is not the captain of the boat. You know what I mean? It probably an executive in an office somewhere that responded, you know, here, you know our Harbormasters talking to the guy actually run in the boat here…And very rarely would we go talk to somebody else. We also worked through our local travel agent who works directly with them as well. And it honestly comes down to often meetings between all parties involved, sometimes on the telephone, sometimes you know face to face, but to actually talk…I don't think that happens in other big communities."

These smaller niche cruise operators are thus more likely to engage with Petersburg through informal arrangements with local actors and institutions, a style more consistent with traditional community practices. This is further described here by a borough employee:

> "That's probably related to the fact that the cruise ships who come here are small in nature. They want a good relationship with us and what they do here is a totally different set of activities than what they do in Juneau. Could be wrong, but I will bet you know that the groups that come here will likely want to work with us and will permit or no permit."

Direct, face-to-face interaction between the local community and leadership of niche cruise companies facilitates more linking capital than has otherwise been the case in other regional communities where larger-scale cruise operators make little effort to respect local institutions. In other words, the power dynamic is too skewed for relationships to yield mutual benefit, and thus regional communities end up being exploited. In contrast, despite a lack of formal policy, there is ethnographic evidence that the historic relationship between small niche cruise operators represents a link to extra-local actors at a 'medium' power dynamic level, allowing Petersburg to capitalise on this form of tourism without as much concern for an exploitative relationship to evolve.

As a whole, the data offered here suggest little of the connections to key actors in positions of power that characterise linking capital. Not surprisingly, evidence stemming from regional and local institutions found linking capital to vary greatly based on the level of trust present, though trust was most often lacking with actors at the state level and beyond. Residents remain hopeful of the potential to build stronger linkages to small niche cruise operators, where relationships are already being built through time and reciprocity, as evident by the small cruise industry's willingness to change wastewater management to conform to local norms, an activity perceived as fundamentally important to the perpetuation of the fishing sector. While limited, these data nevertheless suggest

tourism is also leading to livelihood sovereignty via linking forms of social capital, though admittedly, the evidence is less abundant regarding this relationship at this time.

6   Livelihood sovereignty: integrating tourism, social capital and rural development theory

This study of rural tourism's influence on livelihood sovereignty was guided by three primary research questions related to hypothetical relationships between tourism, social capital, and livelihood sovereignty (Table 2). The first question asked whether tourism is promoting favourable community development outcomes, including livelihood sovereignty, via bonding forms of social capital. The literature suggests this would require evidence of strong local involvement in local development decision-making promoting livelihood sovereignty within the community of Petersburg (Jarosz, 2014; MacRae, 2016; Zimmerer, 2017; Tilzey, 2019; Moreton-Robinson, 2020; Zimmerer et al., 2020). Strong evidence confirms an affirmative response since steps toward livelihood sovereignty have been promoted by trust and reciprocity within the local institutions of Petersburg.

Yet unlike other contexts, where acting upon 'individual' social capital seems to undermine 'collective' social capital when new economic opportunities arise (e.g., Levien, 2015), in the present case, individual interests of the mayor ended up enhancing, rather than undermining, the collective 'bonding' capacities that are promoting livelihood security. Whether the pre-existing capacities related to social bonding were higher in the Petersburg context, tempered via the inter-dependence typical to island contexts, or the niche form of small-scale cruise tourism was less of a shock to existing livelihoods than other new forms of economic development, are both issues to be clarified in further research. Livelihood sovereignty is likely to be supported to the extent that Petersburg can continue leveraging broad-based social capacities to manage tourism in ways that limit their loss of economic influence amid rapid changes to existing economic systems (Hunt et al., 2015; MacRae, 2016).

The second research question asked whether tourism is promoting favourable community development outcomes, including livelihood sovereignty, via bridging forms of social capital. For this to be the case, literature implies we would need to see evidence along the lines of increased value arising from interactions with other communities in the region, including efforts to avoid undesirable outcomes of tourism observed in other communities (Szreter and Woolcock, 2004; Aldrich and Meyer, 2015; Hunt et al., 2015). Indeed, extensive evidence was found. Bridging capital has facilitated the flow of information from communities within the region to Petersburg, and this information has been critical for arriving at a shared understanding of the implications of inviting larger-scale cruise ships into Petersburg. Shared information about increasing reliance on larger-scale cruise ships is seen as leading to a domino effect of economic dependence that would jeopardise livelihood sovereignty, including but not limited to that in the fishing sector. Such information that can promote livelihood sovereignty can be a novel resource that is often unavailable within an individual immediate network (Aldrich and Meyer, 2015; Hwang and Stewart, 2017).

Table 2   Summary of emic perspectives

	Mobilisation of social capital	*Outcomes for livelihood sovereignty*
Bonding between stakeholder institutions within Petersburg led to…	• Affirmation of relationship-based community ties • Trust in existing local institutions and the development of new ones • Consensus regarding the need to ensure that tourism positively affects community wellbeing	• New ad hoc committee tasked with ensuring that tourism contributes to the protection of cultural and heritage resources • Broadening participation in existing institutions involved in decisions regarding overall community wellbeing
Bridging with neighbouring communities experiencing large-scale cruise tourism led to…	• Reinforced social norms towards large cruise tourism • More knowledge of the large cruise industry's effort to impose 'obligation mechanisms' • Increased concerns for large cruise impacts on authenticity	• Forms of tourism (i.e., smaller cruises) that provide livelihoods that are more complementary to existing traditional livelihoods (e.g., fishing) • Better anticipation of how engagement in the large scale cruise industry could jeopardise community autonomy and livelihood-related decision-making
Linking with key industry and government actors at state level led to…	• Inability to influence state legislation (e.g., Ocean Rangers program) • Unfavourable formal local harbour pollution policies • Favourable informal 'gentleman agreements' with tour operators	• Increased awareness of how state-level policies differentially influence traditional and emerging livelihoods • Emergence of informal institutional arrangements that offset the failure of state policies to regulate tourism-related pollution impacts on traditional fishing livelihoods

The sharing of such information allowed Petersburg residents to recognise and thwart the obligation mechanisms that characterise power disparities between large cruise operators and other regional communities (Onyx et al., 2007), avoiding a vicious cycle of commitment to the large cruise industry imposed on the economic viability of local businesses that would erode livelihood sovereignty. A manufactured reliance upon resources provided by actors at differing levels of power has led to corruption and suppression via such obligation mechanisms in other forms of development (Szreter and Woolcock, 2004; Onyx et al., 2007), including tourism (McGehee et al., 2010; Coria and Calfucura, 2012).

Finally, the third research question in this study asked whether tourism is promoting favourable community development outcomes, including livelihood sovereignty, via linking forms of social capital. In such circumstances, we could expect to see evidence of increased value resulting from better connections to key actors in positions of, including influential extra-local actors within the tourism industry (Szreter and Woolcock, 2004; Onyx et al., 2007; Hunt et al., 2015). Data indicated that where a lack of linking capital

existed (i.e., little trust exhibited toward state actors and large cruise ship representatives), livelihood sovereignty was undermined. Both the tourism industry and commercial fishing industry in Petersburg depend upon the perception and reality that fish come from pristine waters (Morehouse and Koch, 2003), while tourism capitalises on its appearance as the 'last vast wilderness' (Bunten, 2008). A lack of cruise ship pollution regulation at the regional scale has led to measurable changes in water quality in local communities now unable to utilise their resources for recreation or subsistence. A further lack of trust and communication between regional and cruise institutions is exacerbating degradation of environmental resources and thus undermining local livelihood sovereignty.

In contrast, where trust was present with other extra-local actors (i.e., small niche cruise operators), local residents could advance measures that contribute to livelihood sovereignty. Pollution mitigation strategies of niche cruise operators manifested in the form of 'gentlemen agreements'. Those operators with the longest history in Petersburg now enjoy relations that evolve based on trust and reciprocity of interests. These key characteristics of social capital, which have been widely demonstrated in the context of tourism (Jones, 2005; Mbaiwa and Stronza, 2010; McGehee et al., 2010; Marcinek and Hunt, 2015), combined with other capacities to promote livelihood sovereignty. The findings presented here suggest that the temporal understanding of community processes over time, such as that enabled via ethnographic analysis, is critical to properly understanding how the functioning of community social capital in tourism is influencing livelihood sovereignty, and how this influence can be more favourably managed over time.

The findings here provide a rare opportunity to simultaneously obtain insights across the ways that change is experienced in rural communities in coastal destinations contexts. The increasing uncertainty due to climate change that makes it increasingly difficult for destinations to ignore the impacts and respond passively to powerful actors in the tourism industry (Scott and Becken, 2010) is likely to be felt more acutely in rural and coastal contexts. Now a distinguishing feature of modern rural communities, instability can manifest in external forces such as market shifts and climate change, all of which threatens livelihood security and sovereignty. Expanding instabilities also challenge the development of social capital and potential livelihood sovereignty, limiting the face-to-face interaction that leads to trust and has traditionally underpinned the capacity for these types of development (Bridger and Alter, 2006). In the present study, such considerations revealed that small-scale, niche forms of cruise tourism clearly allow more opportunities for face-to-face interaction, and in turn livelihood sovereignty, than the other forms of tourism that would likely exist would Petersburg have not proactively resisted the arrival of large-scale cruise ships. This attention to scale and to variations not just among but within forms of tourism, is a valuable insight to be carried forward in future research.

7   Conclusion

This study sought to understand if tourism development in a coastal context influences rural community well-being by enhancing livelihood sovereignty. This work answers calls for extending discussions of food and livelihood security in rural contexts into the realms of sovereignty (MacRae, 2016; Tilzey, 2019). In doing so, it brings an important empirical contribution to the analysis of livelihood sovereignty, links this emerging

concept to the processes associated with various forms of social capital, and extends the analysis of sovereignty to the field of tourism studies.

The ethnographic approach emphasises emic views of local residents and temporal understandings of processes related to social capital mobilisation and enhanced livelihood sovereignty in a time of dynamic economic transition, climate instability, and associated socio-cultural change. Our findings also suggest that new forms of social capital result from these processes, suggesting feedback loops between bonding, bridging, and linking forms of the social capital that further influence livelihood sovereignty. Most notably, novel information acquired via bridging capital with other communities was critical to the promotion of tourism-related livelihood sovereignty. Fostering bridging capital and inter-community exchange in rural regions where new forms of tourism development are underway may, therefore, be a particularly useful focus in tourism development policies interested in promoting livelihood sovereignty.

This study confirms the finding of other tourism studies that retention of local control within the cruise tourism sector, by favouring small-scale niche cruises over large cruise ships, better protects community identity, integrates easier with pre-existing livelihood strategies, and favours community well-being. Tourism is never without impacts, and a continuing focus on how tourism influences livelihood sovereignty will necessarily keep attention focused where it should be, on local control and decision-making. These lessons must be promoted with particular vigor in rural settings if tourism remains justifiable from a sustainability standpoint. The concept of social capital remains a wise place for scholars to direct their attention to understand prospective livelihood sovereignty, and for practitioners to invest their resources to ensure sustainable outcomes of rural tourism.

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