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

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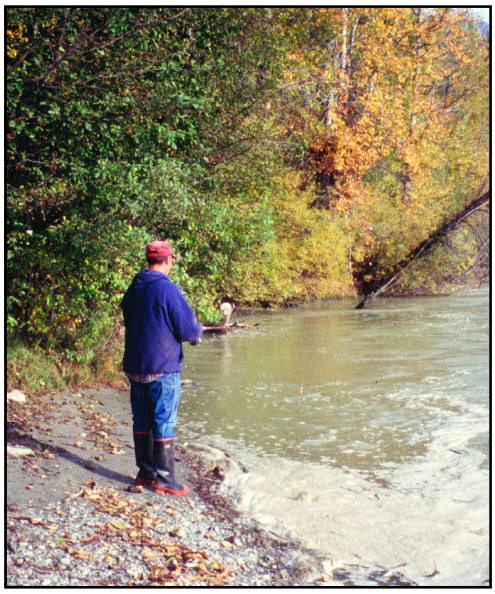

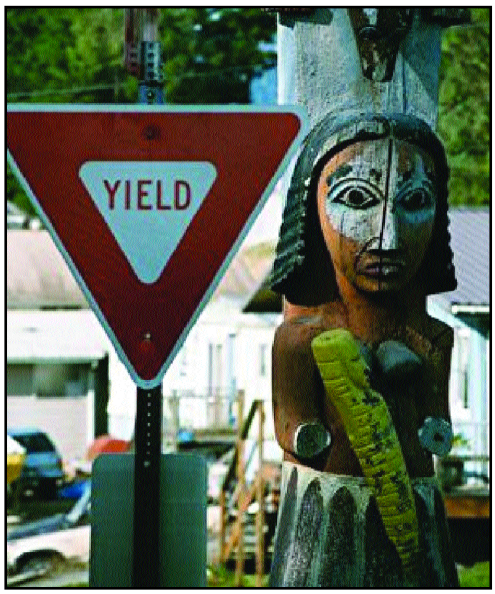

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Abstract

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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).

Contents

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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., Cerveny 2004a). A more comprehensive analysis of the complete data set is available in a doctoral dissertation from Syracuse University (Cerveny 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 Cerveny 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.

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

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

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.

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 c u lture (Horochowski 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).

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

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 (Horochowski 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

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-1980s[3] (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.

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

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 sociocultural 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

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.

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.

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

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	*Fishing:* Elfin Cove, Waterfall, Port Alexander, Yakutat, Point Baker *Cultural:* 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

Section 3: Southeast Alaska and the Emergence of Tourism

Southeast Alaska is a region characterized by rugged mountain ranges, forested islands, intercoastal waterways, and glaciers. A temperate rain-forest climate has led to a rich diversity of plants, animals, and marine life that have supported human habitation for at least 10,000 years and fueled regional economic growth since the 1700s (fig. 1). Tlingit and Haida people have the oldest known human habitation of this region, with roots traced to prehistoric times. The Tsimshian relocated from British Columbia to occupy Annette Island in the 19th century. In 2000, roughly 20 percent of the region's population was Alaska Native. Southeast Alaska is sparsely populated and geographically distant from both the main population center in Anchorage and from the Lower 48 States of the United States. Thus, the region has its own unique history and a distinct identity within Alaska. The entire region includes 73,082 residents in 32 organized settlements, with nearly half residing in Alaska's capital city, Juneau (pop. 30,711; all population figures are from USDC Bureau of the Census 2000). The remaining residents are scattered in smaller settlements ranging from Meyer's Chuck (pop. 21) to Sitka (pop. 8,835). Most communities in southeast Alaska are geographically isolated, with access by private boats and planes, scheduled airlines, air taxis, and ferries. This isolation has restricted the flow of people and commodities throughout the region and promoted a strong sense of community and regional identity. In addition, the abundance of public lands, particularly the 17-million-acre Tongass National Forest, as well as lands managed by other federal and state agencies, influences the nature of economic development in the region.

Southeast Alaska has its own unique history and a distinct identity within Alaska.

Over the years, natural resources of southeast Alaska have been used in a variety of ways, providing fuel for the regional economy. In the 18th century, Russian and European explorers and settlers sparked a lucrative fur trade, altering economic and social patterns of Tlingit and Haida communities (De Laguna 1990).[7] The discovery of gold near Juneau in the 1880s and later the Klondike Gold Rush in the 1890s resulted in a boom in population and was the impetus for moving Alaska's capital to Juneau from Sitka (Mitchell 1997). In the late 1800s, fish canneries were built throughout the region, introducing new forms of wage labor and concentrating local populations in fishing towns (Mitchell 1997, Price 1990). Fishing remained a mainstay of the regional economy throughout the 20th century. The late 19th century

[7] Early contact with explorers also resulted in the decimation of local populations from disease.

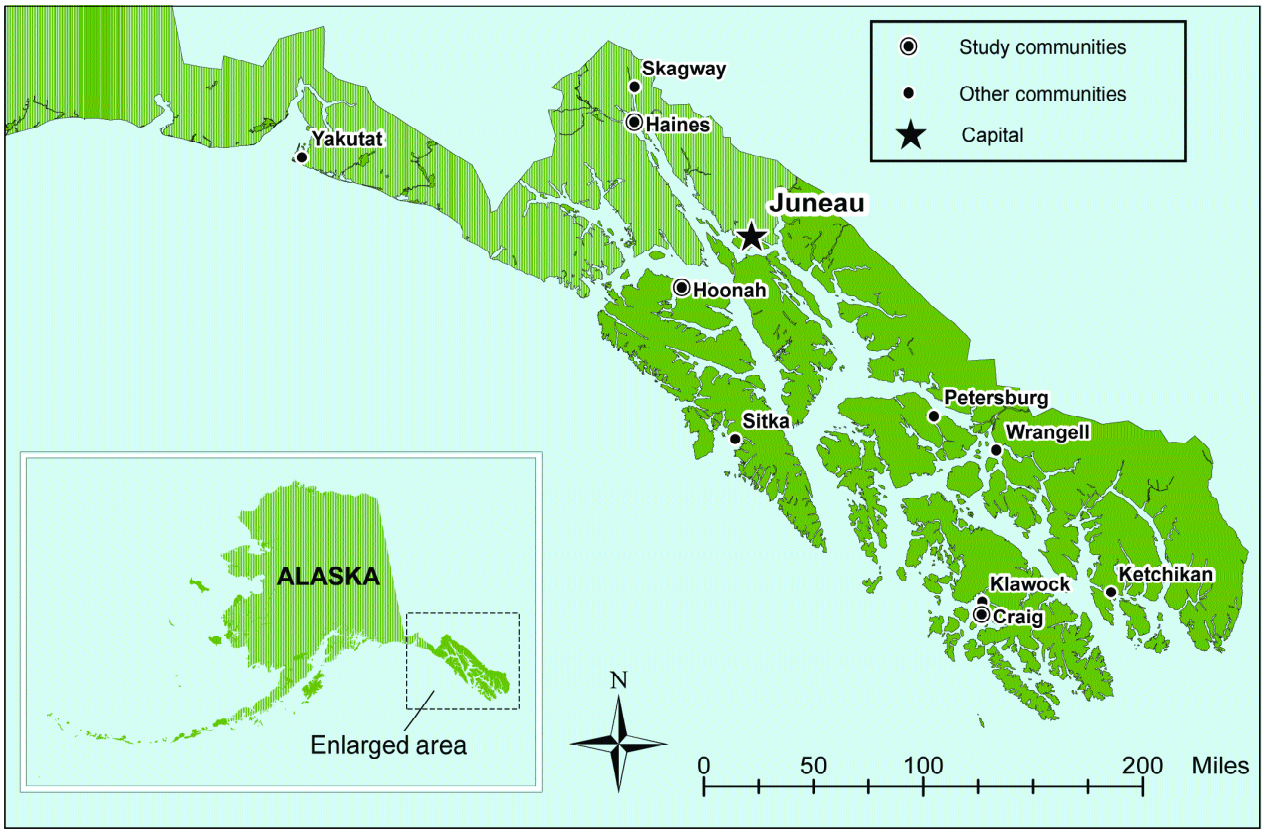

Figure 1—The study region.

also saw the arrival of the first steamships carrying tourists, sparking an arts market for locally produced goods, including wood carvings, baskets, and silver. Tourism would become increasingly important to the regional economy in the late 20th century. In the 1950s, southeast Alaska saw the emergence of the timber industry, which altered historical land use patterns in rural and remote areas. The Tongass Timber Act of 1947 authorized the USDA Forest Service to offer 50-year timber contracts to supply two large pulp mills, resulting in a significant increase in the amount of timber harvested. The timber industry contributed to the rapid growth of mill towns and to the construction of roads and logging settlements (Durbin 1999, Rakestraw 1994).

Natural resources remained an important source of economic growth throughout most of the 20th century. In the 1970s, the economic landscape changed with the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, which awarded 202 300 hectares of southeast Alaska land to Native corporations established at the regional and village levels. Many of these corporations invested in lands used for timber, accelerating

the pace of timber harvest in the 1980s and 1990s. Meanwhile, environmental regulation and changing market conditions altered the market for timber logged on Forest Service lands. The 50-year contracts were ended by the Forest Service in the early 1990s, when harvest restrictions were implemented, resulting in the closure of the mills by 1997. Between 1990 and 2002, the timber industry lost 3,000 jobs (Gilbertsen and Robinson 2003). Commercial fishing also struggled in the late 20th century. Allocation systems implemented for salmon and halibut limited the number of permit holders and increased the price of fishing permits, making it difficult for newcomers to start fishing. Since the late 1990s, Alaska salmon fleets have experienced stiff price competition from farmed salmon and consolidation in the seafood processing industry resulting in a 37-percent decline in active fishing permits statewide between 1990 and 2002—a loss of nearly 1,000 salmon fishermen (Gilbertsen 2003, 2004). Recent downturns in these resource-dependent industries have altered the regional economy (Robertson 2004). Many city officials have begun to strategize new avenues for economic development. A glance at the distribution of southeast Alaska workers shows that the service and retail sectors increased their share of the economy from 1991 to 2001 while manufacturing jobs (which includes mill and seafood processing jobs) decreased (table 2).

The first tourists to Alaska arrived in the 1880s by steamship.

The Growth of the Tourism Industry

Although industries such as fishing and timber have experienced declines, the tourism trade in southeast Alaska has grown steadily. The first tourists to the new U.S. territory arrived in the 1880s by steamship on the "Inside Passage Tours," which took them to see glaciers, fiords, Native villages, and gold rush boomtowns (Hinckley 1965, Nash 1981, Norris 1985). Travel writers and scientists participating on these excursions wrote the region's first travel guides and inspired many to follow (Norris 1985, Wyatt 1995). By the end of the 19th century, five steamship companies were bringing tourists to Alaska (McDonald 1984). Steamship travel remained an important source of visitors through the 1930s, providing seasonal income for many artists and entrepreneurs catering to visitor needs.

After World War II, travel to Alaska gained momentum thanks to improvements in transportation infrastructure made during the war. The Al-Can Highway was opened to the public in 1948, bringing 18,000 visitors to Alaska in its first year (Norris 1985). Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, road improvements to other Alaska highways, such as the Richardson Highway in the interior, increased road-based tourism. The Alaska Marine Highway (ferry) system was formed in 1963, bringing travelers, including backpackers and explorers, to southeast Alaska from

Table 2—Percentage of employment by industry, southeast Alaska, 1991 to 2001

Industry	1991	2001
	Percent	
Mining (oil and gas)	1.0	0.8
Construction	3.7	4.4
Manufacturing	14.2	7.7
Transportation and communication	7.0	7.7
Wholesale and retail trade	16.6	17.6
Finance, insurance, real estate	3.4	3.6
Services	16.8	21.7
Government (federal, state, local)	37.1	36.3
Total	100	100

Source: Alaska Department of Labor and Workforce Development (2002).

the terminal in Seattle, and later Bellingham, Washington. Pan Am Airlines was the first to fly commercial jets into Alaska as early as the 1930s. In 1947, entrepreneur Chuck West began offering flights to visitors from Fairbanks to the Arctic. Other airlines flew guests to remote Denali campgrounds as well as to cabins and fishing lodges throughout the state. When airlines were restructured in the 1980s, air travel became more affordable, and Alaska Airlines became the leading commercial airline serving the region. Tourism gained a foothold in Alaska with the formation of the Alaska Visitors' Association in 1951 and the state division of tourism in the early 1960s. These agencies marketed Alaska's natural and cultural attractions to visitors worldwide and lobbied state officials about the economic potential for tourism.

Beginning in the 1970s, the most popular form of travel to Alaska was by sea. Tour ships, later known as cruise ships, subsumed the role of the steamships in bringing guests to Alaska. In the 1960s, Chuck West's company, Westours, included three small tour ships bringing people to Alaska's Inside Passage (West 1997). The popularity of the "Love Boat," a television program featuring Princess Cruise Lines, and heavy marketing by the cruise industry increased cruise volume worldwide. In 1973, 43 cruises traveled to Alaska bringing 36,556 visitors. Just 3 years later, the number of cruises increased to an estimated 140. In 1975, nine ships made more than 400 calls to six ports (Clark and Lucas 1978). Holland-America purchased the Alaska firm, Westours, and expanded their Alaska fleet in the late 1970s (West 1997). Holland-America ships advertised 700 or more berths, dramatically increasing the scale of cruise-based travel. Other cruise lines followed in the 1980s and 1990s, including Princess Cruises, Norwegian Cruise Lines, and Royal Caribbean,

along with smaller ships, such as the Yorktown Clipper. By 1980, more than 86,000 visitors were cruising to Alaska annually (Juneau Convention and Visitors Bureau 2000).

Polarization of Southeast Alaska Tourism

By the mid-1990s, the tourist industry became increasingly polarized into two modes: cruise travelers and all others, with cruise travel becoming the dominant mode. Tourism to southeast Alaska grew rapidly, with the total number of visitors to southeast Alaska increasing from 473,000 in 1985 to more than 700,000 in 2001 (McDowell Group 2002). An increasing portion of these visitors arrived by cruise ship. In 1985, an estimated 64 percent of visitors were cruise guests, but by 2001, this number had increased to 75 percent (McDowell Group 2002). A study by the McDowell Group in 2003 showed that 90 percent of visitors to Juneau were cruise visitors (Juneau Empire 2004a). A growing emphasis on cruise travel coincided with several other important factors. First, travel in southeast Alaska often appeared to be unpredictable owing to the dependence on marine and air transport. Harsh weather conditions frequently thwarted travel plans, along with incidence of ferry strikes and the sidelining of key vessels for repairs. On top of this, ferry schedules were sometimes difficult to interpret by travelers and travel agents not familiar with Alaska geography. Second, changes in the structure of the travel industry meant that travel agents in the Lower 48 States no longer were receiving steady commissions from air travel bookings and instead focused on the lucrative cruise market. Third, the decline in Alaska oil revenues led to budget stress in all areas of state government, including tourism marketing. In the 1970s and 1980s, when larger amounts of oil revenues were flowing into state coffers, the state of Alaska aggressively marketed Alaska travel to independent and cruise travelers. With budget setbacks in the 1990s, the state outsourced its marketing effort to a trade organization, and by 2001 the state had dismantled its Division of Tourism. The decline in state-funded tourism marketing has coincided with the growing prominence of marketing efforts by the cruise industry.

Cruise travelers—Cruises became the dominant mode of travel in the 1990s. Total cruise volume to southeast Alaska increased by 11 percent annually from 1981 to 2002, exceeding global trends in cruise travel, which increased at the rate of 8.4 percent annually for the same period (CLIA 2004a) (fig. 2). Cruise travelers to Alaska board the ship in Vancouver, British Columbia, or Seattle, Washington, and sail northward through the inland waterways of British Columbia and southeast Alaska. Or, they may fly to Anchorage and head south from a south-central Alaska

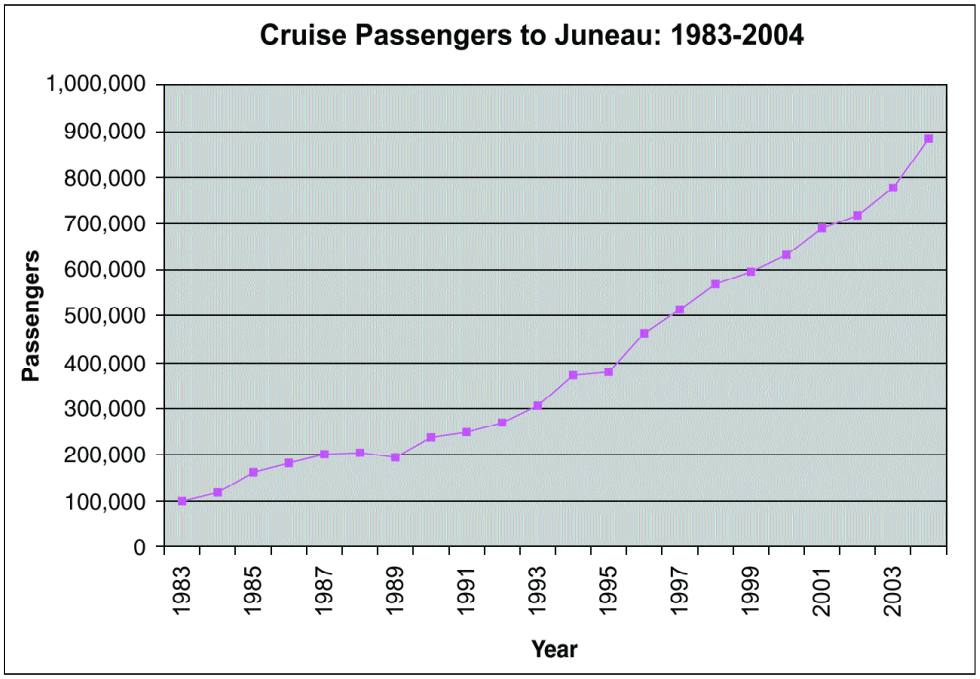

Figure 2—Cruise passenger visits to Juneau, Alaska: 1983-2004 (Juneau Convention and Visitor's Bureau 2000, Southeast Stevedoring 2004). Note: Cruise volume to Juneau is used as a proxy for southeast Alaska because nearly every cruise ship traveling to the region stops there.

By developing and solidifying economic relations with local tourism providers, the cruise industry has shown an ability to control the nature of the tourism product on shore.

port, such as Seward. Cruises typically range between 7 and 11 days, with visits to major and minor ports and natural attractions, such as Glacier Bay National Park and the Hubbard Glacier, near Yakutat. During the 1980s and 1990s, three ports emerged as the top destinations: Juneau, Ketchikan, and Skagway. Other ports including Haines, Sitka, and Petersburg, were destinations for a smaller number of large cruise ships as well as the smaller vessel cruise lines (fig. 3). Meanwhile, other communities have invested in infrastructure and successfully courted cruise lines. In 2003 and 2004, cruise ships docked for the first time in Wrangell, Hoonah (Icy Strait), and Prince Rupert, British Columbia. Changes in cruise volume within destinations reflect both shifting corporate policy, perceived economic value of the individual port for cruise lines, federal regulations controlling the flow of ships into Glacier Bay National Park, and local attitudes toward tourism.

Once docked in a southeast Alaska port, cruise guests are encouraged to participate in an increasingly diverse array of onshore activities. In the 1980s, cruise guests typically spent their time in port shopping, visiting museums, or attending local performances. In the 1990s, cruise lines began emphasizing participation in auxiliary tours—marketing their own tours and those offered by partner firms. By

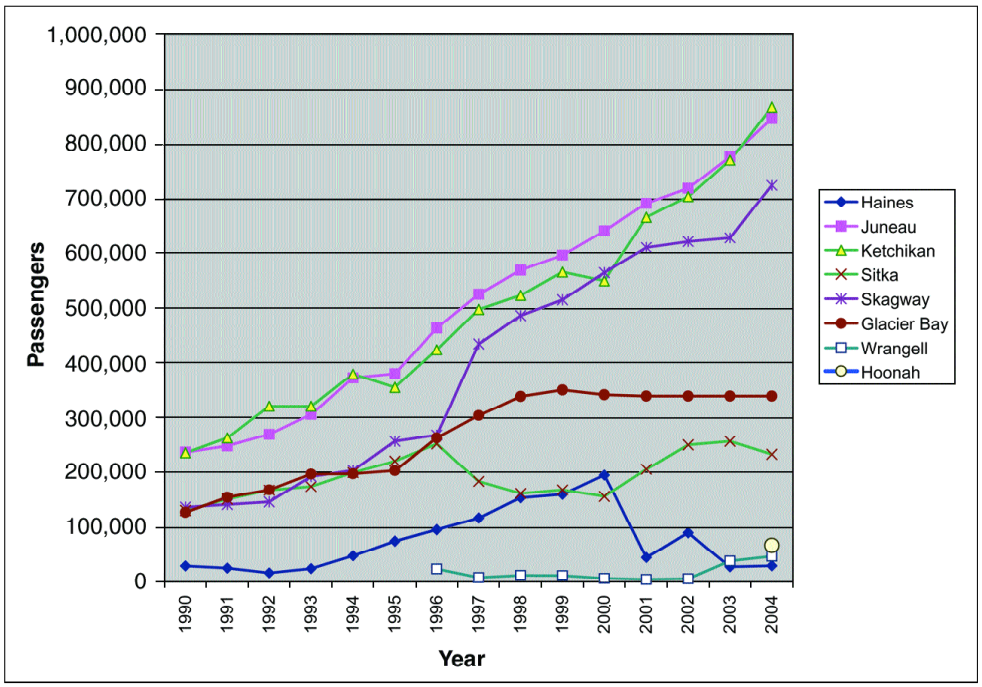

Figure 3—Cruise travel to southeast Alaska ports: 1990-2004 (Glacier Bay National Park 2000, Southeast Stevedoring 2004).

developing and solidifying economic relations with local tourism providers, the cruise industry has shown an ability to control the nature of the tourism product on shore. Local tourism providers without cruise contracts marketed their services to guests as they exited the ship. In Alaska, many of these tours have an adventure component, including river rafting, glacier hiking, kayaking, fishing, and dog-sled trips on the glaciers and ice fields. Other excursions emphasize sightseeing, including helicopter and floatplane tours, and excursions to glaciers and other natural features by bus or tour boat. Wildlife viewing also remains popular, with tours emphasizing bears, eagles, marine mammals, and salmon hatcheries. Still other companies advertise cultural and historically based tours with a strong educational component. Cruise-based tours last several hours while the ship is docked or anchored offshore. The proliferation of these auxiliary tours and their increasing diversity have created new challenges for public land managers, such as the Tongass National Forest. The desire of visitors for an up-close experience of Alaska's nature, culture, and history has resulted in the growing use of mechanized means of transportation, such as jet boats, helicopters, and four-wheel-drive vehicles in natural areas. These trends also have affected local patterns of resource use on public lands and waterways. In extreme cases, citizen groups have staged protests against specific tour companies or the cruise lines over the use of resources.

Lee Cerveny

Figure 4—Cruise ship docked in Juneau, Alaska (1999).

State and federal agencies, must manage Alaska resources with no ability to control visitor volume.

The overall trend toward larger vessels has significant implications for Alaska's communities and natural resources. This growth occurs without regulation by state or federal agencies, which must manage Alaska resources with no ability to control visitor volume. The trend toward larger ships also has significant implications for natural resources, including air, water, and marine life. Expanded capacity for guests and crew means more fuel consumed and more waste produced. When Royal Caribbean International was indicted for several episodes of disposal of toxic waste into the Inland Passage waterways in 1999, the public became aware of the potential environmental hazards. An aggressive state effort to legislate compliance to environmental regulations, along with an industry-led campaign to strive for cleaner air emissions and water and waste effluent, indicate steps to mitigate the negative effects of cruise ships (fig. 4).

The presence of a large number of cruise visitors in southeast Alaska also has implications for host municipalities, particularly for smaller cities and villages where the tourist is more noticeable. Southeast Alaska residents living in popular cruise destinations have faced congestion and crowding in their downtown streets, harbors, and at staging areas near the cruise dock. Residents have perceived increases in bus traffic on their roads, crowding on favorite trails and in recreation areas, and noise from plane and helicopter traffic, all of which have impacted the quality of

life for certain stakeholders and resident groups. Moreover, many have observed a rise in seasonal business activity and increased tendency for business owners to tailor their products and services for the tourist market, rather than residents. Municipal officials also have noted that cruise-based tourism causes some stress on city infrastructure and have sought strategies for both minimizing these stresses and for generating compensation from the cruise lines. Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, several cities explored imposing head taxes on cruise passengers or sales taxes on local tours as a means to offset costs for hosting the ships. Southeast Alaska residents recognize that these seasonal patterns are a necessary part of their community's involvement with tourism, but they seek strategies for minimizing the undesirable changes and promoting the long-term health of their communities.

Cruise Industry Overview

Cruising has become an extremely popular and profitable industry. In 2003, there were 9.5 million cruisers worldwide, including 8 million guests from North America alone (CLIA 2004a, 2004b). Alaska as a cruise destination held approximately 8 percent of the market share in terms of traveler "bed-days," behind the Caribbean and the Mediterranean (CLIA 2004a) (table 3). Since 1999, Alaska's portion of the market has eroded somewhat, because of increased competition from the Baltic Sea, Hawaii, and the Caribbean.

Clients. The cruise industry has expanded its market by reaching out to a new breed of traveler. By expanding their ship-board offerings and partnering with tour companies in each port, they successfully advertised their products to a younger, more active demographic. In 1986, the average age of the cruise guest was 56. This average dropped to 54 years in 2002 (NFO Plog Research 2004). Media advertisements featured climbing walls, casinos, and workout facilities on board and adventure-oriented excursions on shore (Lindberg 1999). The industry also reached out to families and expanded onboard offerings for children. The North American public began to accept that cruising was not just for grandparents and retired neighbors. At the same time, the cruise lines slashed their prices owing to increased capacity and stiff competition, making a cruise vacation more affordable.

Capacity. The cruise lines have expanded capacity, bringing on more ships of larger sizes. Between 2002 and 2004, 62 new ships entered service of the global cruise fleet, adding 70,000 new berths (CLIA 2004a, 2004b). From

Table 3—Market share for largest global cruise destinations: 1987, 1995, 2001, 2004

Region	1987	1995	2001	2004
		Percent		
Caribbean	43.3	42.8	36.6	40.3
Mediterranean	4.1	9.8	12.7	12.6
Alaska	8.4	8.4	7.9	7.7
Bahamas	9.4	7.7	7.9	4.7
Europe (Baltic)	1.8	4.4	8.1	9.7
Rest of world	32.9	26.9	26.8	25.0

Note: This is measured in bed-days, a cruise industry standard measurement for volume. These figures indicate percentage of total bed-days.

Source: Cruise Lines International Association (2004a).

1994 to 2004, there was an average annual increase in cruise ship capacity of 7.6 percent for ships visiting Alaska (Northwest Cruise Ship Association 2004). Not only is the number of ships in the global fleet increasing, but the newer ships are also larger. In the 1970s, the largest ships were under 1,000 passengers, with most holding 600 or 700 guests. In the late 1980s, megaships were introduced by Royal Caribbean, with capacity up to 2,800. In the late 1990s, Carnival and Royal Caribbean both brought on ships with accommodations for 3,400 to 5,000 guests (Klein 2002). Of the 25 cruise ships visiting Alaska in 2002, 11 carried 1,900 passengers or more, along with several hundred crew members.

Competition. The cruise industry is highly competitive, operating at the global scale. Cruise lines typically are vertically integrated corporations with various subsidiaries that own resorts, tour companies, travel agencies, hotels, and other key components of the travel experience (Dickenson and Vladimir 1996). Within a typical cruise port, a significant portion of businesses and real estate are owned by the cruise lines so they can capture a greater percentage of the tourist dollar. Cruise corporations benefit from economies of scale and offer goods at competitive prices, making it difficult for local business owners to compete. In some cases, cruise corporations have purchased uninhabited islands and created their own destinations—capturing every dollar of visitor spending and controlling the flow of visitors. They also have established contractual relations with local firms to provide tours to cruise guests, who book these tours online before the cruise or on board the ship, with the cruise lines taking

a commission. The onboard advertising of these partner companies gives the firms a significant comparative advantage over other tour operators selling their services on shore.

Consolidation. Frequent mergers between cruise companies have consolidated ownership and reduced operating costs. In the 1980s, Carnival Corporation began buying cruise lines and by 2003 owned seven major cruise lines, including Holland-America and Princess (Klein 2002). Together, these three cruise lines brought about 75 percent of cruise passengers to Alaska in 2002 (Juneau Empire 2002a). Royal Caribbean Cruises, the other major Alaska player, also owns Celebrity Cruises. Moreover, most of the ships owned by the larger cruise companies fly the flags of countries different from their corporate bases, known as "flags of convenience" (Klein 2002). Although headquarters may be in Holland, Norway, or Florida, ships are based in countries such as Panama and Liberia, which subscribe to different tax laws, labor laws, and other requirements for ship operations.

Packaged tourism—Two other forms of tourism in southeast Alaska are package and independent travelers, which in southeast Alaska account for roughly 25 percent of visitors (McDowell Group 2002). Alaska attracts nature enthusiasts, outdoor adventure trekkers, anglers, and travelers with interest in culture and history. Package travelers arrange their travel through companies that typically provide meals and accommodations and arrange activities, such as kayaking, wildlife viewing, and fishing, as well as cultural and historical tours. Tour operators often use public lands, which require permits for commercial recreation use. The growing popularity of these package tours is evidenced by data from the Tongass National Forest. The number of permits awarded to commercial tour operators increased from 73 in 1993 to 262 in 1998 (USDA Forest Service 1999). In 2001, more than 188,000 visitors participated in guided commercial tours on Tongass lands. With more visitors found in more remote parts of the forest engaged in an increasingly diverse array of recreational activities, there have been various effects on local land use patterns, wildlife, and the environment.

The most prominent example is the charter fishing industry, which has blossomed in many southeast Alaska communities throughout the region, particularly in Yakutat, Sitka, and on Prince of Wales Island. Recreational fishing represents an important form of tourism in the United States, with Alaska attracting the highest

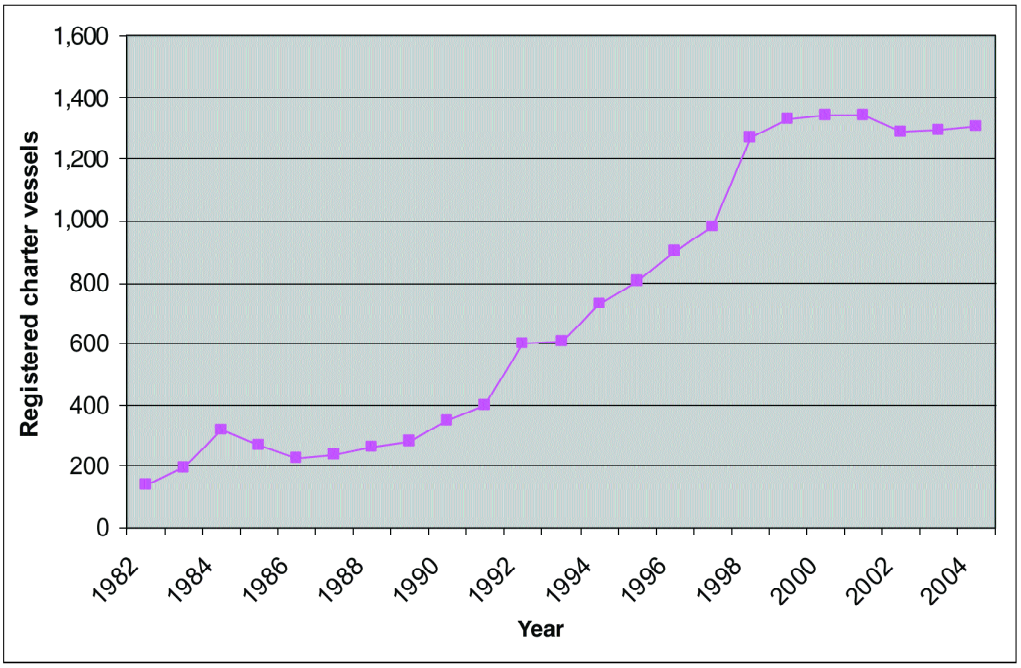

Figure 5—Number of registered charter vessels in southeast Alaska: 1982-2004 (Alaska Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission 2004).

A significant portion of charter fishing activity is associated with lodges, typically located in remote areas.

percentage of nonresident anglers nationwide in 1996 (Ditton et al. 2002). Charter fishing caters to visitors eager for a more indepth Alaska encounter, with a focus on adventure and the harvest of resources. Alaska's reputation as a place with abundant fish and game has led to growth in this subsector of the tourism industry. A recent survey revealed that 32 percent of noncruise travelers to Alaska came for fishing (McDowell Group 2002). Between 1982 and 2001, the number of charter fishing boats in southeast Alaska increased from 139 to 1,343 (ADF&G 2000a) (fig. 5).

A significant portion of charter fishing activity is associated with lodges, typically located in remote areas. Guests typically fly in to the lodge and spend 3 to 5 days fishing for salmon, halibut, and other groundfish, as well as for freshwater species. Lodges typically offer full-service experience, including comfortable rooms, gourmet Alaska fare, and customized service. Most guests return home with two or three 18-kilogram boxes of fish, according to lodgeowners interviewed. Although direct visitor spending in the local community may be limited, lodgeowners contribute to the local economy through purchases of fuel, supplies, and

groceries.[8] Lodgeowners are a mix of long-time Alaskans and newcomers, with the larger facilities owned by nonlocal corporate entities and Native corporations. Many lodges employ local fishing guides; however, the larger lodges often import professional fishing guides from outside Alaska. In addition to fishing lodges, independent charter operators also work with local accommodations, such as bed and breakfast establishments or camp resorts to provide fishing packages for guests. And, some charter operators have accommodations for sleeping and eating right on their boats. Day-fishing also is popular, especially in busy cruise ports such as Juneau, where there is a ready audience of visitors looking for a way to spend time while in port. Although corporations have invested in larger lodge facilities, this sector of the tourism industry has largely maintained its "home-spun" Alaska character.

The growth in popularity of charter fishing has implications for natural resources. Charter fishing guests compete for salmon and halibut with commercial fishers who rely on fish for their livelihood. In addition, the charter fleet competes for fish with sport and subsistence fishers, who rely on fish for their quality of life and economic survival. Competition for fish has created tension within communities with sizeable charter fishing fleets, such as Craig and Sitka. In addition to frustration about harvest levels, some residents have expressed dismay about the minimal economic benefits of charter fishing lodges to the local economy.

Independent travelers—Independent travelers plan their own itineraries and rely to a greater extent on local accommodations and visitor services. These guests may fly to Juneau and travel around the region by ferry, making their own arrangements for accommodations. Others sail to southeast Alaska on their own private vessel and travel throughout the region for sightseeing and fishing, stopping in port cities for supplies. Still others drive the Alaska Highway to Skagway or Haines and travel by car or camper, engaging in fishing, hunting, camping, and boating. These guests support many small businesses in Alaska's rural communities including accommodations, restaurants, and supply stores. One study noted that independent visitors spend more time and money in the local economy than do cruise guests and package tourists (Juneau Empire 2004b). As noted above, independent visitors have been overshadowed in recent years by the surge in cruise-based tourism. Most estimates suggest that independent travel to southeast Alaska has been flat from 1992

[8] Based on a recent study on the sportfishing industry, visitors to southeast Alaska in 1993 spent $54 million, nearly 40 percent of which went directly to the charter fishing operation (ISER 1999).

to 2002 (Juneau Empire 2002b). Both the independent and package tourism segments suffered declines after 2001, perhaps owing to a combination of economic recession and threat of terrorism. An estimated 93,500 independent visitors came to Juneau in 2003, compared to nearly 120,000 in 1993 (Juneau Empire 2004b).

Implications of Tourism Growth

The growth of Alaska tourism has afforded new possibilities to southeast Alaska communities struggling for economic survival amid declines in traditional industries. Tourism has become an important part of Alaska's economy. In 2002, the total economic contribution of travel and tourism, including direct and indirect economic effects, was $1.5 billion statewide, or 5.2 percent of gross state product (Global Insight 2004). Tourism provides indirect economic benefits for many related industries, including construction, transportation, utilities, and wholesale trade. Meanwhile, the direct impact of the travel and tourism industry was $851 million in 2002, making the travel and tourism industry the third-largest private sector employer with nearly 26,000 jobs (Global Insight 2004).

Tourism is vital to the health of the southeast Alaska economy. According to the McDowell Group (2000b), the total economic impact of cruise-based tourism on the southeast Alaska economy (excluding Skagway) in 1999 was $193 million, including $34.5 million in payroll. Cruise-related spending also resulted in $6.6 million in tax revenues for southeast Alaska communities (McDowell Group 2000b).[9] In 2002, tourism was one of southeast Alaska's most important industries, generating new business growth and accounting for 1 in 10 jobs, or 3,670 jobs regionwide. In some communities, such as Haines, the tourism industry was responsible for one in five local jobs (Fried and Windisch-Cole 2004). Many workers who lost their timber industry jobs turned to tourism, purchasing motels, offering lodging and meals in their homes, running tour companies, and operating fishing lodges. An increasing number of commercial fishermen were supplementing their income running charter fishing tours in the off-season. In former mill towns, like Sitka and Ketchikan, tourism was a key ingredient to survival after the mills closed.

Although tourism has demonstrated economic benefits to southeast Alaska communities, many have begun to note that the magnitude of these benefits is muted somewhat because of the nature of the tourism industry. Many were surprised to read the results of an economic impact study of Skagway in 2000 that revealed

[9] The McDowell Group study included the communities of Sitka, Haines, Juneau, and Ketchikan and did not include Skagway, which was studied in a separate analysis.

that just 10 cents of every dollar spent in Skagway remained in the local economy (Juneau Empire 2000d). This leakage of tourist spending was attributed to the predominance of nonresident workers, the high rate of property ownership by nonlocal corporations, and the lack of product offerings catering to nonresident workers. Tourism put many southeast Alaska residents to work; however, wages of tourism jobs were not as high as in other industries. Average annual earnings for all industries 2002 was $37,101, while earnings in the leisure and hospitality sector averaged $15,937 (Fried and Windisch-Cole 2004).[10] Tourism jobs were largely seasonal, making it difficult to earn a living wage on a year-round basis. Statewide data on the leisure and hospitality sector showed a fluctuation of tourism employment from a low of roughly 24,000 jobs in midwinter to a high of more than 34,000 jobs in the peak summer months (Fried and Windisch-Cole 2004). Some tourism providers and shopowners live seasonally in southeast Alaska communities, spending the off-season in warmer climes and boarding up their businesses for the winter (Kroll 2004). Seasonal industries often attract workers from outside Alaska. Data from 2002 showed that 27 percent of jobs in the leisure and hospitality industry were held by nonresident workers compared to a state average of 18 percent for all industries combined (Hadland 2004). Some of these workers, such as professional guides, possess skills not typically found in the local workforce. Although these workers do spend money in the community, many take their wages with them when they leave in September.

Tourism represents an important part of the southeast Alaska economy.

Cruise-based tourism also was associated with significant environmental effects, which shaped attitudes of local residents concerned about the sustainability of Alaska's resources. Cruise tourism is associated with myriad environmental effects, including hazardous waste disposal, air pollution, and noise effects (Johnson 2002, Klein 2002). The acknowledgment of guilt by Royal Caribbean executives for dumping toxic chemicals into Inland Passage waters created a flurry of activity among citizen-based environmental organizations and state officials, leading to the passage of state regulations in 2000. State and federal monitoring programs target air and waste emissions, but many residents still wonder about the long-term effect of cruise ships on the health of the ecosystem, with particular concern for the health of the fish and other foods used for personal consumption.

[10] The leisure and hospitality sector is a new category attempting to capture the tourism industry. The sector includes hotels and accommodations, eating and drinking places, arts, entertainment, and recreation. However, the category does not include various forms of transportation or retail trade, which often are tourism related. The state of Alaska began using this designation in 2003 (Fried and Windisch-Cole 2004).

Tourism presents a viable option for southeast Alaska communites facing declines in traditional industries.

The emphasis on nature-based tourism and the increasing use of the Tongass National Forest, state forests, and other public lands and waterways, has region-wide implications for natural resource agencies. Tourism activities within specific sites often involve multiple jurisdictions among public agencies. Yet, once again this growth has occurred without significant planning or cooperation among key stakeholders, with the exception of two regional tourism workshops in 1999 and 2002 sponsored by the USDA Forest Service. Unlike logging on public lands, which typically necessitates an environmental impact analysis and mandated public involvement (per the National Environmental Protection Act), the arrival of 2,200 cruise guests to Hubbard Glacier or the port of Hoonah requires no similar process. Thus, the power to direct tourism policy is not just held by municipal officials in Alaska communities or regional resource institutions; it is concentrated in the corporate boardrooms of the major cruise lines.

Community leaders typically are aware of tourism's potential pitfalls, yet they continue to turn to it as a way to spur the local economy. Many view tourism as an industry that causes the least harm to the local environment in comparison with resource extraction industries such as logging and mining. In the 1980s, tourism often was touted by environmental organizations that opposed logging practices as a viable alternative to industries based in resource extraction. However, with the rapid growth of high-volume, cruise-based tourism, many environmental advocates have taken positions against "industrial-scale tourism." The economic reality is such that most rural communities face few viable options for economic development. Wood processing, commercial dive fishing, and nontimber forest products provide some hope for small-scale development, but are not akin to the "boom" industries common in the 20th century. Cities likely to weather the economic transition are those with economic diversity, including strong retail and services sectors. In some cases, tourism is viewed as one way to achieve this diversity.

For southeast Alaska communities located on the main cruise ship corridor, the cruise industry presents obvious possibilities for economic growth, and many cities have invested in infrastructure they hope will attract cruise ships and capture tourist dollars. The docking of the first large cruise ships in Wrangell in 2003 and Hoonah in 2004 is testimony to the potential for smaller cities to achieve success in marketing themselves as a cruise destination. Yet, the presence of large volumes of cruise guests may come at some price for residents. Local officials recognize the potential for their economy to become overly dependent on cruise ships for their survival. Relying heavily on cruise lines, which have consolidated their corporate power into two major international firms, can prove risky. The cruise ships are not

fixed assets—when economic forces propel them, they simply travel to other ports. Municipal leaders have discovered that when voters or city officials make decisions that are viewed as counterproductive or antagonistic to the interests of cruise executives, the cruise ships will be pulled out. This report documents events that occurred in Haines, which was perceived to have an antitourist attitude. Valdez, in south-central Alaska, is another example; it lost its cruise ships in 2003 when the port was deemed unsuitable, reportedly because of a lack of variety of onshore excursions. These cases demonstrate the increasing role of global corporations in the economic future of the region.

Southeast Alaska residents desire sustainable tourism growth that ensures economic opportunity while preserving local resources for the future.

For those communities not on the main cruise ship corridor, other forms of tourism are sought. Some communities have focused on the small cruise ship market. Others have marketed themselves as charter fishing hubs, ecotourism destinations, or centers for Native culture and history. Communities in more remote locales are being creative in cultivating the character of their destinations to attract visitors. Research has demonstrated the high market demand for these activities in rural Alaska villages (Christensen et al. 2003). Both geography and community desire for tourism play roles in shaping the nature of the tourism industry in each locale.

Southeast Alaska residents are actively negotiating among themselves and with tourism providers to achieve the desired role of tourism in the local economy. In the process of this negotiation, provocative questions are being raised. How much tourism do we want in our community? What types of tourism activities do we want to promote (or discourage)? How do we maximize the local economic benefits of tourism and ensure that the industry provides opportunities for a wide range of residents? How can local institutions work to prevent or minimize tourism's undesirable effects on natural, cultural, and historical resources? How do we encourage tourism while maintaining our existing quality of life?

These questions reflect the desire for sustainable tourism growth that ensures economic opportunity while preserving local resources for the future. Examining tourism in southeast Alaska during this crucial period of transition has provided a unique opportunity to learn about tourism-community interactions. The case studies presented here examine three communities at various stages of tourism development. By chronicling the development of tourism at each site, the role of local and nonlocal stakeholders, and the distributional effects of tourism on communities and resources, we may gain understanding that will help local officials and regional planners address these key questions.

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Section 4: Tourism Transformations

An examination of the evolution of tourism development within the three sites demonstrates clear differences in the ways tourism emerged and in the final tourism outcomes. The study sites all share an economic history based in fishing and timber and have experienced similar shifts in population growth and demography. In addition, shifts in state and federal resource policy and management decisions have impacted residents and businesses in each site. In spite of this common framework, the process by which tourism developed in the study sites and the types of tourism that emerged have differed in each case, owing to differences in geography and the individual efforts by key stakeholders.

Case Study 1: Haines, Alaska

Haines was chosen to illustrate the effects of the rapid growth of industrial-scale tourism. Located 145 kilometers north of Juneau, Haines (pop. 2,516)[11] was originally Chilkat and Chilkoot territory and was the site of a Tlingit village known as Deishu (fig. 6). The community had its economic roots in mining, the military, fishing, timber, and transportation. Commercial fishing began in the late 1800s with the construction of several canneries. Around the same time, gold was discovered in the Klondike and nearby Porcupine, and thousands of prospectors came through Haines. A military base was located there in 1904 to monitor the mining industry and to patrol the border. This facility remained a vital part of economic and social life through World War II. From 1950 to 1990, the timber industry provided the largest source of local income, employing more than 200 sawmill workers and loggers. The community gained a reputation as a hard-working, blue-collar town with an economy based on extraction of natural resources

Early tourism development—Tourism has long been part of Haines history. Since the 1880s, visitors have come to enjoy the scenic opportunities at Davidson Glacier and along the Chilkat River (Norris 1985). In the 1950s, the army base at Fort Seward was decommissioned and purchased by a group of veterans who transformed the facility into a self-sustaining community emphasizing theater and the arts (Snyder 1988). Beginning in the 1960s, tour boats and ferries brought visitors to Haines to enjoy the scenery, and the city cultivated a reputation as a center for Alaska Native art and culture (Eppenbach 1987). Cruise ships began plying the waters of southeast Alaska in the 1970s, and each season a few anchored in a harbor near Haines bringing guests to shore on small boats. Several local business leaders

[11] USDC Bureau of the Census (2000). This population represents the population of Haines Borough, which includes Mosquito Lake, Lutak Inlet, Haines Highway settlements, and Mud Bay. The population of the city of Haines in 2000 was 1,810.

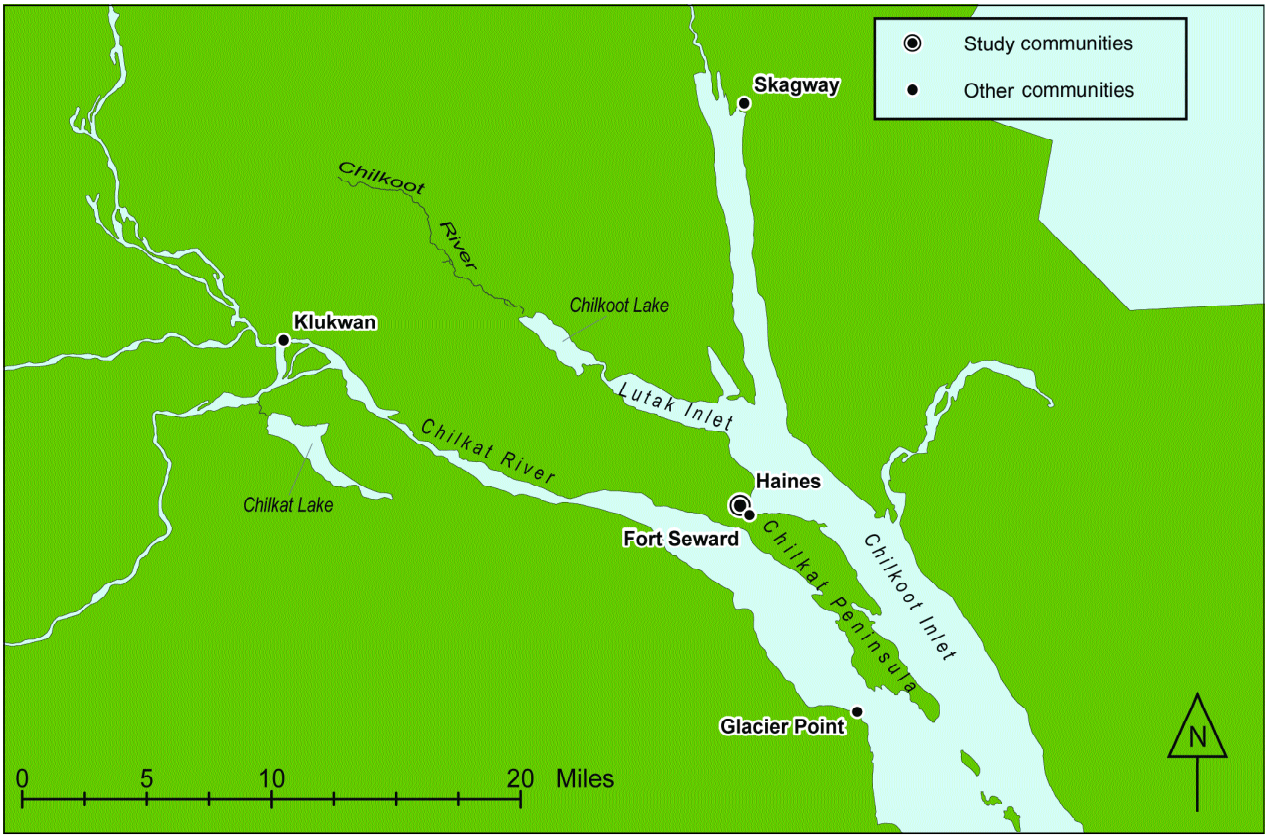

Figure 6—Haines, Alaska, and the Upper Lynn Canal.

formed a local branch of the Alaska Visitors' Association in 1979, developing brochures and urging merchants to clean up city streets for visitors (Lynn Canal News 1980). In the late 1970s, Haines also emerged as a destination for outdoor enthusiasts, attracting mountaineers, rafters, kayakers, and other adventurers. By the early 1980s, the city began courting tourism by eliminating docking fees and investing in infrastructure, such as public restrooms, to lure cruise ships away from Skagway (Lynn Canal News 1982).

The community faced an economic downturn when a large sawmill closed in 1985, because of poor market conditions and challenges by environmental organizations (Menke 1997). A few Haines business leaders urged the community to expand the fledgling tourism industry and actively market the area's natural and cultural attributes. Tourism also had the support of the environmental community, which viewed the industry as an alternative to logging. In 1987, voters agreed to a tax to promote tourism. A new tourism director was hired and a visitor center was upgraded and staffed by city employees. Training programs were offered to

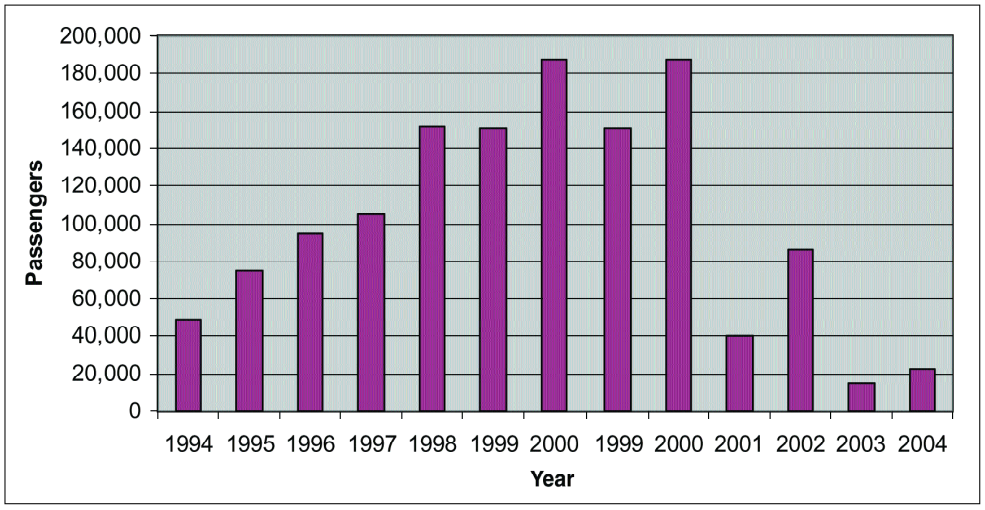

Figure 7—Cruise passengers to Haines: 1994 to 2004 (Haines Convention and Visitor's Bureau 2004).

merchants and residents about the visitor industry. City officials worked hard to promote independent tourism and to attract cruise ships to Haines, which in the mid-1980s were bringing an estimated 60,000 passengers (Chilkat Valley News 1989b). However, the industry experienced dramatic ups and downs, owing to the financial collapse of one cruise line. Cruise ship dockings declined from 100 in 1988 to 20 in 1989 (Chilkat Valley News 1989a). In the early 1990s, cruise visitation fluctuated between 15,000 and 30,000 passengers annually. When the last sawmill closed in 1991, Haines residents sought ways to promote new economic opportunities. Many looked to tourism with renewed interest and desired to expand tourism's economic significance. In 1993, a group of business owners worked with city officials to pursue the idea of expanding the city-owned dock to accommodate large cruise ships. The following year, city voters approved a ballot measure to expand the public dock. By 1995, the number of cruise visitors doubled from 40,000 to nearly 80,000 (fig. 7). Five years later, visitor volume had increased to more than 187,000.

Cruise-based tourism—Along with the rapid growth in cruise visitors after 1995, the number of tourism businesses increased, particularly those providing adventure and sightseeing tours. Local tour operators diversified into new areas, expanding their products and services to meet customer needs. At the same time, new competitors arrived, providing similar products and services and competition. The most successful businesses developed contractual relations with the cruise lines, which sold their tours on board in exchange for a commission. One notable success was Klukwan, Inc., the village corporation for Haines and Klukwan, which invested in

Table 4—Number of selected tourism businesses in Haines, 1994-2000

Segment	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Tour companies	15	16	17	25	*	26	24
Fish charters and guides	8	8	11	11	*	14	13
Tourism-related shops	10	12	21	21	18	19	19
Total	33	36	49	57	*	59	56

* = no data available.

Note: These are the best estimates based on data available.

Source: Haines Borough (2000).

Table 5—Haines tourism businesses by category, 2000

Business type	Number
Tour operators (adventure, ecotours, sightseeing, cultural)	21
Lodging (motels, hotels, bed and breakfasts, lodges, cabins)	22
Attractions (museums, totem parks, cultural centers)	6
Galleries/gift shops	19
Transportation (air, water, or city taxi)	9
Fishing lodges and guides	13
Cultural or historical tours	4
Restaurants	14
Camping/RV	6

Sources: Haines Convention and Visitor's Bureau (2000), Haines Borough (2000).

several tourism enterprises, including rapid ferries to Skagway and Juneau, wildlife-viewing tours in the eagle preserve, a gift shop, and a restaurant, among others. An intense business climate resulted, characterized by price wars and creative direct marketing near the dock. Between 1994 and 2000, the number of tours and tourism shops nearly doubled (table 4). By 2000, more than 114 businesses in Haines were directly involved in tourism. In addition, many local businesses profited indirectly from the trickle down of tourism dollars, and the city enjoyed increased tax revenues (table 5). The economic impact of cruise-based tourism in 1999 was estimated at roughly $10.3 million, with tax contributions to the city and borough totaling more than $400,000 (McDowell Group 2000b). Various studies looking at tourism-related employment in the late 1990s estimated between 11 and 20 percent of total employment (189 jobs) was tourism based.[12]

As cruise arrivals swelled, several significant shifts occurred in the structure of the tourism industry (fig. 8). First, a growing emphasis on large cruise ship tourism resulted in stagnated growth in other facets of the tourism industry, including small

[12] Allen et al. (1998) estimated tourism employment at 17 percent in 1995. Robertson (2001) estimated tourism employment in Haines between 14 and 21 percent. McDowell Group (2000b) suggested 11 percent of total employment was related to tourism.

Lee Cerveny

Figure 8—Cruise ship docked in Haines, Alaska (2000).

cruise ships and independent travelers. This led to a notable division within the tourism industry between businesses largely dependent on cruise-based tourism and those promoting other types of tourism. Second, competition emerged between those local companies that had partnered with the cruise lines (presold tours) and those that marketed tours directly to guests walking on shore (independent tours). Tension between these groups was evident during public meetings attended by the researcher in 2000. A third change was that Haines tourism became increasingly interdependent with its neighbor, Skagway, one of the most popular cruise destinations in the region. As annual cruise volume in Skagway exceeded 600,000 visitors, Haines tour companies began to receive some of the overflow. Tour operators arranged transportation for Skagway-based cruise passengers to travel to Haines by ferry or air taxi. The larger Haines tour operators indicated that between 50 and 90 percent of their business originated in Skagway.

Mitigating tourism effects—With the increase in cruise traffic, Haines officials also began facing a number of issues raised by residents. In 1999, Haines Borough officials proposed the creation of both a sales tax on tours and a bed tax to expand the economic contribution of the tourism industry and address a budget crisis (Chilkat Valley News 1999d, 1999e). At the same time, a coalition of Haines residents placed on the ballot an advisory measure to cap cruise ship arrivals at 2000 levels as a way to manage future tourism growth (Chilkat Valley News 1999a). All of these initiatives received voter support, albeit by a narrow margin (Chilkat

Valley News 1999b). Within days after the vote, Princess Cruise Lines announced that they would not be returning to Haines in 2000 (Chilkat Valley News 1999c). The same week, the Haines city mayor decided to attract cruise lines by slashing docking fees by 50 percent (Juneau Empire 1999). Because of a technical problem, the sales tax measure was recast in April 2000. Over the winter, the Visitor Promotion Committee, an ad hoc group of tourism providers, lobbied voters to toss out the tax. However, the measure was passed a second time (Juneau Empire 2000b). Also in the winter of 1999/2000, a representative of a local citizen organization, Friends of Glacier Point, began a letter-writing campaign to the cruise lines requesting that they encourage voluntary measures to limit the volume of tour activity at Glacier Point, at the base of the Davidson Glacier. In March 2000, this organization promised protests directed toward cruise guests at Glacier Point, prompting a Princess Cruise Lines spokesperson to call for a cruise ship boycott of Haines (Juneau Empire 2000a). Many Haines residents were concerned that the community was sending out an antitourist message.

The intense nature of public debates that emerged in conjunction with the ballot initiatives and planned protests thrust many issues to the surface reflecting economic and social costs of tourism. The heated nature of these discussions prompted city officials to establish a special tourism committee in 2000 to mitigate tourism's negative aspects while maximizing local benefits (Chilkat Valley News 2000a). In addition, a study was conducted by the Chamber of Commerce to assess the positive and negative effects of tourism (Chilkat Valley News 2000b). While the city's tourism committee worked to address tourism issues through public processes, Friends of Glacier Point and a new citizen group, Haines Peace Keepers, drew attention to negative externalities of tourism, including noise effects in the Chilkat Inlet and the transformation of recreation space at Glacier Point. The groups staged protests at Glacier Point in the summer of 2000, further polarizing the community.

Corporate cruise decisions—With the increasing reliance on cruise ships, Haines businesses became especially vulnerable to decisions made by cruise line executives. In late 2000, one large cruise line, Royal Caribbean, announced that economic factors forced their decision to eliminate Haines from their itinerary and cancel 52 planned 2001 dockings. This decision reinforced the concern that the community was perceived as "antitourist." As a result, cruise volume to Haines plummeted to pre-1990 levels. The cruise line also terminated partnerships with two prominent tour operators. These decisions impacted the local economy significantly and reflected the economic vulnerability of the community. These events created an opportunity for residents to reevaluate their community's future relation with the

cruise lines and prompted realization of the tremendous ability of cruise corporations to alter local economies. Again, an ad hoc alliance between business and municipal leaders worked to woo the cruise lines back to Haines in 2002, and visitors increased from 40,150 in 2001 to 86,474 in 2002 (Chilkat Valley News 2001).

The cycle of boom and bust in cruise-based tourism was to repeat itself once more. In 2003, Norwegian Cruise Lines opted to send ships to the new port of Wrangell instead of Haines. That same year, Haines lost half of its scheduled dockings from Holland-America when the company reassigned its ships to the more profitable port of Skagway when berths suddenly became available after a fire destroyed a Princess vessel (Chilkat Valley News 2003b). As a result, fewer than 15,000 guests visited Haines in 2003, with modest increases in 2004. In an effort to gain ground with the cruise lines, Haines voters elected to repeal the controversial sales tax on tours in 2003, resulting in an immediately favorable gesture from regional cruise executives (Chilkat Valley News 2003c). These events suggest that secondary ports, such as Haines, Sitka, Wrangell, and Hoonah, are particularly vulnerable to fluctuation. Cruise lines base their docking decisions on a host of factors, including the availability of berths in primary southeast Alaska ports, their ability to profit from the sale of tours on shore, municipal incentives, and public attitudes. Moreover, southeast Alaska officials have increasingly become aware that local cruise line decisions often are made based on complex brokering for berths that often is tied to other global destinations.

An alliance of local business leaders and municipal officials was effective in developing cruise-based tourism. But as Haines became more dependent on cruise-based tourism, the local economy became more vulnerable to shifts in corporate decisions.

Tourism stakeholders—The story of Haines tourism reveals three major findings related to the role of tourism stakeholders (table 6). (1) A strategic alliance of local business leaders and municipal officials was effective in developing and maintaining cruise-based tourism. In the 1980s, this type of alliance emerged amid a faltering timber industry to encourage tourism by investing in infrastructure and spending public funds in tourism marketing. In the 1990s, this alliance was successful in encouraging the expansion of the public dock allowing cruise ships to tie up near downtown. After 2000, municipal officials courted cruise lines by reducing docking fees and, together with business leaders, made visits to corporate offices to market Haines. (2) The cruise industry was able to influence local economic and political decisions through its business alliances with local tourism providers. Partnerships between local tourism providers and the cruise lines increased the economic gap between a handful of presold tour companies and the independent firms operating without a cruise contract—elevating the presold operators to a position of greater economic power. These partnerships played a key role in local

Table 6—Role of principal actors in Haines tourism development

Group	Relation to tourism
Business owners	Generally supportive of tourism expansion. Gained economic benefits from direct and indirect spending by tourism industry. Chamber of Commerce supported the visitor industry.
Tourism providers	Promoted tourism in concert with the Haines Visitor Center. Worked in ad hoc organizations to increase public awareness of tourism industry. Some providers worked in partnerships with cruise line representatives.
City of Haines	Supported tourism industry through the Haines Visitor Center. Paid tourism director and staff. Lobbied for Haines to the cruise industry and target markets in trade shows. Upgraded city dock to accommodate cruise ships in 1995. Established Tourism Planning Committee in 2000.
Haines Borough	Sought tax revenues from tourism and endorsed the bed tax and a sales tax on tours (2000). Borough voters passed a measure capping cruise numbers at 2000 levels.
Cruise lines	Established partnerships with local tourism providers. Affected local economy by shifting docking schedule based on economic and political factors.
Klukwan, Inc.	Invested heavily in tourism industry beginning in 1997, employing many shareholders. Emphasis on transportation, tours, restaurant, and retail sales.
Environmental organizations	In 1980s, viewed tourism as alternative to logging. After 1995, critiqued the "industrial scale" of cruise ship tourism and the health effects of cruise waste. Some citizen groups protested tourist expansion at Glacier Point.
Alaska Department of Natural Resources	Provided tourism facilities in natural areas. Allocated permits to tourism providers using public lands.

political debates. Presold tourism providers often led movements opposing measures to curb tourism growth or introduce new taxes and used their special relation with the cruise lines as leverage to persuade Haines voters. (3) As Haines became more dependent on cruise-based tourism, the local economy became more vulnerable to shifts in corporate decisions made on a regional and global scale. Over time, Haines residents had to decide whether to play by the rules set by the cruise lines. This decision was particularly difficult to m ake given the lack of other viable sources of economic growth.

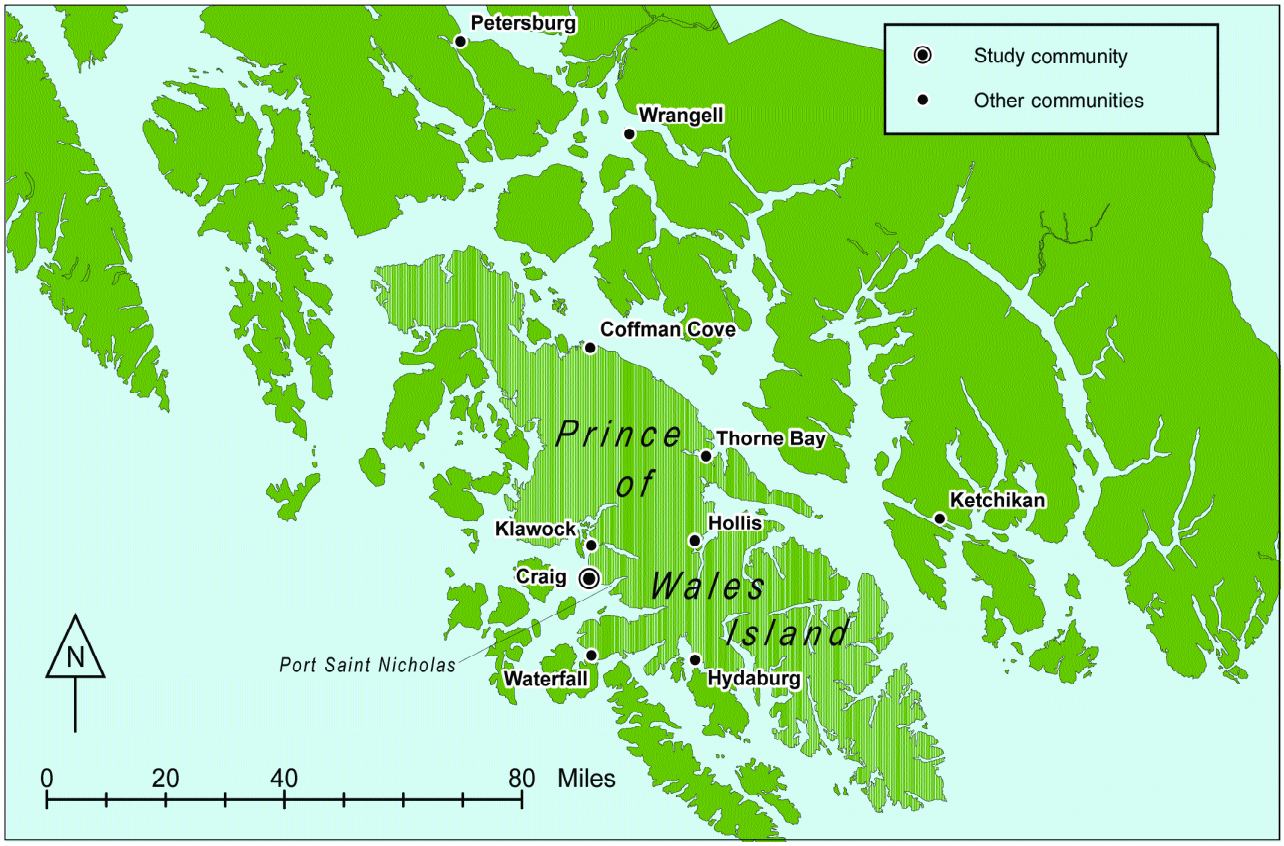

Figure 9—Prince of Wales Island.

Case Study 2: Craig, Alaska

Craig is a remote tourist destination off the main cruise ship corridor (fig. 9). Craig (pop. 1,726)[13] is located on the west coast of Prince of Wales Island in the southernmost part of the region. Originally known as Fish Egg Island, Craig was established by Euro-American immigrants in 1908 at the site of a Tlingit fishing camp. Since that time, Craig has remained an active fishing port, with some of Alaska's oldest canneries and largest commercial fishing fleets. Beginning in the 1950s, significant logging took place on Prince of Wales Island to supply the Ketchikan pulp mill, and many logging camps were founded on the island. In the 1980s, Native corporations began logging on their private landholdings near Craig. Although Craig remained largely a fishing town, the community served as the island's primary commercial and retail hub for island residents, especially after

[13] This population figure includes the 329 residents of Port St. Nicholas, an unincorporated community adjoining Craig.

roads were built linking Craig with other island communities. In addition, Craig and its neighbor, Klawock, became bedroom communities for island loggers. Craig's role as a retail and service center enabled the community to weather the economic repercussions when Ketchikan's pulp mill closed in 1997 and logging on Native corporation lands subsided owing to market conditions and supply shortage.

Early tourism development—Throughout most of the 20th century, few tourists ventured to Prince of Wales Island because of its remote location. One small cruise line docked in nearby Klawock in the mid-1980s but ran into some rocks in the harbor, destroying the ship and abruptly ending the island's courtship with cruise-based tourism. The tourism industry gained momentum in the 1980s when an historic cannery at Waterfall, located 16 kilometers south of Craig, was purchased by a group of investors and converted into a successful fishing lodge. Waterfall Lodge offered charter fishing, gourmet cuisine, and comfortable accommodations to well-heeled customers. By 1990, they were running 20 charter boats with capacity for 80 guests at one time. In nearby Craig, fishing enthusiasts began appearing in the 1980s. By 1990, seven local charter operators advertised fishing services. Craig's first full-service lodge was built in 1992 by former fishing guides from Waterfall. Soon after, other charter operators began building their own lodges, and by 2001, there were 11 lodges and more than 40 charter fishing operators based in Craig and Klawock (Alaska Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission 2004). Lodge ownership was divided among long-time Craig residents, including former loggers, seasonal residents to Craig, former Waterfall guides, and corporate entities, including Craig's village corporation, Shaan-seet.

Sportfishing—Over the 1990s, the Craig area cultivated a reputation in the sportfishing world as a top destination for king salmon and halibut, attracting thousands of fishermen each summer. As new charter operators entered the marketplace and existing lodgeowners expanded their fleets, the number of registered charter boats operating in Craig and Klawock increased from 11 in 1990 to 115 in 2001 (fig. 10).[14] In addition, another 29 charter boats were registered at Waterfall Resort. Between 1980 and 1999, the Prince of Wales Island's share of total southeast Alaska sport harvest of halibut increased from 4 percent to 26 percent, while the island's share of southeast Alaska's sport king salmon harvest increased from 6 percent to 15 percent (fig. 11). The harvest of king salmon on Prince of Wales

[14] The 1990 figure comes from the Craig Overall Economic Development Plan (1990). The 2001 figure comes from the Alaska Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission (2004).

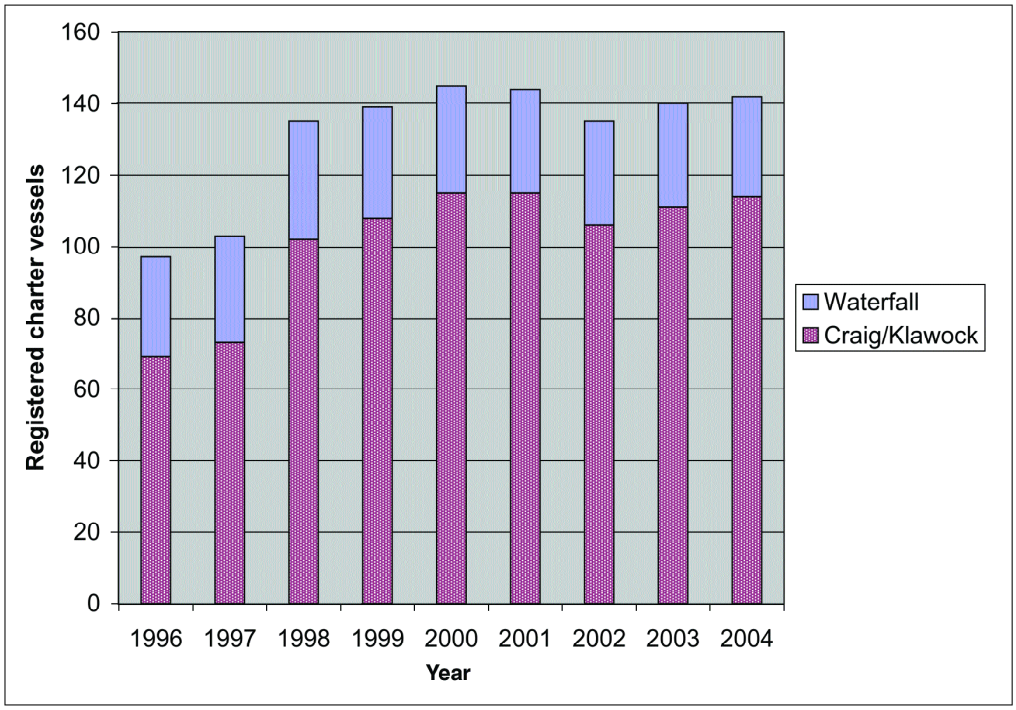

Figure 10—Registered charter fishing vessels in Craig/Klawock and Waterfall, 1996-2004 (Alaska Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission 2004).

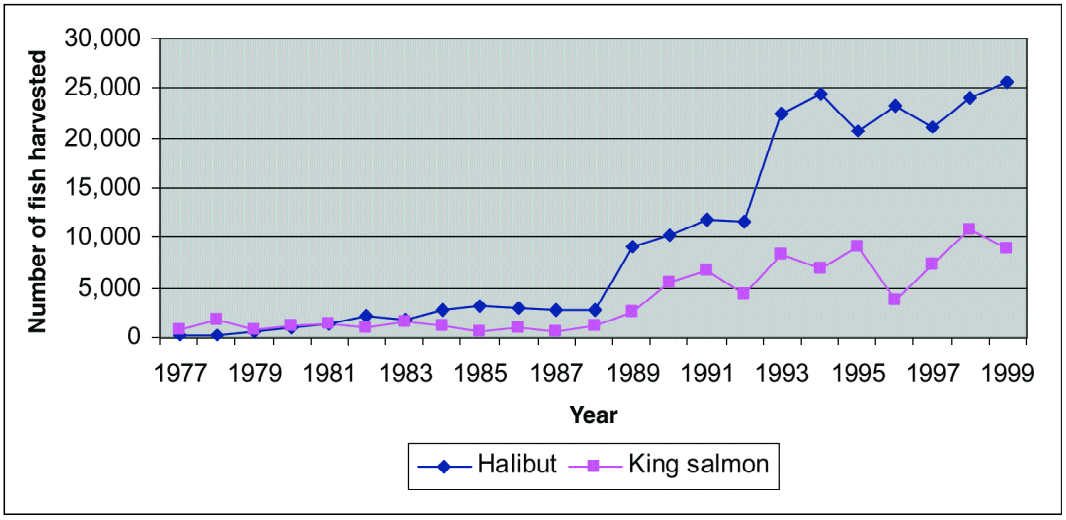

Figure 11—Prince of Wales sport harvest of halibut and king salmon, 1977 to 1999 (Jaenicke and Frenette 2000).

Island increased from 811 in 1977 to nearly 9,000 in 1999, the most recent figures available (Jaenicke and Frenette 2000).

Fishing lodges and charter operations contributed modestly to the Craig economy. Many area lodgeowners interviewed spent some money locally on fuel, parts, food, hardware, and labor; however, they were more likely to purchase bulk supplies and large ticket items in Ketchikan because of competitive pricing. Although most guest activities were contained within the lodges, charter guests also spent locally on transportation to and from the island, as well as local transportation, gifts, and to some extent food and beverages. Guests staying at Waterfall Lodge, however, did not typically spend money in Craig, as they were not given opportunities to visit town.[15] The growth of charter fishing was a boost to the local economy in 2001, creating a small number of jobs for residents as guides, fish cleaners, maids, cooks, food servers, and bartenders. In 2002, there were 134 full-time jobs in the leisure and hospitality industry on Prince of Wales Island, representing 7 percent of employment (Fried and Windisch-Cole 2004). Waterfall Resort alone employed more than 94 workers in the summer of 2002, with 75 percent of them from outside Alaska (Hadland 2004). According to a report on nonresident workers, an estimated 56 percent of all guiding jobs and 35 percent of jobs in accommodations were held by nonresidents (Hadland 2004).

Other forms of tourism—Fishing was not the only source of tourist activity. With high concentrations of large game, more than 3200 kilometers of wooded roads, and numerous Forest Service cabins and accommodations, Prince of Wales Island is a well-known site for guided and independent hunters from other southeast Alaska communities and outside the region. In 2000-2001, 2,151 deer hunters obtained permits to hunt on Prince of Wales Island, with 42 percent coming from off the island, including 5 percent from out of state (ADF&G 2001b). Bear hunting also increased in popularity among nonresident hunters, who took more than 77 percent of the total bear harvest in 1999, compared to 44 percent in 1990 (ADF&G 2001a).

Because of the increase in charter fishing and hunting, Craig also saw a significant expansion in local accommodations. The number of lodges, bed and breakfast establishments, resorts, and rental cabins, grew from 2 in 1989 to 17 in 2001 (Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs 2001a, Prince of Wales Chamber

[15] Incidentally, maps of the Waterfall Lodge on the company's Web site and brochures do not acknowledge the presence of Craig, although the community is 16 air kilometers from the lodge.

of Commerce 2001, and personal interviews.) In 2001, the total capacity for accommodations in the Craig and Klawock area, not including fishing lodges, was estimated at 210 guests. Many residents diversified their household income by renting attached apartments or converted rooms in their homes, whereas others built rental cabins for out-of-town guests. Although some bed and breakfasts actively promoted their business, most used low-key marketing strategies, relying on word-of-mouth references and local advertisements to generate clients.

Tourism in Craig specialized in lodge-based fishing and has blossomed largely as a result of the efforts of the business community.

Other forms of tourism also were occurring in Craig. Since 1992, an average of 680 pleasure boats visited Craig harbor annually, providing a key source of revenue for the city, and partly subsidizing harbor fees for other users.[16] Boaters spent money on fuel, groceries, restaurants, laundry, supplies, and parts. In the late 1990s, island entrepreneurs also began promoting nonconsumptive tourist activities, including kayak tours, wildlife viewing, and cultural tours. The island possesses abundant resources to support these activities, including protected areas for kayaking and canoeing, a system of internationally renowned caves, unique dive tourism opportunities along the island's western coast, and a plethora of marine mammals, birds, and wildlife for nature-based tourism. In addition, the island has numerous cultural attractions, including totem poles, Native artwork, and archaeological ruins. In 2001, one tourism provider in Klawock specialized in cultural tourism.

The growth of charter fishing in the 1990s and the recent expansion of local businesses into other forms of tourism made Craig a growing tourist destination by 2001. An estimated 4,000 to 6,000 visitors traveled to Craig and Klawock in 2001, and roughly 82 tourism-related businesses existed to support these visitors (table 7). The Prince of Wales Chamber of Commerce based in Craig served as a visitor center and distributed brochures and information to incoming guests. This organization published a visitor's guide outlining area services. The Forest Service ranger station in Craig also provided travelers with information about the area's recreation resources.

Tourism stakeholders—Unlike Haines tourism, where municipal leaders took an active role in tourism promotion and development, tourism in Craig blossomed largely as a result of the efforts of the business community and with little encouragement from city hall. In fact, during most of the 1990s, Craig's mayor, a commercial fisherman, was an outspoken critic of the charter industry. The Chamber of Commerce and the Prince of Wales Island Tourism Council, however, supported

[16] Data on file with City of Craig harbormaster. These figures fluctuated between 200 and 800 annually.

Table 7—Tourism businesses by category in Craig and Klawock, 2001

Business type	Number
Tour operators (adventure, ecotours, sightseeing, cultural)	5
Lodging (hotels, motels, bed and breakfasts, lodges, cabins)	23
Attractions (museums, totem parks, cultural centers)	4
Galleries/gift shops	7
Transportation (air, water, or city taxi)	11
Fishing lodges and guides	40 (24)
Restaurants	10
Kayak/skiff rental	2
Camping/RV	2

Note: Number in parentheses is estimated "active" businesses.

Sources: Prince of Wales Chamber of Commerce (2001), Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs (2001a).

the tourism industry. In addition to staffing the visitor center and producing the visitor guide, the Chamber of Commerce supported local events, including a marathon and logging festival. The Tourism Council formed in the late 1990s and consisted of tourism providers and city, state, and federal government officials who came together to coordinate tourism planning efforts and provide support for the growing visitor industry. However, formal involvement in these organizations by city officials was minimal.

In 2001, city officials participated in a workshop in Craig sponsored by the Tourism Council and recognized the economic importance of the tourism industry. Also in 2001, the mayor agreed to pay the city harbormaster's entry to boat shows in the Lower 48 States to advertise Craig and provide incentives for boaters to stop. The city's efforts to increase nonresident use of the boat harbor represented the first tangible measure taken by local officials to promote Craig tourism. The principal actors in Craig's tourism development are shown in table 8.

Prior to 2002, tourism growth on Prince of Wales Island was inhibited somewhat by the island's undeveloped transportation infrastructure. The Alaska Marine Highway System serviced the island through its Hollis terminal; however, ferry service historically was limited. In the late 1990s, municipal officials from several island communities and neighboring cities sought alternatives to the state ferry system, culminating in the Inter-Island Ferry Authority. The new ferry offered daily service from Ketchikan to Hollis in 2002, with a second ferry scheduled to connect the northern part of the island to Wrangell and Petersburg in 2004.[17] New connections

[17] Service is expected to be twice daily in the summer season.

Table 8—Role of principal actors in Craig tourism development

Group	Relation to tourism
Business owners	Chamber of Commerce supported Prince of Wales tourism with the visitor center, visitor guide, and sponsorship of key events. Business owners generally supported tourism industry.
Tourism providers	Lodgeowners developed business with relative autonomy. Some tourism providers organized an island tourism council to promote tourism development and planning.
City of Craig	Engaged in few proactive measures to support tourism. Focused on infrastructure and diversifying economy in other industries.
Tongass National Forest Craig Ranger District	Managed recreation infrastructure (campgrounds, trails) and awarded permits to tourism providers using public lands.
Inter-Island Ferry Authority	Offered regularly scheduled and consistent ferry service to Prince of Wales Island. Staffed an onboard tourism kiosk.

and regular service may encourage motorized tourist traffic on the island. The island's road system also has posed challenges for tourism proponents. Although the island possesses an extensive road system, paved roads were largely restricted t o the central part of the island in 2001. With improvements in ferries and roadways on the horizon, many anticipate a surge of tourist interest.

Tourism in Craig has, to a great extent, been shaped by the island's remoteness (fig. 12). Without access to the main cruise ship corridor, Craig's tourism industry has specialized in lodge-based fishing where guests expect to invest more in traveling to rural sites for access to Alaska's bounty. Planned improvements in transportation infrastructure will make Craig more accessible and will likely redefine the nature of tourism. Craig tourism also has been influenced by the efforts of tourism providers acting individually or in cooperation to promote mutual interests. Until recently, municipal leaders have not prioritized tourism promotion. With the loss of jobs in fishing and timber, the city began to acknowledge the potential economic role of tourism. Finally, the charter fishing industry in 2001 consisted of a combination of "mom and pop" fishing lodges and larger corporate-owned ventures. Many of the larger lodges were owned by guides turned entrepreneurs. As they build capacity and expand their products and services, when it comes time to sell, these businesses may be too expensive for most Alaskans. An increase in corporate ownership of the larger lodges is perhaps inevitable.

Continue

Lee Cerveny

Figure 12—Sunset at Port Saint Nicholas near Craig, Alaska.

Case Study 3: Hoonah, Alaska

Hoonah (pop. 860) is a community facing dramatic changes in the local economy and searching for solutions in tourism. Located on the northeast shore of Chichagof Island about 65 kilometers west of Juneau, Hoonah sits in a sheltered bay in Port Frederick, which empties into Icy Strait (fig. 13). Hoonah's population is predominantly Tlingit, with clan origins in the area of Glacier Bay and Icy Strait going back hundreds of years. The economy has been based in commercial fishing and seafood processing with more recent growth in timber production on Native corporation lands. Key to the economic and cultural survival of Hoonah residents is the customary and traditional use of resources, including fish, game, and shellfish as well as marine and forest plants. Within a few miles from Hoonah are two important settlements that appeared in the 1980s: Whitestone Logging Camp (pop. 116) and Game Creek (pop. 35), an intentional Christian community established in the 1980s. Both settlements are predominantly non-Native and their residents have become an important part of community life.

Many Hoonah residents consider John Muir to be the community's first official tourist. Muir explored Glacier Bay in 1879 with the help of Huna Tlingit

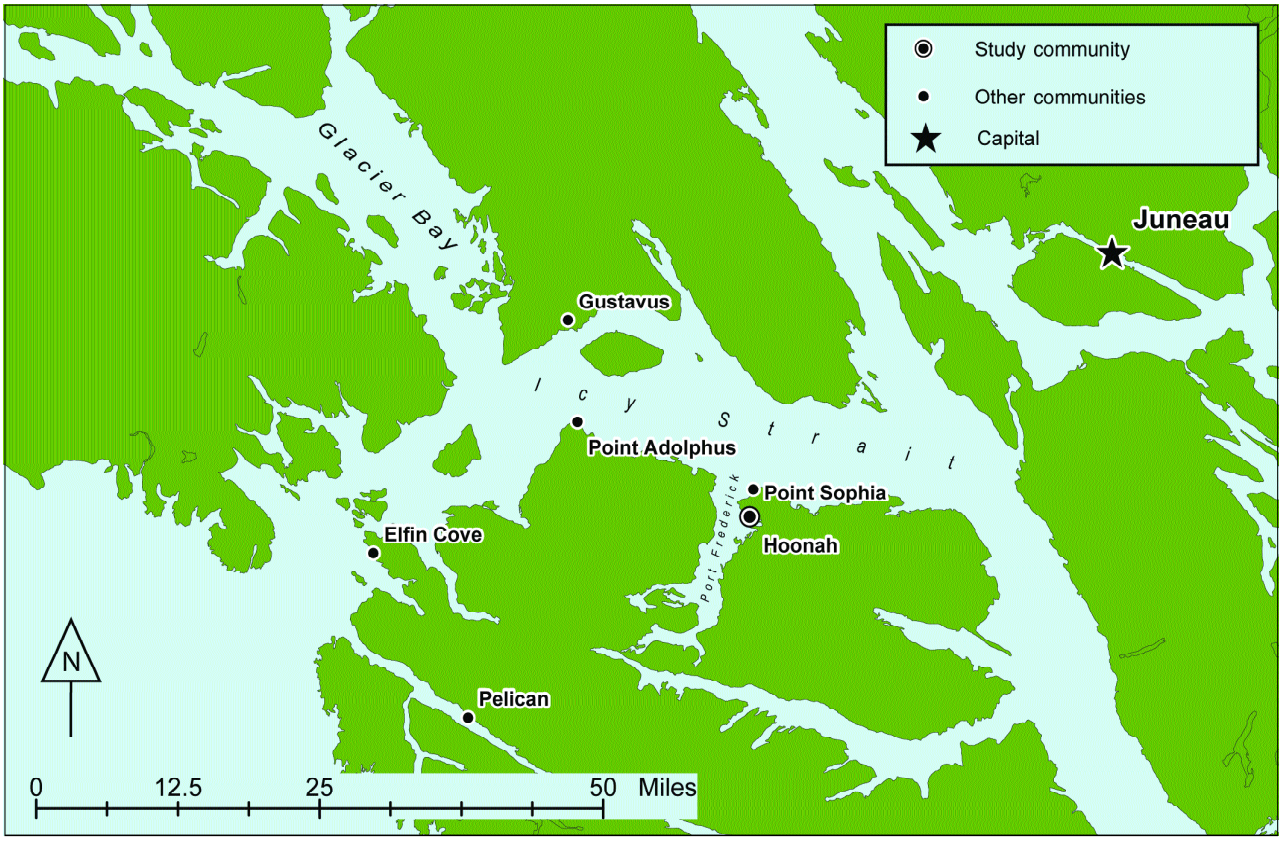

Figure 13—Hoonah, Alaska, and Icy Strait.

guides.[18] Muir's writings about Glacier Bay drew many visitors to the area, who came by steamship through 1899, after which Glacier Bay became jammed with ice after an earthquake. Several Huna clans consider Glacier Bay their traditional homeland. The creation of Glacier Bay National Park in 1925 marked the beginning of the gradual restriction of activities within park boundaries. The new federal designation did not directly impact Hoonah residents until the 1950s, when the first ranger arrived to the area to monitor resource use in the 3-million-acre park (Catton 1997). From that point, National Park Service officials exerted pressure on Huna Tlingit to curtail seal hunting and other subsistence activities. They first established a p e rmit system in 1954 for hunting and subsistence use. By 1972, Park Service officials had restricted subsistence activity altogether (Catton 1997). The federal government also began to regulate waterways within Glacier Bay and

[18] The spelling of "Huna" is used to represent the collective clans of Hoonah, or the Huna people.

Community leaders in Hoonah sought to diversify the local economy in ways that would preserve the small-town lifestyle and cultural identity.

in 1998 made many types of commercial fishing activity illegal inside park boundaries, directly impacting the Hoonah fleet, among others. These restrictions coincided with an increase in tourist traffic to Glacier Bay National Park. What started as a trickle of backpackers in the 1970s exploded to 380,000 visitors by 2001 with 88 percent of those visitors arriving by cruise ship. The notion that residents have been excluded from Glacier Bay in favor of visitors has led to tension and distrust of federal agencies.

Early tourism development—Some ships visiting Glacier Bay stopped by in Hoonah, and their visitors were met by local artisans at the cannery dock, resulting in a flourishing crafts market. Steamship travel to Hoonah occurred periodically through the 1950s. A small lodge with a bar and occasional restaurant was built in the 1960s for out-of-town guests. In the 1970s, a ferry terminal was constructed, bringing in a trickle of visitors to the community. The city's first attraction, a museum and cultural center run by the Hoonah Indian Association, was established in 1978. Still, visitor traffic to Hoonah remained light through the 1990s. Most visitors to Hoonah were friends or family of area residents, or were folks passing through on the ferry. As logging roads were constructed in the 1980s, many Alaskans came to Hoonah for deer hunting. Chichagof Island also was popular among guided bear hunters, many of whom passed through town. Sportfishing also was popular near Hoonah. A lodge had existed in the community since the 1960s, operating intermittently under several owners, including Huna Totem, the village corporation. By the mid-1990s, several bed and breakfast establishments surfaced to serve hunters, charter guests, and other visitors. Finally, Hoonah's boat harbor was a draw for private marine vessels and charter tours. The facility was known for being well managed and offering safe, protected berthing close to Glacier Bay.

Local efforts to promote tourism—Beginning in the 1980s, several studies and planning documents referenced Hoonah's tourism potential and outlined strategies for development. In spite of these reports, few concrete steps were taken to build tourism infrastructure or promote tourism development, owing largely to a shared reticence to expose Hoonah to a large number of visitors. A few prominent clan leaders and public officials opposed measures that would potentially cause undesirable changes to community life, exerting their influence on city council or in the planning committee. By the late 1990s, however, local officials began talking about the decline in fishing employment and the expected slowdown in logging. Many community leaders sought to diversify the local economy in ways that would p r e-serve the small-town lifestyle and cultural identity of Hoonah. In the mid-1990s, the

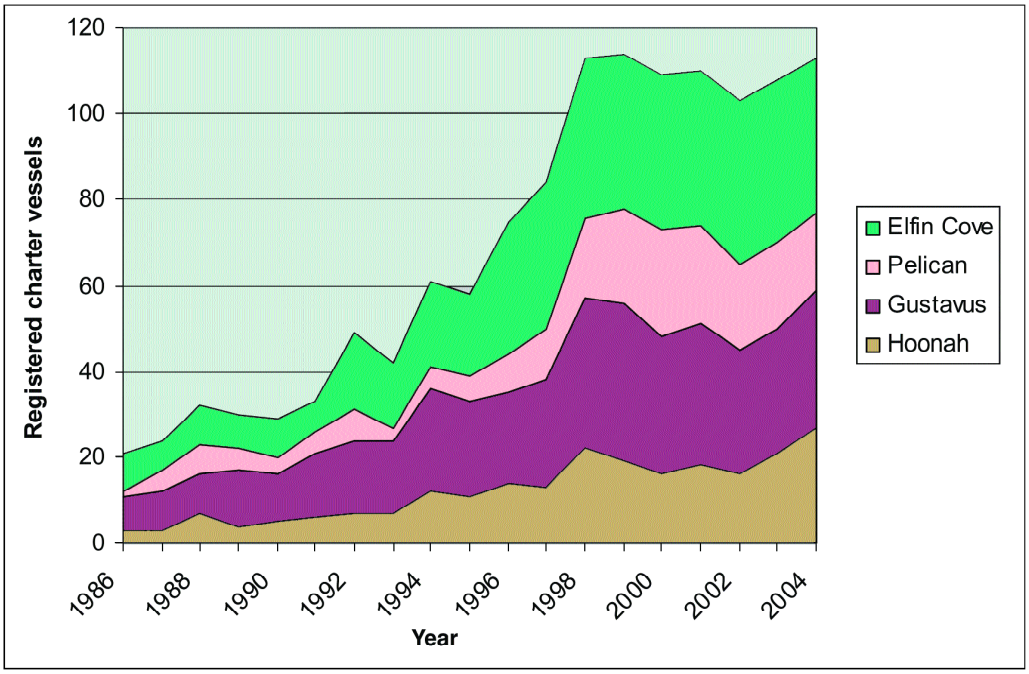

Figure 14—Registered charter vessels in Icy Strait communities, 1986-2004 (Alaska Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission 2004).

Hoonah Indian Association sponsored U.S. Coast Guard training for several local fishermen to obtain their charter boat licenses. Several local and nonlocal charter operators were based in Hoonah, and many more were based in neighboring Icy Strait communities (fig. 14). In their Overall Economic Development Plan (OEDP), the city targeted tourism as a potential source of income and outlined steps to improve infrastructure to meet visitor needs, including expanding the boat harbor, expanding the airport runway, creating a city park, beautifying downtown, and seeking alternative sources of electric power (City of Hoonah 1999). In 2000, city officials began discussing the need for a visitor kiosk near city hall, brochures and city maps, and public camping areas. In addition, tourism was the topic of discussion during 2000-2001 meetings of the Economic Development Group, an interagency task force that oversaw the economic development plan process. Tourism also was a central topic at the 2002 economic conference sponsored by Tlingit-Haida Central Council. Although tourism development was modest in 2001, these public efforts indicated a shift in policy favoring tourism development.

In 2001, Hoonah had the components necessary for tourism. There were roughly 33 enterprises catering to visitors in some respect, including lodges, restaurants, and gift shops (table 9). All businesses were locally owned, although the largest

Table 9—Tourism businesses by category in Hoonah, 2001

Business type	Number
Tour operators (adventure, ecotours, sightseeing, cultural)	1
Lodging (hotels, motels, bed and breakfasts, lodges, cabins)	10
Attractions (museums, totem parks, cultural centers)	1
Galleries/gift shops	4
Transportation (air, water, or city taxi)	5
Fishing lodges and guides	9 (4)
Restaurants	4
Kayak/skiff rental	1
Camping/RV	0

Note: Number in parentheses is estimated "active" businesses.

Source: Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs (2001b).

lodge was held by a Juneau businessman. Visitors had a choice of 10 different accommodations, ranging from rented rooms to bed and breakfasts to small lodges. Several restaurants provided different types of fare, from sit-down meals to take-out. Four charter fishing operators and one fishing lodge were in operation. One outfit rented kayaks and another provided local sightseeing tours. The tribe's cultural center provided the city's major cultural attraction. In 2000, a cooperative arts c e nter was formed where local artists displayed their works. Several merchants had expanded their inventory to include gifts and T-shirts. Advertising among the existing tourist businesses was minimal, relying primarily on word-of-mouth references. In 2001, just three of the locally owned tourist businesses offered brochures and no Hoonah tourism business had its own Web site. Although basic visitor services existed in Hoonah, the community was not equipped to handle a steady stream of drop-in visitors. Rooms in local guesthouses often were rented out on a long-term basis to seasonal workers in fishing and logging. The two main sit-down restaurants in town sometimes closed inexplicably, and many of the shops in town were opened intermittently or by appointment only. Prospective guests to Hoonah were wise to secure arrangements for room and board in advance.

Visitor volume to Hoonah was difficult to ascertain precisely; however, several data points permit an estimate. Of an estimated 1,000 hunters who came to the northeastern portion of Chichagof Island from outside the Icy Strait region in 2000, 63 percent were from Juneau (ADF&G 2001b). Hoonah also had two licensed guides who led visitors on bear-hunting trips on Chichagof Island. Although the total number of annual bear hunters was fewer than 10, they were likely to have a considerable economic impact because of the cost of the trips. Five companies periodically brought charter guests to Hoonah in 2001, with visitor estimates numbering fewer

than 200. Data from Glacier Bay National Park showed that in 2000, roughly 350 private vessels obtained permits to enter the park, many of which likely stopped over in Hoonah (Glacier Bay National Park 2000). An unknown number of visitors arrived by ferry or aircraft and planned their trips independently. In total, an estimated 1,500 to 2,000 visitors came to Hoonah in 2001.

Although few visitors were found in town, many were in the vicinity. More than 350,000 people passed the mouth of Port Frederick in 2001 on cruise ships and tour boats to and from Glacier Bay (Glacier Bay National Park 2000). Thousands more navigated the waters of Icy Strait on packaged fishing or adventure tours, such as kayaking, whale watching, and bear viewing, based in neighboring ports of Juneau, Gustavus, and Elfin Cove. Ecotourism activity was concentrated around nearby Point Adolphus—an area attracting a dense population of whales and fish and an important site for commercial and subsistence fishermen. In addition, use of the national forest lands near Hoonah among independent and commercial groups had increased, owing in part to the expanded road system built to support logging. Forest Service data on permit holders showed that in 2000, more than 5,100 visitors came to the Hoonah Ranger District on a guided tour; of these, 3,500 visited sites in the vicinity of Hoonah or areas actively used by Hoonah residents (table 10) (USDA FS 2000, 2001).[19] According to Forest Service officials in Hoonah, conflicts had emerged in many remote sites among various types of recreational users and between local subsistence users and commercial recreation groups.

Creating a cruise destination—Hoonah tourism underwent a major transformation when Hoonah's native village corporation purchased an historic cannery at Point Sophia, 1.6 kilometers from town, and announced plans to develop a tourist venue. In 2001, the Point Sophia Development Company, a joint venture between Huna Totem Corporation, Hoonah's village corporation, and Koma Sales, a Juneau-based guiding company, formally announced plans to convert the cannery into a cruise ship destination. In 2002 and 2003, the facility was restored and upgraded to accommodate thousands of cruise passengers, creating jobs for 45 to 60 workers. The site included spaces for more than a dozen vendors, docking areas for charter fishing vessels and tour boats, and an area for staging land-based tours. It also included a

[19] The sites that were considered near Hoonah or actively used by Hoonah residents include Idaho Inlet, Point Adolphus, Granite Cove, Pinta Point, Pinta Cove, Mud Bay, Mud Bay River, Mud Bay Island, Flynn Cove, Freshwater Bay, Chicken Creek, Neka Bay, Inian Island, Humpback Creek, Port Frederick, Whitestone Harbor, Sister's Island, Salt Lake Bay, and Game Creek.

Table 10—Clients visiting Tongass National Forest sites near Hoonah

Forest Service recreation sites	1998	1999	2000
	Number of visitors		
Point Adolphus area:			
Eagle Beach	10	100	53
Pinta Cove, Pinta Point	110	410	742
Point Adolphus	391	707	387
Mud Bay area	108	316	285
Flynn Cove	0	3	3
Chicken Creek	24	91	83
Gull Cove	43	154	55
Goose Island	13	74	39
Icy Strait Islands:			
Inian Island	5	13	0
Pleasant Island	39	123	147
Sisters Island	6	0	0
Home Shore (Juneau District)	10	20	2
Port Frederick area:			
Humpback Creek	0	27	0
Whitestone Harbor	0	1	0
Game Creek	10	0	4
Salt Lake Bay	5	0	2
Freshwater Bay	24	105	120
Neka Bay	5	39	47
Port Frederick	179	20	19
Idaho Inlet area:			
Idaho Inlet	1,115	927	874
Fox Creek	0	186	167
Trail River	43	200	537
Other:			
Hoktaheen	8	38	4
Total near Hoonah	2,148	3,554	3,570
Total Hoonah District	4,564	4,665	5,166

Source: USDA Forest Service (1999, 2000, 2001).

performance center and tribal house for dance, story-telling, songs, and other cultural performances; nature-hiking trails; a fishing museum; a botanical garden; a salmon bake facility; and a restaurant. In 2003, the corporation announced a partnership with Royal Caribbean Cruise Lines and the promise of cruise ship arrivals in 2004.

Efforts to reconstruct and prepare tourist facilities at the Point Sophia Cannery, renamed Icy Strait Point, were rewarded when the first cruise ship arrived in May

Lee Cerveny

Figure 15—Visitors at Icy Strait Point (Point Sophia) near Hoonah, Alaska, in 2004.

2004, dispatching several hundred guests for bear-viewing excursions, whale-watchi n g tours, and cultural programs (fig. 15). In the first season of operation, 32 ships visited, bringing in an estimated 66,000 passengers. In shaping plans for this project, Huna Totem worked with tribal and city officials to maximize local employment and other economic benefits, and to minimize potentially undesirable effects of the project on village life through transportation planning. They also worked with the Hoonah Indian Association to construct the museum and performance center and to work with elders to ensure that cultural information was being transmitted in a sensitive way. During cruise ship visits, at least two dozen Hoonah residents worked at Icy Strait Point, as guides, store clerks, and performers. Artists sold their works through local vendors who had obtained permits to operate at the cannery. Roughly 3 of 12 vendors had local roots in the community, while other vendors traveled daily from Juneau. One store was run collectively by several Hoonah artists with business assistance from the Juneau Economic Development Council. This ambitious project intensified the discussion about the future of tourism in Hoonah, providing many with hope for employment, while raising concerns about protecting community resources. The ability of the corporation to manage visitor flow through town was deemed crucial to the success of the project.

In spite of its mainline location along the cruise ship corridor, tourism was undeveloped in Hoonah until 2004. Residents had long had their income needs met

by the timber and fishing industries and through subsistence harvest, and were initially reticent to invite guests to their community. When these industries started to falter, tourism became an obvious choice because of Hoonah's location and abundant natural and cultural resources. Beginning in the late 1990s, many small, locally owned enterprises formed to meet the needs of the modest amount of tourist travel. The city had begun to perceive its role in improving city infrastructure to accommodate out-of-town guests. Tourism received keen attention after 2001, when Huna Totem proposed its project at the Point Sophia cannery (Icy Strait Point). Table 11 outlines the principal actors in Hoonah tourism development. The investment of the corporation into the facility jump-started the tourism industry, and many residents became involved in tourism as vendors, artists, guides, administrators, maintenance workers, security guards, and others. Although the Point Sophia project is likely to transform the cannery, the long-term effects on the community itself remain to be seen.

A new cruse ship destination in Hoonah may bring changes to this community.

Discussion

These three case studies illustrate the range of experiences faced by southeast Alaska communities involved with tourism. Haines leaders invited large cruise ships into their community and experienced rapid growth in business activity as well as an increased economic dependence on the cruise industry. When the cruise ships sailed to other ports, the tourism economy experienced serious repercussions. 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's tourism 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, investment by Huna Totem and the introduction of the cruise lines will transform the current state of tourism in Hoonah.

Haines, Craig, and Hoonah share many common features. The communities are roughly the same size and share a similar economic history characterized by the former dominance of fishing and timber. Because of the predominance of publicly held lands, economic development has largely focused on resource-based production. Mirroring broader state and regional trends, the local economics in Haines, Craig, and Hoonah shifted away from emphasis on resource extraction and toward increasing economic diversity, with a greater emphasis on tourism. Along

Table 11—Role of principal actors in Hoonah tourism development

Group	Relation to tourism
Business owners	Have catered some portion of products and services to visitors. Generally supportive of tourism industry. Some sit on multi-agency economic development committee.
Tourism providers	Small number of lodgeowners and fishing guides in 2001. Most worked independently, although some cooperated to meet guest needs.
City of Hoonah	Focus on improving local infrastructure to accommodate future tourist interest (parks, campgrounds, roads). Contracted tourism studies and promoted discussion about industry potential.
Huna Totem Corp.	Constructed cruise-based tourism development at Point Sophia in cooperation with Koma Sales (Juneau). Sponsored worker training to employ shareholders and other Hoonah residents.
Tongass National Forest Hoonah Ranger District	Manage recreation resources of interest to visitors. Allocate permits to tourism providers using public lands for commercial recreation.
Hoonah Indian Association	Tribal organization representing needs of tribal members, including health, social services, and employment needs. In 2001, was exploring future role of tourism. Working with Huna Totem to maximize hire of tribal members.
Glacier Bay National Park	Creation of a national park for scientific research, preservation, and visitor enjoyment.

with these economic changes, the sociodemographic composition of the communities also changed: the proportion of Native residents gradually declined, loggers and other blue-collar workers left, and retail and service professionals, seasonal workers, telecommuters, and retirees moved in. The communities share similar levels of developed infrastructure, with adequate boat harbors, small airports for wheeled planes, as well as floatplane docks, nearby ferry terminals, and access to a network of roads. In these respects, Haines, Craig, and Hoonah are representative of many rural southeast Alaska communities.

Despite their commonalities, Haines, Craig, and Hoonah differ in their geographic location and their proximity to population centers and tourist corridors. These differences, to some extent, determine the level and nature of involvement of each community with tourism. Haines is readily accessed from Juneau as well as from the Alaskan interior and Canada. The city's location along popular ferry and shipping routes makes travel to and from Haines relatively uninhibited. Craig,

Proximity to population centers and tourist corridors determines, to some extent, the level and nature of tourism in a community.

meanwhile, is relatively remote, distant from tourist corridors, and with limited ferry access. Hoonah is situated relatively close to Juneau and is located along the popular tourist corridor to Glacier Bay. Access to the community is somewhat restricted owing to the less frequent ferry schedule. The geographic location of each community within the southeast region is likely associated with the rate and nature of tourism development. Whereas Haines and Hoonah residents look to cruise ship tourism as a primary source of future tourist revenue, Craig is focused more on packaged fishing experiences and independent travelers desiring a more remote locale.

Several observations may be made in comparing and contrasting tourism within each site. (These differences, described below, are summarized in table 12.)

Visitor volume and visibility—Visitor volume and visibility differed among these communities. These factors were important because the more visitors appearing in town, the more opportunities there were for visitor-resident interactions in the shops, on the streets, or in favorite recreational areas. In 2000, Haines entertained a high volume of cruise ship guests, with more than 187,000 visitors. Although this figure fell to 40,150 the following year, the emphasis on cruise-based tourism remained. The "boom and bust" pattern of cruise ships arriving, depositing thousands of guests into the community for several hours, and then leaving was most common. Cruise visitors to Haines were highly visible because they arrived in such significant volumes compared to the size of the local population, and because their activities were confined to specific areas, such as Fort Seward, the cruise dock, downtown, and a finite number of recreation areas beyond city limits. 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. A modest number of hunters and boaters could be seen in town, but they often blended in with transient fishermen or residents of other island communities. Visitor volume to Hoonah was modest in 2001, with pleasure travelers likely numbering fewer than 2,000. Although visitors were few, those who did arrive were highly visible because of the compact nature of downtown and the isolated community setting. In a small community where everyone recognizes each other's cars, boats, and dogs, outsiders were quickly spotted. Visitor numbers increased significantly in 2004, with the arrival of the first ships in town. As several tourism scholars have shown, the extent to which visitors interact with hosts affects host attitudes toward tourism. Specifically, greater frequencies of host-guest interactions are associated with more negative attitudes toward tourism (Marsh and Henshall 1987).

Table 12—Factors for comparison among tourism sites in 2000 and 2001

Factors	Haines	Craig	Hoonah
Mode	Cruise, packaged, independent	Packaged (lodges), some independent	Independent, some packaged
Volume	High	Medium	Low
Visibility	High	Low	High
Tourism infrastructure (transportation, accommodation)	Well developed	Moderately developed	Basic
Diversity of products and services	High	Medium	Low
Business ownership	Local and nonlocal, some corporate	Local and nonlocal, some corporate	Local
Seasonal workers	Many (200+) guides, drivers, clerks	Some (100-150) fishing guides	None or few
Marketing	Cruise ships, Internet, trade shows, visitor center	Brochures, Internet, chamber of commerce, trade shows, word of mouth	Word of mouth, some brochures

Tourism infrastructure—The communities also differed somewhat in terms of the level of tourism infrastructure. Haines had a highly developed transportation infrastructure, including an airport, boat harbor, deepwater dock, and ferry terminal, with regular and frequent ferry service. The community also offered significant guest services, including a prominent visitor center, visitor guide, signs, maps, information kiosks, and a wide range of accommodations for guests, from luxurious hotels to bed and breakfasts to rustic cabins. Craig's transportation infrastructure was moderately developed and included an airport (in Klawock), two boat harbors, a floatplane dock, and less frequent ferry service (via Hollis). Craig did not have a deepwater dock to attract large ships. Visitor services included a visitor center, a Forest Service ranger station, and a visitor guide; however, few signs existed to direct visitors to local attractions. Craig also had a wide range of accommodations. Hoonah's transportation infrastructure allowed travel by floatplane, airplane, boat, and periodic ferry service. A deepwater dock was being constructed to attract cruise ships. Visitor services were minimal in 2001, although the Forest Service ranger station distributed maps and community guides. There were no signs directing visitors to local attractions, no information kiosks, and no brochures until 2001, when a brochure developed by a high school English class was distributed by city hall. Hoonah offered a basic level of accommodations and dining services. Not

surprisingly, these cases show that increased tourism infrastructure (transportation and visitor services) attracts more visitors, who require additional tourism infrastructure to accommodate their needs.

Volume and diversity of tourism businesses—Comparison of tourism businesses revealed subtle differences in the number and diversity of tourism-related establishments (table 13). In Haines, there were roughly 114 tourism-related businesses offering products and services. Haines specialized in tours, including nature-based and cultural history tours, but also benefited from other aspects of tourism such as charter fishing and guiding, retail, and accommodations. In the Craig area, 82 tourism-related businesses were present, with strong emphasis on charter fishing establishments. In 2001, a small number of tour companies focused on nonconsumptive tours, and the number of retail operations catering primarily to tourists was limited. In Hoonah, roughly 33 tourism-related businesses offered basic accommodations and charter fishing. Although many Hoonah businesses served visitors, they existed primarily to meet the needs of local residents.

Ownership and hiring—The three communities differed somewhat in terms of ownership and hiring practices. Each community had a mix of small and large businesses as well as local and nonlocal ownership. Native corporations were significant players in shaping local tourism. In Haines, tourism enterprises were run by long-time residents and recent immigrants. Four prominent tourism businesses were owned by former mill owners or workers. The Native corporation, Klukwan, Inc., which entered the scene in 1997, quickly became one of the largest tourism providers in town and operated the ferry link with Skagway. Klukwan emphasized hiring shareholders, giving jobs to many Native residents. Some Haines businesses operated on a seasonal basis or were owned by seasonal residents. Haines relied heavily on a seasonal workforce of 100 or more workers employed as adventure guides, bartenders, drivers, and shop clerks. Many of these workers were college students or recent graduates.

Craig tourism businesses also were owned by a combination of long-time residents, seasonal lodgeowners, and recent immigrants. Some of the larger lodges were owned by corporate interests, including Shaan-seet, Craig's Native corporation, which owned one fishing lodge and the city's largest hotel. Shaan-seet hired shareholders in many of the support jobs, such as dining staff, cleaners, drivers, and maintenance. Craig had a small seasonal workforce, employing an estimated

Table 13—Summary of tourism-related businesses by community

Types of tourism businesses	Haines (2000)	Craig (2001)	Hoonah (2001)
Accommodations (lodges, bed and breakfasts, motels)	22	23	10
Tour operators (adventure, nature, sightseeing)	21	4	1
Galleries and gift shops	19	7	4
Charter fishing operators and lodges	13	24	5
Restaurants	14	10	4
Attractions (museums, festivals, totem parks, cultural centers)	6	4	2
Transportation (air, water, or city taxi)	9	11	5
Cultural or historical tours	4	1	1
Camping/RV	6	2	0
Total	114	82	32

125 to 150 workers, including those at Waterfall Resort. This workforce predominantly consisted of professional fishing guides from the Lower 48 States and college-age students hired to clean fish.

Hoonah businesses were all locally owned, with the exception of a lodge run by a Juneau businessman. Huna Totem represented the largest and newest tourism player with its expansive project at Point Sophia. Until 2004, few, if any Hoonah tourism businesses relied on seasonal help. Many workers and business owners commuted to Hoonah from Juneau to fill jobs for which local residents were not adequately trained. Comparison of these cases reveals that as tourism expanded, the rate of nonlocal business ownership increased as did reliance on a seasonal workforce. The growing influence of newcomers and seasonal residents in tourism may lead to social change, as the values of the incoming groups become integrated with the host population.

Marketing—Each site reflected the use of different strategies to attract customers. In Haines, marketing took place on multiple levels. Tourism providers with contractual relations with cruise lines focused their marketing to guests on board through Web sites and brochures. Many guests booked their onshore tours before leaving home, relying on brief tour descriptions provided by the cruise lines. For those tourism providers not working directly with the cruise lines, marketing was

directly to customers getting off the ships. Other local providers used the Internet to market their tourism products, hoping to attract independent and package travelers. In 2000, several enterprising businesses had bundled their products together on the Internet in hopes of reaching more customers through co-referrals. Brochures were used by nearly every tourism business, and these typically were distributed on the ferry, in the visitor center, and through the Chamber of Commerce. The Haines Visitor Center was an important source of marketing, and its staff regularly attended domestic and international trade shows to promote Haines.

Marketing in Craig and Hoonah was low key by comparison. In Craig, business owners advertised primarily with brochures, but a small number had Internet Web sites. Fishing lodges relied heavily on word-of-mouth advertising and participation in trade shows held in the Lower 48 States. The Prince of Wales Chamber of Commerce also helped to market island tourism through its visitor guide and Web site. Hoonah businesses relied almost exclusively on word-of-mouth marketing, although a small number had developed brochures. None of the Hoonah businesses had Web sites. In these case studies, communities with higher tourist volume and a more developed tourism industry also had more diverse marketing strategies.

Typically, tourism was pursued as a direct response to declines in other industries.

Public sector involvement—Differences also were observed in the level of public sector involvement in tourism within each site. Typically, tourism was pursued as a direct response to declines in other industries. In Haines, tourism grew largely as a result of concentrated efforts by municipal officials and business leaders. By investing in a tourism director and visitor center in the 1980s, Haines was able to spur development of tourism amid a turbulent timber economy. After the last sawmill closed, business leaders and public officials combined forces to construct a deep-water dock that allowed a dramatic escalation in the number of visitor arrivals. In 2001, the city-funded visitor center again became instrumental in sparking tourism growth after the abrupt departure of Royal Caribbean from the Haines dock. City officials repeatedly visited cruise executives in their corporate offices to lobby for the city. A coalition of municipal and business leaders was key in shaping the pace and direction of tourism development. Although city officials were active in tourism promotion, the city was not fully prepared for the rapid escalation in cruise volume. During 2000, city committees debated the efficacy of existing city codes for dealing with transportation issues and the sale of goods and services on public property. Many steps were taken to improve city regulations in reaction to the growth in cruise volume.

In Craig and Hoonah, tourism developed without significant public involvement. The industry grew in response to demand for remote charter fishing experiences and was initiated by several entrepreneurs without support of city officials. More recently, public officials have cooperated with industry to promote development and create a tourism plan. In Hoonah, public efforts to draw attention to tourism were overshadowed by the success of the timber and fishing industries. Since 2000, city officials have engaged in discussions about tourism, which intensified in response to Huna Totem's development. The city is likely to play a significant role by updating city codes and improving infrastructure in response to the arrival of the cruise ships at the former cannery. Although Haines demonstrated that the role of municipal leaders and public investment is important to the development of tourism, small-scale tourism growth also occurs with little public input, as seen in Craig and Hoonah. Regardless of the level of involvement by local public officials in tourism development, cities are forced to respond to tourism growth by upgrading or updating municipal codes, improving local infrastructure, such as signs and sidewalks, and developing local plans to minimize the potential negative effects of mass tourism on the lives of residents.

Summary of Case Studies

Analysis of these communities reminds us that within a single geographic region, such as southeast Alaska, diverse forms of tourism coexist. The individual flavor of tourism is related to its location, existing natural attributes, and the involvement of the public sector in tourism development. Location seems to be a determining factor in the scope of tourism taking place. Communities close to the main cruise ship corridor were positioned to attract the cruise industry, whereas outlying communities were more likely to target niche tourism markets, such as sportfishing, nature-based tourism, and cultural tourism. Natural attractions and scenic areas, such as the Alaska Chilkat Bald Eagle Preserve in Haines and Glacier Bay National Park near Hoonah, were also important visitor draws. Tourism development took place with different degrees of involvement from public officials ranging from active support for tourism and aggressive marketing by Haines city officials to a more laissez-faire approach in Craig.

Tourism also was shaped by consumer demand and industry responses to shifting consumer preferences. Global tourism corporations, such as the cruise lines, played a significant role in determining the shape and size of tourism within specific communities. For the cruise lines, the comparative economic value of a port typically determined the docking schedules. Examining changes in cruise ship volume

among southeast Alaska communities shows that decisions made by the cruise lines can have a dramatic effect on local economic development efforts. The gain in cruise ship visits in Hoonah occurred alongside sharp declines in cruise dockings in Haines. Although overall cruise ship capacity is growing and there is overall growth in cruise passengers to Alaska, southeast Alaska ports compete with each other for ships to a great extent.

Preserving the community's unique rural Alaskan lifestyle was paramount in each site.

A comparative analysis of tourism outcomes shows that as tourism volume increased, local tourism infrastructure expanded, and the number of tourism-related businesses grew. Industry expansion within communities also resulted in a greater reliance on diverse marketing strategies by business owners, and a competitive business environment. Both large corporations and small businesses participated in the tourism industry. Native corporations, in particular, played a significant role in tourism development.

Tourism provided seasonal employment opportunities for local workers, especially students, and also provided a secondary source of income for many families. In each community, tourism provided employment for displaced timber-industry workers and a supplementary income for commercial fishermen. As visitor volume increased, there was a tendency for nonlocal business owners and migrant tourism workers to be involved in the industry.

Continue

Section 5: Tourism Effects

Southeast Alaska communities have approached tourism at different rates and welcomed tourism growth to different degrees. Residents interviewed in all three sites widely acknowledged the many economic and social benefits of tourism for business owners and workers. In each site, tourism clearly was integral to the local economy. Some residents, particularly in Haines, where tourism was most developed, wondered whether some of the costs of tourism to the economy, community life, and local resources outweighed the economic benefits. Discussions about the importance of preserving the community's unique rural Alaskan lifestyle were paramount in each site. City officials began to contemplate how to maximize tourism benefits while minimizing negative externalities associated with the industry. In some cases, local governing bodies were created to monitor and regulate various aspects of tourism to reduce undesirable effects.

This section discusses the economic, sociocultural, and resource effects of tourism on three southeast Alaska communities engaged with tourism in different ways. In some instances, the communities experienced the impacts of tourism similarly, whereas in other cases, there were notable differences that reflected the unique relation each community had with tourism. When thinking about tourism, it is important to use objectivity to evaluate resident perceptions of the industry's effects and to avoid polarization of tourism effects into positives and negatives. It is perhaps more useful to consider how tourism affects stakeholders to varying degrees. By acknowledging that tourism has the potential to change Alaska communities, a framework for research and planning may emerge that allows the industry to grow on a sustainable basis.

Nearly everyone interviewed agreed that tourism led to the creation of jobs.

Economic Effects

The economic benefits of tourism were readily acknowledged by research participants in this study. Nearly everyone interviewed agreed that tourism led to the creation of jobs and would allow many displaced timber workers and fishermen to continue working and living in their home communities. Residents of all three communities commented that tourism often was their last hope for the future of their community. A Haines business owner simply stated, "Without tourism, the economy would be stagnant." A Hoonah resident also noted, "Fishing and logging are falling down. Something has to take [their] place." For some there was a sense of inevitability about the future of tourism. With pressure from tour operators in neighboring communities and outside corporations, many believed tourism was likely to occur whether or not local residents desired it. As one Craig resident explained,

> With logging down, we don't have anything else. Prince of Wales is in for it, if we don't go with tourism. In Craig and Prince of Wales, everyone loves the peace and quiet. But, to continue living here you have to have tourism in the summer. To keep the kids fed.

Employment—In all three study sites, residents recognized tourism's ability to create jobs for residents. As one Haines resident explained, "Tourism has allowed families to stay in the community who otherwise might have left because there were no jobs." Tourism provided a range of employment opportunities for both residents and seasonal workers. Many competed for these jobs, including returning college students, high school students, teachers, part-time workers in other industries, and transient tourism workers who worked as guides. Tourism often provided unique employment opportunities for women. In Haines, it was not uncommon for women to work in the evenings as tour guides or store clerks to provide a second income for their household. In Craig, many small bed-and-breakfast operations were run by women, while their husbands worked outside the home.

Although tourism did generate employment, the jobs tended to be low-wage positions without benefits or significant opportunities for advancement. A Haines motel owner noted, "Where timber jobs paid $15 per hour with benefits, the tourism jobs pay $8 per hour with no benefits. Plus, it's seasonal work." Tourism businesses often had a horizontal structure, with one stratum of owners and a second stratum of workers working in low-wage positions, such as clerks, tour guides, and bus drivers. Salaried middle-management opportunities were rare. In addition, tourism jobs were highly seasonal, with peak months between June and September. Tourism provided few year-round employment opportunities for residents, with the exception of business owners and a few managers. As one Haines tour operator explained, "Tourism does not put food on the table for most people. It goes into the pockets of owners and numerous college kids." The inability of tourism to provide living wages for working people was a significant concern shared by Craig and Hoonah residents contemplating future tourism. A Craig fisherman shared this concern, "Most of the charter jobs benefit kids and migrant workers. They are 'diddly.' These are not jobs for Alaskans, they are jobs for seasonal people. These jobs benefit nobody."

Business growth—Tourism also allowed existing businesses to grow and contributed to new business growth (fig. 16). The expansion of Haines' downtown dock led to an increase in cruise-based tourism and resulted in the rapid growth of small businesses in Haines. A restaurant owner in Haines contended, "Without tourism,

Lee Cerveny

Figure 16—Independent tour operators compete for visitors in Haines, Alaska.

we wouldn't have a business. We would have closed down our doors in 1994. Tourism has given us a life and allowed our family to continue living in Haines. I hate to even think about what would have happened if they hadn't built the dock. It has been a shot in the arm for Haines." Craig also experienced growth in tourism businesses throughout the 1990s as the area's reputation for sportfishing caught on nationwide. And, with the growth of charter fishing activity in Craig, came more businesses offering accommodations. In Hoonah, existing businesses have expanded their products and services to accommodate visitor needs.

Successful tourism enterprises also seemed to spawn new business activity. Several larger Haines adventure tour companies hired guides for seasonal work, and frequently these guides opted to branch off and start their own tour companies. One successful tour operator identified five local tour companies owned by former employees. Likewise in Craig, fishing guides who had fished for prominent area lodges were known to branch off and start their own enterprises, often bringing clients with them. The trend toward starting new business ventures was partially reflective of the lack of opportunities for vertical advancement within existing tourism businesses.

Trickle-down effect—In addition to creating jobs and resulting in business growth, tourism helped the local economy through the trickle-down effect. Every dollar visitors spent in the community generated additional dollars of spending throughout all sectors of the economy. Many industries benefited from tourism indirectly, such as fuel, shipping companies, transportation, and automotive repair. Southeast Alaska residents were aware of tourism's "ripple" effect. For example, a mechanic in Haines explained that he serviced vans and buses for a major tour operator. An owner of a Haines clothing company sold jackets and gear to a tour operator. A restaurant owner in Craig sold bagged lunches to local fishing lodges. Area restaurants often bought fish from local fishermen to feed customers. Although tourism dollars trickle through the entire economy, some interviewees noted that these effects were muted owing to the seasonal nature of the tourism industry. The economic impact study of Skagway in 1999 found that nonresident workers spent a good portion of their earnings outside Skagway (Juneau Empire 2000d). Moreover, Craig residents often stated that the fishing lodges were not spending locally to the extent that they could, because they could acquire cheaper supplies outside the area.

Tax contributions—Tourism also contributed to the tax base of municipalities through sales taxes, bed taxes, and docking fees. In 2000, Haines Borough voters approved a bed tax and a sales tax on commercial tours, which they hoped would generate revenue to offset losses in other industries (Chilkat Valley News 1999d). In 2002, these revenues totaled $4.64 million (Chilkat Valley News 2003a). As one Haines resident noted, "I like the fact that tourism is finally paying its way. The timber industry paid its way with the stumpage fees and the borough gets the raw fish tax. It's time that tourism pays for its way." This tax was repealed by voters in 2003 in an effort to entice cruise ships back to the community. Craig city officials also had recognized the importance of charter fishing lodges to the economy. After pointing out several problems associated with the charter industry, one Craig official acknowledged, "Lodges do contribute to the tax base." Likewise, Hoonah city officials expected a significant boost to the city budget with the collection of taxes from the Point Sophia Development Corporation. These contributions to municipalities have been especially important during periods of state budget cutbacks and declines in other major industries, such as timber.

Employment skills—Employment skills were another important benefit of tourism to residents. The ability of tourism jobs to promote lifelong employment skills was especially noted by tourism operators, community leaders, and parents, who often

stated that tourism provided young people with important personal and professional skills, such as dealing with people and money. As one Haines tour operator noted, "Tourism teaches people lifelong skills, such as poise, courtesy, and sophistication. This gives our children a jump-start when they enter the world or go off to college. It builds confidence and teaches communication skills that are important in any industry." Owners of family-run businesses often expressed that tourism provided meaningful and lucrative opportunities for their children. One Craig lodgeowner explained,

> Our second daughter is the fish cutter. The others do skinning and packaging. They do the dishes, make lunches, clean the house. I clean the rooms.… A lot of people really like the family idea. They are very impressed by the kids and how hard they work.… I see the kids working. That is a major plus. Kids get paid, they make their own money. My girls were shy, but now they are opening up and getting exposed to people and ideas from outside Alaska. It opens doors for them and gives them contacts outside the region.

Hoonah residents regularly touted the ability of tourism to provide jobs and valuable employment skills to their youth, including sales, customer relations, administration, and management. In talking about the project at Point Sophia, one Huna Totem official explained, "It will create many jobs. We will give shareholders first crack at the jobs. We need to get young people interested and train people. We will provide money for training. They will have to show up every day and be dependable." In interviews conducted in 2004, residents involved in the Point Sophia project explained that many local youths worked at the tourism development and had developed important professional and social skills.

Residents shared a concern that nonlocal corporations would reap the benefits of tourism.

Nonlocal tourism providers—As tourism expanded within southeast Alaska communities, there was a concern among residents that nonlocal corporations would move in and reap the benefits of tourism. Residents referred to the popular cruise ship hubs such as Ketchikan, Juneau, and Skagway, observing the growing trend toward chain stores owned by the cruise lines and the purchasing of family-owned hotels and tour businesses by nonlocal corporations. Although there was a tendency toward nonlocal business ownership in the more developed tourism destinations, within the study communities, locally owned enterprises were most common. Still, the concern that outside corporations would dominate the marketplace was characteristic of all three communities. Four emerging trends in business ownership are worthy of note.

1. There was widespread discussion about the dependence of the local economy on the cruise industry. For many in Haines, the success or failure of the local economy hinged on the continued presence of two major cruise lines. A number of Haines residents stated that they were tired of having their lives subject to the decisions of the cruise lines. "I feel like we're at the mercy of tourism." Although local ownership of tourism enterprises was the norm, the cruise corporations had significant economic leverage in the port communities they visited. As noted above, corporate decisions to shift docking schedules in Haines had penetrating economic repercussions for local businesses, creating another version of a "boom and bust" economy. Those Haines businesses that had focused their marketing exclusively to the cruise guests suffered when the ships pulled out. Huna Totem's massive investment at Point Sophia is similarly dependent on their continuing successful relations with one cruise line, as well as other mitigating factors, including ship access to Glacier Bay and berth negotiations in Skagway. As one Hoonah resident explained, "People here don't want to be threatened by power sources outside the community. People have not moved here to be a part of big business. Tourism is a very efficient industry that is driven by large marketing and big business."

2. Native corporations had invested in tourism within each study site. Although Native corporations served the interests of their shareholders, there was some debate among interviewed residents about the extent to which these corporations made decisions that benefited local residents. For example, Huna Totem's corporate offices were located in Juneau, many of its principals were non-Native, and in 2001, nearly two-thirds of shareholders lived outside Hoonah (Juneau Empire 2000c). Huna Totem's partner, Koma Sales, also was based in Juneau. The question being debated by residents in 2001 was, To what extent would the corporation make decisions with regard to tourism that are in the best interests of resident-shareholders and other Hoonah residents? A few Haines residents also mentioned that Klukwan, Inc.'s tourism enterprise employed local shareholders and generated revenues that circulated throughout the economy, but that the firm had eliminated several long-standing local businesses through competitive practices. Although these corporations have significant local ties, the norms of corporate decision-making guide them.

3. Another trend was the expansion in capacity of many tourism businesses with local roots. In Haines, several adventure tour companies started with merely a boat, a van, and a good marketing plan, but had expanded their assets over time to accommodate visitor demand. By 2001, these companies employed several dozen workers,

owned several boats, an office building, buses, and equipment. In some cases, Haines business owners had invested in large-scale tourism enterprises outside Haines, expanding their geographic focus. Similarly in Craig, charter guides who had started out with one boat and a brochure now owned real estate, vessels, vans, equipment, and other assets. These business owners typically have a relationship with the local community where they built their businesses. Many residents worried that if tour operators decided to sell their businesses, most locals would not be in a position to purchase the enterprise, owing to lack of capital. As a result, many residents interviewed worried about the next generation of business owners and their level of commitment to the local community.

4. Several residents interviewed observed a trend toward seasonal business owners who lived in Alaska for the summer months but exported part of their earnings to their winter homes in the Lower 48 States. By nature, tourism businesses flourish during the tourist season and pare down for the winter months. When the cruise ships began to dock in Haines, the community saw an influx of merchants without local roots running small businesses during the summer. As one lifelong Haines resident explained, "I don't like it when they come for the summer and take their money out of here, they spend it somewhere else. They don't pay taxes. They come up here and feed off the tourists." In addition, successful locally spun tourism entrepreneurs had begun to spend winters outside Haines, in part because their new wealth permitted this pattern, but some tourism providers claimed that they headed south in the winter to avoid local tension related to tourism. As one resident described, "A lot of people live down south for the winter, especially in Arizona. There's a place in Arizona, Lake Havasu, that they call "Little Haines" because so many people from Haines live there in the winter." A similar pattern was observed in Craig among fishing lodges and charter operators. In all communities, 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 committed to local economic growth in the same way that year-round residents might be.

Residents were concerned that tourism workers were not able to make a year-round living from tourism.

Economic gap—In each study site, residents were concerned that tourism allowed a small number of successful business owners to earn a year-round income but that tourism workers were not able to make a year-round living from tourism. Alaska residents sometimes associated tourism with economic disparities between business owners and workers. In Haines, where tourism is more developed, a few residents noted that tourism had tangible economic benefits for a small number of successful

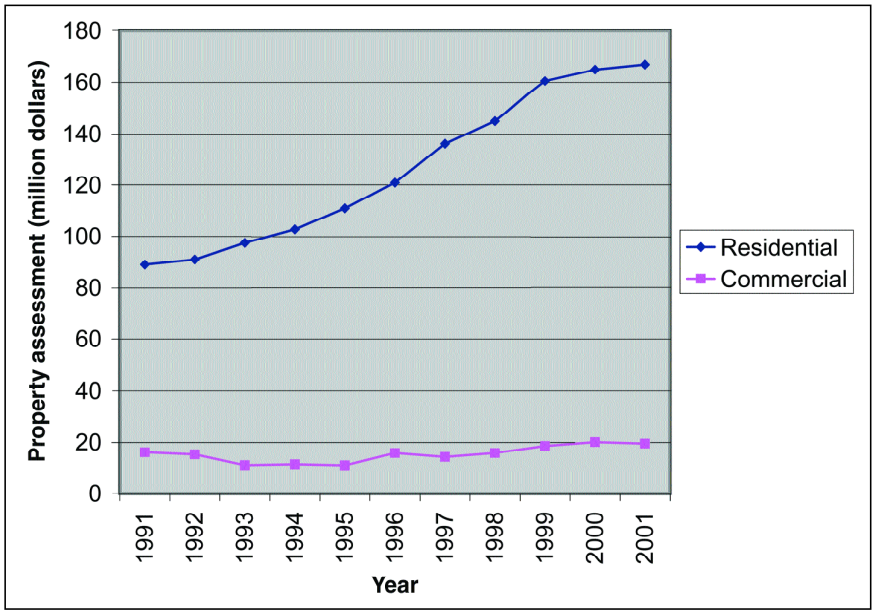

Figure 17—Commercial and residential property assessments, 1991-2001 (Haines Borough 2001).

business owners, but that the economic benefits for other workers were marginal. One tourism worker said, "Unless you're an owner of one of the Big Five [tour companies], you can't really say that tourism has a lot of direct benefits for you." A former tourism worker also explained, "I was working my tail off all summer and making no money, while the owner of the company was making millions…. I quit after that and got into something completely different. We can't raise a family on that income." Many of these concerns also were echoed in Craig, where owners of fishing lodges were perceived to be the only ones making money from tourism, and many of these were nonresident business owners. Hoonah residents shared similar concerns about the Point Sophia development. "I think the money will go in the pockets of the ones who already have it. What does that leave the rest of us?"

Property values—Southeast Alaska residents often linked tourism with rising property values, an increase in property tax, and a tendency toward increased zoning and community planning. For example in Haines, many long-time residents felt that tourism had increased exposure of Haines to the rest of the world, resulting in an influx of new year-round and seasonal residents. The local real estate office confirmed that some visitors and seasonal tourism workers had returned to purchase land or second homes and that real estate values had increased sharply since the late 1980s. (fig. 17). Likewise in Craig, several people with roots outside the area had opened lodges. In one neighborhood, Port Saint Nicholas, residents

Table 14—Summary of economic effects mentioned by residents

Effect	Haines	Craig	Hoonah
Employment	XX	XX	XX
New business growth	XX	X	
Trickle-down effect	X		
Tax contributions	X		
Employment skills	X	X	X
Nonlocal tourism providers	XX	XX	XX
Economic gap	X	X	X
Property values	X	X	
Product availability	X	X	
Quality of business environment	X		

Levels were assigned by the author. "X" denotes that the item was mentioned by several interviewees (3 to 9) as being somewhat important. "XX" denotes that the item was mentioned by 10 or more interviewees.

described how coastal lots that had sold for $3,000 in 1985 were valued over $100,000 in 2001. Rising property values are commonly associated with tourism. An area that attracts visitors also is likely to attract seasonal residents, investors, and retirees, driving up real estate prices (Faulkenberry et al. 2000).

Product availability—The presence of a tourist industry also affected the variety and amount of merchandise available for sale in the community. The availability and selection of reasonably priced goods was a significant issue in rural Alaska, which experiences high shipping costs. With the growth of tourism in rural communities, many residents commented that they were seeing more interesting merchandise available in local stores. As one Haines resident pointed out, "We've never before had so many places to go for a cup of coffee." Meanwhile, some residents commented that many local stores had shifted their product line to accommodate the interests of tourists, making it harder to find clothing and goods designed for locals. A Haines resident explained, "There was a shop in town that used to carry a lot of useful stuff. Now they sell T-shirts and trinkets. They do have good stuff in the winter though." A Craig resident described a similar phenomenon in nearby Ketchikan, "In Ketchikan the downtown has changed a lot. There's not much shopping except for gifts, cheap jewelry… and all at big prices. There are sweatshirts and T-shirts, but it's hard to get a hotel room."

Community comparisons—Although the economic effects of tourism were similar among the three communities, there were also important differences in the interaction between tourism and the local economy. Table 14 summarizes these similarities and differences.

In Haines, the presence of the cruise industry added economic repercussions not present in the other sites. Haines residents more readily acknowledged the diverse ways tourism contributed to the local economy. One implication of tourism growth in Haines was the need to preserve the integrity and quality of the Haines business community. As tourism expanded, tour operators began to compete aggressively for the attention of potential clients. Complaints about a "sharkpit" mentality at the cruise ship dock and the practice of attracting customers by using a megaphone on city sidewalks inspired the city's Tourism Planning Committee to recommend stronger requirements for businesses holding permits to sell tours on public property, and also prompted municipal officials to reconsider the efficacy of existing city codes. City officials and business leaders recognized that the quality of the customer experience reflected on all Haines businesses. As one long-time resident noted, "Tourism brings to town the carpetbagger, the flimflam man." Some felt that if tourism were to grow, businesses of a lower quality would be attracted to the area, potentially harming Haines' reputation. There was widespread agreement among interviewees about the need to preserve the quality of tourism.

In Craig, residents wondered about the extent to which the industry actually contributed to the local economy. Residents often shared their concern that fishing lodges did not contribute to the local economy to the extent that they could. As one city official explained,

> [One charter lodge] … bring(s) hundreds of people a year. They are totally self-contained and have nothing to do with Craig. They do not buy groceries or supplies or anything in Craig. They fly people directly from Ketchikan, and Craig never sees anything. Occasionally, some of the staff get bored and come over to buy stuff or go to the bars.

The levels of local spending varied among charter lodges, but residents feared that many of the supplies were brought in from Ketchikan and outside Alaska. Indeed, one operator stated that because of a perceived lack of support for the charter industry, some lodges purposefully purchased goods off-island.

> Some [locals] like tourism. Those who don't, fail to see how the money trickles in to them. They don't think it through. They hate me for making direct money for it.… [T]hey think we're raping the resource. They think we [guides] are the only ones benefiting. It will take a long time for it to come around. I keep it quiet, low-key.… There was a nasty letter published in the Island News in May 2000 about the charter guides who leave in the winter.

The letter said, "they rape, so I can pay." Some lodges quit buying things locally after that.

In Hoonah, a primary concern about tourism growth was its ability to provide employment for Hoonah residents. In 2001, a majority of the larger retail businesses were owned by relative newcomers to the community, and most were non-Native. Hoonah residents stressed the need for training of local workers to maximize local employment opportunities in tourism. Many were concerned that the best jobs in tourism would go to outsiders. Said one civic leader, "We need to keep it localized. No big companies.… Huna Totem likes to take over and do things their way. We need to make sure there is local hire." A perception that Huna Totem regularly hired non-Native workers for management positions fueled concerns about an influx of nonlocal tourism workers in association with the cannery development.

Tourism offers clear economic benefits for southeast Alaska residents and their communities. Tourism resulted in jobs, business growth, tax contributions, and direct and indirect impacts from tourism-related spending. Tourism also provided employment and training opportunities for youth and workers transitioning from other industries. The economic contributions of tourism were muted somewhat by the recognition that a portion of tourism earnings were spent outside the local economy. In addition, residents observed the influx of nonresident workers, business owners, and corporations. Finally, they noted that tourism had a tendency to benefit a small number of successful owners, while providing low-wage earnings for workers. Still, there was a shared sense among interviewed residents that tourism represented a viable source of economic growth necessary for the survival of communities. A sense of inevitability about the need for tourism resonated throughout each of the study sites.

Tourism fostered concerns about changes to the character of community life, including the pace of life and the tendency toward commercialization.

Sociocultural Effects

Along with transformations to the economic base, tourism suggested the potential for changes in the sociocultural fabric of rural southeast Alaska communities. Changes have resulted from host interactions with visitors to the community and with an influx of tourism workers, and reflect concern about increasing divisions among social groups in host communities. Tourism fostered concerns about changes to the character of community life, including the pace of life and the tendency toward commercialization. And, the growth of tourism elicited discussion about its effects on Tlingit and Haida cultural practices and material culture. Fieldwork

among three diverse study sites revealed a striking similarity in the perception of tourism's sociocultural effects.

Tourism can result in observable changes in community life. When residents in each study site contemplated the future of tourism, they often pointed to a nearby tourism hub as an example of how tourism alters the character of communities. For Haines residents, that lesson came in the form of Skagway. Haines residents from the full spectrum of the tourism debate referenced aspects of Skagway that they found undesirable for the future of Haines: the high volume of visitors, the increase in nonlocal ownership of businesses, the commercialization of history, and the seasonal nature of the economy. In Hoonah, the reference point was Juneau. "In Juneau, people complain about the thousands of people in town and the high prices," said one Hoonah resident. Many Hoonah residents commented that they rarely visited downtown Juneau in the summer because of the crowds and the lack of merchandise geared to Alaskans. For Craig residents, the comparative city was Ketchikan. "As long as we don't look like Ketchikan, I won't mind having some tourists," said one Craig resident. Many talked about the merchandise in Ketchikan stores and how it had become geared to visitors with fewer goods geared toward locals. Although difficult to describe, there also was a shared sense that the essential character of these communities had been altered by tourism. For some these changes were evidenced by the merchandise available in the stores; others referred to the shift in population; and still others referenced the storefronts boarded up in the off season. These examples of tourism shaped the perceptions of Haines, Craig, and Hoonah residents about what they wanted to see for their community's future, and what they hoped to avoid.

Visitor interactions—Tourism lends itself to interactions between hosts and guests, which can be the catalyst for changes in social and community life (Smith 1989). Many southeast Alaskans enjoyed interactions with visitors, looking forward to the early spring arrival of the seasonal tourism professionals (fig. 18). The exchange of new ideas and experiences was welcome, especially for the youth, who enjoyed the influx of young tourism workers each summer. One Haines high school student said, "Without the tourists, it gets kind of boring around here." Several residents, including those concerned about cruise ship tourism, noted that life in Haines feels more spirited during the visitor season. A frequent critic of Haines tourism conceded, "It [tourism] breaks up the pace of life a bit." The opportunity to look at and talk to new people was viewed as important in relatively isolated southeast Alaska communities. This view was especially common among people involved in the tourism

Lee Cerveny

Figure 18—Salmon bake on Port Chilkoot Fairgrounds, Haines, Alaska.

industry, who described their joy at meeting new people and sharing aspects of the Alaskan lifestyle and landscape. One Hoonah resident explained the benefits of sharing Alaska with visitors, "Maybe they will learn about a different…lifestyle from their busy, hectic lives. Maybe it will teach them to slow down a little." Several interviewees mentioned that the presence of the industry promoted knowledge about local history, culture, and wildlife. Tourism had encouraged some pride in the uniqueness of Alaska and its cultural heritage. Said one bed-and-breakfast owner, "It [tourism] helps people become more aware of the cultural richness of the community. We have a lot of treasures here …." For many, this knowledge also fostered community pride. One Haines resident said, "Sometimes we don't appreciate what we have here because we live with it on a daily basis. Hearing visitors 'ooh and aah' about what they are seeing revs up my own good feelings about Alaska."

Residents feel that they are constantly on view and seen as part of a performance.

Next, many southeast Alaska residents commented on the increase in strangers in town and concerns for privacy. Rural southeast Alaska communities are typically close-knit, with residents well aware of each other's habits and personalities. When strangers enter the community, they are subject to a great deal of attention and interest. For some southeast Alaska residents, the presence of a significant volume of strangers was uncomfortable. One Hoonah resident said, "I don't like not knowing everybody. It would be hard having strangers in town. I'm concerned about safety." Many associated the influx of visitors with a reduced sense of safety and security. A Hoonah resident explained, "I would like to see some tourism–it might work. But I don't want to see so much tourism where I won't feel comfortable with

my daughter walking down the street by herself." Another Hoonah resident was worried about the increase in drugs coming into the community in association with tourism. In Haines, the presence of crew members from the cruise ships in the community worried many residents.

Another aspect of host-guest interactions could be described as the "fishbowl effect," where hosts feel that their lives are being woven into the tourist narrative (Urry 1995). One resident described this as feeling like she was living in a fishbowl, with everyone watching her. Some southeast Alaskans mentioned that even their everyday routines had become incorporated in the narrative of local tour guides. The view that local residents were somehow part of a performance was especially prevalent in Haines and Hoonah. One Haines woman emphatically stated, "I feel like I'm in a showcase–'ooh look at this quaint Alaskan.' I object to this selling of Haines and our lives here as 'quaint.'" A Craig interviewee described episodes where fishing guests seemed to be picking fights with loggers and fishermen in local bars, which some residents interpreted was an important part of their Alaska fishing adventure. There were many stories told about visitors picking apples from trees or wandering onto porches or into smokehouses, as if assuming the community was on display for tourist consumption. As one Hoonah resident summed it up, "For tourists, wherever they are, they own." A Hoonah resident expressed her frustration when visitors came to her smokehouse.

> One day I was smoking fish outside of my house. Some tourists came up and started taking pictures. I'm thinking, why would they want to photograph this? I felt invaded. I didn't really want to engage with them because I felt offended that they had come onto my property. I felt obligated to be nice.

Rothman (1998) refers to this phenomenon as the "psychic impact" of tourism on people. "Tourist workers quickly learn that one of the most essential traits of their service is to mirror onto the guest what the visitor wants from them and their place in a way that affirms the visitor's self image" (Rothman 1998: 12). Yet, Rothman notes a potential dilemma in doing so. "Locals must be what visitors want them to be in order to feed and clothe themselves and their families, but they also must guard themselves, their souls, and their places from people who less appreciate its special traits" (Rothman 1998: 12).

Many residents observed that visitors often seemed to pass judgment on aspects of life they may not have fully understood. Hoonah residents noted that visitors sometimes shared judgments about their community and their lifestyle. "People in

Hoonah don't like to be made to feel poor. People visit, look around and it looks to them like poverty.… People here are not poor—we have plenty of food and a good lifestyle." There was a shared sense that visitors to Hoonah rushed to judgment about the lifestyles of local residents based on the physical appearance of the community, which may reflect a different prioritization of values. Said one Hoonah resident, "I don't like how tourists take pictures of bad things, dirty houses, and drunks. They get off the ferry and take pictures of the graves. I don't go to their homes and take pictures of garbage." Some Hoonah residents interviewed had been quizzed about local logging practices and in some cases, were made to feel defensive about the clearcutting that took place around their community. "Some people who come here are nice. Some are antigovernment and antilogging. People come and make comments about the logging they see. They ask questions. We get some tough visitors." There was a feeling that tourists often failed to understand the complex political and economic realities of rural southeast communities. In other cases, residents found that visitors were simply disrespectful. In Hoonah, the cemetery, located opposite the ferry terminal, was a particular source of tension. "We have guests coming to the cemetery. This is not a good thing. People walk all over it.… People object to tourists tromping on the graveyard and behaving in a disrespectful manner. They had to put up a fence. They [tourists] take their dogs there to relieve themselves."

Social tensions—Not only did interactions between residents and visitors promote social transformation, so did the expansion of the tourism workforce. Each historical wave of industry, mining, fishing, or timber, brought new people, skills, ideas, and interests. These successive waves formed a local character unique to Alaska. Tourism comes with its own cast of characters—business people, hoteliers, tour guides, fishing guides, rafters, and college students. Some arrive with marketing degrees and established careers in the hospitality industry. The influx of service and retail professions associated with tourism may seem antithetical to the waves of previous migrants, whose ancestors had worked on land and sea under harsh conditions. In Haines, there was a noticeable influx of seasonal tourism workers each spring. Several residents commented that tourism had brought in so many new people that they could not keep track of who they were. "I don't feel at home in Haines anymore," said one long-term resident. Seasonal tourism workers tended to be in their 20s, college educated, and with a transient career history of wilderness guiding throughout the United States and the world. Some of the young adventure guides in Haines had spent winters on the ski slopes of Colorado or rafting in New Zealand. Similarly, fishing guides found in Craig were likely to winter in California, Hawaii,

or Mexico where they continued guiding in warmer climes. As Rothman observed in his study of tourist destinations of the Western United States, when places acquire the "cache of desirability" they attract newcomers with wealth, who desire to live a lifestyle akin to locals. This further transforms the community, disenfranchising long-time local residents and drawing still more newcomers attracted to the amenities tourism offers (Rothman 1998: 11).

Tourism growth created social tensions among residents.

As newcomers interact with long-time residents, different sets of values and interests become integrated into community life. One former adventure guide who had continued to live in Haines commented, "Guiding is not good for the economy. Guides do not have loyalty–they are just out to have fun. They make some money and go elsewhere. Most are not committed to Haines." These sentiments also were echoed by a Craig fisherman, "The guides, they come up here for 3 months a year. They are mostly transients who spend the winter screwing off in Hawaii. Commercial fishermen are married to their boats. They live here and support the community. Many of them are fishing all winter." Another Craig resident added, "I look forward to summer, new money, new people, but now you don't get to know the people. They are up here to do their business (fish) and they don't leave the lodge." However, many of these seasonal workers in Haines and Craig had invested in real estate and were becoming integrated into community life. A growing social group of tourism professionals and their families was a new addition to the sociocultural fabric of the community.

Tourism growth also was responsible for creating social divisions and exacerbating existing ones. This was particularly notable in Haines, where rapid growth in industrial-scale tourism had sparked tension among residents harboring conflicting views about the industry. This tension among tourism proponents and critics was evident in 1999, when a 13-year-old girl was injured when a local store owner threw tomatoes at a parade float targeting the issue of cruise ship pollution. Conflict between tourism proponents and other residents was exacerbated in 2000 by the vote to install bed and tour taxes, interpreted by many as an antitourism sentiment. Several tour operators noted that they were less comfortable living in Haines with so much tension surrounding tourism. "I don't like the feeling of running into people in the grocery store and having them avoid me," said one tourism operator. An environmental activist felt that her friends who worked in tourism evaded her, incorrectly assuming that she no longer wanted to speak with them. The conflict over industrial tourism seemed to create a social rift among residents who otherwise held similar values and interests. One spouse of an adventure guide found it very difficult to rationalize these competing interests. "These people [environmentalists]

Continue

are my friends. They are cool people who I'd like to hang out with …. But they don't like what we're doing. The issue is there. It's something we choose not to talk about, but it is there. I don't like that."

In Craig, the expansion of the charter fishing fleet in the 1990s intensified competition between commercial and charter fishermen. As one Craig troll fisherman explained,

> There is a lot of bitterness in the community about the growth of charter fishing–especially among commercial fishermen. The early charter boat people came up with a brazen attitude toward the resources and the people in the communities. They had a "takings" mentality and were up to get as much fish as possible.

Stories about verbal disagreements on the public docks between commercial and charter fishermen were not uncommon. "It's hard to deal with brand-new people. And there is potential for conflict–actual tension. If you've been displaced, you feel bad." Not only are fishermen battling over quotas, but some fishermen also pointed out that the conflict between fishermen has to do with lifestyle issues. As one Craig fisherman explained, "If we have more people involved in charter fishing, it could change the lifestyle of the area. The same amount of fish will be caught, it just depends on who catches them. It's about changes." This same troll fisherman went on to further describe the shift in lifestyles he observed.

> When I think of Southeast, I think of trollers, seiners, halibut boats, canneries, and workers. I think of the summer activities and the life at the docks. Now, you see small lodges, gift shops, and kids cleaning fish on the dock. The harbors have changed.

Social gaps between those involved in tourism and those not involved also appeared to be widening, especially as many southeast Alaska residents in traditional industries, such as fishing and timber, faced an uncertain economic future. Whereas some struggled to create a livelihood in rural southeast Alaska, other business owners in tourism found success, creating new categories of "haves" and "have-nots" throughout communities. As one Haines resident noted,

> People who lived here years and years are now not the ones making money from it. Some have jumped in on the bandwagon, but not too many. Most of the people who have lived in Haines a long time are not involved in tourism. There are people moving in…who would not be here if it weren't for the opportunity to make money.

Alexei Krasnoselsky

Figure 19—Totem park in Klawock, Alaska.

Although some long-time residents of southeast Alaska communities may be perplexed by their new neighbors, local merchants, and civic leaders whose lives seem so different, they exude a common affection for Alaska.

Cultural effects—One area of conversation among southeast Alaskans, particularly among Tlingit and Haida residents of the study communities, was the effect of tourism on the quality and integrity of important cultural resources and the promotion of cultural knowledge and learning (fig. 19). Although the topic was significant in all three communities, these themes emerged most profoundly in Hoonah, where future tourism growth is likely to include a significant cultural component. Native residents of southeast Alaska possess rich cultural resources, both in the form of material goods, such as artwork, carvings, masks, boxes, baskets, and blankets,

and in the oral form, such as stories, songs, dances, and names. Cultural resources often are owned by individual houses and clans and possess significant spiritual, historical, and symbolic meaning for their members. At the same time, contemporary Native artists and craftsmen incorporate traditional designs in modern iterations of interest to arts collectors and connoisseurs. Many southeast Alaska residents encouraged the sharing of cultural resources as an important component of tourism. Not only are visitors keenly interested in learning about Native culture, but tourism also has been linked with broader efforts toward cultural revitalization in cases where cultural knowledge has been lost. Others were more wary of sharing cultural knowledge and resources with visitors, and wondered whether the interpretation of stories and presentation of cultural property somehow devalue their meaning.

Many Native leaders observed that much cultural knowledge has already been lost in their communities and tourism represents an opportunity to rekindle cultural awareness. According to one Hoonah woman,

> Our elders have died off. There are few gifted and talented people left. There has been a loss of knowledge.... My dad [canned food].… I never thought of learning myself. Now there are some foods I get hungry for. … I used to groan when my parents served them to me as a child. Now I miss them.

The ability of tourism to promote the sharing and learning of cultural traditions was viewed as having a potential for both drawbacks and benefits for residents.

The ability of tourism to promote the sharing and learning of cultural traditions was viewed as having a potential for both drawbacks and benefits for residents. If communities were to attract visitors interested in Tlingit culture, the need for young people to learn stories, songs, and dances would be increased. In addition, the process of sharing one's traditions may foster a sense of pride. A Hoonah business owner explained, "It would encourage more artists and more young people to pursue arts." Many lamented about the Native-style arts sold in gift shops in Juneau and other cities but not made by Alaska Natives. In contrast, "It [tourism] provides access to artists for local cultural talent—not just for their products, but for their talent and their reputation." Recent efforts to establish artists' cooperatives in Hoonah and Craig were testament to the potential of tourism to spark creativity among local artists. Cultural tourism was the basis for the Point Sophia cannery project, as well as other initiatives proposed by the tribe. However, not everyone agreed that tourism would promote cultural revitalization. As one Craig-area artist explained, "You don't need tourism to enhance culture. Instead of doing stuff you're inherently interested in, you're supposed to now work for pay—working for show." The idea of tourism providing the impetus for artistic expression and cultural revitalization may include tradeoffs as well (fig. 20).

Tina Pedersen

Figure 20—Dancer at Icy Strait Point (Point Sophia) near Hoonah, Alaska.

Tourism also provided an opportunity for Native people to tell their stories and share their history and their relationship with the land. One resident thought that Hoonah residents should get involved in tourism enterprises in Glacier Bay as a means of offering an alternative history of the area. "They should tell what the government did to the Huna people in Glacier Bay." Another resident noted that tourism would allow visitors to see a living Native community, to learn about Native lifestyle and the impacts of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act on Tlingit people. "Tourism will let people realize that we are not a conquered people." One resident added that tourists visiting Hoonah may learn more about the community, its history and culture, and this knowledge would inspire them to influence politics and decisionmaking back home. In other words, today's tourists could become tomorrow's advocates for resources and needs of Native people.

In talking about tourism with Hoonah residents, many assumed that tourism in their community would include a cultural component because Hoonah is a primarily Tlingit community. Yet, there were many hesitations expressed about the impacts

of sharing cultural knowledge with visitors. Some concerns dealt with the "value" of cultural performance. For the majority of people interviewed, dancing or performing for tourists was a source of pride and enjoyment. But, Some Alaska Natives interviewed felt that by sharing (or selling) one's culture to others, the value of this cultural knowledge diminishes. A Klawock artist explained, "It belittles Native dancers to perform for tourists." A few residents told me that when dancers perform strictly for entertainment, the ceremony or song is cheapened or somehow tainted. When asked what he thought of visitors learning something about Native culture, one clan elder replied, "What good is it going to do them? I don't want to lose our culture for our grandchildren and great-grandchildren. I want to preserve stories for them rather than a few measly dollars for now."

Another issue associated with cultural tourism involved the process of deciding which type and version of stories could be told. Stories are owned by individual clans, houses, and families and the process of deciding the correct interpretation is complex and must include key cultural leaders. As one civic leader explained, "Telling them about the raven and the eagle is okay, but we need to stay away from family stories." Another Hoonah official agreed, "You have to be careful in sharing. Some stories are sacred, some are not. Some are in the public domain. It would be okay to share information that is in the public domain." Many worried about the controversies that might arise in making decisions about which songs to sing, stories to tell, and dances to perform and the impact of these discussions on local clan relations.

Some Alaska Natives worry that sharing their heritage will somehow cause it to be exploited, damaged, or stolen.

Alaska Natives are very proud of their heritage and yet some worry that by sharing it with others, it will be somehow exploited, damaged, or stolen when exposed to outsiders. And, many were concerned that non-Native interests will take control of or profit from Native cultural resources. "I wouldn't want our culture to be exploited. People take photographs and profit from it, but it doesn't benefit us," said one Hoonah resident. For example, there was interest in sharing how traditional foods, such as seaweed and shellfish, and other household items were gathered, processed, and preserved. However, several residents pointed out that sharing this knowledge could lead outside companies to engage in the commercial processing of Native resources, which could threaten local subsistence harvests. Finally, many were concerned that important cultural items would be stolen or damaged if a large number of visitors were allowed to view or handle them. "You need safeguards to protect the cultural heritage of the town," declared one resident. This was an important concern on Prince of Wales Island, where totem poles could be threatened by vandalism without proper protection.

Pace of everyday life—Because of the improved weather conditions and longer days, summers in Alaska typically are highly productive times for workers in all resource-based industries. Southeast Alaska residents also have noticed seasonal changes in the pace of community life related to tourism. Although difficult to define, residents talked about the traffic and congestion in town, feeling busy and hurried, and the lack of opportunity for prolonged meaningful social interactions. Among the three study sites, these changes were most pronounced in Haines, where large cruise ship dockings often doubled the local population. A noticeable spurt of energy began in April with the arrival of the first seasonal workers and was maintained through the end of September, when the last cruise ship left the dock. Many residents welcomed this change of pace and new vitality in the community, especially after a long winter. Others found the summer pace to be a frantic whirlwind, when families rarely see one another and friends went for weeks without a potluck party. One Haines resident who worked in tourism referred to herself as a "seasonal workaholic." In Haines, the pace of tourism varied over the course of the week, aligning itself to the comings and goings of the cruise ships. It became obvious to everyone when a cruise ship was docked in town, and after a few weeks, locals learned when to avoid trips to the market or walks on popular trails. As Burns and Holden (1995) suggest, residents of tourist communities often develop coping behaviors and seek ways to avoid contact with visitors. For some, these were minor adjustments that were well worth the added income and social opportunities tourism brought. For others, these intrusions on the daily patterns represented an affront to their lifestyle. One Haines resident resented the fact that summer was Alaska's finest season and the optimal time to enjoy the beauty of his home, yet he must share this experience with large numbers of tourists.

The arrival of visitors often caused congestion in tourist venues near downtown, the airports, and the public docks. Craig residents discussed traffic near the harbor, and increased waiting times in shops and local restaurants. In Haines and Hoonah, vehicle traffic increased during the cruise ship dockings owing to the number of tour companies transporting guests to and from the dock. In Haines, inadequate bus parking was identified as a problem that was addressed by a voluntary queuing system. In Hoonah, the city worked with private landowners to create a parking area to minimize traffic encounters on the road to the cannery development. Pedestrian traffic was often a source of frustration for Haines residents, who found it more difficult to conduct business during cruise ship dockings. Because of inadequate signage and the absence of a sidewalk, cruise passengers appeared to

wander all over town, at times in the middle of the street. These problems were addressed by the city's tourism and transportation committees. A voluntary transportation plan improved traffic flow for vehicles and pedestrians. In addition, a new sidewalk constructed in 2000 alleviated some pedestrian problems. The cruise lines cooperated by making announcements to guests about the importance of using sidewalks. These issues reflect the need for transportation and tourism planning, to ensure that local infrastructure can handle the increase in volume without disrupting the everyday flow.

Commercialism and commoditization—The propensity of the tourism industry to market aspects of Alaskan culture proved disconcerting for some residents. When an object or place gets labeled as historically, aesthetically, or culturally significant for the sake of visitors, everything begins to take on new meaning. Some southeast Alaska residents referred to this as the process of "Disneyfication," where tourist experiences were created to present an illusion that is distinct from the everyday reality of the place. One long-time Haines resident exclaimed, "I don't want Haines to become a theme park, like Williamsburg." A newcomer to the tourism industry noted,

> Tourism suggests something about how everything can be for sale. It offers enormous possibilities to package unique experiences–tramways, trains, old cars, but it also serves as a reminder that you can buy and sell anything to people. It has a fake quality to it.

Meanwhile, a 20-year resident of Haines described how tourism has become packaged and processed—taking the creative thinking out of the activity for the traveler. "People no longer do things on their own; they have someone there to plan it, organize it, and interpret it for them." This same resident conveyed her dismay that information shared with visitors is watered down to the point where it becomes inaccurate or misleading. Another Haines resident objected to what she called the commodification of the Alaskan lifestyle. "I'm not willing to walk around town looking like a can-can girl or a pioneer woman." To the resident, these events created an environment with an unfamiliar quality. As one Haines resident explained, "The place begins to become strange to the people who live here." When towns are transformed into tourist destinations, there can be a sense of unreality for local residents, who no longer recognize the new look of their community (Urry 1995).

Community comparisons—Although the sociocultural effects of tourism were shared across all three southeast Alaska communities, the magnitude of the effects

Table 15—Summary of sociocultural effects mentioned by residents

Effect	Haines	Craig	Hoonah
Vitality	X		
Adjusting to strangers	X	X	XX
Fishbowl effect	XX	X	X
Visitor judgments	X		XX
Tourism workers	XX	XX	X
Social divisions	XX	X	X
Cultural effects	X	X	XX
Pace of life/congestion	XX	X	X
Commercialism	XX	X	X

Levels were assigned by the author. "X" denotes that the item was mentioned by several interviewees (3 to 9) as being somewhat important. "XX" denotes that the item was mentioned by 10 or more interviewees.

differed between sites. Table 15 summarizes the sociocultural effects noted by interviewees and notes the relative importance for each community.

Because of the high number of visitors to Haines, the most relevant issues involved crowding, congestion, and change in the pace of community life. In addition, Haines residents more readily discussed the commercialization associated with tourism and its effects on community character. Another significant tourism effect found in Haines was the noise of tourism. Residents of Chilkat Peninsula discovered they lived under the flight path of a local tour that involved air travel to and from the Davidson Glacier. During peak summer days, as many as six groups of four planes delivered customers to and from the glacier, causing significant noise throughout the Chilkat Inlet. In addition, noise effects also were linked to the cruise ships themselves. Residents living near the dock often heard shipboard music and announcements, as well as horns and other ship noises common during arrival and departure.

In Craig, local residents most often discussed the potential for tourism to change their community character, emphasizing an eagerness to shun the fast-paced tourism found in Ketchikan in favor of tourism based on low-key outdoor recreation. Craig residents are proud of their Alaska roots and their roles in the development of logging and fishing industries. The influx of seasonal residents and year-round newcomers with different sets of values and priorities suggested the potential for change in community composition and character.

In Hoonah, conversations about cultural resources and property dominated local discussions, given the strong interest in presenting Native culture to visitors. Moreover, Hoonah residents also were very concerned about issues of privacy and

the potential of a growing number of strangers in the community. Many Hoonah residents wanted to maintain the city's identity as a small, predominantly Native community. This caused many to wonder about the lasting effects of the tourism development at the Point Sophia cannery. These themes were shared among all three sites, but the emphasis placed on them by residents differed.

It is important to consider how the sociocultural effects of tourism are experienced differently by various social groups, neighborhoods, and stakeholders. First, tourism impacts most significantly those who reside in neighborhoods close to sources of tourist activity. For those whose homes overlooked the cruise dock, boat harbor, or Main Street, tourism was more likely to impact their lives. As tourist volume increases and visitor activity expands further into outlying areas, interactions between visitors and residents are likely to intensify, as in the case of noise effects in the Chilkat Peninsula. Second, because of the growth of interest in Native culture, tourism raises important issues for Alaska Native residents, who must decide to what extent they want to engage with the tourism industry. To prevent exploitation and manage the process of cultural exchange, Alaska Native leaders may explore avenues for participation in tourism planning and development efforts. Third, tourism signifies change for many Alaska old-timers. For those who made their living harvesting fish, minerals, or trees and who worked to build rural Alaska communities from the ground up, the idea that their new neighbors earn a living by selling the "Alaska experience" to visitors might be difficult to swallow. The expansion of the tourism industry represents a shift in their way of life and their idea about what it means to be Alaskan. Finally, tourism also may not be embraced by those residents who moved to Alaska to escape the trappings of suburban life. For this subset of Alaskans, tourism may symbolize the commercialism and crowds they came to Alaska to avoid. Thus, these residents may be more sensitive to changes they see taking place in their neighborhoods and city streets. Whereas the lifestyle changes associated with tourism may be threatening to some, the expansion of tourism also carries implications for southeast Alaska livelihoods.

The effects of tourism on local resource patterns and uses differed significantly among sites.

Resource Effects

Tourism also had effects on the resources used by local residents for everyday economic and cultural survival. The effects of tourism on local resource patterns and uses differed significantly among sites. In Haines, the most significant effect of tourism was its ability to alter local patterns of recreation use and perceptions of wilderness. Craig residents spoke most cogently about the growth in charter fishing and its effects on the volume and quality of southeast Alaska fisheries. In Hoonah,

residents were showing concern about the growth of commercially guided tours in areas used for subsistence and local sport hunting and fishing. These differences reflected both the nature of tourism taking place in these localities, and local priorities for land and resource use. Although each community focused on different aspects of tourism-resource relations, all shared a concern about the environmental effects of tourism, especially the impacts of cruise ships on air and water quality.

Effects on local recreation trends—The growth of tourism in southeast Alaska communities has impacted local recreation patterns and practices. The recreation effects of tourism were most pronounced in Haines, where multiple adventure-based tour companies served the needs of cruise guests and where outdoor recreation opportunities were highly valued. However, residents of Craig and Hoonah also witnessed the presence of guided tour groups in their favorite areas.

Growing visitor use put pressure on shared recreational resources. As competition intensified among tour operators, companies expanded into new geographic areas to provide quality experiences for their guests. Some of these areas were popular spots for local recreation, sport hunting, and fishing. Whereas commercial tourism once was largely confined to the vicinity of the cruise dock and the shops of Main Street, now visitors were found in neighborhoods and natural areas throughout the region. Haines residents were growing accustomed to seeing commercial tour groups on their favorite trails and backyard beaches. Craig fishers found small fly-fishing groups in some of their favorite fishing holes. Hoonah hunters began running into campers and kayakers in popular hunting areas. In addition, there was a sense that places once remote were being transformed by the tourism industry, either by the development of large-scale tours, or by the popularity of a destination among several guides.

One area of particular concern was near Haines at Chilkoot Lake and Chilkoot River, about 16 kilometers from downtown. A state recreation site was located alongside the lake, with a campground, beach, and dock for launching boats. The Chilkoot River, which emptied from the lake into the Lutak Inlet 1.6 kilometers away, was a thriving salmon-spawning system and popular feeding ground for eagles and brown bear. Long popular with visiting anglers and campers and actively used by local residents, the scenic area became the venue for 3 major tour companies (fishing, kayaking, and nature tours) and roughly 10 sightseeing tours, which visited the area to view eagles and brown bears. During peak season, the roughly 2-kilometer Chilkoot corridor was visited by an estimated 380 daily visitors on guided tours and dozens of others on independent itineraries. During peak bear-viewing periods, the parking lot was busy with tour buses, and crowds stood three people

deep to view and photograph the animals. The Chilkoot Corridor also served as an important cultural and historical site for the Chilkoot Tlingit.

Because of the pace of tourist activity, local residents made adjustments in their uses of the Chilkoot area and their expectations for the type of experience they would have. Some residents chose not to visit the lake during the summer and others avoided it during peak visitor hours. One resident noted, "I'd rather go where there is poorer fishing to be by myself than to go with lots of people." One person reflected on the increased frequency of visitor use: "It used to be that you had to write off certain recreation areas from 7 to 10 p.m. Monday through Thursday. Now, it's every day all day." Residents desiring the experience of solitude would have to wait until October. Yet, solitude was available in other natural areas near Haines. A local merchant explained, "I'll take my boys to Chilkoot this weekend to fish, but I'm not expecting a wilderness experience. There are plenty of other places in the valley to go to be by myself." Not only had recreational use of Chilkoot changed with the increased volume of visitors, but the symbolic meaning of the area also had been altered in the minds of some residents. One life-long Haines resident said, "I think of it as a tourist place now." A more recent immigrant to Haines exclaimed, "Chilkoot Lake has been ruined. Last time I went out there I decided I'd never go again." For some residents, the presence of visitors in favorite local places represented a challenge to their rural lifestyle. One local teacher told me, "Most of us live in Haines because we like the wilderness experience, but now we don't have it. We don't have places to go to be in nature, there are so many groups out there using our places…. We can't even take our kids places in their own town without running into tourists." In 2000, a planning process was initiated among key stakeholders at Chilkoot River corridor to seek ways to manage multiple uses in that area.

Haines residents also expressed their concern about the expanding influence of tourism in more remote sites. In 1998, one tour company began flying its guests to the base of Davidson Glacier and treating them to a nature walk and motorized canoe trip on Davidson Lake. The tour became very popular and by 2000, 10,000 tour guests per season were being flown to Glacier Point from Skagway and Haines. Many nearby residents and recreation users of the area objected to the increased noise from airplanes and the expanded use of public lands for commercial recreation. Some purported that the presence of the tour interfered with their personal recreational uses of that area. According to one resident, "Glacier Point used to be a primitive area used by locals–where you could go and get away from it all. Today, there are several thousand people going there." Protests occurred on state property,

with direct appeals to cruise passengers and cruise companies, culminating in a lawsuit filed by a coalition of environmental organizations in 2000. Although the company swiftly responded to noise concerns by switching to a ferry to transport customers, residents still claimed that the character of the area had changed as a result of the growing presence of a commercial recreation venture. Many felt that this commercial enterprise had imposed on their lifestyle. One local resident explained,

> Prime local recreation areas can be and are being taken over by the tourism industry and displacing local users. Tourism is operating on a whole different scale today than 10 years ago, when it was about five or six people on a raft. It's a whole different scale…. Haines residents are very different from one another, but one of the major things people share in common is a love for wilderness activities–being outdoors and the need to get out of town in the summer months. If people can't go to these places, it's a real frustration; it affects the mental health of the community.

Others objected to what they saw as the commercialization of Glacier Point. "The problem is that visitors are experiencing the illusion of Alaska, it's a fabricated wilderness experience. A wilderness safari: people in motorboats zipping around the lake. It's a packaged wilderness experience, like the Discovery Channel." In the case of Glacier Point, a popular local landmark that once signified the beauty and solitude of Alaska had been transformed into a tourist attraction. A local bumper sticker summed up this point: "Glacier Point: Wild Land or Disney Land?" As the Haines case demonstrates, the increase in tourist volume and the expansion of tourism into remote geographic areas threatened certain aspects of the Alaskan lifestyle, namely ready access to natural areas for remote recreation and the continued existence of unfettered wildlands. Those who had moved to Alaska to enjoy experiences of solitude in the outdoors and those who valued the proximity of unadulterated natural areas were now facing obstacles to their interests.

Those who had moved to Alaska to enjoy solitude in the outdoors and unadulterated natural areas were now facing obstacles to their interests.

Hoonah residents interviewed in 2004 also mentioned that a favorite recreation area had been altered by tourism. The cannery at Point Sophia had long been a popular spot for residents to go walking, picnicking, and spending time with families. This use of the area was curtailed somewhat once the Icy Strait Point destination was developed. Many stories circulated throughout the community about families being told not to walk along the beach or along the cannery boardwalk, particularly during cruise ship visits. Development officials interviewed said that

resident's use of the area was a liability issue, and they actively discouraged local use. This transformation of a favorite recreation place was a common issue shared by Hoonah residents in reflecting on the impact of tourism.

Although some local recreation users objected to what they saw as the encroachment of the tourism industry, the geographical expansion of tourism had a beneficial effect for some residents. Several interviewees observed that because of the proliferation of companies providing adventure and natural history tours, there were more recreation options available to locals. As one life-long Haines resident explained,

> By having tourists here and tour companies here serving the tourists, it allows local people to have access to things they wouldn't normally do, like kayaking or rafting. If I want to go dog mushing on a glacier, I can do that now. It gives us more opportunities and more access to new areas. I personally don't benefit from this, but some people do. It's an overall benefit.

Some local tour operators maintained trails or docks for their guests and encouraged locals to use these facilities and places as well. In addition, several tour operators in Haines offered "local only" days on Sundays or in the preseason, when residents could participate in tours at reduced rates. Tourism has increased the range of recreation opportunities available to local residents. Craig residents interviewed also enjoyed the opportunity to participate in guided kayak tours.

Effects on commercial fishing—The expansion of the charter fishing industry in southeast Alaska communities also affected patterns of resource use among commercial fishermen (fig. 21). This was a particular concern expressed in Craig and in Hoonah because of the prevalence of charter fishing in these areas. The growing size of regional charter fishing fleets affected local communities in two primary ways. First, residents, especially those involved in commercial fishing, were concerned about the impact of charter fishing on the health of the fishery. Second, the growing number of charter operators led to an increase in boat activity on the water, and concerns about safety.

Charter fishing was managed by the Alaska Department of Fish and Game under the rubric of sport fishing, which meant that charter guests and guides subscribed to different sets of requirements than the commercial fishers in terms of the size of the fish and the length of the season. Total harvest levels were regulated by the Board of Fish to promote long-term sustainability of the fishery. However, commercial fishers were concerned about the impact of charter fishing on the health

Continue

Lee Cerveny

Figure 21—Fishing pier in Hoonah, Alaska.

of the halibut fishery, because charter fishing guests were not restricted on the size of the halibut taken. Many worried that too many halibut were being harvested before they reached reproductive maturity, thus reducing the total capacity of the fishery. For these reasons, commercial fishers wanted the charter fleet to be considered a subset of commercial fishing by the Alaska Department of Fish and Game. As one long-time Craig fisherman explained,

Growth in charter fishing led to competition for fish and crowding on the water.

> Charter fishing has grown. There is no limited entry for charter fishing. They are out-fishing their quotas–they are not staying within the limits. They are always overharvesting. Charter fishing is now considered by Fish and Game as "sportfishing." They are NOT sport. They are commercial. The charter guys are out there now catching kings. We have only 5 days for king.

The growth in charter fishing activity also raised concerns for local residents who watched the boxes of fish pile up at the local floatplane dock or airport to be sent home to the Lower 48 States with the charter fishing guest. Many Craig residents worried that if visitors were taking the fish, there would be none left for them. "Stand out there on the float dock any day, and you'll see 30 boxes of fish stacked up and hundreds of pounds of fish going off to Wisconsin and Texas. They are taking all our fish." The image of boxes stacked like miniature skyscrapers was

powerful in the minds of Craig residents. For most, the boxes signified a concern about the export of fish out of state and a worry that there would not be enough fish left for local consumption. The unstated assumption here was that locals were entitled to a fair share of Alaska's harvest.

The presence of the charter industry also brought up issues of economic inequality between visitors and residents. Many claimed that the supply of halibut close to Craig had been fished out in 2001, requiring residents to travel farther to harvest them. Some Craig residents resented the fact that guests could afford to fly in and catch halibut and salmon for 4 days, when they themselves could not afford the cost of gasoline for their boat or the extra time required to travel farther from port. In some cases, operators of small skiffs were hesitant to travel farther out toward the open ocean, where halibut stocks were perceived to be more plentiful, because of safety issues associated with their smaller craft. Thus, those unable to afford larger boats were less likely to harvest halibut, according to residents interviewed.

A concern shared by commercial fishers in Craig and Hoonah was the impact of charter fishing on the total number of boats on the water. Commercial fishermen, particularly troll captains, explained the implications of the growing size of the charter fleet on their fishing experience. Charter boats tended to cluster together where the fishing was good, and many used the presence of a commercial fishing boat to signal a prime fishing spot. As charter boats cluster, maneuverability becomes significantly reduced. Maneuverability presents a greater concern for the larger commercial vessels. One commercial captain told me that when the charter boats gathered around him, he would automatically leave, because it made it harder for him to operate the nets and move around. Other problems have occurred when inexperienced charter captains are on the water and are not aware of the rules for passing or come too close to the commercial nets.

> Basically they [charter boats] get in your way. There are 30 to 40 of them–in some cases too many. When you are by yourself, it's really difficult to watch what's going on. They are a pain…. You have the right of way–the shoreline is supposed to be on your right, if they are going south. The charter guys often are mooching. If they see you catching fish, they stop and fish nearby. I drag my nets on the edge against the shoreline.

Several fishermen told me stories about working their boats alone and loading fish in the hold, not paying close attention to the water, only to find that a small

cadre of charter boats had come precariously close to them and there was barely enough time to move. Safety was a major concern for many fishermen.

Effects on customary and traditional uses—A third issue relevant in all three communities, but particularly topical in Hoonah, was the concern that tourism could adversely affect resources used for customary and traditional uses (subsistence). These topics were especially relevant because of the discoveries about cruise ship air emissions and wastewater effluent and the conviction in 1999 of Royal Caribbean International for illegally dumping toxins into Alaska waters. Two primary concerns dominated discussions related to tourism effects on subsistence use: the effect of cruise ships on the quality of fish, shellfish, kelp, plants, and game, and the impact of growing commercial recreation on access to subsistence resources.

Because of their proximity to popular cruise ship routes, Hoonah and Haines residents worried about the effects of cruise ships on wildlife and subsistence. Haines Natives wondered about the quality of their beach resources collected along Lynn Canal, whereas Hoonah families were concerned about shellfish, kelp, and other beach resources harvested along Icy Strait. An advocate of subsistence use in Haines talked about his harvest patterns in Lynn Canal.

> I steered clear from seaweed picking there for a couple of years. Now I go back there again. Most of the salmon I get is from the Chilkat side (90 percent). I have sent samples of the salmon to Fish and Game recently because some of the fish have warts. They said it wasn't cancer.

Hoonah residents also worried about the effects of underwater emissions from cruise ships on area wildlife and subsistence resources. One Huna elder was concerned about the impact of gray water on Point Adolphus, which had long been a hotspot for fishing. According to this clan leader, deer travel to Point Adophus in the winter for kelp. "You can't tell me that kelp is not contaminated. I wonder what else has been affected? I have no problem with people [tourists] in town. This subsistence lifestyle has gone to pot." Another resident was extremely worried about the discharges from cruise ships and effects on seaweed in popular harvest areas like Couverdon and Spasski Island. In 2001, tougher standards for wastewater treatment were introduced and the state was given authority to monitor wastewater quality in hopes that the industry would become cleaner over time.

Several residents interviewed wondered in general about the long-term effects of smog from cruise ships. One Huna Tlingit clan elder had observed specific

changes in goat behavior over many years. On one trip to Glacier Bay, he observed a dead mountain goat in the water.

> The cruise ships are affecting the mountain goat population. When the cruise ships add speed to the engine, it gives out a black smoke. When there is no wind, the black smoke just sits there and it contaminates the mountain goats' food. It's from that unused oil. There is one place we used to use for a fishing area. There used to be a lot of mountain goats there. Now there are no more goats.

Residents of all three communities were concerned that tourism activities would limit access to subsistence resources. A subsistence fisherman from Haines said it was getting more difficult to find a place to put his subsistence net in the water because the best spots along the Chilkat and Klehini Rivers were being used by tour groups for loading passengers. However, he acknowledged that he was more concerned about the effects of development than tourism on subsistence access. Many of the prime locations for berry picking, bark gathering, and hunting had been privatized, and access to local subsistence users was restricted. As state and Native corporation lands are sold to private landholders, access to prime harvest areas is likely to be reduced further.

As noted earlier, Craig residents wondered about the future of the halibut fishery. Local sport and subsistence users claimed that they were traveling farther from home to catch halibut, which meant they were spending more money on fuel and exerting more effort to harvest the same amount of fish.

> There used to be halibut on the inside waters, but now you can't find any.… It used to be that it would take 1 to 2 hours to get halibut. Now it takes all day. You have to go way out sometimes. Sometimes you don't get anything. It used to be that behind Fish Egg Island was good. Now there is nothing there.

Some had decided to forgo halibut and fish instead for salmon or freshwater species. Craig residents also observed a trend in the charter industry toward increased freshwater fishing, which was affecting local subsistence uses of area lakes and streams. "They keep following us around," one local subsistence user quipped.

Residents also worried about the growing frequency of encounters between subsistence users and tour operators. Hoonah interviewees described encounters with tour groups in places like Mud Bay—a prime site for salmon fishing and duck hunting, and a popular destination for fly-in fishermen from Juneau and adventure

tours from Gustavus. Hoonah fishermen were challenged by the growing popularity of Point Adolphus among charter fishermen, whale watchers, and adventure tours. Closer to home, subsistence users clashed with nonlocal charter operators in remote areas of Port Frederick, which formerly were used by a handful of local subsistence and sport fishers. Although it was not an issue at present, many Hoonah families observed the increased use of areas close to Hoonah by nonlocal tour operators, and considered the growing prospect that their clan's special places for harvesting berries, seaweed, cockles, or fish also could become popular tourist stops. Residents often cited an incident in 2000 when a local subsistence fishermen and his family encountered a tour operator in Port Frederick. A verbal conflict reportedly ensued when the fishing guide declared entitlement to fish in that area. Clearly, the quality of fish and game in Alaska is important to residents, and the increased use of culturally significant areas by tourists has implications for communities.

The Icy Strait Point development in 2004 expanded the influence of visitors from national forest lands to Native corporation holdings used by shareholders for subsistence purposes. Bear-viewing platforms were built on Native corporation land in an area known as Spasski Creek, a popular area for fishing, hunting, and gathering of berries and forest foods by Hoonah residents. Whereas shareholders historically were permitted to use these areas for subsistence, they were actively discouraged from visiting once the bear platforms were built and land tours were developed. Some continued to use the area, although stories of corporation employees asking local subsistence users to leave were circulating throughout the community. Although the corporation's policy toward local use of that area remained unclear in 2004, it had emerged as an issue early on in the history of Icy Strait Point. As visitor use of corporation lands increases beyond 2004, this issue likely will resurface.

Tlingit residents of Hoonah were particularly concerned about the loss of Glacier Bay National Park as an area for subsistence and cultural use.

Tlingit residents of Hoonah were particularly concerned about the loss of Glacier Bay National Park as an area for subsistence and cultural use. The increase in visitor use of the park and the coinciding exclusion of commercial and subsistence activities crucial to the local economy, as well as the cultural integrity of the community, were particularly disconcerting for residents. When I asked residents how tourism affected them, many simply told me to look at the case of Glacier Bay. "That's the biggest impact right there" said one elder. The important role of Glacier Bay history to the Huna was made clear to me by another elder, who stated,

> Hoonah used to be Glacier Bay. The feds took it away. They took our food—our strawberries, our seal, our goat, and our seagull. They stopped us from trapping. We should have subsistence in Glacier Bay. We're not going to rape the country.

Another community leader echoed these sentiments,

> We lost Glacier Bay. That's one of the impacts of tourism. They have taken our rights away from Glacier Bay. Kayakers are everywhere. They get off their boats, but I can't even get off my own boat. I'm not allowed. That's not right. I hope you agree with me.

Many feared that what happened in Glacier Bay could be repeated in other federally owned lands, such as the Tongass National Forest. As one city official explained,

> I have a fear of being locked out of federal lands. When the Park Service people came, they promised that we would be allowed to continue seal hunting, berry picking, bear hunting—to keep our lifestyle that had always been there. But not any more—that's all gone.

Although Glacier Bay National Park was established for preservation of an important natural and geological area, and not strictly for tourism purposes, in the minds of many Hoonah residents, the area was taken away from them and their user rights were removed, whereas visitor use of the park was encouraged. The loss of Glacier Bay was significant from the standpoint of local resource use, but it also had long-reaching economic and cultural implications as well. In recent years, park officials have allowed limited harvest of subsistence foods, including seagull eggs and strawberries, indicating a willingness to work with the Huna people to restore some level of subsistence use (Hunn et al. 2003).

Community comparisons—The effects of tourism expansion on local patterns of resource use were experienced differently in each of the three study communities (table 16). For Haines, the movement of adventure tours into more remote recreation areas caused conflicts with local recreation users, many of whom valued their recreation habits as an important part of their reason for living in Alaska. In Craig, the issues centered around fish. Commercial fishers, charter guides, and subsistence fishers were competing for the same finite resources. This issue also was important in Hoonah, although to a lesser degree. There, residents worried most about ongoing access to subsistence resources in their historical harvest areas, including Glacier Bay.

Ethnographic data in these study sites show that stakeholder groups have different relations to resources and the environment. Thus, expansion in the tourist industry affected these groups differently. Local recreation users in Haines had to share some of their favorite recreation sites with both independent and guided

Table 16—Summary of resource effects mentioned by residents

Effect	Haines	Craig	Hoonah
Local recreation patterns	XX		X
Commercial fishing		XX	X
Subsistence resources	X	X	X

Levels were assigned by the author. "X" denotes that the item was mentioned by several interviewees (3 to 9) as being somewhat important. "XX" denotes that the item was mentioned by 10 or more interviewees.

visitor groups. As recreation sites became transformed by the presence of the tourism industry, locals worried about the fate of other valued natural areas. Commercial fishermen throughout southeast Alaska have had to share a larger portion of the total allocation with the expanding charter fleet.[20] Subsistence fishermen have watched their historical harvest sites become clogged with tourist activity. In some cases, locals were traveling farther from home to catch fish as close-in areas were perceived to be diminished compared to previous years. Interviews also revealed user conflicts among tourism businesses of different sizes and those engaged in different types of activities. In the Hoonah area, kayak groups were encountering jet boat tours and small cruise ships in rural bays used for wildlife viewing. These findings suggest that management and policy decisions related to tourism should weigh the different impacts among various groups to appreciate the comprehensive effects of tourism.

Discussion

Tourism led to new jobs and businesses, which circulated tourism dollars throughout the economy. Tourism offered opportunities for social interaction, exposure to new ideas and skills, community pride, enhanced cultural identity, and added recreational venues. Tourism also occurred along with certain tradeoffs. Some argued that tourism's economic benefits were muted because of the industry's tendency

[20] King salmon are managed under a quota system from the 1999 U.S.-Canada Pacific Salmon Treaty for wild salmon. Each year, a scientific panel estimates the abundance of wild king salmon. Once a figure is established, 10 percent is allotted to commercial gillnet fishermen and seine boats, 20 percent is awarded to sportfishers, including charter boats, and the remaining 70 percent to commercial troll fishermen. In recent years, sport anglers have greatly exceeded harvest levels–cutting into the commercial catch. In 2001, sport anglers (including charter boats) were allocated 42,000 king salmon but harvested 72,000. The additional 30,000 salmon represented an estimated loss of $900,000 (Juneau Empire 2003).

toward part-time, seasonal, and low-paying jobs, the importation of labor and supplies from outside southeast Alaska, and a growing trend toward nonlocal business ownership. Others pointed to changes in the sociocultural fabric of communities resulting from tourism, including the challenges of interacting with visitors, the growing influence of tourism professionals in community life, the increase in social tension among tourism proponents and critics, and the changing character of Alaska communities. Moreover, tourism altered local patterns of resource use, including recreation, commercial fishing, and subsistence use.

Sustainability—Resident perceptions of the economic, sociocultural, and resource effects of tourism are bases for evaluating the long-term sustainability of the industry. Sustainable tourism development seeks to maximize the quality of tourist experiences in a locality while at the same time preserving natural and cultural resources for the future and promoting the economic well-being of residents, including equity in the distribution of costs and benefits (McCool and Moisey 2001). If residents of host communities perceive that the social and economic costs of tourism exceed the benefits, long-term sustainability of the industry is at risk (Briassoulis 2002). Moreover, an examination of resident perceptions of tourism benefits and costs reveals important information about what rural southeast Alaskans value most about their lifestyle: small and safe communities, integrity of cultural systems, the health of natural resource systems, and continued access to resources. By comparing and contrasting tourism effects among these communities, important observations may be made that associate different forms of tourism with unique sets of challenges and opportunities.

Sustainable tourism development seeks to maximize the quality of tourist experiences in a locality while at the same time preserving natural and cultural resources for the future and promoting the economic well-being of residents, including equity in the distribution of costs and benefits.

Tourist volume was largest in Haines, and cruise ships were the most dominant form of tourist activity. The resulting benefits to the Haines economy included jobs, new business activity, and tax revenues. Because of the nature of tourism employment, most residents agreed that the greatest economic benefits were shared by a relatively small number of tourism providers. During the peak of cruise visitation in 2000, Haines experienced challenges associated with this tourism growth, the most significant being congestion and crowding in areas of town and popular recreation areas, noise effects, commercialization, and the transformation of natural areas into arenas of tourist activity. Visitor impacts also were spread geographically throughout the community, affecting the daily activities and decisions of residents from a wide range of backgrounds. Because of the dispersed nature of tourism activity in Haines, tourism effects were experienced by more residents and to a

greater degree than in other communities. Interviews with Haines residents suggested that visitor volumes had exceeded local capacity in 2000. Although the economic benefits were widely recognized, they did not exceed the costs of tourism to sociocultural life and resource use in the minds of most residents. This imbalance, if perpetuated, would suggest that the pace of tourism growth experienced until 2000 would exceed the level sustainable in Haines. When cruise visitation to Haines declined in 2001 and thereafter, this no longer was a pressing issue.

Craig hosted a modest number of visitors, with most associated with charter fishing lodges. Most Craig visitors stayed in fishing lodges or local bed and breakfast establishments and engaged in packaged fishing excursions. From the standpoint of residents, the economic benefits of tourism were concentrated in lodgeowners and businesses directly serving fishing guests. Overall economic benefits to the community were not widely recognized because it was perceived that the lodges captured most visitor spending. However, because visitors to Craig spent much of their time in the lodges, the sociocultural impacts of tourism in Craig were minimal. However, Craig residents spoke openly about their hopes and concerns for future tourism growth and the possible changes to their community. In particular, tourism stakeholders were concerned about the effect of charter fishing on the commercial fishing fleet and the health of the fishery. Craig tourism had not exceeded sustainable levels, owing to its modest volume and minimal sociocultural effects; however, many residents suggested that prolonged growth of the charter fishing fleet would lead to resource degradation. Because many stakeholders did not perceive that fishing lodges contributed significantly to the local economy, the future impacts of charter fishing on the health of the resource overshadowed economic benefits.

The costs and benefits of tourism were not equally distributed within the communities.

In Hoonah, the volume of visitors was rather modest during the primary field research in 2001. Although visitor volume was lower than in Craig, the effects of existing tourism on daily life were mentioned with greater frequency. In particular, Hoonah residents emphasized their discomfort in interacting with strangers. Hoonah residents also stressed the need for a strategy to deal with cultural resources and manage clan relations with regard to tourism. Tourism effects were apparent on lands and waterways outside Hoonah, including Glacier Bay National Park, Icy Strait, and adjacent waterways. With the arrival of cruise ships in 2004, visitors numbered more than 65,000. Residents frequently interacted with visitors who had came to town as part of guided tours or with individual itineraries. Residents also described encounters with guided tour groups on Native corporation lands. Although tourism had grown quickly, careful planning by the Point Sophia Development

Company had minimized the impacts of cruise-based tourism on the community. Residents perceived minimal costs compared to the benefits to the local economy or cultural life of the community, and resource use was thus far minimal. If the economic benefits are widely dispersed throughout the community, residents will likely consider the tourism project beneficial, particularly if perceived negative sociocultural effects are minimized.

Distribution of tourism effects among stakeholders—The associated costs and benefits of tourism were not equally distributed within the communities (Young 1999). Tourism resulted in direct and indirect economic benefits for some groups, whereas others experienced unwanted changes in their livelihoods or lifestyles. Stakeholder analysis was used to identify those most affected by the growth of tourism (Ramirez 1999).

In Haines, the relatively high volume of visitors in 2000 meant that the impacts were felt by a broader range of community residents. Although tourism providers and business owners benefited from the presence of the industry, residents of heavily impacted areas, tribal organizations, local recreation users, and members of the environmental community experienced the brunt of tourism's effects (table 17). The Alaska Department of Natural Resources, which managed many of the public lands in the Haines area, faced an increase in permit activity from commercial tourism providers, with no clear guidelines to regulate volume of use and reduced capacity to monitor resource effects. Tourism growth exacerbated existing social conflicts among key community stakeholders, especially between environmental organizations eager to limit tourist volume and those in favor of natural resource-based industry. In addition, tourism growth created new cleavages between types of tourism providers (e.g., cruise-based versus independent tourism providers), between seasonal workers and year-round residents, and among the tourism industry and local resource users and environmentalists.

The need to mitigate some of the issues associated with tourism in Haines resulted in several public processes and social movements involving key stakeholders. The city initiated a tourism planning committee to deal with issues of transportation, aggressive business practices, and noise. Several members of industry and citizen groups appeared on this committee. A multistakeholder planning process was initiated in 2000 for the Chilkoot corridor area to deal with the effects of visitor traffic from tours and independent visitors. This planning effort involved numerous local stakeholders, including neighborhood residents, tourism providers, environmental organizations, business interests, and tribal officials. Grassroots

Table 17—Distribution of tourism effects, by stakeholders: Haines

Group	How affected
Business owners	Economic benefits from direct and indirect tourist spending
Tourism providers	Promoting sustainable growth of the tourism industry Direct economic gains from tourism Ongoing concern for quality of tourism products in Haines Some conflicts among competing tourism providers
Environmental organizations	Concern about quality and integrity of habitat for wildlife (bears, eagles, etc.) Concern about the loss of remote recreation areas and wild lands Focus on pollution issues associated with cruise lines Focus on noise effects of airplanes traveling over remote neighborhoods
Chilkoot Indian Assoc.	Tribal members benefited from tourism employment Resource impacts on Chilkoot historical and sacred sites
Local recreation users	As ship volume increased, recreation users shared favorite places with visitors Local recreation users adapted by shifting use to less populated areas or timing their visits to avoid cruise visitors Concern about the change in landscape at Glacier Point and the potential loss of remote recreation sites
Subsistence users	Concern about ongoing access to subsistence areas on Chilkat and Chilkoot Rivers Focus on integrity of subsistence resources after cruise ship dumping
Alaska Department of Natural Resources	Management pressure on heavily used recreation areas Public pressure to restrict tourism providers using state lands Lack of regulatory mechanism to manage growing commercial use
City and Borough of Haines	Economic benefits in the form of tax revenues and docking fees Impacts on city infrastructure: sidewalks, roads, waste, sewage, water Expanded need for public restrooms and other facilities Created demand for transportation and tourism planning
Neighborhoods	Downtown and Fort Seward residents saw the largest flow of visitors to and from the dock Lutak residents felt tourism pressure and congestion in the Chilkoot area Chilkat Peninsula (Mud Bay) residents were impacted by noise effects from overhead flights

efforts to manage tourism growth also resulted. Environmental organizations clashed with a tour operator over noise issues and the effects of large-scale commercial tourism at Glacier Point resulting in a series of protests and legal actions in 2000 and 2001.

The story in Craig was similar, although the distinction between those who benefited and those who did not was not as obvious. The business community, in general, and the tourism industry, in particular, benefited economically from the presence of tourism to some degree. Meanwhile, commercial, subsistence, and

Table 18—Distribution of tourism effects, by stakeholders: Craig

Group	How affected
Business owners	Modest economic benefits from spending by visitors and tourism providers
Tourism providers (including lodgeowners and charter operators)	Direct economic benefits from visitors engaged in charter fishing and other forms of tourist activity Some user conflicts among tourism providers of different scale and type (e.g., larger lodges and smaller charter operators)
Commercial fishermen	Change in allocation reduces total amount available for commercial catch Competition on the water for space and in harbor for berths Concern about the shift in lifestyle away from commercial fishing
Craig Community Association	Supported tourism that generates work for Native artists and employment for all tribal members Concern about effects of charter fishing on subsistence Focus on protecting cultural resources and cultural property
Sport and subsistence users	Compete for halibut and salmon with charter lodges Some travel farther for halibut or have switched to other species Shift to freshwater fishing in response to growing charter activity
Tongass National Forest Craig Ranger District	Increased management pressure on public resources shared with other user groups
City of Craig	Tax benefits from sales tax Increased pressure on city dock and harbors Some effects on infrastructure (roads, utilities, services)
Neighborhoods	Residents located near the boat harbor, floatplane dock, and fishing lodges saw increased visitor activity (e.g., Port Saint Nicholas)

local sportfishers competed with the charter fleet for total allocation and for access to fishing areas and dock space. Competition had expanded from saltwater to freshwater venues as lodges and charter guides expanded into freshwater fishing. Tension arose in the community owing to perceived lifestyle differences between commercial fishermen and charter guides. The Forest Service experienced an increase in commercial use of the Tongass National Forest for commercial recreation activity and witnessed an increase in user conflicts between local users and commercial groups. Table 18 details the distribution of tourism effects in Craig.

Because tourism levels in Hoonah were modest in 2001, impacts were not as significant as in Haines or Craig, with the exception of Glacier Bay National Park. Residents living downtown were more likely to interact with visitors than those residing in other parts of the community. Increased visitor activity in remote areas of Port Frederick, Point Adolphus, and Mud Bay meant greater opportunities for user conflicts among local hunters and fishermen and among various types of

Table 19—Distribution of tourism effects, by stakeholders: Hoonah

Group	How affected
Business owners and local tourism providers	Local tour operators with vendor contracts at Point Sophia gain direct economic benefits from cruise ships Downtown businesses develop strategies to attract visitors away from the cannery to increase local economic benefits
Huna Totem Corp.	Potential benefits from presence of visitors Employment and dividends for Huna Totem shareholders
Hoonah Indian Assoc.	Tribal members employed by Point Sophia development Concern about protecting cultural resources Tribal members affected by increasing use of remote subsistence areas by nonlocal tourism providers
Nonlocal tourism providers	Based out of Juneau, Gustavus, Elfin Cove, and other Icy Strait communities, guides benefited from the sale of tours taking place in the Hoonah area
Subsistence users	Greater potential for interactions with tourism providers in subsistence harvest areas, especially with development of cannery project Bear-viewing center at Spasski Creek limits subsistence activity during cruise ship visits
Elders	Concerned about the effects of tourism on community life and cultural resources Concern about change in community character and loss of control to outsiders
Tongass National Forest Hoonah Ranger District	Increased management pressure on public resources shared with other user groups Increased visitor activity in forest related to Point Sophia cannery project
City of Hoonah	Need for improved infrastructure to accommodate increased traffic: roads, sidewalks, restroom facilities, signs, visitor services, waste, sewage, and health care Cannery project suggests need for transportation and overall tourism planning
Neighborhoods	Residents of downtown Hoonah saw an increased flow in visitor traffic

tourism providers. These effects are detailed in table 19. The Forest Service was able to regulate use in high-intensity areas to some degree through the distribution of permits.

The development at Icy Strait Point suggests the potential for new effects on the economy, community resources, and public and private lands. The project provided part-time jobs and business opportunities for community residents and a market for local artists. Retail shops and tourism-related businesses located outside the cannery development sought ways to increase economic benefits from tourism.

Those living downtown saw an increase in visitor traffic during cruise ship stops, with a few dozen visitors coming to town from the cannery by foot or bus. Transportation planning will likely minimize impacts to downtown residents. Resource planning may help to avoid user conflicts on public and private lands used for hunting, fishing, and subsistence activities.

In each site, business owners and tourism providers stood to gain from tourism. Those relying on access to natural resources for their livelihood, personal consumption, or recreation experienced some degree of changes in their patterns of use as a result of tourist activity. Tribal organizations faced difficult questions about the best way to manage cultural property owned by the clans. Municipalities benefited from the presence of the tourism industry but also experienced pressure on existing infrastructure and services to accommodate an increase in visitors. State and federal resource managers also saw an increase in commercial recreation activity and in user conflicts between various recreation users. In addition, each community had neighborhoods where tourism impacts were perceived to be greater, owing to the concentration of visitors or a sudden increase in visitor activity, p a rticularly in rural areas.

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Section 6: Key Findings and Management Considerations

The use of ethnographic research methods and extended residence within the study communities enabled the researcher to gain insight into the experience of Alaska residents engaged with tourism. Identifying stakeholders involved in tourism development and analyzing the effects of tourism development on social groups has led to a more complex picture of tourism-community relations in rural southeast Alaska communities.

Southeast Alaska's abundant wildlife, prevalence of scenic resources, and the unique cultural and social history draw tourists to the "Last Frontier." Effective marketing by the cruise lines will likely continue to attract visitors to Alaska for many years. Tourism leads to expansion of jobs, businesses, and income to communities and is one of the only industries in Alaska to show consistent growth in the last 10 years. Southeast Alaskans recognize the potential for tourism to build or bolster the local economy. Many community leaders look to tourism as a salvation for the community–keeping families fed and allowing young people to continue living and working in Alaska. Thus, in spite of its many tradeoffs, southeast Alaska officials still consider tourism an important option for economic growth.

As communities embrace tourism to various degrees, changes occur to the economic, social, and cultural fabric of community life. Visitors bring to Alaska different ideas, tastes, and interests, to which the tourism industry must respond. Tourism workers bring new values to the community and create new opportunities for social interaction. Moreover, tourism can transform the look and feel of communities, changing the way people think about and relate to places they call home. The influx of visitors and the tourism workers who may introduce new values and behaviors may cause some Alaskans to wonder about their own identity and lifestyle choices. Thus, it is important to consider how tourism can occur while preserving the lifestyle choices of Alaskans and allowing residents to live beyond the tourist gaze.

Tourism also affects the way locals use and perceive their natural environment and resources. As tourist volume expands, opportunities for encounters between hosts and guests increase. As tourism providers enter the market and compete for resources, they develop new activities and locations to entertain visitors. Expansion of the geographic domain of tourism often means that locals must share their special areas with visitors. Tourism also causes Alaskans to think about the natural resources they value. Access to fish and game and the proximity of wild lands and wilderness areas are important features to most Alaskans (Cuba 1987, Haycox

2002). Yet, these same resources also are commodities for consumption by visitors. When people come to Alaska, they expect to take something home, be it a box of fish, a picture of a bear, or a memory of a kayak trip. When these products are exported to nonlocals, issues of entitlement arise. As resources become scarce, competition and user conflicts may intensify (Briassoulis 2002).

Communities respond differently to different types and levels of tourism.

This study also illustrates that tourism can assume many forms within a geographic region. Consequently communities respond differently to different types and levels of tourism. In Haines, which predominantly catered to cruise ships, a high volume of visitors resulted, along with significant employment and business growth. As the community became more invested in cruise-based tourism, the economy, to a greater extent, became dependent on this source of revenue. In Craig, where tourism was largely rooted in charter fishing, the economic and social effects of tourism were minimal; however, tourism did result in conflicts over resource use when changes in the quality and quantity of fish resources were observed. In Hoonah, visitor interactions elicited concerns about privacy and safety. The need to protect cultural resources and traditions, as well as ongoing access to customary and traditional resource use, was considered paramount, especially amidst efforts to jump-start the tourism industry by the Native corporation. Southeast communities share many similarities when it comes to tourism. The experiences of one community may help another as each attempts to develop a form of tourism that maximizes community well-being. Southeast Alaska residents have stated their desire to have more control over the shape and flavor of tourism development. Local involvement in the process of tourism development may help to shape how these changes occur.

Tourism Development and Economic Effects

Several key findings emerged from the analysis of tourism in rural Alaska communities. Based on the study of Haines, Craig, and Hoonah, several conclusions may be drawn:

1. Community location is crucial in delineating options for tourism development. Communities located along principal cruise ship corridors have the option of developing their public or private facilities and attracting cruise ships through tax incentives, subsidized fees, and marketing. Communities in more remote locales may develop specialized tourism niches, such as fishing, nature-based tourism, or cultural tourism, to attract guests.

2. Local governments play various roles in tourism growth. In Haines, an alliance between business and local government to improve local infrastructure and visitor

services attracted the interest of cruise lines. In Craig, tourism growth occurred in a laissez-faire fashion, with minimal public involvement. Hoonah government officials helped facilitate dialog about tourism and improve local infrastructure. In each case, local governments became involved in tourism after recognizing that other industries were declining.

3. Investment in tourism by Native corporations altered the scale and pace of tourism development in rural southeast Alaska communities. In each study site, village corporations had invested significant capital resources in developing tourism ventures and improving local infrastructure. These developments generally were met with enthusiasm by shareholders eager for jobs. Access to land and capital made these tourism subsidiaries formidable competitors for existing tourism providers.

Investment in tourism by Native corporations altered the scale and pace of tourism development in rural southeast Alaska communities.

4. Tourism corporations have played a critical role in sparking local tourism development. The decision of cruise corporations to dock in Haines changed the dynamics of the local tourism industry and reshaped the local economy. An alliance between local tourism providers and cruise lines was crucial in expanding visitor volume. In Craig, a corporate partnership resulted in the creation of Waterfall Resort, establishing Craig as a hub for charter fishing. In 2001, several corporate-owned lodges competed with local businesses for charter guests. In Hoonah, an alliance between a Native corporation, a nonlocal tourism provider, and a major cruise line sparked a large-scale tourism enterprise. Without this corporate investment, tourism would likely continue at a low volume. In each case, corporate players played a dramatic role in shaping local tourism through their investment, with little or no involvement of local stakeholders.

5. In addition to these larger corporate entities, southeast Alaska's tourism industry was characterized by numerous small-business enterprises with a horizontal management structure, consisting of a small set of principals and a larger workforce of front-line employees. Because of this structure, vertical mobility was limited. Tourism workers eager to advance in tourism did so by branching off to start their own businesses. In both Haines and Craig, established tourism providers helped former employees develop their own niche of products and services.

6. Tourism was a source of income for local workers, creating opportunities for workers displaced by losses in other industries. In each study site, there was evidence that some former timber-industry employees, or their family members, had made the transition to tourism as owners or workers. As visitor volume expanded,

communities also saw an influx of nonresident workers and seasonal business owners. In all three sites, seasonal business owners and workers who lived outside the community in the off-season participated significantly in the industry. Statewide, one out of four jobs in the leisure and hospitality industry went to nonresident workers in 2002 (Hadland 2004). Before 2004, tourism enterprises in Hoonah were locally owned and staffed, with the exception of a few seasonal charter guides. After the Icy Strait Point development, some workers and entrepreneurs were imported from outside Hoonah. Commercial fishermen also were involved in tourism, mostly as fishing guides, as a means to supplement their income and hedge against future lulls in commercial fishing.

7. Tourism growth in rural southeast Alaska communities occurred without significant involvement from public resource agencies at the state or federal level. The expansion of cruise ship itineraries, the increase in cruise ship capacity, the construction of lodges, resorts, and facilities on private lands, and the increase in charter fishing operators all occurred without significant regulation from any public agency. The heterogeneous nature of tourism, namely its ability to assume many forms and to evolve quickly, along with the problem of overlapping political jurisdictions makes managing the industry a challenge.

8. The potential economic benefits of tourism were acknowledged in each study site, particularly the capacity for tourism to contribute to the employment base. In communities with more visitors, residents were more likely to observe additional benefits, such as business growth, contributions to the city tax base, and the secondary effects of visitor spending.

Sociocultural Effects

Respondents also linked the tourism industry with changes in community character. A comparison of tourism's sociocultural effects within the study communities reveals several important trends.

1. The sociocultural impacts of tourism differed at each site. In Haines, where visitor volume was highest in 2000, 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 having only limited interaction with visitors. Although tourist volume was modest in Hoonah in 2001, the sociocultural effects observed were more

pronounced, because of the compact nature of downtown and because of local attitudes toward strangers. By the end of the 2004 season, Hoonah respondents had become accustomed to the presence of cruise ship visitors in their community.

2. Residents of host communities typically perceived the seasonal tourism work force as a separate subpopulation of the community. Often they were assumed to have different values, habits, priorities, and levels of commitment to the community than other residents. In the case of Craig, this group of tourism workers (fishing guides) was considered to be somewhat alien to the existing culture of commercial fishermen.

3. Tribal officials in each community stressed the importance of protecting cultural resources and traditions from exploitation by outsiders. In addition, there was shared concern that local tourism providers would seek to benefit economically from cultural tourism without compensating the tribe or local clans who owned the material. In Hoonah and Craig, tribal officials had begun discussing the issue of interpreting cultural information for visitors.

4. Tourism impacted some neighborhoods more than others. In Haines, tourism providers had expanded into new geographic areas to avoid other tour groups and to offer guests a diversity of venues. This dispersal of tourism meant that more residents were seeing and interacting with visitors near their homes and places of recreation. The increasing frequency of these interactions took a toll on residents, who found fewer places and times to avoid visitors. Hoonah downtown residents also were more likely to describe visitor encounters. Residents of neighborhoods that received tourist visits were more likely to note problems associated with tourism during interviews.

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 the development at Glacier Point and the rapid growth of cruise-based tourism in general. 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 shaped the nature and pace of tourism growth.

6. In all three communities, local governments were involved in planning for future tourism. In Haines, where visitor impacts were most often vocalized, a city planning committee was established to manage tourism effects. Craig municipal officials were involved in island-wide tourism development and planning efforts.

Hoonah city leaders focused on infrastructure development, such as ferries, boat harbors, docks, parks, and streets.

Resource Effects

The rapid increase of cruise visitors to southeast Alaska combined with the emphasis on nature-based tours has had implications for the management of public resources. The large number of visitors has resulted in a subsequent increase in the frequency and intensity of use of popular natural areas with special scenic qualities or wildlife viewing opportunities. Moreover, tourism providers have expanded into new sites to provide visitors with a unique Alaska experience that is different from that of their competitors and that avoids contact with other tour groups. And, tour operators are relying on new transportation options to enable them to access previously remote areas. All these trends affect the way southeast Alaskans interact with these same resources. Several themes emerged in the analysis of effects of tourism on resource use.

1. The emphasis on consumptive tourism (hunting and fishing) caused some residents of the study communities, particularly Craig and Hoonah, to worry about long-term resource sustainability. The rapid growth in charter fishing activity was a concern for those residents who relied on fish for their livelihood or personal consumption. The increase in charter activity had caused some local fishermen to modify their harvest patterns—relying on different salmon species or freshwater species, or moving to different fishing grounds. 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. In each of the study sites, subsistence users reported moving to new harvest sites to avoid visitor contact. Because subsistence is viewed as both an economic and a cultural practice, any significant changes in subsistence patterns related to tourism would likely be hotly debated.

3. Tourism resulted in shifted patterns of local recreation use, particularly in Haines and Hoonah. In particular, those who had moved to Alaska for its recreational opportunities and immediate access to undeveloped areas did not always appreciate sharing those spaces with tour groups. Residents frequently reported that they had curbed their use of some high-volume areas and shifted to less desirable sites to

avoid visitor contact. Those who continued to use these high-volume areas reported a diminished experience.

4. 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 for some southeast Alaskans. For those who reside in Alaska in part because of the predominance of undeveloped spaces, these developments were perceived as disruptive to their desired quality of life. Moreover, some residents resented the packaging, marketing, and sale of "developed wilderness" to visitors. Glacier Point epitomized this issue: once a local kayak destination, picnic spot, and a goat-hunting ground, now it is a "wilderness safari" sold to cruise ship guests. In Hoonah, Glacier Bay, an area once used for harvest of seals, strawberries, and seagull eggs, was marketed by tourism providers to visitors worldwide as a natural wonder. The imposition of the tourist landscape, with an entirely new set of definitions and activities, onto these natural areas sometimes conflicted with use and perception of these spaces by local residents.

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.

5. The 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) among operators using different means of transportation (e.g., small cruise ships, kayaks, jet boats). These conflicts were observed by residents and resource managers in all three study sites. Public resource managers have stepped in to diminish conflicts by scheduling user activities in popular areas and encouraging dialogue among providers. Tourism providers in some cases have cooperated to avoid scheduling conflicts and ensure their guests a quality experience. Public agencies are beginning to apply tools for establishing optimal carrying capacity of recreation sites.

6. The expansion of nature-based tourism providers has had other implications for public land and resource managers. State and federal land managers, such as the Tongass National Forest and the Alaska Department of Natural Resources, 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 tools for measuring or regulating commercial recreation use. Moreover, they lacked internal capacity and personnel to monitor commercial recreation over vast areas. Some regulations and policies

for resource management were based on outdated assumptions.[21] 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

This study identifies factors that influence relations between tourism growth and community well-being in southeast Alaska. This information may be useful to Forest Service planners making decisions related to tourism management and recreation development on the Tongass National Forest; it also may be useful to state officials engaged in tourism promotion and planning in rural communities; and it may be instructive for community leaders as they face decisions to encourage local tourism. Some key points for consideration are listed below.

Economic benefits to host communities are related to the degree of direct local control residents have over the industry.

1. Enhancing local employment opportunities. The United Nations Brundtland Commission report on sustainable development stressed the need for social equity or the fair distribution of resources and opportunities across income categories and social groups (Walsh et al. 2001). Residents in each of the case study communities considered the ability of the tourism industry to contribute to the local economy as paramount. The economic benefits of tourism could be enhanced if more 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 further encourage the disbursement of economic benefits throughout the community (Pattullo 1996).

2. Local control. The need for local control of tourism development echoed throughout each of the research sites. Tourism scholars have found that economic benefits to host communities correlate with the degree of direct local control residents have over the industry (Munt 1994, Pattullo 1996). In a rural Indiana study, researchers revealed that when tourism was generated and maintained by local organizations, the industry was able to grow at a rate residents perceived to be sustainable, and local employment opportunities were abundant (Lewis 2001). In Haines, Craig, and Hoonah, tourism growth was sparked by private corporations

[21] For example, the Alaska Department of Fish and Game managed charter fishing under "sportfishing," which implicitly assumed small groups of independent anglers and not expansive fishing lodges with a fleet of 25 vessels.

and nonlocal actors, often with minimal public involvement or planning at the outset. Communities found themselves at the mercy of developers, and residents have experienced changes in the use of public spaces and local resources. Southeast Alaska residents who were interviewed wanted more control over the pace of tourism development, the type of tourism being pursued, and the process of managing tourism growth. Participation in tourism planning is useful for stakeholders to influence and share control over tourism development (World Bank 2002).

3. Considering costs and benefits among stakeholders. Any industry, whether timber, small-scale manufacturing, or small-scale ecotourism, affects the economic and social life in the community and the surrounding environment. Individual perceptions or interpretations of these effects differ depending on one's source of income, neighborhood of residence, profession, use of natural resources, and value orientations. Benefits and costs of tourism may not be evenly distributed (Stonich 2000, Young 1999). Those reaping economic gains from tourism may be more willing to endure the industry's less desirable attributes, whereas those incurring more of the cost may not appreciate some of the changes wrought by tourism. Understanding the distribution of benefits and costs of local tourism enables community leaders to develop mechanisms that minimize undesirable effects perceived by stakeholders and social groups.

4. Stakeholder involvement in local tourism planning. Involving stakeholders during planning processes promotes social equity and maximizes local control over tourism development and promotes a sense of ownership (King and Stewart 1996, Paskaleva-Shapira 2001). Many stakeholders affected by tourism have property rights or livelihoods that depend on natural resources. Planning efforts to mitigate tourism's effects were evident in southeast Alaska in the form of city-level tourism planning committees (Haines), site-focused planning efforts (e.g., Chilkoot corridor), and subregional planning processes such as on Prince of Wales Island. Local planning efforts that are initiated in a proactive fashion so as to influence and shape future tourism developments, rather than react to existing problems, will likely be more satisfying to those involved. Public and private participation has been shown to be central to the success of local tourism planning efforts (Paskaleva-Shapira 2001). Some stakeholders need extra assistance from state and federal agencies to be involved effectively, including organizational skills, capital resources, and technical support (King and Stewart 1996).

Communication among key players in industry and government about proposed recreation and tourism initiatives is important for acknowledging the potential for both cumulative effects and competing interests.

5. Developing mechanisms for regional planning. Sustainable tourism is difficult to achieve without mechanisms for local and regional planning to monitor tourism development (Hunter 1997). Tourism growth in southeast Alaska occurred with few regulations from state or federal agencies as to the volume or frequency of cruise ships or visitors to the region. Resource management agencies at multiple levels have the ability to work cooperatively and proactively to ensure that tourism growth does not outpace capacity to manage this growth. Communication among key players in industry and government about proposed recreation and tourism initiatives is important for acknowledging the potential for both cumulative effects and competing interests, with implications for Alaska's communities and resources. An interagency governing mechanism with participation from public and private sectors could provide a useful model for addressing tourism issues and shaping regional tourism policy (Paskaleva-Shapira 2001). Coordination among governmental and nongovernmental agencies concerned with transportation, economic development, resource use, and the environment is helpful to understanding the wide range of factors affecting tourism. Strategic planning efforts among multilevel stakeholders have helped plan tourism growth in other regions worldwide (Hall 1999). Incorporating the perspectives and needs of diverse stakeholders early in the planning process provides a more equitable distribution of tourism benefits and minimizes undesirable effects. Key to these planning processes is finding an agreeable definition of sustainability relevant for the region (Paskaleva-Shapira 2001).

Future Research

This study aimed to provide a comparison of tourism-community relations in three rural southeast Alaska communities. This research was exploratory by design, seeking to identify issues, challenges, and themes that were common to the study communities, as well as those unique to certain locales. Study findings suggest the need for more indepth and directed investigations of the tourism industry and its complex relationship with local communities and the natural resource base used and valued by rural residents. I suggest several studies pertinent to tourism in southeast Alaska. First, it would be useful to gain a more nuanced understanding of how the geographic expansion of tourism articulates with places and spaces of local significance.

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English Equivalents

When you know	Multiply by:	To find:
Kilometers	0.6215	Miles
Hectares	2.47	Acres
Degrees Celsius	1.8 + 32	Degrees Fahrenheit
Kilograms	2.205	Pounds

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Appendix 1: Social Actors and Stakeholders

Table 20—Social actors and stakeholder groups in Haines

Category	Description	Number represented
Commercial fishing	Residents currently or previously involved in commercial fishing	8
Timber	Residents previously employed in the timber industry	6
Environmental leaders	Residents actively involved in environmental issues	11
Business owners (nontourism)	Owners of businesses not related to tourism	12
Tourism providers	Owners and workers in tourism businesses	37
Nontourism workers	Workers in contracting, mechanical trades, technical trades (nursing, child care)	6
Retirees	Retired residents not formally involved in the labor force	5
Tribal members	Chilkoot or Chilkat tribal members	5
Municipal officials	Representatives from borough and city offices	5
State officials	Representatives from state resource agencies	3

Table 21—Social actors and stakeholder groups in Craig and Klawock

Category	Description	Number represented
Commercial fishing	Residents currently or previously involved in commercial fishing	12
Timber	Residents currently or previously employed in the timber industry	4
Business owners	Owners of businesses not related to tourism	20
Tourism providers	Owners and workers in tourism-related businesses, including charter fishing lodges	27
City officials	Employees of city government	5
Forest Service	Employees of Forest Service	8
Tribal officials and members	Members of tribal organizations in Craig or Klawock	8
Subsistence and sportfishers	Active hunters, fishers, and subsistence users	9

Table 22—Social actors and stakeholder groups in Hoonah

Category	Description	Number represented
Commercial fishing	Residents currently or previously involved in commercial fishing	4
Business owners (nontourism)	Owners of businesses not related to tourism	15
Tourism providers	Owners or workers in local tourism businesses, including charter fishing	15
Tribal officials and members	Employees or board members of the Hoonah Indian Association and clan leaders	14
City officials	Employees of the city and public schools	7
Huna Totem Corp.	Board members or executives of Huna Totem Corp.	4
Forest Service	Forest Service employees at the Hoonah Ranger District	6
Subsistence users	Native residents active in hunting and fishing for subsistence	10
Timber industry	Persons currently employed in the timber industry and/or living at the Whitestone logging camp	4
Game Creek	Residents of Game Creek community	5

Appendix 2: Sample Characteristics of Haines, Craig, and Hoonah

Haines Sample Characteristics

Residents involved in the study represented a wide range of backgrounds and experiences. Half (50 percent) of the people were between the ages of 46 and 65, and one-third were between the ages of 26 and 45. About 15 percent were over 65 and just 2 percent were under 25 years. Of respondents, 28 percent had lived in Haines fewer than 10 years, and 29 percent had lived in Haines for more than 30 years. Nearly one-fourth of research participants (23 percent) were born and raised in Haines, with another 9 percent originally from another region of Alaska. Most research participants (68 percent) were reared out of state. Research participants were predominantly male (65 percent) and predominantly non-Native (93 percent).

Craig Sample Characteristics

Of the Craig residents interviewed, 42 percent were female and 48 percent male. A significant portion of residents interviewed (24 percent) were Native (Tlingit or Haida), which roughly reflects the proportion of Alaska Natives living in Craig (22 percent). One-third of research participants were relative newcomers to Craig, having lived fewer than 10 years in the community. Another third had lived in Craig between 10 and 30 years, and one-third had lived in Craig more than 30 years, including 25 percent who were born and raised in the community. Most residents interviewed were between 46 and 65, with no interviewees under the age of 25 and just two over the age of 65.

Hoonah Sample Characteristics

The sampled residents represented a broad range of backgrounds and experiences. Roughly 40 percent of the sample was female, which is slightly below the percentage of females in Hoonah in 2000 (47 percent). The sample was 56 percent Native and 44 percent non-Native. The percentage of non-Native participants in the study was slightly higher than the population average (39 percent). This higher participation from non-Native residents was because many of the businesses in town were owned by non-Native persons. More than half the interviewees (53 percent) had lived in the community all their lives. Another 26 percent had lived in Hoonah more than 10 years, whereas 20 percent were relative newcomers, having lived in Hoonah for less than 10 years.

Appendix 3: Interview Guides

General Interview Guide

This study is being conducted by the Pacific Northwest Research (PNW) Station in Juneau. The PNW Research Station is part of the research branch of the USDA Forest Service. The goal of the study is to understand the effects of tourism on (a) local residents' everyday lives and decisions, (b) community life and the local economy, and (c) local use of natural areas. Through this process, we also hope to be able to gain an improved understanding of the unique qualities of the visitor experience in [community].

I. Background Questions

A. Years in [community]/Alaska

B. Previous residences (Where from originally/school/other places lived)
What brought you to Alaska?

C. Resident status (Year-round or seasonal/neighborhood)

D. Household economics: How do family members contribute to household income in 2000?

II. Community Life

A. Why did you decide to move to [community]?
(Why have you decided to remain in [community]?)

B. How would you describe [community] when you first moved here?
(Or, how would you describe the [community] of your childhood? (note years)

C. What changes have you observed in the time you have lived here?
How would you explain the causes of these changes?

D. What do you value most about living in [community]? What do you value least?

E. What characteristics, if any, do you feel [community] residents share in common?
What differences do you see among people living in [community]?

F. What would you hope for the community in the future?
What industries would you like to see grow in [community] in the future?
Why?
What are your biggest fears or concerns for the future of [community]?

III. Tourism

A. Background

1. When did you first notice the appearance of tourism in [community]?
2. What changes, if any, have you noticed in the shape of tourism in [community]?
3. How do you know when you are looking at a tourist?

B. Tourism Attitudes

1. What kind of contact do you have with visitors to [community]?
   a. What types of visitors do you see?
   b. What are they doing?
   c. How often do you see visitors?
   d. Where do you see them?
2. How has tourism in [community] affected your life, personally?
3. What aspects of the tourist season do you look forward to?
4. What aspects of tourism concern you?

C. Impacts of Tourism

1. In your view, how does tourism benefit [community]?
2. In your view, what are the most significant negative effects of tourism for the community?
3. Does the tourism affect community life? If so, how?
4. Does the presence of tourism affect the way natural resources are used? If so, how?
5. [HAINES ONLY] Tourism obviously is a controversial topic in Haines. What makes it so controversial?
6. How much tourism would you like to see in the future–say in 10 years? What sectors of the tourism industry would you like to see grow, decline, stay the same?
7. What are your biggest fears or concerns for the future tourism of [community]?

Interview Questions for Tour Operators

Introduction

This study is being conducted by the Pacific Northwest (PNW) Research Station in Juneau. The PNW Research Station is part of the research branch of the USDA Forest Service. The goal of the study is to understand the effects of tourism on (a) local residents' everyday lives and decisions, (b) community life and the local economy, and (c) local use of natural areas. We are interviewing many tourism businesses to understand both the nature and extent of tourism activities in [community] and the use of local areas by tourism operators. Through this process, we also hope to be able to gain an improved understanding of the unique qualities of the visitor experience in [community].

A. Background and Community Questions

1. Years in [community]/Alaska
2. Previous residences (Where from originally/school/other places lived)
   What brought you to Alaska?
3. Resident status (Year-round or seasonal/neighborhood)
4. Household economics: How do family members contribute to household income in 2000?
5. What do you value most about living here?
6. How would you describe [community] when you first moved here?
7. What changes have you observed since living in [community]?
8. What are your hopes for the community's future? What concerns do you have?

B. Early Tourism Business

1. Tell me about your professional history.
2. How did you get involved with the tourism industry?
3. How many years have you been working in tourism?
4. For business owners…
   a. What year did this business begin? What inspired you to start the business?

b. What was the original idea or vision for your company?
c. What products and services did you originally offer?
e. How many employees did you start with?
f. What equipment (or capital resources) did you start with?
g. What changes has your company experienced?

C. Current Tourism Business

1. Employees

a. Number of employees: Full-time _____ Part-time _____
Year-round _____ Seasonal _____
Local _____ Nonlocal _____

b. How do you recruit employees?
c. What percentage of employees typically returns for the next season?

2. Products and Services

a. What products and services do you currently offer?
b. What places in the Chilkat Valley does your company visit? (Has this changed over time? Why?)

3. Mission

a. What is your current mission?
b. Has it changed from your original mission?

4. Equipment

a. What equipment do you currently use/own? (vans, buses, etc.)

5. Marketing

a. How would you characterize your marketing strategy?
b. What percentage of your business comes from cruise ship passengers?
c. Do you have formal/contractual relationships with cruise companies? If so, how many cruise lines? Which cruise lines?
d. What percentage of visitors on your trips originates in Skagway?

6. Volume

a. What is your total visitor capacity?
b. How many total visitors will you serve this summer?
c. How many trips do you run per week in the peak season (for each location?)

7. Competition and Market Share

a. Who are your biggest competitors?

b. What is your approximate market share? How has it changed?
c. How has price been affected by increasing competition?
d. What does it take to survive in the tourism market in [community]?

8. Impressions

a. What do you like about working in the tourism industry?
b. What do you not like about working in tourism?

9. Future

a. Where would you like your company to be in 5 years?

D. Customer Demand and "Touristic Experience"

1. Expectations

a. What expectations do visitors have about Alaska before they arrive?
b. What expectations do visitors have about their tour?

2. Visitor Characteristics and Customer Demand

a. Have you noticed any changes in either the types of visitors coming on your tours or the expectations of visitors over the last 5 to 10 years?
b. What do you hope visitors experiencing your tour come away with? (What do you hope they remember most about their experience?)
c. What factors are influencing visitor demands for services they desire?
d. What new demands have you encountered? How have you met these demands, or how to you plan to address them?

3. Wilderness Experience

a. How do visitors conceptualize "wilderness?"
b. Does this differ from the way a resident would see it?

E. Tourism Impacts

1. In your view, how does tourism benefit [community]?

2. What are the most significant negative effects of tourism for the community?

3. [HAINES ONLY] Why is tourism so controversial in [Haines]? What is it like living in a community where tourism is so controversial?

4. How does the growing presence of the tourism industry affect community life?

5. How does the presence of tourism affect the way natural resources are used?
6. How would you describe your ideal vision the future of tourism in [community]?
7. What concerns, if any, do you have for the future tourism growth in [community]?

Focus Group Interview Guide

Background

We are about to begin what is called a "focus group." A focus group provides a safe and structured environment for a group of people to share ideas about a given topic. Today we are meeting to talk about current tourism activity in Hoonah and the community's future relationship to tourism. This is one of several focus groups that will be held in the next few weeks with different segments of Hoonah's population.

A. Community

1. First, let's do a little warm-up exercise. Let's go around the room. Using a few words or short phrases, how would you describe Hoonah to someone who had never visited?

2. Hoonah has been affected by changes in the commercial fishing and timber industries. Many people feel that there need to be new sources of economic growth. What kinds of jobs would you like to see grow in Hoonah? What is next for Hoonah?

B. Tourism: Part I

Now let's talk about tourism in Hoonah and the nearby area.

Current Tourism Levels

1. First, how do you know when you are looking at a tourist?

2. When you see tourists in Hoonah and the surrounding area, what sort of things are they doing? [fishing, hunting, boating, ferry, etc…]
   What activities are visitors involved in?

3. Are there places you often visit in the area of Icy Strait/Chichagof Island where you have seen an increase in visitors or tour operators?
   3a. How (if at all) does it change the way you use these places?

Future Tourism

In the summertime, there are more than half a million people going through Icy Strait on cruise ships, whale-watching and sightseeing tours, charter fishing boats, yachts, and catamarans. Some people talk about bringing more of these visitors to Hoonah.

4. What features does Hoonah offer that would attract visitors? Why would someone want to visit Hoonah?

5. Given all the tourism activity happening close by, why don't we see more visitors in Hoonah?

6. Why would the tourism industry be good for Hoonah?

7. When people think about tourists coming to Hoonah, what concerns might arise?

8. How does tourism affect people's ability to hunt, fish, and gather items for customary and traditional use?

One thing we want to do is establish whether Hoonah residents see tourism as an option for growing the economy and creating jobs. There are many kinds of visitors to attract and visitor activities to promote.

9. What sort of tourism activities, businesses, and attractions do you think would be most desirable in Hoonah? Try to consider realistic options.

   a. Now, let's rank these based on desirability. Pick three top choices and write them down on some paper. How many people put "X" on their list of top three? (It doesn't matter what order.) Go down the list.

By using the list of ideas people generated, make a "top-five" list.

10. Now let's talk a little more in detail about each of these items. (10 minutes)

    Pick item #1, #2, #3 (depending on time)
    Why would this be good for the community?
    What concerns might people have about this?
    Where would this take place?
    Volume. How much?

If not on the "top-5" list do 10a, 10b, 10c.

10a. In many areas of the world, visitors travel to learn about Native culture. Do you think it would be a good idea to promote something like this in Hoonah? Why? What are some ways Tlingit culture might be shared with visitors?

10b. A number of southeast Alaska communities are bringing in cruise ships. What would be the benefit of having large cruise ships dock or anchor near Hoonah? What concerns would you have about this?

10c. Smaller ships typically bring fewer people and stay longer in port. What are the benefits of small cruise ships? Drawbacks?

Local Capacity

1. What things need to happen for tourism to grow in Hoonah?
2. What improvements need to be made in local infrastructure to accommodate future visitors?
3. What could be done to prevent any unwanted changes future tourism might do to Hoonah?
4. What agencies should be involved in talking about tourism? What should they be doing?
5. What should the Forest Service be doing with regard to recreation and tourism?

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