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Preliminary Research Findings From a Study of the Sociocultural Effects of Tourism in Haines, Alaska

Lee K. Cerveny



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Author

Lee K. Cervený is a research social scientist, Forestry Sciences Laboratory, 400 N 34th Street, Suite 201, Seattle, WA 98103.

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Abstract

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This report examines the growth and development of the tourism industry in Haines, Alaska, and its effects on community life and land use. It also describes the development of cruise-based tourism and its relation to shifts in local social and economic structures and patterns of land use, especially local recreation use trends. A multisited ethnographic approach was used featuring participant observation and in-depth interviews with local residents, cruise line industry personnel, and visitors to southeast Alaska. Results show that tourism brings both positive and negative changes to Alaska communities. Data from this report can assist Forest Service planners to identify factors involved in the relation between tourism growth and community well-being. It also may assist small southeast Alaska communities in decisionmaking related to tourism development.

Keywords: Tongass National Forest, southeast Alaska, tourism, communities.

Preface

This report represents the preliminary results of field research conducted from 2000 through 2001 by the USDA Forest Service, Pacific Northwest Research Station (PNW) in Juneau, Alaska. The Haines community study was part of a larger project to examine the sociocultural effects of tourism in three southeast Alaska communities. The project was developed by researchers from PNW with input from the USDA Forest Service, Alaska Regional Office; the Tongass National Forest; and the former Alaska Division of Tourism. This study addresses research and information needs identified in the 1997 Tongass Land and Resource Management Plan (TLMP) to understand community relations with Tongass-related tourism (USDA Forest Service). The Tongass National Forest provided funding for this TLMP administrative study. In addition, this study is being conducted as a doctoral dissertation in anthropology with the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. This study contributes to the development of a theory related to tourism and its impacts on communities and resources.

This is the first of a series of three community reports on tourism in southeast Alaska communities. Subsequent reports will present data collected during field research that took place in Hoonah from 2000 through 2001 and in Craig in 2001. A final report analyzing and comparing tourism trends in all three communities also was prepared in 2004. These studies are part of an effort by PNW to research recreation and tourism trends and provide analyses that will be useful in Forest Service planning. Data from this study on the effects of tourism and recreation in southeast Alaska communities will assist Forest Service planners to identify factors involved in the relation between tourism growth and community well-being. This information also may be useful in decisionmaking related to tourism management and recreation development. In addition, the research may assist small southeast Alaska communities as they work through various stages of decisionmaking related to tourism development. Lessons from Haines, Hoonah, and Craig may provide important insights for scholars of tourism and community change in many social science disciplines and for communities worldwide negotiating their relation with the tourism industry.

Contents

1	Background
2	Study Context
6	Study Goals and Research Activities
8	Relation to Other Research and Planning Efforts
9	Structure of This Report
11	Section 1: Research Methods
11	Site Selection
12	Literature Review
13	Data Sources
19	Section 2: Haines—A Community Profile
19	Physical Setting
19	Cultural History
20	Local Government
21	Land Ownership
22	Haines' Economic History
30	Economy
37	Population and Demography
43	Other Community Characteristics
45	Conclusion
47	Section 3: The Evolution of Tourism in Haines
47	The Early Years
48	Haines as an Emerging Destination
50	Public Investment in Tourism
53	The Growth of Cruise-Based Tourism
59	Local Business Responds to the Cruise Industry
62	Impacts of the Growth of Cruise Tourism
73	Local Efforts to Plan for Tourism and Manage Tourism Impacts
78	The Cruise Industry Response
82	Conclusion
83	Section 4: Understanding Tourism-Community Relations
83	Understanding the Roots of Tourism Conflict
92	Understanding the Impacts of Tourism

92	Economic Impacts
99	Social Impacts
103	Resource Impacts
109	Impacts on Local Infrastructure
110	Future Tourism Impacts
112	Conclusion
115	Section 5: Research Implications
115	Local Control and Corporate Decisionmaking
117	Tourism and Social Segmentation
119	Tourism and the Commoditization of Landscape
121	Transitioning to Tourism
125	Future Community Studies
126	Conclusion
126	Acknowledgments
127	English Equivalents
127	References
139	Appendix: Interview Guides

Background

Since the 1980s, tourism has become one of southeast Alaska's most important industries, generating new businesses and job growth. The growth of tourism in Alaska has afforded new possibilities to southeast Alaska communities struggling for economic survival amid declines in traditional industries such as timber and fishing. With few other economic alternatives, many local officials have turned to tourism as a way to create jobs, spur business development, and contribute to municipal revenues. In response to tourism, the sociocultural fabric of southeast Alaska has changed to accommodate the new industry (Egan 2000). In addition, tourism has resulted in changes in the way southeast Alaskans perceive and utilize natural resources. Community leaders are deciding to what extent their economies should be based on tourism and what a tourism economy means for the social life of the community. Provocative questions are being asked, such as: **How much tourism do we want to have? What types of tourism activities do we want to promote? How do we mitigate tourism's undesirable effects? How do we entertain tourism while maintaining our existing quality of life?**

Haines represents an excellent case study for understanding the effects of tourism because of the rapid growth in tourist volume related to the cruise industry. Examining tourism in Haines during this crucial period of transition has provided a unique opportunity to study the effects of cruise-based tourism in its early stages. Haines' relative isolation and its visible ties to the global economy make it ideal for sociocultural analysis. This report summarizes research on the varied impacts of tourism on Haines, Alaska, from the perspectives of local residents.

This research incorporates a multisited ethnographic approach featuring the use of participant observation and indepth interviews (Bernard 1995, Kottak 1999). Field research in Haines took place from May through September 2000 and in February 2001. The resulting data were largely qualitative, stemming from semi-structured interviews and observations at public events where residents talked about tourism and its relation to their community. The use of ethnographic methods promoted a deep knowledge of tourism and its relation to community life and resulted in data that would have been difficult to achieve by using standard survey approaches. This report demonstrates preliminary findings based on a first round of ethnographic analysis. These observations will be further tested and substantiated in subsequent reports.

Study Context

Through 2001, the global tourism industry experienced abundant growth. According to the World Travel and Tourism Council, the total travel and tourism economy accounted for 10.7 percent of global gross domestic product in 2001 at \$3.5 billion. In North America, 12 percent of employment was related directly or indirectly to the tourism economy in 2001 (World Travel and Tourism Council 2001). Since 1950, international travel increased from 25.3 million visitors to 698 million in 2000, while travel expenditures increased from \$2.1 billion in 1950 to \$476 billion in 2000 (World Tourism Organization 2001). Owing to a healthy economy and an increase in leisure time, growth rates of North American leisure travelers increased by 5 percent annually between 1994 and 1999 (Plog Research 1999).¹ With a “baby-boom” generation entering retirement age, total travel expenditures for leisure travel are expected to increase still further. As the industry expands and travelers seek “fresh” experiences, the number of travel destinations hosting visitors also is likely to grow.

Currently, Alaska is a popular travel destination. A booming U.S. economy throughout the 1990s resulted in an increased number of people able to afford Alaska travel and with the vacation time necessary to make the trip. With 11,000 miles of shoreline and an impressive scenic array that includes fjords, glaciers, marine mammals, and bears, southeast Alaska represents an area of keen interest to travelers. Exceeding global trends, the number of visitors to southeast Alaska grew at the rate of 10 percent annually from 473,000 in 1985 to more than 800,000 in 2000 (McDowell Group 1999) (fig. 1).

Large cruise ships bring about three-fourths of the visitors to southeast Alaska, with some ships transporting more than 2,000 passengers to communities ranging from 800 to 35,000 residents (McDowell Group 2000). Owing to intense competition among rival cruise lines and the dramatic growth in cruise ship capacity, Alaska has become affordable to middle-class travelers eager to see the “last frontier.” One growing market segment is the small cruise ship industry, consisting of ships with fewer than 150 passengers. Small-ship or “pocket” cruises provide opportunities for “up-close-and-personal” Alaska experiences in smaller ports. Passenger participation in shore excursions has increased dramatically over the last 5 years. With improvements in transportation technology and infrastructure, cruise

Large cruise ships bring about three-fourths of the visitors to southeast Alaska, with some ships transporting more than 2,000 passengers.

¹ After the terrorist attacks in New York in September 2001, industry experts predicted a 30-percent decline in tourism globally (World Travel and Tourism Council 2001). However, cruise-industry traffic to Alaska held constant in the aftermath of the Trade Center attacks. The industry experienced differential effects related to tourism. Independent travel and packaged tours, including adventure tours and sport fishing, declined (ATIA 2002).

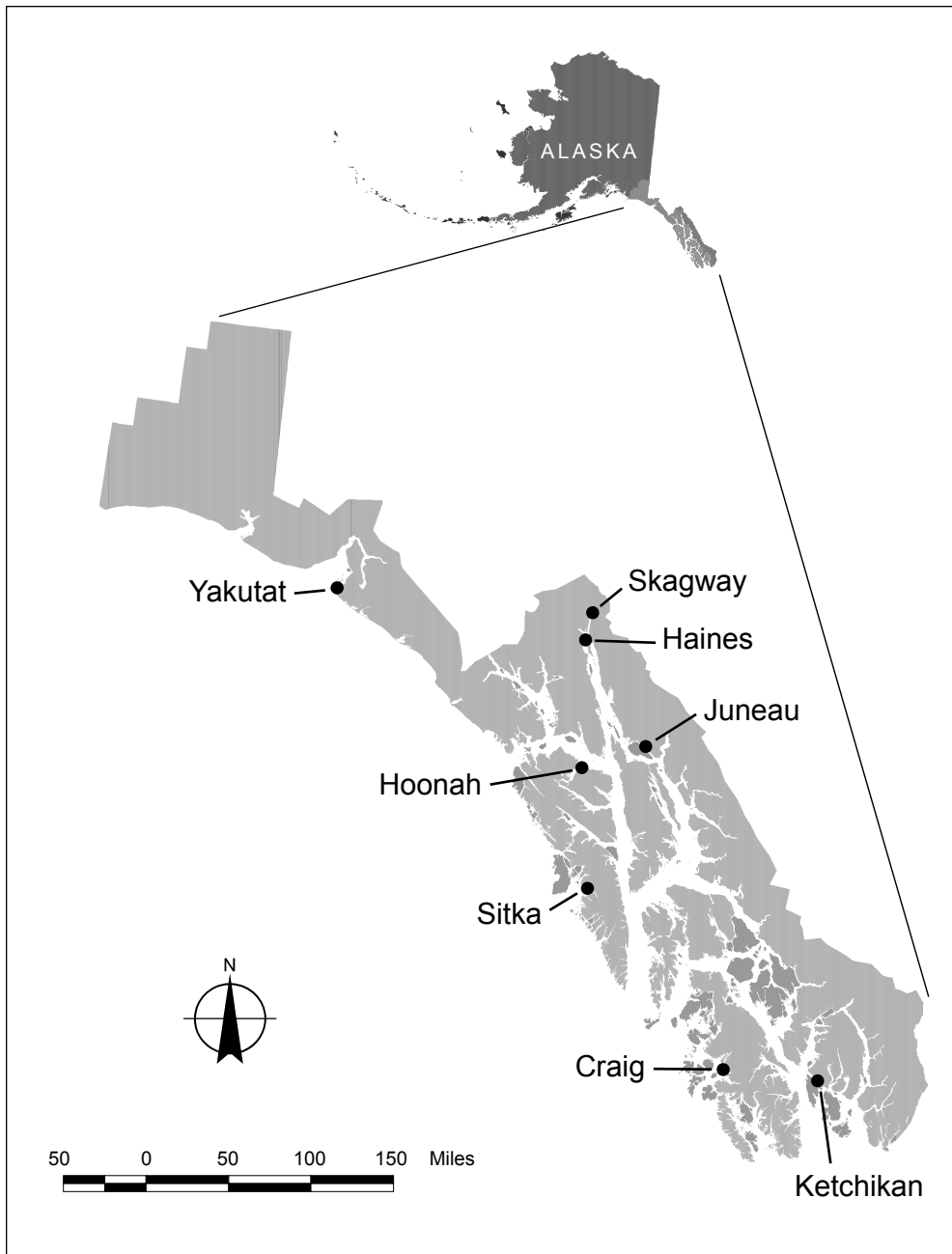


Figure 1—Major southeast Alaska towns affected by tourism.

passengers are able to visit remote sites via helicopter, float plane, jet boat, or other means and be back to the ship in time for dinner. Not only are southeast Alaska communities experiencing more visitors, but they are also seeing more visitors participating in diverse tourist activities in increasingly remote places. These industry changes are having significant effects on local communities and their resources.

Tourism brings changes to Alaska communities, both positive and negative.

Because there is a high demand for the natural beauty of Alaska, tourism is a logical choice for communities eager to improve their local economic base. The growth of cruise ship travel to Alaska has afforded new possibilities to southeast Alaska communities struggling for economic survival amid declines in traditional industries. Price competition and government regulation altered the timber market on which many southeast Alaska communities depended. Moreover, price competition from farmed salmon, along with changes in the structure of the commercial fishing industry, an economic staple for Alaska coastal communities, resulted in a decline in the number of local fishermen (Gilbertson 2003). With few other economic alternatives, many local officials have turned to tourism as a means to jump-start lagging economies. In several southeast Alaska communities, tourism has created jobs, spurred business development, and contributed to local city revenues. A survey of Alaska households identified tourism as the third most important industry behind oil and fishing (McDowell Group 1999). In southeast Alaska, tourism jobs accounted for about 10.3 percent of total employment in 2002 (Fried and Windisch-Cole 2004).²

Tourism brings changes to Alaska communities, both positive and negative. Unwanted effects of tourism, such as crowded streets, beaches, and trails, are disruptive to a rural lifestyle important to many Alaskans. Environmental effects of tourism also are being weighed, sparked by the growing awareness of cruise ship pollution and increasing noise from flight-seeing tours. Tourism also is linked with changes in community life. The influx of tourism businesses and workers results in new ways of organizing the local economy and a shift in social structure (Faulkenberry et al. 2000: 87). Many residents in cruise ports are concerned that large tourism corporations will dominate local business activity and politics. Tourism also can transform communities and landscapes to conform to visitor needs—thus changing the relation between residents and their local environment (Pi-Sunyer and Thomas 1997: 187). Growing awareness of these issues has fueled public scrutiny about tourism benefits and inspired citizen activism questioning the role of industrial-scale tourism. By passing municipal ordinances to tax tourism, voters in several Alaska communities, including Haines, have indicated a desire to manage tourism growth to preserve local lifestyles.

Haines represents a microcosm of many of the tourism issues faced by southeast Alaska communities. Located in the Upper Lynn Canal at the foot of the Chilkat Valley, Haines (population 2,516)³ has long been an important stop for Alaska visitors arriving by land and by sea (fig. 2). The Haines Highway connects southeast

² For a complete discussion of tourism growth trends in southeast Alaska, see Schroeder et al. (n.d.).

³ This was the population of Haines Borough in 2000 (USDC Bureau of the Census 2000).

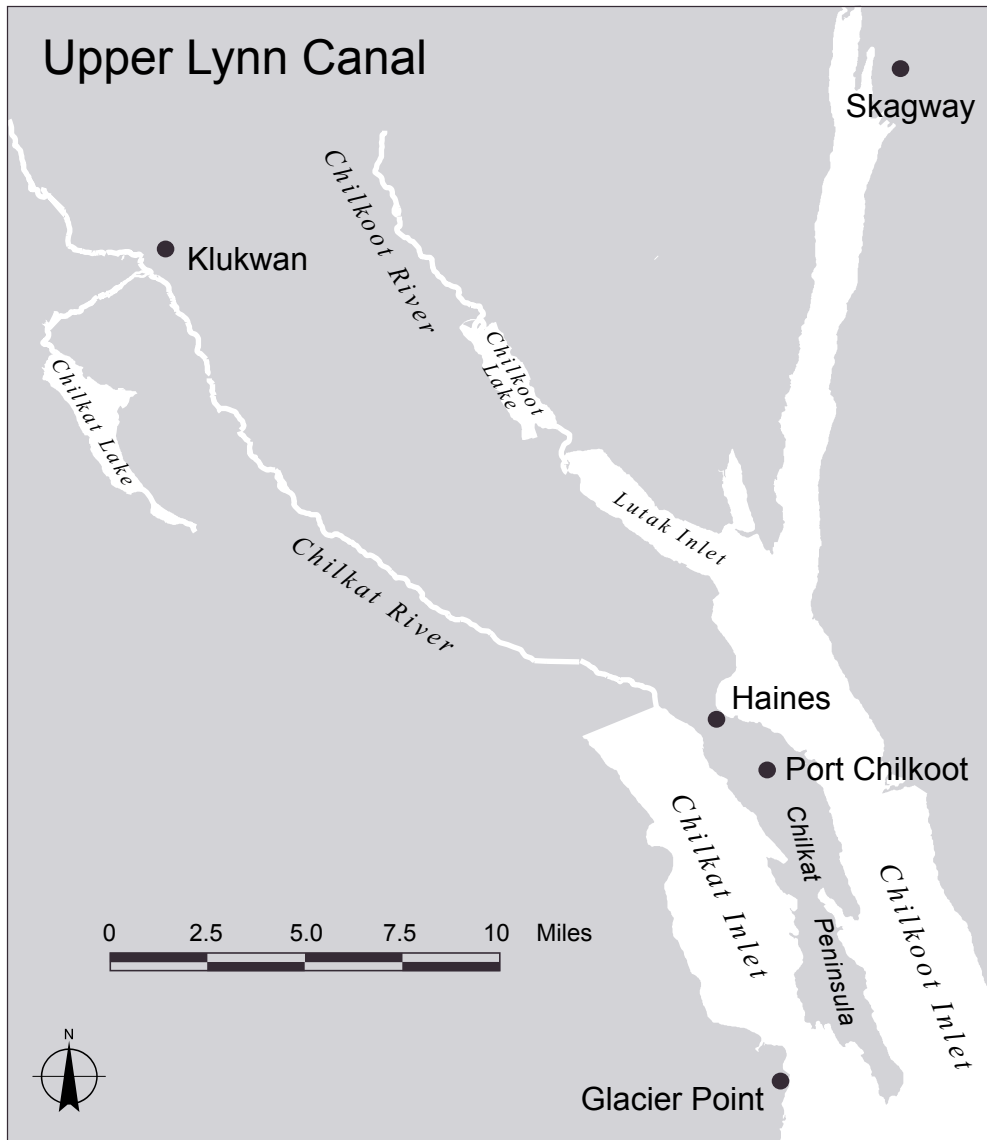


Figure 2—Upper Lynn Canal.

Alaska to the Alaska interior, Canada, and the lower 48 States. Haines has long enjoyed its reputation as a “working town” with its economic roots based in mining, the military (Fort William Seward), fishing, timber, and transportation. Beginning in the 1980s, the timber industry faced stark declines owing to market conditions and legislative action spurred by environmentalists. Tourism emerged to fill a gap in Haines’ economy. Tourism promoters took advantage of the natural and cultural attributes of the area to satisfy visitor demand to see Alaska by cruise ship. A significant upsurge in visitors began in 1994, when the city-owned dock was revamped to accommodate large cruise ships. As a result, the number of cruise visitors increased from 50,000 in 1994 to more than 187,000 in 2000 (Haines

Visitor Center 2000). Along with the growth in cruise visitors, the number of tourism businesses flourished, especially those providing shore excursions related to outdoor adventure, culture, and local history. Many small businesses profited directly from tourism and others benefited indirectly from the trickle-down of tourism dollars and tax contributions to municipalities. Within 5 years, the tourism industry and the city began to focus their development efforts on the cruise ships and their passengers.

As the number of visitors traveling to Haines grew, several issues began to surface that suggested a need for tourism management. Crowding on city streets and in favorite recreation areas was of paramount concern. Other issues included visitor impact on wildlife, the loss of local recreation spaces, shifts in local demography and social structure, and loss of economic autonomy. Many observed the disproportional economic benefits of tourism, the migration of tourist dollars out of the city, and the abundance of low-wage jobs generated by tourism. Local residents were concerned about current tourism effects as well as their community's future, having witnessed significant changes in the economic and social structure of neighboring communities that depended on cruise-based tourism. After much local debate about managing the effects of tourism, a major cruise line decided not to continue docking ships in Haines, thereby reducing the volume of cruise passengers and resulting in serious economic setbacks for local businesses and tax-dependent institutions. This report describes the evolution of the tourism industry in Haines and examines the nature and extent of tourism effects on community life.

Study Goals and Research Activities

This report represents a summary of preliminary findings related to tourism impacts in Haines, Alaska. This report is one piece of a broader ethnographic study to understand tourism relations in diverse Alaska communities. The broader study included research in three southeast Alaska communities: Haines, Hoonah, and Craig. Using a regional framework and a multisited approach, I explore how tourism shapes human communities and alters relations between humans and their environment. The research draws from traditional anthropological theory, with attention to both political ecology and stakeholder theory to examine the dynamic interactions among key participants within the tourism industry and the effects of these interactions on residents and their environment (Faulkenberry et al. 2000; Stonich 1998, 2000). Political ecology refers to a framework of analyzing how various human groups interact with their environment at various levels: local, regional, national, and international (Paulson et al. 2003). A political ecology perspective necessitates analysis of both the historical evolution of tourism and the political

dynamics among key tourism stakeholders, persons or groups with a particular interest in tourism such as global corporations, government agencies, citizen groups, and local businesses (Ramirez 1999, Stonich 2000). In this study, I examine the role and relations of stakeholders operating at various levels, as they have impacted the shape of tourism in Haines over time. The idea behind the political ecology approach is that one cannot understand the effects of tourism on human communities and resources without recognizing the role of politics and institutions. The broader research effort contributes to theoretical discussions about the complex relations between those involved and their landscape within a tourism economy.

Study Hypotheses—

Three hypotheses were explored in the broader research effort that shaped overall research design. (1) Local and nonlocal actors actively shape the role of tourism within the community. However, **as the economic role of tourism expands, non-local economic interests play a greater role in local decisionmaking processes related to tourism.** In communities where residents perceived that tourism was controlled by outside interests, greater concern would be expressed about the role of tourism in community life (Pi-Sunyer and Thomas 1997). (2) **Tourism impacts will differ among communities experiencing different types and levels of tourism development.** In communities engaged in industrial tourism featuring high visitor volumes, the costs of tourism outweigh the benefits for most residents. Meanwhile, in communities with more modest tourism involvement, residents would perceive tourism benefits as exceeding costs. (3) **The impacts of tourism become magnified when both the traditional economic base and historical patterns of resource use are disrupted** (Mansperger 1995). Tourism can alter local landscapes and change the way residents use and perceive local resources (Greider and Garkovich 1994). When tourism significantly alters human uses of natural resources, local residents seek ways to manage tourism growth through participation in formal and informal public processes. Final discussion of research hypotheses will occur in subsequent publications once all community reports have been completed and data fully analyzed. This report offers preliminary findings that will shape future analysis.

Three research activities provided structure for data-collection efforts.

- 1. Collect and analyze baseline tourism data.** This research provided baseline data for the three study communities and allows comparison of community cultural context including socioeconomic and demographic data as well as tourism-specific data such as the size and shape of the tourism industry, past and present visitation levels, and salient tourism issues. This

collection of baseline data enables future studies to examine change in tourism over time. In addition, this will promote the groundwork for theory development about the relation between tourism and community change.

- 2. Understand local attitudes toward tourism and the sociocultural effects of tourism experienced by local residents.** This research involved describing current attitudes toward tourism, their origins, and their potential for shaping future tourism growth. The study also examined local perceptions of both visitors and the tourism industry, the effects of tourism on local lifestyles and livelihoods, and key social, cultural, and economic institutions affected by tourism.
- 3. Explore the role of tourism in the relation between residents and their environment.** This research examined the effects of increasing tourism activity on local uses of natural resources including recreation, traditional and customary uses (subsistence), and commercial activities. This study sought to understand the extent to which tourism transforms the use of local spaces and alters the relation residents have with their environment.

Relation to Other Research and Planning Efforts

This study represents one piece of a larger effort by multiple institutions and individuals analyzing tourism and recreation issues throughout southeast Alaska. Locally, Haines is host to various research and planning efforts such as field research to examine shifts in local identity from timber to tourism, the impacts of tourism on animal behavior, the impacts of river rafting within the Alaska Chilkat Bald Eagle Preserve on eagle habitat and behavior,⁴ the impacts of visitors on bear behavior in the Chilkoot River corridor, and a long-term study of rhetoric and land use in the Chilkat Valley (Henry 1999). Several local planning efforts also were underway in 2000 and 2001, including the State Department of Natural Resources efforts to revise management plans for the Haines State Forest, the Alaska Chilkat Bald Eagle Preserve, and the northern southeast region. A significant issue addressed in this planning effort was the growth of commercial recreation use on state lands. Other planning efforts in 2001 examined local recreation use on city lands. Several regional research and planning efforts related to recreation and tourism also were underway. In 2000, the Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development conducted a survey of outfitter guides to understand characteristics of tourism businesses in southeast Alaska. In 2001, the Alaska Division of Tourism initiated

⁴This research was sponsored by the American Bald Eagle Foundation in Haines.

the Alaska Visitor Statistics Program study to understand visitor spending and other aspects of the visitor experience in Alaska. A similar study of resident travel trends and expenditures also was being planned. Meanwhile, the PNW Forestry Sciences Laboratory in Juneau completed a study of regional tourism trends and projections (Schroeder et al., n.d.). Together, these surveys illuminate regional tourism trends among visitors, residents, and industry.

This study is unique in that it provides an indepth, holistic analysis of three distinct sites and their various experiences with tourism. This microlevel analysis allows for a depth of understanding not possible in broader survey efforts. Intensive and repeated interviews with local residents elicited stories, narratives, and detailed explanations about how residents have adjusted to the changes wrought by tourism. The community-based study also allows exploration of connections among local actors and between local, regional, and global economies. The three case studies will contribute to theoretical understanding of tourism's relation to broader processes of globalization and community change.

Structure of This Report

This report presents themes and issues that surfaced based on preliminary analysis. The results presented here are based on an initial review of qualitative data. Topics presented will be further analyzed and explored along with data from the other two study sites in the final report.⁵ The report is divided into five sections. Section 1 explains the research methods incorporated in this study. Section 2 describes the history, demography, and economy of Haines. Section 3 traces the growth of tourism in Haines with a focus on the cruise industry. Section 4 offers a brief analysis of the roots of tourism conflict in Haines and describes resident perceptions of tourism impacts in 2000. In the final section, I consider several ideas for future exploration and analysis of Alaska communities.

The style of presentation common to applied ethnographic accounts includes my observations and findings substantiated by quotations from participants involved in the study. In most cases, names of actual participants and the institutions they represented were omitted to provide anonymity. In all cases, the quotations used in this report were extracted directly from interview notes rather than audio recordings. To the extent possible, these quotations capture the exact words used by participants, although some words may have been lost in transcription. Moreover, for purposes of report writing, some transition words were added or deleted to promote fluidity or readability; however, the meaning or intent of the statements was not altered in editing.

⁵See Cervený (n.d. b).

Section 1: Research Methods

This research incorporates a multisited ethnographic approach (Kottak 1999) that allowed me to assess variations among communities experiencing different levels of tourism within a shared regional context. Standard ethnographic approaches in anthropology are based on the copresence of the observer (researcher) and the observed, within a shared locale.¹ The purpose of the ethnographic approach is not primarily in the creation of theory but in “thick description” unearthing the layers of shared meaning and symbols among residents of a defined region (Geertz 1973). Thick description requires that the researcher become a long-term resident in the community to better understand local life patterns.

Traditional forms of fieldwork often fail to integrate a global context or note connections among multiple sites. Kottak (1999: 30), in his discussion of linkages methodology, argued the need for systematic community comparison through multi-site research. This study seeks knowledge about the characteristics of tourism as it relates to communities within the broader framework of the global tourism industry. An indepth analysis of several sites illuminates various elements of tourism-community interactions. Although providing a multifaceted view of tourism, a multisited approach had several trade-offs. Knowledge of unique community dynamics and complexities was sacrificed to understand the relations between communities and the multiple tourism actors and forces operating regionally and globally.

Another important element framing the methodological approach used is embodied in the idea of “triangulation,” the incorporation of relevant data from many sources (Pelto and Pelto 1978). The use of multiple data sources validates the accuracy of data and improves the quality and depth of qualitative research. Similar data collection strategies were used at all study sites to facilitate comparison. To encourage collaboration, this study sought to maximize involvement of participants in many phases of the research process, from design to interpretation (Stull 1987). All efforts were made to ensure that the researcher’s presence did not disrupt community life, and an unbiased, scientific, and objective approach was maintained.

Site Selection

Site selection was based on criteria that permitted greater understanding of the effects of tourism within communities experiencing different levels and types of tourism (Pelto and Pelto 1978: 217). This research was conducted in three southeast Alaska communities that reflected a wide range of examples of Alaska tourism. From among 35 organized settlements in southeast Alaska, I sought communities of similar size, economic history, and ethnicity to enhance opportunities

¹For dissertation research in anthropology, field researchers are expected to spend about 12 months in a study site.

for meaningful research comparisons. Communities with populations between 200 and 2,000 residents were targeted. I looked for communities with historical involvement in both the timber and commercial fishing industries.² Third, I hoped to include communities with a long history of Native settlements and that currently possess a significant proportion of Alaska Native residents mirroring regional trends (at least 15 percent). From this sample of southeast Alaska communities, I selected sites that reflected the diversity of tourism activities occurring in the region.³ Haines was chosen because of the rapid growth in cruise ship tourism. Hoonah was included because it represented a predominantly Native community in the early stages of tourism development, but with considerable tourism growth potential. Craig was selected because of the recent surge in charter fishing. Before research began, public officials in each site were contacted, and their city's participation in the study was discussed.

Literature Review

The literature review conducted for this project covered three key areas: (1) the theoretical base for tourism, (2) the history and economics of tourism in Alaska, and (3) Tlingit societies. The theoretical base for understanding tourism came from the social sciences literature—especially anthropology, sociology, and cultural geography.⁴ Emphasis of this aspect of the literature review was on understanding attitudes and perceptions of tourism among rural residents as well as the sociocultural impacts of tourism in the context of developing regions.⁵ An additional focus of this literature search examined the effects of tourism on use of natural areas by local residents in the “host” societies.⁶ The results of this literature review demonstrated that tourism presents a diversity of sociocultural effects for host communities, depending on the level of tourism involvement, the type of tourism taking place, and the degree of local control over tourism outcomes. A second literature review was conducted to examine the history and economics of Alaska tourism.⁷

² Although logging has waned in Haines, timber harvesting by Native corporations continues near other research sites (Hoonah and Craig).

³ This approach follows the methodological model of Pi-Sunyer and Thomas (1997), who studied tourism types in Quintana Roo.

⁴ See Cerveny (n.d. a).

⁵ See Ap (1992), Brougham and Butler (1981), Butler (1993), Butler and Hinch (1996), Butler and Pearce (1995), Crick (1989), Greenwood (1989), Lankford (1994), Lankford and Howard (1994), Long et al. (1990), Mathieson and Wall (1982), Milman and Pizam (1988), and Perdue et al. (1987).

⁶ See Adams (1997), Brown (1999), Mansperger (1995), Milne et al. (1998), Pi-Sunyer and Thomas (1997), Stonich (2000), Urry (1992), Wall and Long (1996), and Young (1999).

⁷ See Behnke (1999), Hinckley (1965), Nash (1981), Norris (1985), Nuttall (1997), and West (1993).

This activity allowed an enhanced understanding of the broader context of tourism development within the three study sites. Since the 1980s, tourism in southeast Alaska increasingly has been linked to the cruise lines, which have increased their investment in Alaska. Finally, a review of literature of Tlingit societies has provided significant background on the history and culture of Chilkat and Chilkoot Tlingit communities living in the Haines area.⁸

Data Sources

My data stem from residing in three field communities over the course of 14 months. Data for this research are derived from various sources including participant observation, resident interviews, surveys, archival sources, and economic and census data. I conducted field research in Haines for 18 weeks between May and September 2000 and returned in February 2001 and September 2003 for followup research. This schedule allowed the opportunity to observe community life before, during, and after the summer tourist season. In addition, the extended field time promoted understanding of the daily experiences of Haines-area residents and patterns of community life. This knowledge of Haines community life and local value orientations was essential to interpreting results about community perceptions of tourism.

Participant observation—

A portion of the data was gathered through observation of interactions among residents, visitors, and tour operators. Participation in the daily lives of Haines residents comprised an important component of ethnographic data collection as “part of the fieldworker’s ethnographic knowledge becomes embedded in his or her daily routines” (Pelto and Pelto 1978: 68). While in Haines, I attended public meetings of the City Tourism Planning Committee, the Haines City Council, City Planning Committee, the State Division of Natural Resources, and many others. I also took part in local community events including the Fourth of July celebration, Southeast Alaska Fair, Royal Caribbean Salmon Feast, and many other public activities key to local identity. Additionally, I volunteered in a local community organization. By becoming a short-term resident, I learned firsthand about the life patterns of Haines residents and how they shape their values and worldview. This onsite opportunity offered the unique understanding of what it might mean to be from Haines and allowed me to absorb the ways that local history shapes contemporary social institutions and policy decisions. Participant observation also taught me

⁸ See Emmons (1991), Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1987, 1990, 1994), Krause (1885), Krause and Krause (1948), Oberg (1973), and Olson (1967), de Laguna (1990), Swanton (1908).

something about the nature of the touristic experience. I spent many hours systematically observing visitors in principle tourism sites—sometimes as a distanced observer and other times as an active participant in a tourist activity.⁹ Although these observations are not the focus of this study, they helped provide an overall understanding of the broader touristic process and how it plays out on the landscape and in community life (Nash and Smith 1991).¹⁰

Resident interviews—

Several rounds of interviews with Haines residents comprised most of the research material collected. In all, 96 interviews were conducted involving 75 Haines residents representing various sectors of the community and stakeholder groups.¹¹ Two types of interviews were conducted: initial interviews with key informants and semistructured interviews with area residents and tourism stakeholders.¹² During fieldwork preparation and in early stages of the field research, key informant interviews were conducted with officials in the city of Haines, Haines Borough, Alaska Department of Natural Resources, Klukwan, Inc., Chilkoot Indian Association, Lynn Canal Conservation, the Haines Chamber of Commerce, and local media organizations. These interviews were unstructured, conversational meetings that promoted familiarity with principal issues and participants, local frames of reference, and geography (Spradley 1979: 25). The issues and concerns raised in this round of interviews served to focus discussion in subsequent rounds of interviewing. A “snowball sampling” approach was used, whereby initial key informants suggested names of additional residents to include in the sample and identified key social groups and tourism stakeholders (Bernard 1995). Based on these early interviews,

⁹Tourist observation sites included Port Chilkoot dock, Chilkoot Lake, Chilkat Bald Eagle Preserve, downtown Haines, and along Mud Bay Road.

¹⁰Nash describes the **touristic process** as the encounter between tourists and their hosts, beginning from the time the tourist begins planning the trip and continuing until the tourist has returned home and held a quintessential slide show for friends. The **touristic system** refers to the entire socioeconomic system in which the tourism process is situated, including the tourism industry, the global economy, and relations between nation-states and international institutions (Nash and Smith 1991: 14).

¹¹In some interviews, more than one person was present, such as a wife and husband or a small group of friends.

¹²A stakeholder is defined as an individual or institution with a concern in something (Ramirez 1999: 101). I also understand a stakeholder to be an individual or group who can affect or be affected by change in the socioeconomic system.

15 social groups and 4 geographic subregions were identified (tables 1 and 2).¹³ All efforts were made to include several representatives of these social groups and subregions in the study sample.

After the initial phase of key informant contacts, I conducted semistructured interviews with residents identified as tourism stakeholders or associated with various social groups and geographic subregions.¹⁴ As interviews progressed, demographic variables were tracked to ensure that residents with a wide range of backgrounds were represented in the sample¹⁵ (see tables 1 through 5). A significant concentration of interviews involved key actors in the tourism industry. Thirty-seven tourism industry owners and operators contributed information about the nature and structure of the tourism industry as well as potential impacts of tourism on community life (table 3). My goal was to include in the sample roughly one-third of all businesses involved in tourism. Some categories, such as tour operators, were more strongly represented than others because a major objective of this study was to understand tourism impacts on land and resource use, and tour operators were more likely to interact with natural resources.

A semistructured interview format allowed effective comparisons among research participants. Interviews focused on understanding residents' relationships with tourism, overall attitudes toward tourism and the tourism industry, perceived benefits and drawbacks of tourism, and the articulations between tourism, community life, and local resource use. Questions encouraged research participants to elaborate on the ways tourism impacted their lives personally and the community in general (see app.). A separate interview guide was used to interview persons involved in the tourism industry to include background information about their individual enterprises and to achieve an insider's perspective on various tourism trends. Interviews typically lasted 1 to 2 hours and usually were held in public venues, such as restaurants, in local businesses, and in private homes. Several participants were interviewed four or five times either because their schedules

¹³ The four geographic categories included Haines and Fort Seward, Mud Bay, Lutak Inlet, and Haines Highway (which included Covenant Life Farm, Mosquito Lake, and Porcupine). Although the geographic subregions represented isolated areas on a map, they also were distinguished by the social categories of people inhabiting them. In other words, a neighborhood might be emphasized because it is perceived that its residents share common values and not strictly because of spatial distinction.

¹⁴ In many cases, there were overlaps in categories, thus one person may fall into more than one category.

¹⁵ Sample characteristics included the following: nativity—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; sex—research groups were 35 percent female and 65 percent male; ethnicity—7 percent of research participants were Alaska Natives.

Table 1—Social groups in Haines^a

Unit no.	Category	Description	Number represented ^b
1	Commercial fishing	Residents currently or previously involved in commercial fishing	8
2	Timber	Residents currently or previously employed in the timber industry	6
3	Environmentalists	Residents openly concerned with environmental issues; members or leaders of local environmental groups	11
4	Business owners	Owners of Haines businesses, not including tourism	12
5	Tourism industry	Persons involved in tourism industry as a business owner or worker (see breakdown in table 3)	37
6	Retirees	Retired residents not formally involved in the labor force	5
7	Blue collar	Residents who work in contracting, mechanic trades, technical trades (nursing, child care, etc.)	6
8	Artists	Residents involved in the creative arts	4
9	Alaska Native	Chilkat or Chilkoot tribal members	5
10	Public officials	Representatives from state, borough, or city offices	8
11	Young people	Residents between the ages of 18 and 25	2
12	The farm	Residents actively involved in the Covenant Life Farm, an intentional Christian community near Haines	5
13	Education	Residents involved in the schools, museums, and media institutions	7
14	Long timers	Residents who have lived in Haines for 50 years or more or who are second-generation (or more) Alaskans	19
15	Newcomers	Residents who have lived in Haines 5 years or fewer	10

^aThese groups were identified as socially significant by initial key informants.

^bNumber represented means that the indicated number of people were included in the study. The total number represented actually exceeds the total number interviewed because residents may be considered a part of more than one social category. For example, one interviewee might be both an artist and a newcomer.

Table 2—Geographic subregions of the Haines area^a

Unit no.	Area	Description	Estimated population ^b (percentage and number)	Percentage of sample
1	Haines and Fort Seward	Downtown Haines (includes all neighborhoods in the city limits)	78 (1,811)	59
2	Mud Bay	Includes Mud Bay and Letnikof Cove	6 (137)	18
3	Lutak Inlet	Includes Lutak Land Use Service Area (ferry terminal to Lutak Inlet)	2 (39)	5
4	Haines Highway	City limits to international border (Covenant Life Farm (pop. 102) and Mosquito Lake (pop. 221), but not Klukwan)	14 (323)	18

^aNot in all cases was the residence of the interviewee known at the time of interview.

^bPopulation estimates for these areas come from the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (2000).

Table 3—Breakdown of tourism industry interviews

Type of tourism business	Number in Haines	Number represented ^a
Tour operators (cultural, recreational, natural history, historical, and city tours)	21	13
Lodging (B&Bs, motels, hotels, lodges, cabins)	22	7
Attractions (museums, festivals, salmon bakes)	6	5
Galleries/gift shops	19	3
Transportation (air, water, or city taxi)	9	3
RV parks and camps	6	1
Charter fish/bear guides ^b	13	2
Restaurants ^c	7	3
Total	103	37

^aSeveral persons interviewed fell into one or more categories of tourism businesses, so the number interviewed is higher than the actual number of tourism industry participants in the study.

^bAlthough several charter fish companies are owned by Haines residents, few operate actively in the Haines area. Some work out of Skagway, where the fish hatchery has enticed fish and fishermen. Others are fishing out of Icy Strait communities, such as Gustavus and Hoonah. Bear guides are active in the autumn months and were not included in this study.

^cRestaurants, although benefiting significantly from the presence of visitors, are used extensively by local residents as well. A sizeable portion of restaurants are only open in summer (7 of 14), indicating a dependence on the visitors. Thus, seven restaurants are listed as “tourism industries” above.

Table 4—Percentage of research participants in each age category

Age category	Participants
	<i>Percent</i>
25 and younger	2
26 to 45 years old	33
46 to 65 years old	50
66 and older	15

Table 5—Percentage of residents in each timeframe^a

Years residing in Haines	Residents
	<i>Percent</i>
5 years or fewer	13
6 to 10 years	15
11 to 20 years	19
21 to 30 years	22
31 to 40 years	11
More than 40 years	18

^aBoth long-term residents and newcomers were included in the study.

only permitted brief discussions or because they had so much information to share that multiple interviews were required. In addition to the formal interviews mentioned, information was obtained through less formal contacts. Sometimes these were 20- to 30-minute conversations in city hall, at the coffee shop, or at the auto mechanic’s garage. Many community members had key topics they wished to discuss casually and provided valuable insights. Information shared in these conversations also was systematically recorded and analyzed along with the more formal interviews.

Interviews were recorded in written notes rather than by audiotaping for several reasons. First, I wanted to cultivate a sense of trust and security in a highly charged political atmosphere (Schensul et al. 1999: 144). In addition, not all residents were comfortable supplying information that would be published through a government organization, as many residents felt that their comments would become part of the public record. Finally, many interviews were conducted in public places, such as restaurants, with challenging acoustics. Notetaking was deemed a better way to capture the words and sentiments of the individual. Handwritten interviews were then transcribed into a computer and coded based on content. Efforts were made to ensure that data were stored securely and that specific comments shared by research participants could not be traced back to the original speakers.

In February 2001, a followup visit was made to Haines, and 11 followup interviews were conducted with key persons involved in tourism and community life. The purpose of this visit was to assess local attitudes and thoughts about tourism, given significant changes in the economic structure of tourism that had occurred since my original visit. Additional followup took place by telephone in July 2001 to understand changes in the 2001 tourist season.

Other data sources—

Quantitative data also were collected to illustrate various community characteristics, including demographics, economic trends, visitation data, and subsistence harvest levels. Tax, budget, and employment information was collected at municipal offices, especially Haines Borough. The USDC Bureau of the Census, Alaska Department of Labor and Workforce Development, and U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics provided demographic and economic information. The Alaska Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission summaries of commercial and charter fishing were useful in understanding longitudinal trends in local harvests and earning levels. Business license information was acquired through the Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development. Subsistence data were found at the Alaska Department of Fish and Game. The Haines Visitor Center and the United States Border Patrol contributed to an understanding of independent visitor trends. The Sheldon Museum featured a useful historical archives collection and a comprehensive oral history collection.¹⁶ And, the news archives of the radio station, KHNS, also proved helpful in the research (Pelto and Pelto 1978).

¹⁶Hundreds of elders and community leaders have been interviewed over the last 10 years and these oral interviews are recorded and filed in the museum archives.

Section 2: Haines—A Community Profile

This section describes the geography, cultural history, economy, and demography of Haines. I emphasize the historical development of the Haines economy, which led to many opportunists and settlers. I also explain the unique composition of Haines residents and the complex social geography that makes Haines a frequent site for conflict over use of natural resources. This section is important for understanding key social and economic trends shaping community life and for understanding factors that shape local identity.

Physical Setting

Haines (population 2,392) is located in the Upper Lynn Canal on the peninsula that extends between the Chilkoot and Chilkat Inlets (figs. 1 and 2). The community is 129 km northwest of Juneau and 1247 km from Anchorage. The community lies 72 km from the Canadian border. Haines experiences a maritime climate featuring cool summers (7 to 15 °C) and mild winters (-8 to 2 °C), and an average of 153 cm of precipitation annually. Haines is one of three southeast Alaska communities connected to other parts of Alaska and Canada by road. Road access to the community is by the Haines Highway from Haines Junction (260 km), where it links to the Alaska Highway. Haines is about an 18-hour drive from Anchorage and a 4-hour drive from Whitehorse, Yukon Territory. Haines also is accessible by state and private ferry from Skagway and Juneau and by private marine vessel. Ferry travel from Juneau to Haines is about 4 to 5 hours. A small airport is terminal for private aircraft and several small air taxis from Juneau and other small communities. Foods and supplies generally arrive by barge from Seattle and other Pacific ports or are trucked in by ferry or via Haines Highway.

Cultural History

Oral accounts relate that about 300 years ago, several Tlingit clans from the areas to the south (Stikine River, Nass River, Prince of Wales Island, and Kupreanof Island) came up the Lynn Canal to inhabit villages throughout the Chilkat, Chilkoot, Lutak, and Taiya Inlets, with the principal site at Klukwan, along the Chilkat River (Hope and Thornton 2000). Although disputed, scholars largely agree that today's Chilkat and Chilkoot Tlingit were originally unified as the Chilkat Tlingit. Anthropologists and U.S. census takers visiting the area in the 1880s observed about 1,000 residents in four villages: Kluckquaw (Klukwan), Katwatu, Yondestuk, and Chilkoot. Other villages and camps belonging to the Chilkat tribe included Dyea, Skagway, Deishu, and Tanani (Goldschmidt and Haas 1998: 27). The Chilkat people developed and owned trade routes to the interior, where they traded surplus with their neighbors to the north—making them among the wealthiest of Tlingit peoples

(Krause and Krause 1948, Mitchell 1997). Furs, salmon, and eulachon oil were traded for moose hides, ivory, and other interior commodities (Betts 1994, Goldschmidt and Haas 1998: 27, Krause 1956). Over time, a tremendous trade empire was established that linked California with the Alaska and Canada interior. When the Russians came to trade furs, they encountered well-defined and closely guarded trade routes, which later were used by gold seekers heading to the Klondike. Today, Chilkat people reside in Klukwan as well as Haines. Chilkoot residents live throughout the Haines Borough, and many own properties near Chilkoot Lake, an historical village site. Throughout history, Tlingit people have maintained a well-defined system for governing the use rights and land.¹

Local Government

In 2000, the Haines area was administered under two distinct governments: the city of Haines and Haines Borough. Haines was incorporated in 1910 as a first-class city and merged with the former military post, Port Chilkoot, in 1970. The city provides water and sewer services and other public works, fire and police protection, and a boat harbor. In addition, the city coordinates several other functions through committees and subcommittees, including a visitor's center.² In 2000, the city collected a 4-percent sales tax for goods sold in the city. In the recent years, expanded boundaries of the city through annexations have increased the city's tax base. Haines Borough was incorporated in 1968 as a third-class borough—the only one of its kind in Alaska. The third-class status meant that the borough had no authority to engage in comprehensive planning or zoning. Haines Borough included the

¹ Tlingit communities are divided into Eagle and Raven moieties, which further divide into several clans per moiety (Krause 1956, Oberg 1973). Clan leaders serve as the ultimate authority over distribution of user rights within each clan. Clans are further divided into houses and family groups, which also manage the use of special claimed areas. There were different types of properties: fishing territories and camps, hunting areas, and berrying grounds (Goldschmidt and Haas 1998: 27). These territories were highly prized and sometimes were a source of conflict among clans and between Tlingit peoples and their neighbors. The greater Chilkat territory includes Lynn Canal from Berners Bay and Sullivan Island northward to the Continental Divide. Chilkoot people claim historical ties to Lynn Canal, Chilkoot and Taiya Inlets, and streams to the mountains. Chilkat (Klukwan) people claim territory in the Chilkat Inlet, and rivers to the mountains. The Chilkat and Chilkoot peoples used their vast lands for all aspects of survival including food, shelter, clothing, and arts. Since European contact, the Tlingit have watched as others come in to use their lands and resources. Beginning in the early 1900s, Tlingit people began to pursue ways to gain access to traditional lands. With the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971, Alaska Natives gave up their rights to future land claims and were offered a settlement by the U.S. government in the form of land and monetary compensation. Although they have retained their notions of territory, other agencies and actors are now responsible for managing much of the land in these territories.

² In 2000–2001, other city committees included the planning committee, a tourism planning committee, the economic development planning committee, and a traffic and safety committee.

city of Haines, Lutak, Chilkat Peninsula (Mud Bay), Excursion Inlet,³ and settlements along the Haines Highway⁴ with the exception of Klukwan.⁵ In 2000, the Haines Borough Assembly was responsible for Haines public schools⁶ and community resources, such as the library, the Sheldon Museum, the Chilkat Center for the Arts, and the swimming pool. Haines Borough received a 1.5-percent sales tax on items purchased within the borough. Although comprehensive planning was not possible within the legal limits of the borough structure, planning occurred through neighborhood-based land use service areas, including one at Mud Bay and Lutak. Within the service areas, zoning recommendations were made, and commercial or industrial activities were subject to limitations. The separate city and borough governments were a source of conversation and contention among local residents, with considerable implications for tourism decisionmaking as will be described in section 3. In 2002, Haines voters agreed to merge city and borough governments into one government.

Tribal members were represented by two organizations: the Chilkoot Indian Association (Haines) and the Chilkat Indian Village Association (Klukwan). In addition, chiefs of individual clans and houses assume leadership roles in local decisionmaking. Several residents explained that the tribal organizations were the political and economic entities representing Chilkat and Chilkoot people, whereas local chiefs of clan houses were instrumental in cultural and spiritual matters. Klukwan, Inc., the village corporation established with the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, represents shareholders and is key in shaping the Haines economy.⁷

Land Ownership

Haines, like other communities in Alaska, is characterized by a patchwork of public, private, and tribal land. The dominant land manager is the state of Alaska, with more than 161 874 ha surrounding Haines. State lands extend from Glacier

³Excursion Inlet is geographically and economically isolated from Haines and consists primarily of a packing plant owned by Ward's Cove Packing that employs several hundred people during canning season.

⁴Haines Highway settlements include Porcupine, Mosquito Lake, Chilkat Lake, and Covenant Life Farm.

⁵Klukwan (population 136) is part of the Skagway-Hoonah Borough (USDC Bureau of the Census 2000).

⁶The Haines Borough Assembly, the elected body representing borough interests, also served as the school board.

⁷Under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971, native corporations were established to manage landholdings and assets of Alaska Natives. Thirteen regional corporations and hundreds of village corporations made land claims and received compensation for land taken from them by the U.S. government (ANCSA 1971).

Bay National Park to the west, along the Canada border and to the Tongass National Forest lands near Skagway. The State Department of Natural Resources manages this land both under the Division of Forestry and the Division of State Parks, which includes the Alaska Chilkat Bald Eagle Preserve. Most of the state land is located in the river valleys where human use is concentrated. The 109 265-ha Haines State Forest is managed under the 1984 Haines State Forest Management Plan (Alaska DNR 1984). The Alaska Chilkat Bald Eagle Preserve represents an additional 19 425 ha set aside for protection of bald eagle habitat. Other state-owned areas are managed by the Division of Parks, including Chilkat State Park, Chilkoot Lake State Park, Portage Cove State Recreation Area, and Mosquito Lake State Park. In addition, state lands owned by the University of Alaska and by Alaska Department of Mental Health are located throughout the Chilkat Valley landscape. Significant land was returned to state ownership as a prerequisite to Alaska statehood (Haycox 2002). Several federal agencies also manage lands near Haines, including the Tongass National Forest along the Chilkoot Inlet, and the National Park Service, which manages Glacier Bay National Park to the west of Haines.

Haines is one community in southeast Alaska with significant private ownership. From the 1970s to 1990s, many state and borough lands were privatized to promote community and economic development. These transactions of land from public to private entities quickened the pace of development in the region. In addition, large-property owners throughout Haines subdivided their land and encouraged construction of single-family homes through private loans. The increased availability of developable land in Haines along with greater exposure of Haines in the media sparked a housing boom in the 1980s. In the late 1980s, the real estate company, Haines Land, appeared and marketed properties regionally and throughout the country. Another significant Haines landholder was Klukwan, Inc., which possessed land in and around the village of Klukwan as well as a site near Jones Point, where the former Tlingit village of Yendustucky was located. Klukwan, Inc., also owns a dock on Portage Cove. Finally, there were Native allotments throughout the Chilkat Valley, especially near the village of Klukwan and Chilkoot Lake.

Haines' Economic History

The economic history of Haines resounds with the Alaska experience. The earliest known contact between indigenous people of the Chilkat Peninsula and Europeans began in 1794, when Captain George Vancouver explored Lynn Canal. Throughout the 18th century, Spanish, Russian, British, and American explorers and traders made contact with Chilkat and Chilkoot Tlingits and began to exchange goods. The Tlingits used their networks to the interior to trade European goods to Athabaskan

and other peoples (Mitchell 1997). Haines grew as missionaries, miners, fishermen, and loggers arrived seeking ways to etch out a living on the Alaska frontier. The U.S. government was also key in shaping and stabilizing the local economy by constructing Fort Seward in 1902 and establishing the Haines-to-Fairbanks military pipeline in 1955. Because Haines is strategically located in Lynn Canal, the city became a vital transportation link, which has enhanced many industries, including mining and tourism.

The first non-Native settler in Haines was an agent for the Northwest Trading Company who settled along Portage Cove. In 1879, a Presbyterian minister named S. Young Hall arrived with friend John Muir. During their visit, they received permission from the Chilkat to build a mission and school at the village of Deishu, which was established 2 years later by Eugene and Caroline Willard. The mission later was named the Haines Mission to recognize Mrs. F.E. Haines, a Presbyterian dignitary and the mission's principal fundraiser. In 1882, George Dickenson opened a trading post next to the mission. Haines grew during the gold rush era in the late 1890s owing to the ambition of Jack Dalton who used a Chilkat trading route to construct the Dalton Trail to the Klondike. The Dalton Trail provided a venue for a healthy fur trade and packing businesses beginning in 1894. By 1897, Klondike gold seekers began journeying up the Dalton trail to the Yukon, and Haines became a key supply area for the gold rush. Haines residents also experienced their own gold rush in 1898 when gold was discovered in nearby Porcupine (Hakkinen and Jones 1998). By the turn of the century, Haines had become a bustling center for mercantile activity.

Commercial fishing and seafood processing—

Commercial fishing and seafood processing (canning and packing) have long been part of the Haines economic and social history. The Chilkat Packing Company built the first cannery in 1883 on the Chilkat Inlet, and several canneries operated between 1889 and 1998 in Pyramid Harbor, Lutak Inlet, Paradise Cove, and Letnikof Cove. These canneries imported workers from China and the Philippines and hired many Tlingit women and men for seasonal work. The canneries were important to the overall development of the economy and community life of Haines. In 2000, the primary cannery was owned by Ward's Cove Packing at Letnikof Cove. In addition, a large cannery exists in Excursion Inlet, contributing to the area tax base.⁸

⁸The Ward's Cove Packing Company also operates a large plant in Excursion Inlet, which is currently the borough's largest employer, with an average of 169 employees in the fourth quarter, 1998. From July through September, an average of 460 employees worked in this facility. Although Haines Borough receives tax revenues from this plant, it is not a major source of employment for Haines residents.

Commercial fishing and seafood processing have long been part of the Haines economic and social history.

Commercial fishing, especially gillnetting, has been a significant contributor to the Haines economy for more than a century, employing hundreds of area residents working as boat captains and crewmembers. Fishing, however, is a cyclical industry that depends on the health of the fishery, market factors, and international competition. After the fishing industry plummeted midcentury largely because of overfishing, the industry slowly regained strength. During the 1980s, a hardy fishing economy lured many fishermen from the lower 48 States who were attracted to the Alaskan lifestyle. Many of these newcomers were well educated and enjoyed the independence and financial rewards offered by fishing.⁹ Newcomers were woven into the social fabric of the community and mixed with loggers, miners, and homesteaders. Throughout the 1990s, the fishing industry was in subtle decline from its heyday of the 1980s. In 2000, 128 residents held commercial permits (down from a high of 146 in 1989) (Alaska Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission 2001).¹⁰ From 1980 to 2000, earnings from commercial fishing ranged from \$2 to \$8 million, with an annual average of \$4 million (fig. 3). In 2000, high market prices, steady demand for roe, and abundant salmon made for a successful harvest, with each of the 27 fishers in the Haines Fisheries fleet netting up to \$100,000 (Chilkat Valley News 2001j). Fishing remains an important part of the Haines economy, lifestyle, and folklore. Most long-time residents of Haines have participated in some aspect of commercial fishing as a skipper, crewmember, or cannery worker.

The military and highway construction—

During the gold rush era of the 1890s, a boundary dispute arose between Canada and the United States. A U.S. military installation, known as Fort William Henry Seward¹¹ was built south of Haines in 1904 to serve as a symbol of U.S. presence during the dispute and to quell conflicts arising among miners. Later renamed Chilkoot Barracks, the base was used as a training site and recreation facility during World War II. The fort served as an important economic boost to the Haines economy and to the social life of the community. Several eating and drinking establishments and stores emerged to meet demand from soldiers. The base was deactivated in 1946 and the 162 ha and 85 buildings were sold to a group of veterans who hoped to create a self-sustaining community. The city of Port Chilkoot was incorporated in 1956, and the new inhabitants precipitated the creation of a vibrant arts community in Haines with an emphasis on the restoration of Tlingit arts and

⁹This finding was based on interview data.

¹⁰The average number of permits owned by Haines residents from 1980 to 2000 was 134.

¹¹Seward was the U.S. Secretary of State who arranged for the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867.

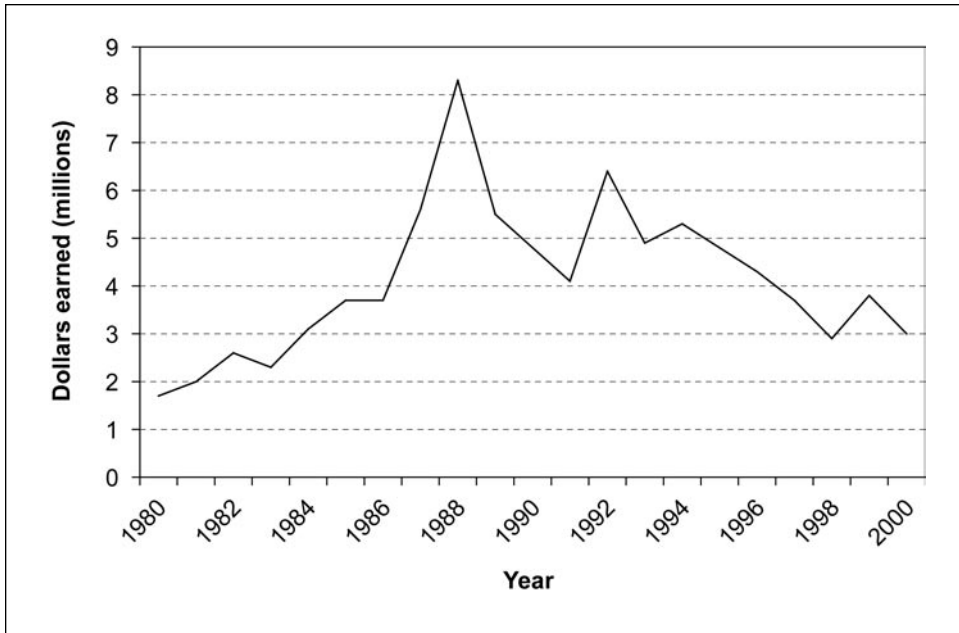


Figure 3—Earnings of Haines commercial fishers in all fisheries (Alaska Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission 2001).

culture (Snyder 1988). These families were responsible for founding the Alaska Indian Arts, the Chilkat Dancers, and the Chilkat Theater, catering to residents and also contributing to the growth of tourism in the 1960s. In 1970, Port Chilkoot merged with the city of Haines and developed as a residential and commercial area with hotels, gift shops, and the Chilkat Center for the Arts. In recent years, the fort has been a primary tourist attraction.

Haines also served as the terminus for the Haines-to-Fairbanks military pipeline and a storage facility, which allowed for transmission of jet fuel to the Eilson Air Force Base in Fairbanks. The pipeline operated during the Cold War from 1955 to 1971 and resulted in modest economic activity. A storage site for fuel was maintained through 1989 along Lutak Inlet. In 2000, the “tank farm,” as it is known locally, was the site of some controversy because of alleged chemical spills (Haas 1992). Although responsibility for cleanup is being debated, many consider the area ripe for future industrial development.

During the 1940s and 1950s, Haines was brimming with activity related to the construction of the 257-km Haines Highway connecting Haines with Haines Junction and providing routes to Fairbanks, Anchorage, Whitehorse, and points south. The road was improved for year-round use in 1963, greatly enhancing access from Haines to the Alaska interior. Today, Haines is well linked to the southeast Alaska economy and serves as an important connector to the Yukon and the Alaska

interior. As one of only three southeast Alaska communities with road access to the “outside,”¹² Haines benefits economically from the transportation and distribution of goods region-wide. The road system also provides a conduit for “rubber tire tourism” or people visiting the region by car, bus, or recreational vehicles. With improvements in the Alaska Highway, more visitors are making the trip to America’s last frontier. Although oil prices have curbed this trend in recent years, Haines remains poised to benefit from visitors connecting from the interior to the southeast Alaska ferry system.

The timber industry—

In its early years, Alaska’s timber industry was dominated by small mills and logging operations fulfilling long-term contracts established in the 1950s with the Forest Service and other customers (Soderberg and DuRette 1988). Beginning in the 1970s, two large pulp companies, Ketchikan Pulp and Alaska Lumber and Pulp, dominated the regional timber market (Durbin 1999). A combination of antitrust litigation, environmental scrutiny, growing competition from international timber conglomerates, and sagging timber markets effectively reduced the timber industry in Alaska. By 1997, all the major mills in southeast Alaska had closed, including pulp mills in Ketchikan and Sitka, and a sawmill in Wrangell. The fate of the Haines mill had been sealed several years before this.

For more than 50 years, the timber industry drove much of the Haines economy.

For more than 50 years, the timber industry drove much of the Haines economy. Economic and community life in Haines was significantly shaped by the timber industry, which because of its sheer magnitude had redefined Haines as a community of loggers and millworkers in the 1960s. As one long-time resident noted about the early days, “Either you cut ‘em down or you scraped them out of the ocean.” The first timber mill was built in Haines in 1907 to support the fishing and mining industries. The lumber business picked up in 1939 when the Schnabel family built a sawmill at Jones Point.¹³ The timber industry was strong during the 1960s and early 1970s, with exports capping at 52 million board feet by 1968. Meanwhile, Alaska Forest Products opened another sawmill at Jones Point in 1965, which for 11 years cut cants for the Japanese market. The timber conglomerate Alaska Lumber and Pulp acquired the Schnabel mill in the mid-1970s. In the early 1980s, the timber mills came under increasing attack from environmentalists. Bitter public debates between timber supporters and environmental advocates divided Haines. The litigation forced closure of the mill in 1983 until the case could be resolved.

¹²“Outside” is the term used by Alaskans in southeast Alaska to refer to places beyond Alaska’s borders.

¹³ The Schnabel mill burned down in 1961 but was rebuilt along Lutak Inlet in 1966 (Menke 1997).

The Schnabel mill resumed operation in 1984 under the ownership of Pacific Forest Products but closed the following year as a result of poor market conditions (Menke 1997). In 1987, the Chilkoot Lumber Company purchased the mill and hired 55 employees to process 35 million board feet (Menke 1997). By 1990, they were exporting up to 60 million board feet annually with approximately 150 employees—14 percent of Haines total employment. In 1993, the mill was severely damaged in a storm; its demise meant the loss of hundreds of jobs and the outmigration of families. In 2000, a few small mills produced lumber for local construction, but the timber industry was virtually gone.

The history of the timber industry is important for understanding the social and economic composition of Haines. For many decades, the mill and businesses supporting mill activity served as a significant economic engine for the community. Because of the power of the industry, Haines was effectively a company town, with mill owners exerting significant influence over community life. Beginning in the late 1960s, many loggers and millworkers immigrated to Alaska from Oregon, Washington, California, and other states altering the character of the community. Many brought with them young families and had become rooted in the community. Interview participants in this study described the period of Haines history from the 1970s to 1990s as bustling with activity, and spiced with a bit of the wildness of the frontier. One resident explained, “[In the 1970s,] it was like the World Federation of Wrestlers around here.... There were three churches and six bars. Today, there are 3 bars and 13 churches.” Timber jobs were described as largely year-round positions, with regular work hours, steady paychecks, and often some benefits. Although jobs were steady during the good times, the timber industry experienced some turbulence, causing many residents to feel insecure about their own welfare and the economic fate of the community. The loggers and millworkers who came to Haines added to Haines’ reputation as a hard-working, “rough and tumble” town.

Other economic sources—

A major boost to the economy was the growth of Klukwan, Inc., the village corporation for Klukwan established with the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971. A stipulation of ANCSA was that local Native residents were to be awarded money and land allotments in return for their losses of land and lifestyle when the United States settled Alaska. Native corporations were established to encourage Native Alaskans to participate in the market economy and to promote development. Whereas most corporations selected lands near their village sites for economic and subsistence uses, some corporations selected land outside their home territory. In addition to significant landholdings in the Chilkat Valley, Klukwan, Inc., chose lands on Prince of Wales Island for timber harvest. Because of their

business acumen and favorable market conditions, they achieved financial success from the sale of timber in the 1980s and 1990s. This success has resulted in dividends for Klukwan shareholders, which filtered into the Haines economy. It also allowed the company to develop other business interests. In 1997, Klukwan invested in the tourism industry, developing a rapid water taxi service between Haines and Skagway. Later, they built a restaurant and gift shop, and started tours to the eagle preserve. The success of Klukwan, Inc., has been a major boost for the Haines economy, where many shareholders live and do business.

In the 1970s, the Alaska pipeline project also was a source of jobs for Haines area residents, many of whom left town to work on Alaska's North Slope. As one resident noted, "In 1974, the pipeline came and everyone left town." While pipeline jobs supported Haines families for about 5 years, the indirect benefits of Alaska's oil industry also were evident. Alaska communities received pipeline impact funds to offset losses of workers moving north. In addition, revenues received by the state from the oil industry were transferred to communities, and many local municipal services were expanded and infrastructure projects were planned and completed. The pipeline was an important part of the employment history for many Haines residents who were young adults in the 1970s.

Another important contribution to the Haines economy occurred in 1990–91, when Hollywood came to Haines. Many scenes from the Disney Corporation production, *White Fang*, were filmed on a set built along the Chilkat Inlet, and hundreds of Haines residents were employed in construction, transportation, food preparation, and other support functions (Chilkat Valley News 1989a). For 1 year, the Haines economy benefited from an economic boost owing to the expenditures of people involved in production. According to oral history accounts, everyone who wanted to work was working that year, and many earned additional income renting their homes to members of the production team. In addition, some claim that *White Fang* "brought California to Haines" and provided a view of Haines to the rest of the world, thus sparking a growth of tourist interest and attracting a new breed of residents. According to oral accounts, several persons associated with the production subsequently invested in Haines or told their colleagues about the community, sparking a surge in real estate activity. Locally, many attributed the growth in national interest in Haines to exposure generated by the filming of *White Fang*.

As timber declined in the mid-1980s, residents searched for new economic options. Haines had long been a destination for visitors by steamship. With construction of the highway and creation of the ferry system in the 1960s, Haines became accessible to independent travelers as well. Although visitors were increasingly common in Haines, up to this point, tourism had been promoted by a small segment

As timber declined in the mid-1980s, residents searched for new economic options.

of the community. Because it was overshadowed by activity associated with the mill, tourism often was overlooked as being important to the local economy. In the 1980s and 1990s, local efforts to develop the tourism industry resulted in significant economic activity from commercial tourism (cruise ships). Many local business owners benefited from tourism growth, and newcomers moved to the area to establish businesses. Some believed that tourism would help the community to weather economic uncertainties, whereas others maintained that tourism was threatening their lifestyle and the health of the ecosystem. The history of tourism in Haines is discussed in detail in section 3.

Debating the future of Haines—

Beginning with the closure of the timber mills, a series of debates about the future of the Haines economy often pitted environmentalists against proponents of development. In 1982, a debate surfaced over the creation of the Alaska Chilkat Bald Eagle Preserve (Menaker 1991). Timber and mining proponents did not want to see the land “locked up” from development, whereas environmentalists sought protected habitat for eagles and other species. Meanwhile, some residents worried about losing access to subsistence resources. As people began to recognize the economic potential of the eagle preserve through tourism, a consensus was achieved and the 19 425-ha Alaska Chilkat Bald Eagle Preserve was created in 1984. Another wave of economic development debates soon followed. In 1983, a proposed state prison project in Haines inspired protests and the project was moved to Seward, Alaska (Lynn Canal News 1983a). In 1990, some members of the population fought the development of the Windy Craggy Mine in British Columbia—a project that would potentially have impacted the Tatschenshini and Alsek Rivers, but also would have brought jobs to the community in the transportation and mining industries. Amidst intense protests led by environmentalists and recreation users, the British Columbia government created a provincial park in the area, and the mine project was abandoned (Chilkat Valley News 1990). In 1995 and 1996, there was a debate about the outcome of a Forest Service environmental impact study allowing helicopters to land on Meade Glacier and other nearby glaciers and ice fields (Chilkat Valley News 1995). Opponents were concerned about the effects of flight-seeing tours on noise levels and wildlife habitat. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Haines residents with conflicting values and interests battled each other to determine the future identity of the community. Debates about the growth of “industrial scale” tourism in the form of cruise ships characterized the political climate in 1999 and 2000, incorporating many of the same arguments as previous discussions. In 2001, Haines again was polarized over the development of helicopter ski tourism in the Chilkat Range, weighing concerns about environmental and noise effects and the prospect of jobs

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Haines residents with conflicting values and interests battled each other to determine the future identity of the community.

and economic benefits. These debates have polarized the community and led to an atmosphere of dissent.

Economy

In 2000, the economy of Haines was largely derived from commercial fishing and tourism, with help from the construction and transportation industries. The economy showed signs of recovery after mill closures in 1991, with job growth in the service and retail sectors. Moreover, trends showed that a growing number of Haines workers were self-employed in the 1990s. An increase in property values indicated the growing popularity of Haines. Haines' economy also was highly seasonal, with significant job growth between June and September. In addition to recovering from the loss of the mills, the community also faced declining contributions from the state of Alaska to municipalities because of a state budget crisis.

Employment—

Haines employment fluctuated between 1990 and 2000. Compared to the rest of Alaska, Haines experienced higher than average unemployment rates (fig. 4), but the economy recovered from the decline in timber jobs. Employment climbed steadily from a low of 697 workers in 1992 (related to the mill closure in 1991) to 993 workers in 2000 (fig. 5); likewise, the unemployment rate has been gradually aligning itself with that of the state's. In 1991, the unemployment rate was 15.1 percent in Haines, compared to 8.4 percent in Alaska. By 2000, Haines' unemployment rate was at 8.6 percent compared to 6.1 percent statewide (Alaska Department of Labor and Workforce Development 2000a).

Diversification—

Data show an increased emphasis on service-sector employment (table 6). In 1990, 25 percent of the population worked in manufacturing jobs, which included both wood products and seafood processing, compared to 7 percent in 2000.¹⁴ Meanwhile, service industry employment grew from 11 percent in 1990 to 26 percent in 2000 (Alaska Department of Labor and Workforce Development 2002). Most other sectors remained fairly consistent, with some fluctuation in construction. The earnings of Haines workers also confirm a trend toward a more diversified economy (table 7). In 1990, manufacturing contributed to 25 percent of wage and salary employment in Haines. In 1998, the share of manufacturing earnings fell to an estimated 17.3 percent. Although the service industries comprised a significant proportion of total jobs in 2000, the percentage of total wages remained lower than

¹⁴In 1998, most manufacturing jobs were in seafood processing, which took place outside Haines at Ward's Cove.

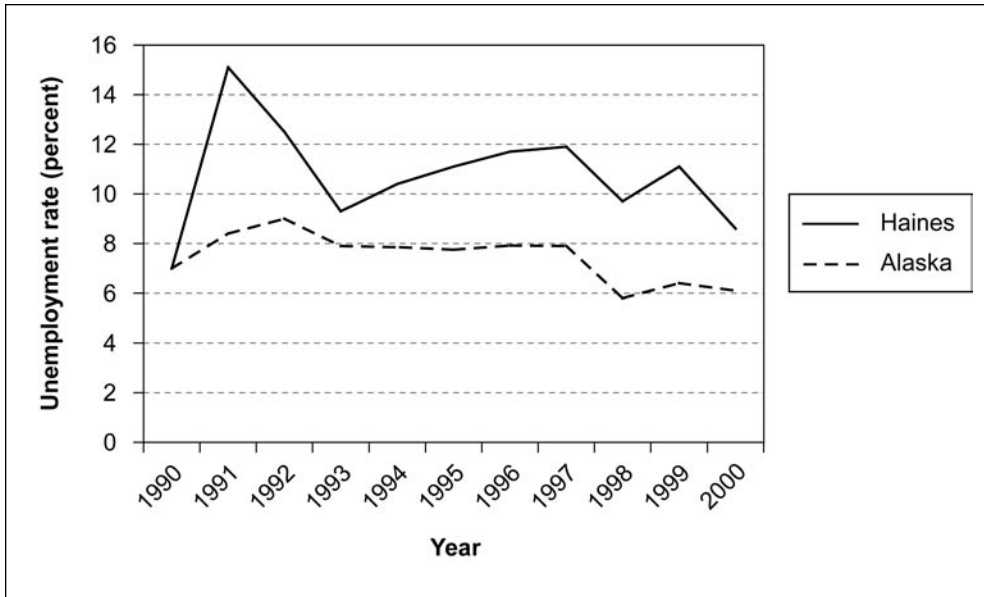


Figure 4—Unemployment rates in Haines and Alaska, 1990–2000 (Alaska Department of Labor and Workforce Development 2000a).

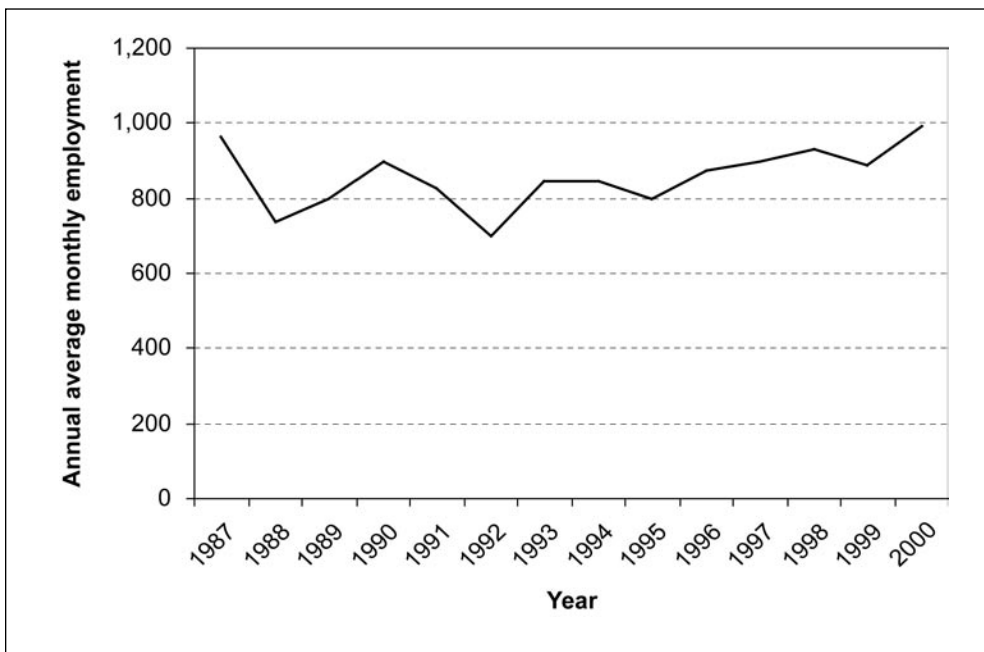


Figure 5—Haines Borough employment: 1987–2000 (Alaska Department of Labor and Workforce Development 2000a).

for other sectors, demonstrating that service jobs were not as well paid as manufacturing jobs. Thirty-four percent of employees worked in the service industries, yet these workers accounted for just 24 percent of total wages. Similarly, the 20 percent of workers in retail or wholesale trade accounted for 17 percent of total wages.

Table 6— Percentage of Haines workers by industry in 1990, 1995, and 2000

Industry	1990	1995	2000
	<i>Percent</i>		
Construction	4	7	6
Manufacturing	25	13	7
Transport, communications, and utilities	19	19	16
Retail and wholesale trade	18	20	25
Finance, insurance, and real estate	2	2	2
Services	11	18	26
Government	19	20	19

Source: Alaska Department of Labor and Workforce Development, Research and Analysis Section (1997, 2000a).

Table 7—Total earnings by industry, 1998

Industry	1998 earnings	
	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Construction	2,646,972	11.5
Manufacturing	3,978,621	17.3
Transport, communications, and utilities	3,082,308	13.4
Retail and wholesale trade	3,317,056	14.4
Finance, insurance, and real estate	494,889	2.2
Services	3,527,030	15.4
Government	5,917,979	25.8
Total	22,966,853	

Source: Alaska Department of Labor and Workforce Development, Research and Analysis Section (2000a).

Thus, retail and service jobs, although plentiful, contributed to a shrinking portion of total wages (retail and service sectors contained the bulk of tourism employees). Tourism employment was estimated at 131 in 1995, compared to 101 in 1990, showing the increasing importance of this sector (fig. 6).¹⁵ By 2002, 189 Haines jobs were in tourism (Fried and Windisch-Cole 2004).

Self-employed workers—

Another aspect of the Haines economy may be understood when trends in types of employment are examined: a growing percentage of Haines workers were self-employed. Because of its scenic beauty and the quality of life Haines offers, the community is ripe for growth in telecommuting, independent consulting, and at-home businesses. In 1970, 10 percent of workers were self-employed, compared to 17 percent in 2000 (table 8). In the 2000 census, there were 30 jobs associated with the “information industry,” suggesting the presence of some high-tech workers in Haines.

Nonresident and seasonal employment trends—

An important aspect of the Haines economy is its seasonal nature. In 2000, Haines reflected a significant portion of nonresident workers. An estimated 43 percent of Haines workers were nonresidents in 2000, compared to a state average of 31 percent (Alaska Department of Labor and Workforce Development 2002). State trends showed that 21 percent of tourism workers in 2000 were nonresidents, including 55 percent of tour guides (Alaska Department of Labor and Workforce Development 2002).

¹⁵This estimate of tourism employment was based on full-time equivalent.

An important aspect of the Haines economy is its seasonal nature.

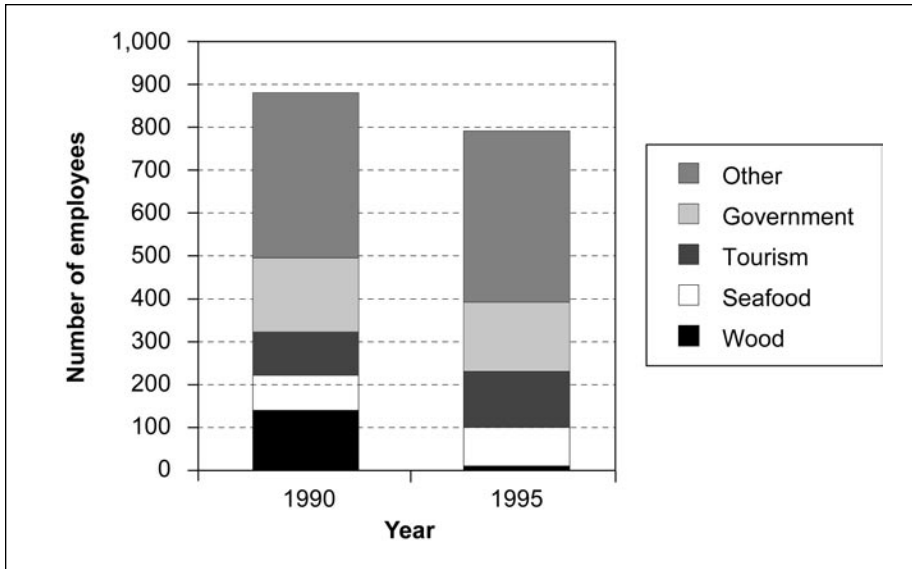


Figure 6—Haines workers in resource and other industries (Allen et al. 1998).

Table 8—Status of Haines workers in 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000

Category	1970	1980	1990	2000
	<i>Percent</i>			
Private wage and salary	68	54	59	58
Government	23	31	21	24
Self-employed	10	15	19	17
Unpaid family	0	0	1	2

Source: USDC Bureau of the Census (2000).

Tourism depended on a labor force of seasonal workers. The employment categories in the tourism industry, including transportation, tour companies, retail, lodging, eating and drinking establishments, and recreation grew from an average of 251 employees the off season (October–April) to 616 employees between May and September (table 9). There also were a significant number of seasonal jobs in manufacturing from July through September with the temporary employment of cannery workers in Excursion Inlet.¹⁶ Other industries showed relatively stable employment throughout the year.

Income—

An investigation of recent income trends reveals that the per capita income in Haines has been slightly above the Alaska average since 1994 and was considerably higher in 1998 (fig. 7). An important source of income for Haines residents was the

¹⁶ An average of 460 cannery workers worked for these 3 months.

Table 9—Seasonal employment analysis in Haines

Type of employment:	Jan.–April	May–Sept.	Oct.–Dec.
	<i>Average number of employees</i>		
Tourism-related employment:			
Local pass transit (transport)	3	13	4
Water transportation (transport)	1	16	1
Air transportation (transport)	75	125	101
Eating and drinking (retail)	49	102	60
Miscellaneous retail (retail)	45	102	46
Hotels and lodging (services)	16	56	24
Amusement and recreation (services)	24	202	53
Total tourism	213	616	289
Other employment:			
Construction	39	80	49
Retail trade (nontourism)	81	116	81
Finance, insurance, and real estate	20	22	22
Services (nontourism)	120	113	107
Transportation (nontourism)	35	34	33
Government	194	170	210
Manufacturing	9	142	12
Total other	498	677	514

Source: Alaska Department of Labor and Workforce Development (2000a).

Alaska Permanent Fund dividend, which is an annual disbursement from the state to Alaska residents from oil-based revenues. In 2000, the permanent fund dividend was \$1,963 per Alaska resident, including children (Alaska Permanent Fund Dividend 2001). In addition, Klukwan shareholders received annual dividends from corporate profits.

Subsistence—

Subsistence represents an important component of the Haines economy. Native inhabitants of Haines have long relied on wild resources such as fish, wildlife, plants, and sea products for economic and cultural survival. This subsistence-based economy predated the introduction of a cash income in the 1700s. With the arrival of traders and merchants, Native economies transformed to blend aspects of subsistence-based and cash-based systems. Many non-Native residents continued to depend on subsistence use of wild resources as well as cash income. Based on a study by the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, more than 97 percent of households used subsistence resources in 1996, and 91 percent of households actually harvested subsistence resources (Betts et al. 1998). Particularly during times of economic uncertainty, residents have relied on fish, game, and other wild resources.

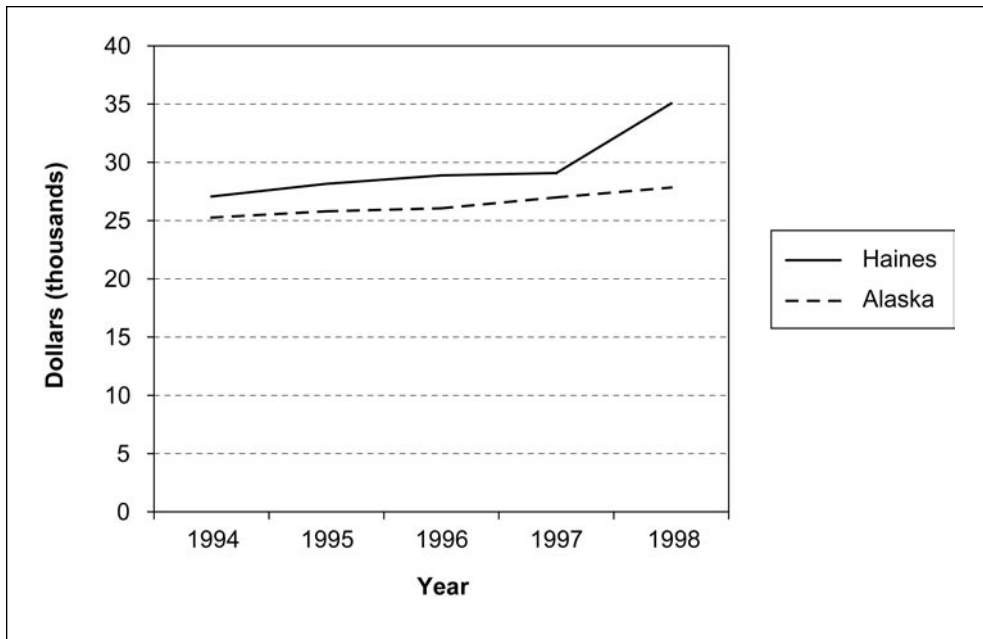


Figure 7—Haines Borough per capita income, 1994–98. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis (from Alaska Department of Labor and Workforce Development 2000b).

“Patchwork” economy—

As with many rural Alaska communities undergoing economic transition, Haines residents often combined several income sources to get by. Interview data depicted the complex economic arrangements local households maintained, some of which were eluded to by standard economic studies. A schoolteacher might work as a deckhand on a fishing boat or as a raft guide in the summer. A seasonal logger also might work as a longshoreman. A building custodian may augment his or her income as a mechanic for a tour company. It was not uncommon for individual Haines residents to have three or more sources of income throughout the year and to supplement these income sources with subsistence resources. For many, piecing together a household income was viewed as the price to pay to live in Haines. Although some enjoyed the freedom of seasonal and part-time work, most indicated that they would relish a full-time, year-round source of income. As one lifelong resident lamented, “It’s what we have to do to get by. It’s hard on families with everyone going in different directions—especially in the summer when seasonal jobs are available.” Because tourism offers part-time employment and flexible hours, it has become an important component of this patchwork economy.

Property values—

Beginning in the 1990s, Haines became popular as a home for retirees, summer residents, consultants, artists, and telecommuters. In addition, southeast Alaskans

from other communities have built summer cabins in Haines for use as weekend getaways and retirement investments. There also was a seasonal influx of summer residents from the lower 48 States, particularly from the Northwest coast. As a result, residential property values escalated from 1991 to 2001, increasing an average of 6 percent annually. Total residential values of Haines Borough property nearly doubled from \$89 million in 1991 to \$167 million in 2001 (fig. 8). As residential property values increased, property taxes also rose until 2000, when Haines Borough artificially stopped raising residential assessments. For some, the increase in property taxes was difficult to bear. Moreover, some Haines residents chose to interpret the escalation in property tax as indicative of the changing nature of Haines from a working town to a high-end retirement community. As one mechanic and long-time resident of Haines noted, “It’s getting really hard to buy land here anymore. There are too many Californian types running around. They’re buying up all the land. We can’t afford to buy property any more. I’m lucky I got this place before this happened.”

A 13-year resident of Mud Bay concurred,

I’m worried about the growth. A lot of out-of-state people are moving here and people from other parts of Alaska. Land values have gone up a lot. We couldn’t afford to buy land today, much less build a house. It’s lucky that we both had land before the real estate boom. I don’t want

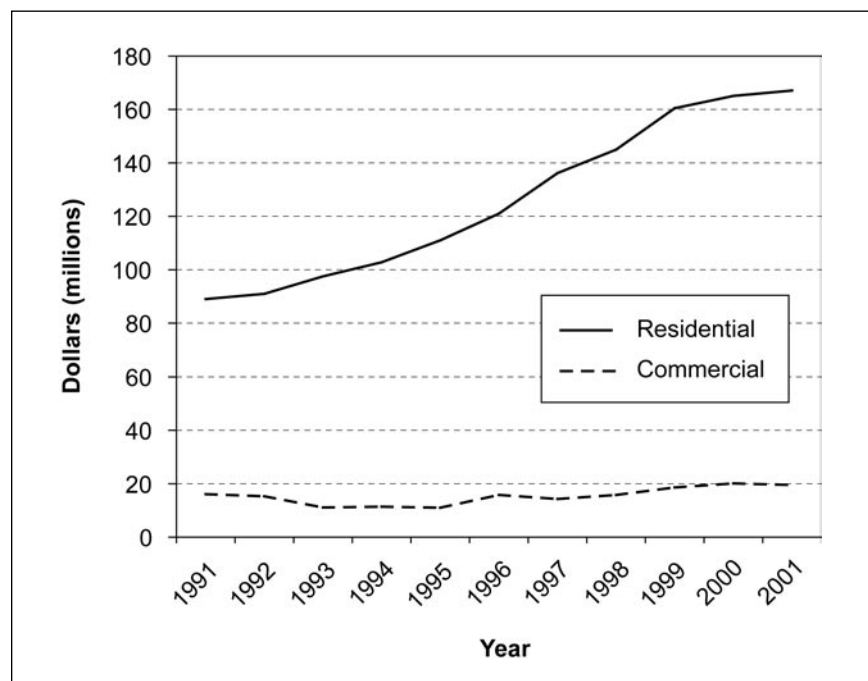


Figure 8—Commercial and residential property assessments, 1991–2001 (from Haines Borough annual auditing report).

Haines to become like Hawaii, where there are lots of expensive vacation places, no residential homes, and where people don't put much into community life.

State contributions—

Another economic challenge faced by Haines residents has been the decline in economic assistance from the state of Alaska. In the 1970s and 1980s, Alaska was flourishing owing to tremendous oil revenues. Many public services were introduced and facilities constructed. Revenues from the raw-fish tax, stumpage fees, state oil earnings, and other sources helped to support the swelling local infrastructure, including the museum, the library, the cultural center, the schools, and the swimming pool.

The gradual decline of oil revenues and subsequent declines in state contributions to Alaska communities together led to a budget deficit for many municipalities. Total contributions to Haines Borough for both general funds and special funds, such as museums, schools, the arts center, and other earmarked designations declined between 1983 and 1999 (fig. 9). In 1983, 88 percent of the Haines Borough budget came from state sources compared to 40 percent in 1999. The state municipal assistance program also declined from a high of \$145,000 in 1982 to roughly \$20,000 in 1999 (fig. 10).¹⁷ Moreover, the declining contributions from stumpage fees and unpredictable flows of raw-fish taxes to Haines Borough coffers proved a budgeting challenge¹⁸ (fig. 11). Although the fish tax showed overall growth from 1976, the contribution of timber to the local economy had been unpredictable. By the late 1990s, Haines municipal officials began searching for other sources of revenue to make up for these losses. Tourism was viewed as one way to contribute to municipal tax rolls. In 2000, a tax measure was passed by Haines area voters to implement a 4-percent tax on beds and tours. Without these revenue sources, many felt that the museum, art center, schools, library, and other local services would be at risk. Communities such as Haines were finding it difficult to maintain the quality of these services with public funds.

Population and Demography

An examination of population and demographic trends since 1970 suggests the changing relation between the community and the timber industry in Haines. In

¹⁷ State municipal support figures from 1990 and 1991 showed a spike indicating increased municipal support to offset the closure of the sawmill and associated loss of local revenues.

¹⁸ Stumpage fees are awarded to communities whose lands abut the Tongass National Forest. Raw-fish tax is calculated based on the percentage of take among Haines fishers.

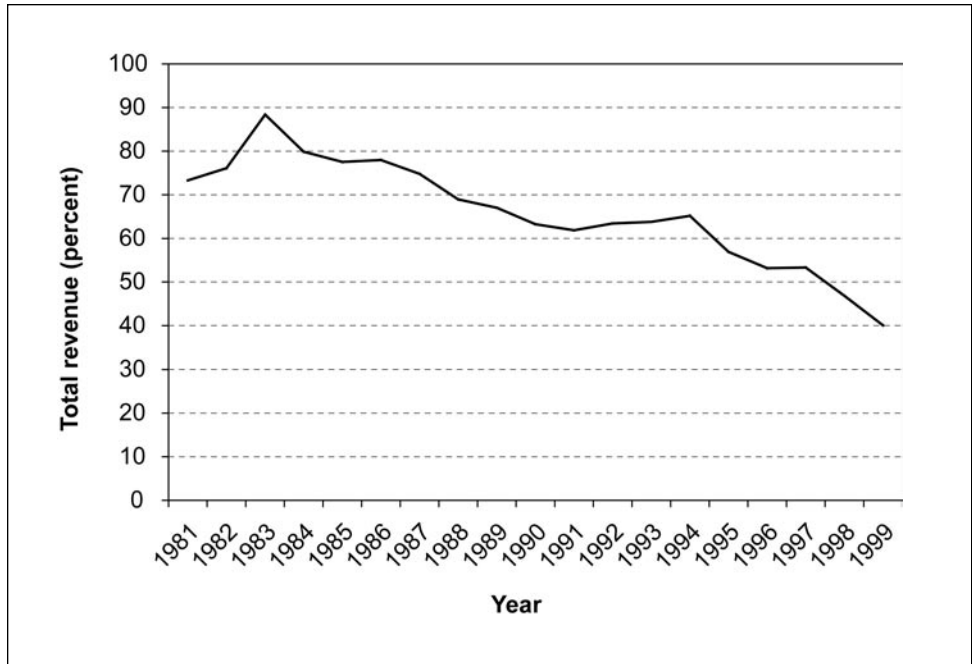


Figure 9—State contributions to Haines Borough (from Haines Borough annual auditing reports).

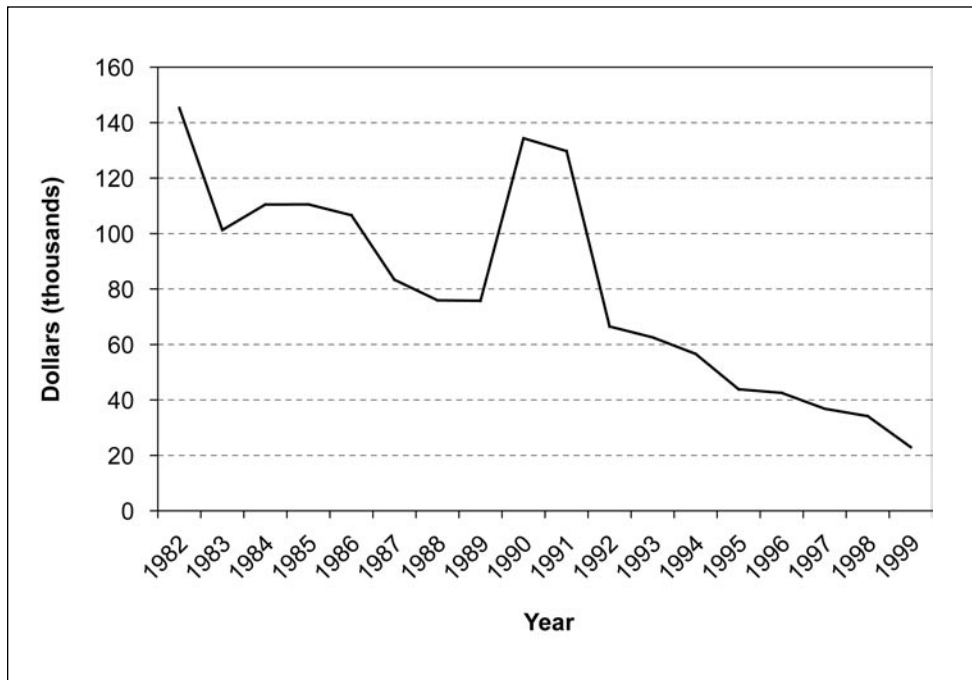


Figure 10—State municipal assistance funds (from Haines Borough annual auditing reports).

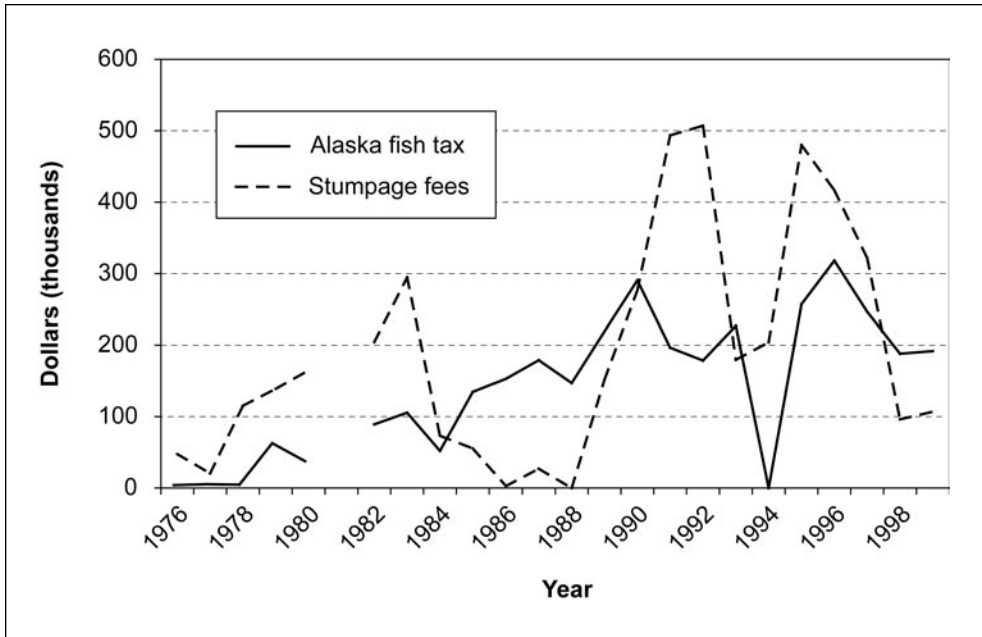


Figure 11—Haines Borough receipts for stumpage fees and raw-fish tax (from Haines Borough annual auditing reports).

2000, the estimated population of Haines Borough was 2,392, with 1,811 residing in city limits (USDC Bureau of the Census 2000). Sharp increases in the Haines population began around 1970, when the area gained more than 300 new residents, many of whom worked in the timber industry. From 1970 to 2000, the population grew an average of 2.3 percent annually (fig. 12). School enrollment data showed an increase in student population from 1965 to 1974 when it peaked at 570 students. School enrollment declined sharply through 1984 but increased modestly throughout the 1990s. These enrollment trends mirror the ebb and flow of the timber industry and reflect overall growth trends in recent years (fig. 13).

In addition to overall population growth, the composition of Haines changed. Demographic data suggested that Haines residents were growing older, with fewer school-age children in the population. Since 1970, Haines residents were more educated, with a higher proportion of them moving from outside Alaska. In addition, an increasing proportion of Haines residents were non-Native. Other evidence suggests that a growing number of residents were seasonal, including many retirees, who enjoy Haines’ temperate climate, senior services, and access to health care.

Aging population—

Several demographic trends show that the community is aging. First, median age for the population in 1970 was 25.5 compared to 40.7 in 2000, significantly older

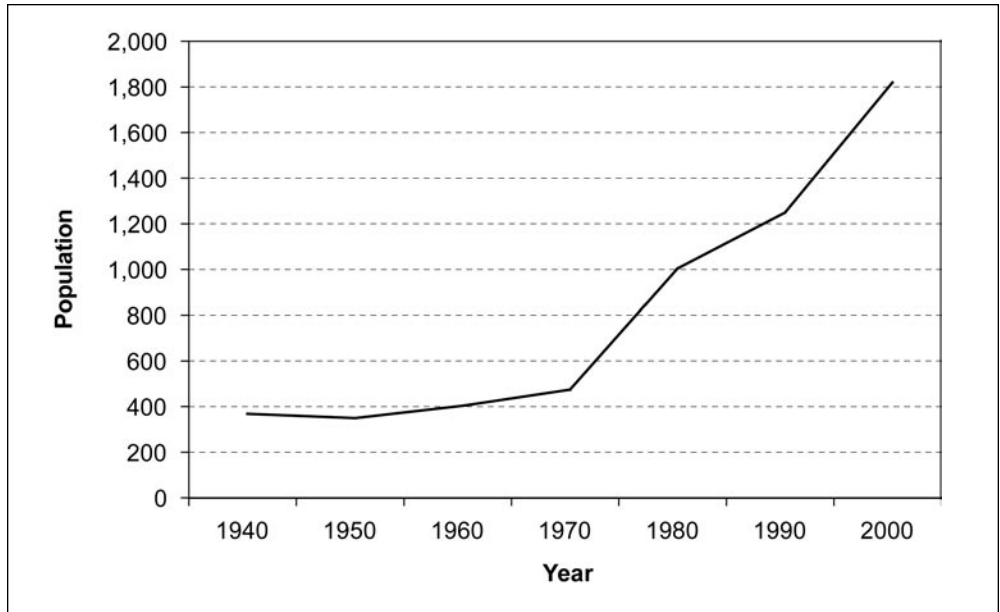


Figure 12—Population trends in Haines Borough, 1940–2000 (USDC Bureau of the Census 2000).

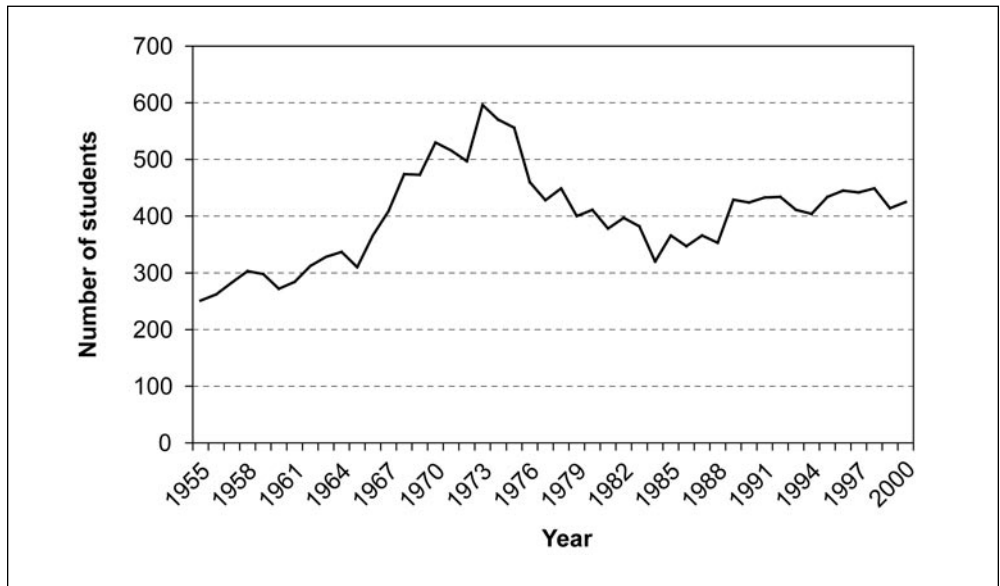


Figure 13—School enrollment in Haines Borough School District, 1955–2000 (Haines Borough public schools).

than the state average of 32.4 (USDC Bureau of the Census 2000). Further analysis of age distribution in Haines shows that the proportion of citizens over age 65 increased from 6 percent in 1970 to 10 percent of the total population in 2000 (fig.14). In 2000, the proportion of residents over 65 in Haines was nearly double that of Alaska (5.7 percent) (USDC Bureau of the Census 2000). Inversely, the proportion of persons under 25 years decreased from nearly 50 percent of the population in

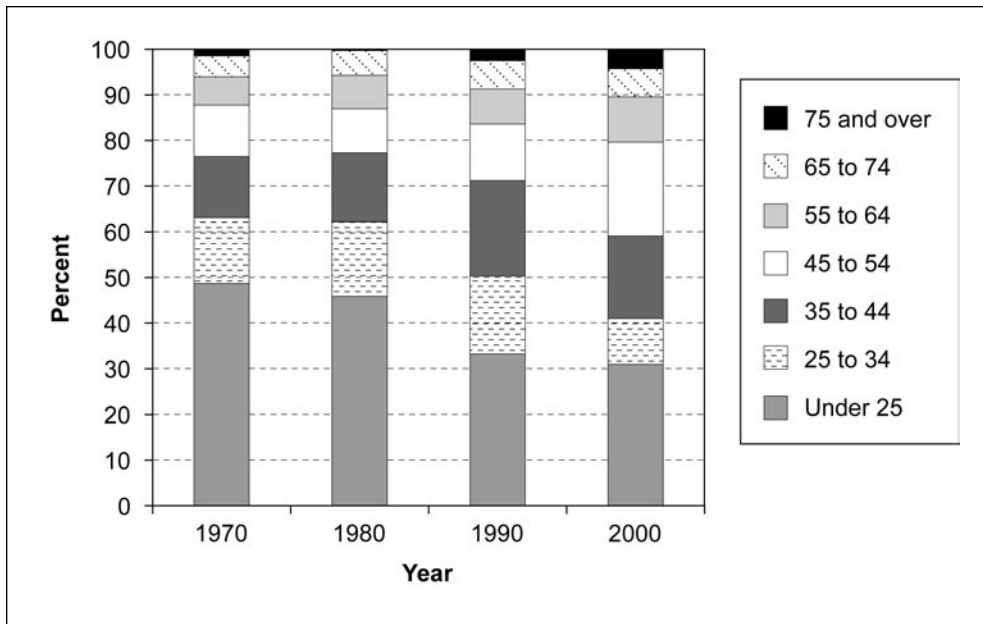


Figure 14—Age distribution of Haines residents, 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 (USDC Bureau of the Census).

1970 to 31 percent in 2000. These demographic changes reflect the out-migration of workers in the timber industry, which was dominated by workers under the age of 30. The aging trend also may demonstrate the influx of retirees to the community. In 2000, 17 percent of Haines households received some portion of their income from retirement sources, and 21 percent relied on social security as a source of income (USDC Bureau of the Census 2000).

Higher education levels—

Education levels of Haines residents have increased over time (fig. 15). In 2000, 58 percent of residents completed some college training compared to 21 percent in 1970. The number of residents with less than a high school education dropped from 54 percent in 1970 to 11 percent in 1990. This shift also reflects the decline in loggers and millworkers, who tended to have fewer years of formal education than the economic migrants of the 1990s.

Decline in proportion of Alaska Native residents—

In 2000, the Haines Borough was predominantly white (82.5 percent) and Alaska Native (11.5 percent). The proportion of Alaska Native residents declined slightly from 13.2 percent in 1990, reflecting the in-migration of non-Native residents. This figure does not include the 136 Native residents of Klukwan, who interact significantly with the social and economic life of the community.

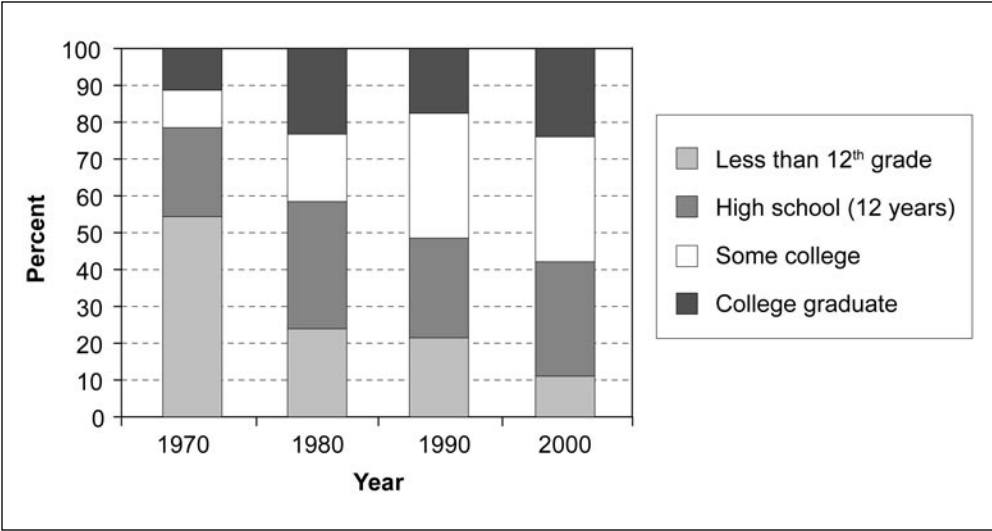


Figure 15—Highest level of education completed (USDC Bureau of the Census 2000).

Population stability—

In spite of an impression that Haines experienced an influx of newcomers in the 1990s, population figures show that Haines residents have become increasingly sedentary in the last 30 years. Census data show that the most significant shift in demographic composition occurred between 1970 and 1980. In 1970, 56 percent of Haines residents were born in Alaska, but this number dropped to 34 percent in 1980 with the influx of loggers and millworkers. Since 1980, the number of Haines residents born in Alaska has been fairly constant around 30 percent (fig. 16). Moreover, residency data show that the proportion of newcomers to Haines declined between 1970 and 2000. In 1970, 47 percent of Haines residents had moved from other parts of Alaska or the United States in the previous 5 years. This figure dropped to 28 percent by 2000, demonstrating that the influx of new residents had slowed (USDC Bureau of the Census 2000, 1990, 1980, 1970). In other words, one of four Haines residents in 2000 had moved to the community in the previous 5 years, compared to one in two in 1970.

Seasonal residents—

A significant portion of the Haines population was comprised of seasonal residents in 2000. Precise figures are difficult to obtain, but two measures confirm this trend. The Haines Borough Public Library issued more than 293 new “temporary library cards” between April and September 2000. Although some of these cards were issued to visitors passing through town, most were given to summer residents. Also, the U.S. Postal Service office in Haines reported an additional 160 households who received mail in the summer—showing a 10-percent increase in box holders from

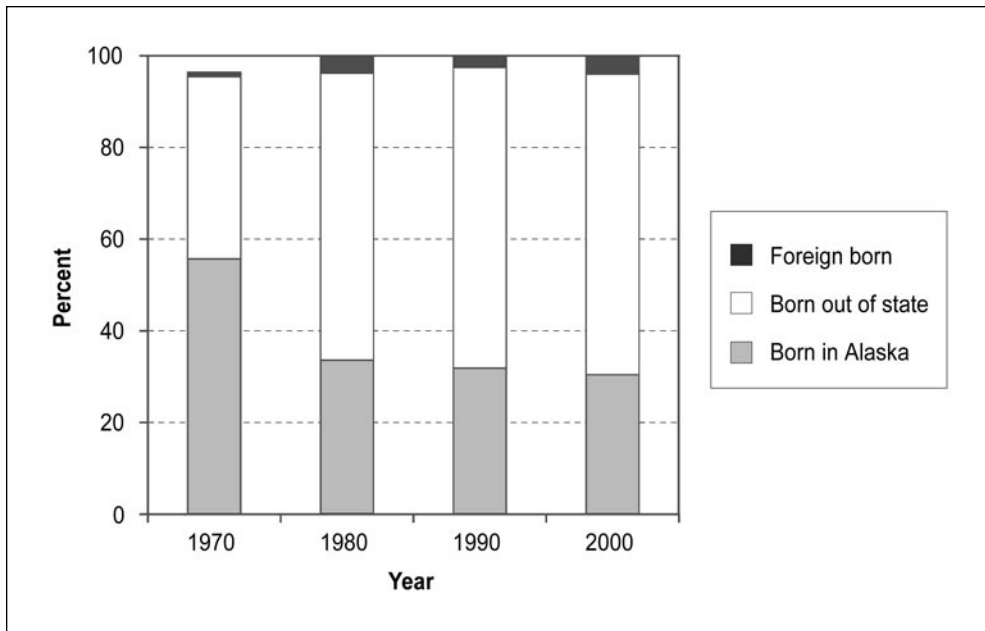


Figure 16—Nativity of Haines residents, 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 (USDC Bureau of the Census).

the winter. Although one box is likely to be shared by a family or a group of seasonal workers, these data points provide a conservative estimate about the number of additional summer residents, which was somewhere between 160 and 300 people.

Other Community Characteristics

Although population and demographic trends attempt to measure changes in Haines, they reveal little about the character of its people. During interviews over several months, I learned how inhabitants described themselves and their lifestyles and how they differentiated themselves from the rest of the world. I learned about the qualities they take pride in and the facets of community life that many seek to change. Although I hesitate to categorize local character after such a brief encounter, several traits associated with Haines have become important to local identity and frame subsequent community narratives.

Interviewees readily referred to a spirit of self-reliance among Haines residents who must endure long winters, often in remote or rustic dwellings. At the same time, the compelling need for cooperation was acknowledged, as many tasks, such as home building or repair, cannot be completed (gracefully) alone. By choice or by necessity, Haines residents are multitalented and resourceful. I heard many stories about how, because of the lack of services and products available, someone had to jerry-rig a boat or car, improvise an architectural design, or go without a dishwasher. The lack of professional services immediately available has made someone

Over the years, but especially in the 1970s and 1980s, Haines attracted many newcomers who opted to shun the urban lifestyle.

in nearly every household an amateur plumber or electrician. Bartering remains a fairly common form of economic exchange, as residents with diverse skills help one another. Until the 1990s, when daily ferry service to Juneau began and major grocery and supply stores moved to the area, residents relied on mail-order catalogues and their own creativity to augment the offerings of local merchants for clothing and household items.

Over the years, but especially in the 1970s and 1980s, Haines attracted many newcomers who opted to shun the urban or suburban lifestyle. Many newcomers sought a routine free of commercialism and the trappings of an increasingly suburbanized society found in other parts of the United States. Others had grown up working in rural, resource-based industries like fishing and logging and were comfortable with small-town life. Until 1980, “real-time” television was not available in Haines, which meant that the residents learned to live without instantaneous access to American media and popular culture. Although cable and satellite television and Internet services were commonplace in 2000, many still deliberately adhered to the values of a more simple life. Homeowners on remote tracts of land outside city limits relied on generators, outhouses, and sophisticated water catchments; they burned their own garbage and eschewed in-home telecommunications. In the late 1990s, improvements in transportation and telecommunications meant that Haines had become more similar to the rest of the country. Because of improvements in local infrastructure and the availability of goods and services, newcomers to Haines in the 21st century need not share these same “pioneer” values held by earlier settlers and inhabitants. Armed with computers and modems instead of chain saws and toolboxes, these new residents are changing the face of Haines and causing long-time residents to reconsider what it means to be an Alaskan.

Writers like Dan Henry (1997, 1999) and Heather Lende (2000) have reflected on the community’s resilience in the face of economic turmoil and their incredible capacity for compassion. Indeed interviewees frequently told stories about events that brought the community together and how residents put aside differences to aid one another in crisis. These same writers and local storytellers also described a bitterness that divides Haines residents, especially when dealing with key decisions that will likely shape the city’s economic future and quality of life. According to many residents interviewed, the roots of such acrimony lie in the conflicting interests of diverse residents who have made Haines home for different reasons. Although some have chosen Haines primarily because of the natural beauty and rural lifestyle, others were drawn to Haines because of jobs in the resource-based industries, such as fishing, timber, and mining. When attempts are made to develop industries that threaten natural resources, these interests seem to clash. Indeed, many

public meetings I witnessed were wrought with tension that was both personal and political. These issues are addressed further in section 4 in the context of tourism.

Finally, Haines may be distinguished from other small southeast Alaska communities by its appreciation for the arts. The natural beauty of the area has inspired generations of artists, musicians, and writers who share their talents and aesthetic values with other members of the community. Haines schools had a statewide reputation for their programs in drama, musical theater, and fine arts. The number of talented people in such a small, faraway place never failed to amaze me. The emphasis on the arts differentiated the community from several of its neighbors and shaped the values, skills, and interests of its residents.

Conclusion

Like many Alaska communities, Haines has been the locus for the production of many resource-based commodities, including gold, fish, and timber. The cyclical nature of these industries means that the community tends to thrive during some periods and struggle during others. Over the years, Haines has been able to maintain its economic base owing to the presence of government and military facilities and projects and federal highway construction. During construction of the Alaska pipeline in the 1970s, many Haines residents worked temporarily at the North Slope or at points along the pipeline. Historically, jobs in Haines were in fishing, timber, retail, and transportation. The closure of the last sawmill in 1991 signaled a significant shift in the Haines economy away from manufacturing jobs and toward an increasing involvement in the service sector—mirroring national trends. Tourism has become an important part of the economy, with between one-tenth and one-fifth of Haines residents working in tourism. Moreover, a growing portion of the labor market was self-employed, including artists and consultants, whose income may not be directly linked to Haines. Demographic and economic trends also suggest that there has been a change in community composition and economic structure in Haines.

Section 3: The Evolution of Tourism in Haines

This section describes the development of tourism in Haines, demonstrating the changing relations between Haines and the tourism industry. First, I discuss the history of tourism development in Haines up to the expansion of the Port Chilkoot dock. Next, I examine changes that took place in Haines tourism subsequent to the dock expansion that led to the dominance of the cruise industry. Then, I provide an overview of the Haines tourism industry in 2000, noting trends both in cruise-based and independent tourism. I follow with a discussion of tourism issues that fueled public debates and drove policy up through 2000. The section concludes with a brief discussion of the decision by the cruise industry to drop Haines from its itinerary in 2001. The story of Haines tourism illustrates the complex dynamics among local participants, global economic forces, and the tourism industry as it affects community life and the local economy.

The Early Years

Since early explorers first met the Chilkat people in the 1700s, Haines has been an attraction to a variety of travelers. The first official tourist to Haines is often considered to be Secretary of State William H. Seward, who accompanied George Davidson to the Chilkat Peninsula in 1867 to observe a solar eclipse (Hakkinen and Jones 1998). In 1879, John Muir visited the Davidson Glacier and documented his observations for eager readers (Nash 1981). He inspired others, including travel writer Eliza Scidmore, who came aboard the steamer *Idaho* in 1883, and found Tlingit vendors selling “miniature totem poles and canoes, pipes, masks, forks and spoons” to “...eager curio-seekers who snatched at his shining wares” (Scidmore in Hakkinen and Jones 1998). Scidmore (1896), who penned one of Alaska’s first comprehensive travel books, drew many travelers to southeast Alaska throughout the late 19th century.

Steamship travel dominated Alaska tourism through the 1930s. Summer runs to Alaska began in the 1880s with the Pacific Coast Steamship Company, which in 1890 brought 5,000 passengers on its “Inside Passage Tour,” stopping in Juneau, Glacier Bay, Sitka, and sometimes Haines (Hinckley 1965, Norris 1985). In 1899, an earthquake in Glacier Bay slowed traffic there until the mid-1950s because of the congregation of dangerous ice, thus increasing steamship activity along Lynn Canal. Haines was especially popular beginning in 1903, when passengers began regularly traveling to Davidson Glacier along the Chilkat Inlet (Norris 1985). Throughout the early 1900s, five other steamship companies brought passengers north from Seattle, Portland, and San Francisco, including Alaska Steamship Company, which enjoyed the longest legacy of Alaska travel (McDonald 1984, Norris 1985). The first hotels in Haines were built in 1907 and 1916 to accommodate the

growing interest in mining and the trickle of sea travelers. A 1912 travel article about Haines described the potential for riding a stage up the Chilkat River to enjoy the scenery, observe prospecting at Porcupine, and buy “curios” in Kluwan (Birkenbine 1912). The overall lack of tourism infrastructure inhibited early tourism development. In these early days, tourists spent a limited amount of time on shore, and local businesses did little to cater to the tourist trade (Norris 1985). Furthermore, early Alaska tourism largely was an activity of the elite, who often were kept separated from local residents.

Beginning in the 1940s, the potential of tourism as a viable source of Alaska economic development gained recognition. The territorial governor, in 1945, announced that tourism should be encouraged to promote economic growth (Norris 1985: 30). In 1946, Haines tourism was given a boost when five families, who purchased the decommissioned Chilkoot Barracks, transformed the former army post into a self-sufficient community. A gift shop, gallery, and crafts shop were built in part to cater to prospective travelers arriving by steamships and later ferries, such as Steve Homer’s *Blue Star*. Residents of Haines during those early years recalled the excitement that accompanied steamship visits that brought passengers, mail, and supplies to town. Local children carried suitcases to the hotels, and workers often left their regular posts to help put plywood over the holes in the dock or to escort guests to town. Every able adult helped to unload and distribute the ship’s supplies (McDonald 1984). Many residents, including children, sold homemade trinkets such as rabbit skins and authentic Native arts.

Haines as an Emerging Destination

Efforts to cultivate Haines as an arts community began in the 1960s, and the city has since become a growing destination for visitors. Karl Heinmiller, an enterprising and civic-minded founder of Port Chilkoot, initiated several arts programs that transformed the community. In 1957, he organized the Chilkat Dancers, which began as a Boy Scout project, but later became a community institution that continued into 2000. Local Native and non-Native children learned Tlingit songs and dances, which they performed throughout the Nation and for audiences of visitors during summer. In addition, Heinmiller, along with the Gregg family and others, was instrumental in developing a program to revitalize the artistic tradition of Alaska Natives, especially carving. In 1964, they received a federal grant to support arts education initiatives, which led to the Alaska Indian Arts Center. Visitors learned about Tlingit art forms and purchased works by local artists. In addition, the Chilkat Center for the Arts was renovated in 1967 to cater to local theater performances and a thriving theater company was born. From 1980 to 1992,

one major Haines attraction was the theater production “Lust for Dust,” a spoof on Haines history. Several performers were offspring of the original Fort Seward founders who had been among the first residents interested in tourism. During these years, Haines’ reputation as a viable arts community swelled. Brochures advertising Haines emphasized the Chilkat Dancers, the theater performances, Tlingit carvers, and non-Native artists. As testimony to its identity as an arts destination, Haines was featured in a 1987 *Travel-Holiday* article, “Artists Prefer Haines,” which noted that the community highlighted the works of more than 40 resident artists (Eppembach 1987).

Transportation improvements and statewide marketing efforts spurred the growth of tourism in Haines. Ferry service was enhanced in 1963, when the Alaska Marine Highway system was established, bringing independent visitors to Alaska including backpackers, climbers, river rafters, and motorists. The same year, road access improved, linking Haines to the Al-Can (Alaska) Highway. Subsequently, in the 1960s and 1970s, Chuck West’s company, Westours, operated in Haines bringing three small cruise ships to town.¹ Passengers either sailed from Vancouver, B.C., to Haines, where they met a bus to Anchorage or bussed down from Anchorage and met the ship in Haines. Visitors stayed at the Hotel Halsinglad, in the renovated Port Chilkoot, and took part in a salmon bake and many cultural activities (West 1993). Haines also benefited from an overall increase in state marketing, which sought to capitalize on the frontier fantasies of Americans (Cuba 1987: 134). In 1950, the Alaska Visitor’s Association (AVA) was formed as a collection of tour operators who combined efforts to market Alaska. When Alaska was granted statehood in 1959, growth in tourism was sparked and a new state tourism agency, known later as the Division of Tourism, was established to market the vast resources of the state (McDowell Group 1991).

In the mid-1970s, cruise-based tourism to Haines faltered when Westours was purchased by a cruise conglomerate, Holland America, and the land connections were moved to Skagway. In 1979, the completion of the Klondike Highway, which connected Skagway to Whitehorse, drew even more of the tourist industry to Skagway, which capitalized on its gold rush history. While Skagway aggressively promoted tourism, the number of cruise ship stops in Haines dropped from 62 in 1974 to zero by 1978. Clearly, Haines cruise tourism was “dead in the water.”

In spite of the setbacks in cruise ships, Haines became known as a destination for adventure travelers during the 1970s, especially climbers, white water enthusiasts, and game hunters. In 1977, Sobek, a national rafting company, began running

Transportation improvements and statewide marketing efforts spurred the growth of tourism in Haines.

¹ Westours owned and operated three ships: *Glacier Queen*, *Yukon Star*, and the *West Star*.

river trips on the remote Alsek and Tatshenshini Rivers in nearby British Columbia (Lynn Canal News 1980). As one former Sobek guide described, “When I first moved here in 1976, there was virtually no tourism. No one talked about tourism. We started running trips quietly in 1977. We had to lay low as the atmosphere was pretty hostile.” One early river guide described how he attended a public meeting in 1978 to discuss the economic future of Haines. When he suggested tourism be considered an option for stimulating the local economy, his comments were met with a combination of skepticism, amusement, and disregard. The following year, he started his own tour company, with one vehicle and one raft. Over the years, this company grew rapidly, doubling its volume annually throughout the 1980s (interview no. 24). Still, tourism was not widely recognized as a significant industry in Haines. As a former tourism director noted, “Going back to the 1970s and 1980s, there wasn’t much interest in tourism. Just a few people were involved.”

Public Investment in Tourism

Tourism received a boost in the 1980s when Haines residents came together to pursue economic opportunities to offset losses in timber jobs. The 1980s represented a period of infrastructure improvements to accommodate visitors and the beginning of public investment in the tourism industry.² Statewide, tourism was jump-started when revenues from the Alaska pipeline began funneling to state coffers. The state tourism budget increased from \$2 million in 1980 to \$8 million in 1983, and Alaska was marketed as a premier destination (McDowell Group 1991). To spark local interest in tourism, 12 Haines residents started the Haines chapter of the AVA in 1979 (Lynn Canal News 1979). The Haines AVA developed brochures, distributed buttons, cleaned up the streets, and staffed a small visitor’s center. This organization was vital for keeping the tourism momentum going. In 1981, the city hired its first economic development specialist, who happened to have significant background in the tourism industry. A new focus on marketing Haines ensued, and the city successfully wooed at least one major cruise line away from Skagway by eliminating docking fees (Lynn Canal News 1982). That same year, the city built public bathrooms and began investigating the need to expand the city-owned Port Chilkoot dock to accommodate cruise ships.

In 1983, a position of “tourism director” replaced the economic development specialist, and Chip Waterbury was hired. Waterbury’s role was significant in

²This growth in tourism infrastructure coincided with an increase in state and municipal budgets owing to oil revenues from the North Slope. Other infrastructure improvements were made at this time including roads, public works, and public facilities such as the library and the museum.

developing Haines' tourism because he worked actively to generate enthusiasm and improve expertise in the business community by offering training sessions related to the hospitality industry. He also sought to attract cruise ships to Haines and worked with city officials to market the community. In 1983, Waterbury and the city mayor traveled to Seattle and Los Angeles to market Haines as an attractive cruise destination and attended travel shows to advertise Haines (Lynn Canal News 1983b). He and his staff also worked to improve local infrastructure, including a visitor center in 1984. In 1987, city voters passed a 1-percent tax, raising about \$300,000 to pay for tourism promotion and infrastructure development, including \$1 million in dock improvements. Throughout the 1980s, Haines' municipal, civic and business leaders appeared unified in their efforts to bring tourists to Haines. Tangible efforts by the city government to increase tourism were evident during this period.

Because of these efforts, several cruise ships owned by Royal Caribbean and Exploration Cruises docked in Haines during the 1980s. Ships typically anchored at the Lutak dock, about 8 km from downtown, and lightered passengers to shore on small boats. Passengers walked on wood planks (and sometimes through the mud) and were taken downtown in buses. By the mid-1980s, several local residents offered bus and van tours, expanding local involvement in the budding tourism industry. One tourism enterprise, Hotel Halsinglad, was especially instrumental in contributing to the professionalism of Haines tourism as well as building an integrated tourism infrastructure. Along with the hotel, the Halsinglad operation included a successful bus tour company, a salmon bake, restaurant, and bar. In the early 1980s, about 20,000 to 30,000 cruise passengers found their way to Haines, resulting in the growth of many small businesses. Tourism peaked in 1985 when Exploration Cruise Lines increased their Haines dockings.³ However, the community was soon to feel the impact of cruise economics when Exploration Cruises announced bankruptcy in 1989 and cruise traffic to Haines was reduced from 100 cruise ship dockings in 1988 to 20 in 1989 (Chilkat Valley News 1989c). The experience of losing a major cruise line would be repeated in 2001.

Based on these local and statewide tourism efforts, the number of independent visitors arriving in Haines also increased. A favorable economic climate drew weekend visitors from Canada and Juneau. Recreational vehicles (RV) and other auto traffic also increased throughout the 1980s, owing to improvements in the Alaska Highway and better connections with the Alaska Marine Highway system. In 1986, two RV parks were built in Haines to meet the demands of campers and

³ Anecdotal evidence suggests that 60,000 visitors arrived by cruise ship in 1985.

Many small tour companies began providing adventure and sightseeing city tours in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

motorists driving up the Alaska Highway, arriving by ferry, or crossing the mountains from Canada. Four more private campgrounds appeared in subsequent years. In 1979, Alaska State Parks reported about 4,000 campers in Haines area campgrounds, and in 1983, 10,000 ventured into the Sheldon Museum (Sheldon Museum 2000). Public investments and private initiatives together worked to spark a budding tourism industry.

Many small tour companies began providing adventure and sightseeing city tours in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Between 1985 and 1993, at least six small companies were providing recreation-based tours to cruise visitors in Haines and bus tours around town, including rafting, pontoon boats, jet boats, guided nature tours, and kayak trips. The growing national prominence of the eagle preserve added to the value of Haines as a marketable tourist destination and an ideal locale for land-based tours. A 1992 study showed that two Haines attractions were on the “Top 10 List” of tourist destinations in southeast Alaska: the Chilkat Dancers and the Alaska Chilkat Bald Eagle Preserve (McDowell Group 1993). In addition to adventure tours, there also was an increase in small companies providing bus or van tours of local attractions. According to one former tour operator, “By 1990, it seemed like everyone over the age of 12 was driving a tour bus. ... The atmosphere became extremely competitive.”

Community support for tourism swelled after the closure of a second lumber mill in the early 1990s, when 150 more employees lost their jobs. As one former tourism director observed, “Some people involved in the timber industry started saying, ‘What is this tourism thing?’ The changing economy led to a greater willingness to consider tourism and a greater tolerance.” In the early 1990s, many business owners were looking for ways to capture a greater piece of the cruise ship market. At the same time, the city suffered a blow from the Exploration Cruises bankruptcy. A Tourism Task Force convened to rally support for the tourism industry and target cruise ships and identify tourism infrastructure needs. This group highlighted the need to expand the Port Chilkoot dock, develop attractions, and create a transportation and service infrastructure to accommodate large-scale cruise ship customers (Chilkat Valley News 1989b). By 1990, cruise tourism had regained lost ground; 58 ships carrying 27,000 passengers docked in Haines that year.

During the early 1990s, several local tourism businessmen convinced local politicians to invest further in tourism and secure \$1 million in state funding for an expanded dock to accommodate still larger cruise ships. These business owners lobbied local public officials about the importance of attracting cruise visitors to Haines. Local officials believed that the dock would attract large cruise ships

already passing Haines en route to Skagway, which by 1994 was entertaining more than 200,000 cruise visitors. An improved dock also would allow ships to tie up along the dock, rather than having to anchor offshore and lighter passengers to town by boat. Many felt that expanding the dock would improve the likelihood that passengers would get off the ships and visit the community. With little opposition, the voters approved a \$1.5 million bond, obligating the city to pay for the expansion of Port Chilkoot dock. In 1995, the dock expansion and improvements were complete, and the first large cruise ships began to dock in Haines.

The Growth of Cruise-Based Tourism

When large cruise ships began to visit Haines, the community furthered its involvement in a global industry. Community members became more aware that they were now part of a broader structure of decisionmaking that weighed and rationalized global economic trends, leisure travel preferences, regionalized marketing schemes, and port quality in making corporate decisions. Haines also experienced a surge of secondary tourism development that resulted in new businesses and the rapid expansion of existing ones. As the industry evolved, the success of these local businesses became increasingly tied to economic relations with the cruise industry.

The larger cruise lines became interested in Alaska waters beginning in the mid-1970s, when Holland America purchased Westours. Between 1975 and 1979, Holland America/Westours intensified its commitment to Alaska, and in the years to follow, rival cruise lines such as Princess Cruises, Norwegian Cruise Lines, and Royal Caribbean Cruise Lines would place their ships in Alaska's waters. By 1983, nearly 100,000 visitors were coming by cruise ship to Juneau and Ketchikan, and 10 years later, this number would triple. In the mid-1980s, Skagway upgraded its dock to accommodate large ships, and by 1996, they were rivaling Ketchikan and Juneau with nearly 300,000 visits. Throughout the 1990s, Sitka also remained a popular destination, attracting between 100,000 and 200,000 visitors annually. By 1999, Alaska had become the third most popular cruise destination in the world and was growing at a rate of 10 percent per year. In 2000, Alaska captured 8 percent of the total cruise market, and six major cruise lines were bringing 22 large cruise ships to Alaska (table 10).⁴ In the 1990s, these companies formed the North West Cruiseship Association, a trade organization to engage in community relations. The duration of most Alaska cruises ranges from 7 to 11 days, with departures from Vancouver and Seattle. Although most cruise ships remained in the Inside Passage, some ventured north to Whittier and Anchorage for connections to the interior.

By 1999, Alaska had become the third most popular cruise destination in the world.

⁴These six companies included Holland America, Princess, Royal Caribbean International, Radisson, Norwegian, and Crystal Cruise Lines.

Table 10—Cruise ship capacity placement: Alaska and the world (bed days)

Location	1989	1995	1999	2000
Alaska	1,598,268	3,008,146	4,086,620	4,197,332
World	24,699,932	35,661,526	46,316,587	53,862,817
Alaska as percentage of total	6	8	9	8

Source: CLIA 2002.

The cruise lines visiting Alaska are international conglomerates involved in many aspects of the travel and tourism industry and sailing ships all over the world under a variety of national flags. Several international trends in cruise ship tourism are important to note as they offer growing implications for Alaska ports:

- Cruise ships became larger and had a broader range of built-in entertainment options.
- As the price of cruising declined, a cruise vacations became affordable to a broad range of people, including families, young couples, and ethnically diverse populations.
- There was a growing emphasis on shore excursions as a vital component of the cruise experience.
- Cruise lines became vertically integrated, that is, investing in other aspects of the travel industry.

Increase in total cruise ship capacity—

Worldwide, the capacity of cruise ships grew 15 percent annually from 1995 to 2000. In 2000, 6.9 million North Americans took cruises compared with 3.6 million in 1990 (CLIA 2002). In 2001, 13 new ships entered service in Alaska. Of the 33 ships constructed by 2002, half will serve 2,000 passengers or more, and three are capable of handling 3,000 guests (CLIA 1998: 33).⁵ New ships offer a variety of amenities such as climbing walls, skating rinks, shopping malls, health spas, arcades, casinos, and many restaurants (Lindberg 1999). These amenities reflect the expanding pressure on cruise lines to entertain their guests onshore. Some Alaska residents are concerned that more on-ship activities will diminish interest in on-shore experiences and negatively impact the local economy. Others are concerned about the environmental impacts of increased services.

⁵The 3,000-passenger ships will not be deployed in Alaska on account of size restrictions in the Panama Canal that make it impossible to move the larger ships from the Caribbean to Alaska.

Increasing diversity of passengers—

Two coinciding trends have resulted in increased diversity among cruise passengers. First, a growth in leisure time among baby boomers has meant that cruise passengers tend to be younger, more active, and desire a more “intense” Alaska experience (Plog Research 1999). This trend has spurred a strong interest in on-shore excursions and attracted many new cruise customers. Second, intense competition has ensued among cruise lines eager to fill their growing number of berths. Price wars have meant that middle-class families worldwide are able to afford a cruise trip to Alaska. For example, several cruise lines in 2000 advertised trips for about \$100 per night on a 7-day cruise (\$799), with many last-minute specials at \$499. “It’s cheaper to go on a cruise vacation in Alaska than it is to stay home,” said one visitor bureau official. Along with price competition comes intense marketing of nontraditional cruise sectors, including families, singles, and alternative lifestyle customers. There are also theme cruises, such as cruises for aspiring writers, jazz enthusiasts, amateur mineralogists, and more.

Growth in shore excursions—

Since 1995, the cruise lines have increasingly promoted shore excursions to augment the passenger experience and attract younger cruisers. Various estimates suggest that roughly 65 percent of passengers on Alaska cruises purchase at least one shore excursion in a given port. To meet the growing popularity of shore excursions, some cruise lines have invested in their own subsidiary tour companies—either through independent development or acquisition.⁶ The cruise lines also established partnerships with local tour operators. Although cruise corporations compete by cutting the base cruise price, they profit from commissions on the sale of local tours. When booking onboard, customers generally pay a higher price than the retail price offered “on the street.” Yet, ship customers find it convenient to purchase tours onboard as a way to guarantee a berth on a desirable, high-quality tour. In addition, customers are often told that they will not be reimbursed for travel expenses if a tour operator without a cruise partnership fails to return them promptly to the ship for departure, nor will they receive a refund if the tour does not meet their expectations. Thus, even though nonendorsed tour operators offer similar products, often at reduced rates, cruise passengers generally follow recommendations of the shore excursion representative and take a tour with a partner company. Cruise lines began selling local tours in the early 1990s, but onboard booking became popular in 2000. Passengers also were being urged to book their ancillary tours from home when they first purchased their cruise package from a travel agent.

Since 1995, the cruise lines have increasingly promoted shore excursions to augment the passenger experience.

⁶In 2000, three Alaska cruise lines had developed their own tour companies: Princess, Holland America, and Royal Caribbean International.

Many of the large cruise lines have expanded their stronghold in southeast Alaska tourism by purchasing local hotels, restaurants, shops, and services.

Vertical integration—

Like many industries, cruise lines have been consolidating ownership and becoming involved in multiple aspects of the visitor experience. In 2000, Carnival, Princess, and Royal Caribbean were the three largest companies and controlled 73 percent of the North American market.⁷ The sheer size of the companies allowed for an economy of scale that often made it difficult for smaller companies to compete. Many of the large cruise lines expanded their economic stronghold in southeast Alaska tourism through a practice known as “vertical integration,” the purchasing of businesses in all aspects of the tourism industry. Princess Cruises, for example, partially owned tour companies in Juneau, Skagway, and Ketchikan as well as a bus company that provided transportation to Alaska’s interior. Many cruise lines invested in hotels, lodges, restaurants, travel agencies, gift shops, and other tourist services, allowing them to conduct business at a lower cost than local entrepreneurs and standardize the services received (Behnke 1999: 12). In cruise ports such as Skagway, Ketchikan, and Juneau, locally owned shops were being replaced by chain stores owned by the cruise lines. The chain stores often sold foreign-made products, including emeralds from South America, European crystal, and other luxury items. In some cases, cruise lines had purchased buildings and were renting space to local businesses.

The expanded dock quickly showed significant potential in attracting large cruise ships to Haines. The first year (1995), an estimated 75,000 cruise visitors docked in Haines—nearly double from the previous year (48,000). Very quickly, passenger numbers began to climb. In 1996, cruise passenger growth was up 28 percent to 95,000. By 2000, cruise passenger traffic had climbed to more than 180,000 (fig. 17). Yet, Haines was still a relatively small port, compared to the major cruise ports of Juneau, Ketchikan, and Skagway, which by 2000, were entertaining more than 600,000 visitors (fig. 18).

Between 1994 and 2000, subtle changes took place in the breakdown of ships of various sizes coming to Haines. In 1994, only two large ships visited the community. By 2000, five large cruise ships from two major cruise companies⁸ came to Haines, each carrying between 1,750 and 2,020 passengers (table 11). Disembarking passengers often outnumbered the local population. Not only did the total number of visitors arriving by large cruise ship increase in numbers, but also the proportion of visitors arriving by large cruise ship grew, demonstrating an

⁷In 2003, Princess Cruise Lines and Carnival Corporation merged. Carnival also owned Holland America Westours Inc. (Juneau Empire 2003).

⁸Princess Cruise Lines sent occasional ships to Haines to experiment with the port between 1997 and 1999 but opted not to continue docking in Haines after 1999.

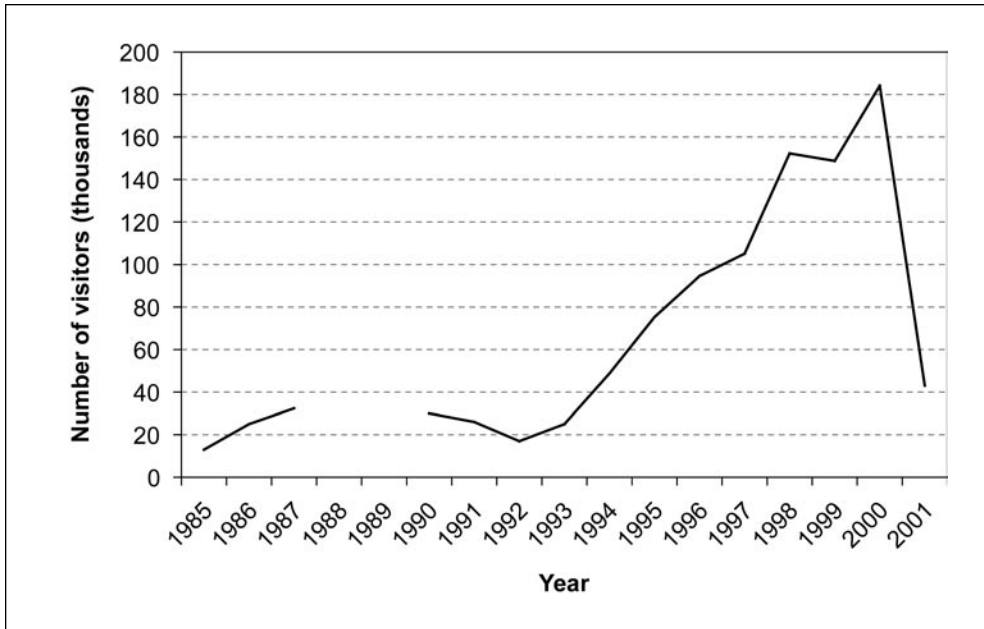


Figure 17—Cruise passenger visits to Haines, 1985–2001 (Haines Visitor Center 2000).

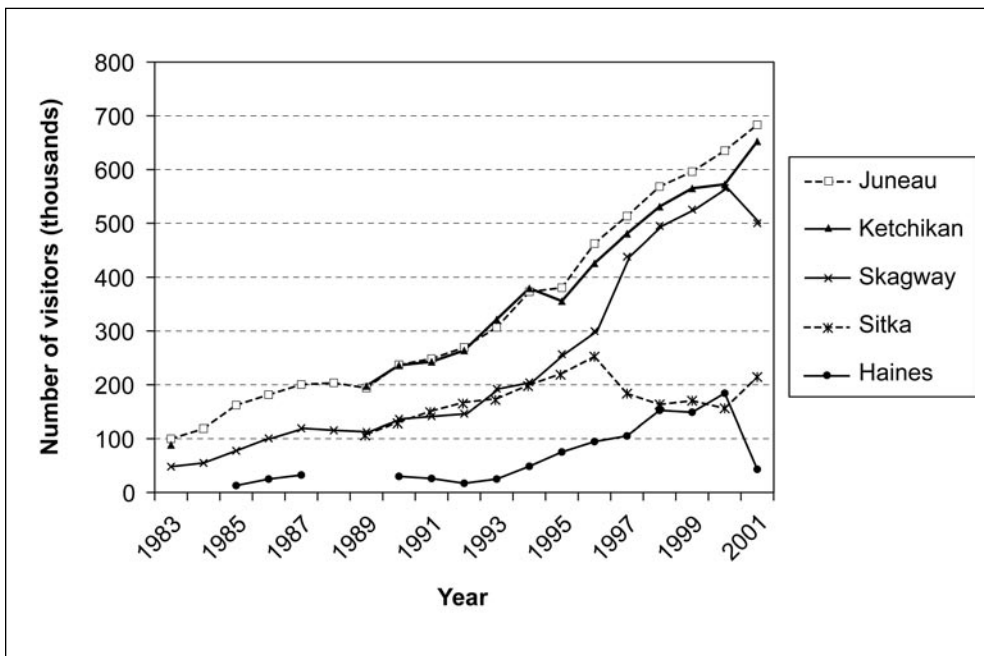


Figure 18—Cruise visitors to five southeast Alaska cities (Juneau Convention and Visitor’s Bureau, Sitka Convention and Visitor’s Bureau, Skagway Convention and Visitor’s Bureau, Haines Visitor Center, Ketchikan Convention and Visitor’s Bureau). Note: 2001 figures are estimates.

Table 11—Large cruise ships in Haines: annual dockings, 1994–2000

Company/ship name/no. of passengers	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Norwegian/Norwegian Wind (1,748)	11	18	19	19	19	19	18
Norwegian/Norwegian Sky (2,020)	—	—	—	—	—	—	20
Royal Caribbean/Sun Viking (750)	12	14	—	—	—	—	—
Royal Caribbean/Nordic Prince (1,000)	19	—	—	—	—	—	—
Royal Caribbean/Song of Norway (1,000)	—	—	14	—	—	—	—
Royal Caribbean/Legend of the Seas (1,800)	—	15	18	20	17	0	0
Royal Caribbean(Celebrity)/Galaxy (1,870)	—	—	—	18	18	18	18
Royal Caribbean/Rhapsody of the Seas (2,100)	—	—	—	—	19	19	18
Royal Caribbean/Vision of the Seas (2,000)	—	—	—	—	—	17	16
Princess/Star Princess (1,500)	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Princess/Crown Princess (1,600)	—	—	—	1	1	—	—
Princess/Sun Princess (1,950)	—	—	—	—	—	1	—

Source: Haines Visitor Center 2000.

increased reliance on the cruise lines for bringing these visitors to Haines. Analysis of cruise-visitor trends over time shows that a greater percentage of total passengers came to Haines on large cruise ships. In 1994, 68 percent of all passengers came on a large cruise ship, compared to 95 percent in 2000 (table 12). In 2000, 13 different cruise ships made 157 stops at the Port Chilkoot dock and delivered more than 184,000 passengers (table 13). The two major players included Norwegian Cruise Lines (20 calls) and Royal Caribbean International (52 calls). Large cruise ships generally arrived in the evening and remained in Haines for 3 to 5 hours. One exception was the *Norwegian Sky* (Norwegian Cruise Lines), which in 2000 became the first large cruise ship since the dock expansion to anchor in Haines during daytime hours.

Although the number of passengers arriving in Haines was generally known, it is impossible to say precisely how many passengers chose to disembark in Haines, either for an organized tour or to walk around town. Often, this choice was determined by the ship's schedule. According to anecdotal evidence from local merchants, a higher percentage of *Norwegian Sky* passengers generally got off the ship because Haines was the first port of call and because it was a daytime stop. Passengers on the evening ships may not have had as many incentives to disembark because their itinerary might have taken them to Skagway for a full day, before spending a few evening hours in Haines. Some Haines shopowners wondered whether evening passengers were fatigued after a full day in Skagway and hesitant to come on shore. Furthermore, because the ships arrived in Haines during dinner hours, those passengers not registered for organized tours in Haines may have opted to dine on board the ship and visit Haines on a casual, after-dinner walk.

Table 12—Percentage of passengers to Haines by ship size

Year	Small (<200 passengers)	Medium (200–999 passengers)	Large (1,000+ passengers)
----- Percent -----			
1994	12	20	68
1997	8	2	90
2000	3	2	95

Source: Haines Visitor Center 2000.

Table 13—Haines cruise ship count, 2000

Ship name	Company	Stops	Passengers per ship	Total passengers
Norwegian Sky	Norwegian Cruise Lines	20	2,002	40,040
Norwegian Wind	Norwegian Cruise Lines	18	1,760	31,680
Galaxy	Celebrity (Royal Caribbean)	18	1,740	31,320
Rhapsody of the Seas	Royal Caribbean	18	2,000	36,000
Vision of the Seas	Royal Caribbean	16	2,000	32,000
Universe Explorer	World Explorer	6	700	4,200
Seven Seas Navigator	Radisson	2	490	980
Yorktown Clipper	Clipper Cruise	9	140	1,260
Spirit of Discovery	Cruise West	13	84	1,092
Spirit of '98	Cruise West	18	99	1,782
Spirit of Alaska	Cruise West	17	82	1,394
Spirit of Columbia	Cruise West	2	80	160
Hanseatic		1	188	188
Total		157	11,365	184,134

Source: Haines Visitor Center 2000.

Local Business Responds to the Cruise Industry

Once large cruise ships were able to dock in Haines, a flurry of tourism-related businesses emerged, including tour companies, tourism attractions, and shops.⁹ A variety of people, both long-time residents and newcomers, got involved in the tourism industry, including some who had been skeptical of tourism as a viable economic development strategy.¹⁰ In 2000, there were more than 100 tourism-related businesses in Haines including tour companies providing tours to natural, cultural, and historical sites; galleries and gift shops; hotels, motels, and other lodgings; local museums or other attractions; seasonal restaurants; air, ground, or water transportation; RV parks and campgrounds; and fishing guides (table 14).

⁹For a complete list of tourism businesses in 2000, see table 14.

¹⁰Some residents, who had opposed the creation of the eagle preserve years earlier were now benefiting from the aesthetic and recreational appeal of the eagle preserve, not to mention the economic effects related to visitor spending.

Table 14—Number of Haines tourism businesses by category, 2000

Haines tourism businesses	Number
Tour operators (adventure, eco-tours, sightseeing)	21
Lodging (bed and breakfast, motel, hotel, lodge, cabin)	22
Attractions (museum, totem park, cultural center)	6
Galleries and gift shops	19
Transportation (air, water, or city taxi)	9
Fishing lodges and guides	13
Cultural or historic tours	4
Restaurants	14
Camping and RV	6

Source: Haines Visitor Center 2000, Haines Borough 2000.

Many Haines businesses expanded their range of products and services to accommodate the growth of visitors and their changing needs.

Many Haines businesses expanded their range of products and services to accommodate the growth of visitors and their changing needs. Companies that had started their businesses with a school bus and a pair of boats or kayaks were now contracting with cruise ships to accommodate groups of 50 or more visitors in rapid, 3-hour tours. Existing companies began to expand their products and services offered, adding new features and tours to meet changing visitor demands. One notable company augmented its original rafting business to include canoe tours, city tours, and a gift shop. One local fisherman started a charter fishing business and incrementally expanded to include kayaking, sailing, and van tours to meet changing customer demands. Stores also expanded their product line to cater to the tourist industry, adding gifts and t-shirts to their inventories. According to some local tour operators, the growth in passengers was faster than they had anticipated. What once were small adventure companies were now handling logistics for hundreds of customers daily. Many tour companies emerged as spinoffs of other companies. Chilkat Guides, for example, employed many raft guides who traveled to Haines seasonally to work on the Chilkat River. Several of these guides decided they wanted to remain in Haines and operate their own business. At least five local businesses were owned or managed by former Chilkat Guides employees. Because long-term employment options are limited within any given company, those with entrepreneurial spirit developed their own niche in the tourism industry. Unlike other cruise ports, most Haines businesses were locally owned in 2000. The status of Haines as a “marginal” cruise destination, in comparison to Skagway, Juneau, and Ketchikan, had limited significant outside investment by cruise lines, hotel chains or resorts.

Table 15—Estimated growth in cruise ship-related tourism businesses, 1994–2000

Activity	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Tours	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	18	59	56

Source: Haines Borough (2000); and Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development 2000.

Note: These are the best estimates based on data available. 1998 was missing from the file on tour operators.

Tour companies—

In 1994, the year before the dock was completed, there were 23 tour companies, including 8 charter fishing or guiding businesses. By 2000, the number of tour companies had nearly doubled to 37, including 13 charter fishing or guiding businesses (Haines Borough 2000) (table 15). Many new tour operators were small startups—greeting cruise passengers opposite the Port Chilkoot dock and vying for their business by using creative signage and newly painted vans. Others avoided the dock and instead used the Internet to market their tours. The largest, most financially successful of these businesses were those that had arranged partnerships with cruise lines to provide local tours. The economic impact of Haines tour companies was significant. Total sales from tours and charters were estimated at \$3.3 million in 1999 (Chilkat Valley News 1999f). With some exceptions, tours range in price from \$25 to \$50 for sightseeing tours and \$60 to \$90 for adventure tours, such as rafting, kayaking, jet-boating, and biking. Most tour activity was concentrated around seven high-volume tour businesses. Together, these Haines companies employed 186 people during summer 2000.¹¹ In addition, these seven companies catered to an estimated 100,000 visitors in 2000.¹²

Other tourism businesses—

Small businesses in Haines also began to realize the benefits of large passenger ships, which brought thousands of potential consumers to the community. In 2000, an array of businesses in downtown Haines and Fort Seward catered to cruise visitors as well as independent travelers. The offerings included 19 galleries or gift shops (up from 10 in 1994),¹³ 14 restaurants, and 6 tourist attractions: the Sheldon

¹¹ Some of these workers actually worked in Skagway in branch operations run by Haines companies.

¹² These estimates do not include passengers on the Chilkat Cruise Fast Ferry.

¹³ These data are from Haines Borough business license records. They may not reflect all businesses.

Museum, American Bald Eagle Foundation, Tsirku Cannery Museum, Chilkat Dancers, Salmon Bake, and the Alaskan Indian Arts Center (Haines Visitor Center 2000). Because most of the large cruise ships arrived at night, the local shops catered to this schedule by staying open until the cruise ship departure—sometimes as late as 11:00 p.m. Likewise, some merchants who drew primarily from cruise passengers remained closed until the arrival of the next ship, or opened at unpredictable hours. This practice of scheduling shop hours around cruise ships resulted in unconventional shopping times for locals and independent visitors.

Interviews with Haines residents revealed that tourism in Haines increasingly focused on the demand for tours, perhaps to the detriment of small businesses catering to shoppers. One shopowner observed, “The tour companies take customers away from downtown and bring them right back to the ship. They don’t give them any time to shop.” After completion of the tour, often little or no time remained for shopping because of the tight ship schedules. Meanwhile, several tour operators maintained that they dropped off customers in prime shopping locations after the tour. Shopowners also may have been affected by price competition for cruises. Low cruise prices were attracting middle-income travelers who likely were on a limited budget. An emphasis on pricey shore excursions may have meant that passengers did not have excess disposable income as in previous years. One gallery owner echoed the observations of many, “We are just not getting the same class of tourists that we once did.” Nevertheless, storeowners did still benefit from cruise passengers who chose not to participate in tours; without the cruise industry, these customers would not be available to them. One tour operator pointed out, “They should quit whining. Without us, (tour operators) there wouldn’t be any tourists here for them. People don’t come to Haines to shop, they come for the tours.” Many industry analysts believed Haines had become a destination known for its ability to provide quality adventure tours.

Impacts of the Growth of Cruise Tourism

A growth in the volume of visitors from large ships was one of many changes that occurred in Haines after the expansion of the Port Chilkoot dock. Many other changes in the structure of tourism took place that reflected a growing dependence on the cruise industry. Since the dock expansion, there had been a decline in emphasis on small ship tourism, a rapid growth of small tourism businesses with ties to the cruise industry, a decline in independent travel not related to cruise ships, and a growing interdependence with the Skagway economy.

Economic impact—

The economic impact of the cruise-based tourism industry in Haines has been explored in different ways by various economic studies. A 2000 McDowell Group study, which used 1999 data, found that cruise passengers spent \$8.8 million in Haines, or an average of \$55 per day per person. Meanwhile, crew spending was an additional \$278,000, and the cruise industry spent \$1.2 million in direct spending. Cruise-based tourism also reportedly contributed \$121,000 for Haines Borough and \$316,000 to the city of Haines in tax revenues (McDowell Group 2000). Economic impact also can be measured in terms of employment. In 1998, the Forest Service prepared a report that examined forest-related employment in Tongass National Forest communities. It found the proportion of tourism-related employment in Haines in 1995 was 17 percent, up from 11 percent in 1990 (fig. 8). In a 2000 study, Robertson estimates that between 14 and 21 percent of Haines workers were employed in tourism-related industries (Robertson, n.d.). State estimates of employment data in 2002 indicated that 21 percent of jobs in Haines Borough were tourism related (Fried and Windisch-Cole 2004). Taken together, these estimates suggest that roughly one in five Haines workers was employed in tourism-related industries. Finally, analysis of data from the Alaska Department of Labor (2000a) showed that an average of 251 tourism jobs existed from October through April 2000 compared to 616 tourism jobs from May to September, resulting in a net of 365 jobs (table 9).

Changes in the smaller cruise ship market—

Haines had long catered to the smaller cruise ship market, known in the industry as “pocket cruises.” Over the years, a niche in smaller ships met the needs of travelers desiring a small-scale approach to cruise travel. These companies visited some of the larger southeast Alaska ports but tended to prefer smaller ports not accessible to the large cruise ships to provide a more intimate Alaska experience. Pocket cruises often emphasized involvement of naturalists, historians, and other interpreters to provide visitors with an indepth view of Alaska. Small cruise ships docked for longer periods, and their passengers were more likely to get off the ship, which by design lacked the array of onboard amenities of the larger ships. Most of these smaller lines were U.S. flag ships and were responsive to environmental regulations and labor laws of the country. As the emphasis on large cruise ships grew, the number of small cruise ships visiting Haines fluctuated—increasing from 8 to 12 in 1997, but declining sharply to 6 in 2000 (table 13). Meanwhile, the proportion of cruise ship visitors arriving by small ship declined from 12 percent in 1994 to 3 percent in 2000. Many business leaders expressed disappointment in 1999 when two prominent small cruise companies opted to decrease or eliminate their dockings in Haines after 1999. Shopowners lamented the loss of small ships, whose

The economic importance of tourism increased throughout the 1990s.

passengers were thought to spend more money in local stores than their counterparts on larger ships.

Growing emphasis on pre-sold tours—

Two types of tour operators emerged on the local level after these changes in the structure of the cruise industry. Businesses with ship contracts who agreed to sell their tours on board were nicknamed “pre-solds.” Other operators vied for customers who had not preplanned their tour, and these were known as “independents.”¹⁴ There were about 9 pre-sold operators and 12 independent operators working in Haines in 2000. There were many important distinctions between pre-sold and independent operations. First, many pre-sold businesses exclusively booked their tours to ship passengers, with little or none of the business from independent visitors or local residents.¹⁵ Independent tour operators targeted both cruise passengers who had not made previous booking arrangements and independent travelers.

Second, cruise ships conducted significant marketing efforts for pre-sold businesses through onboard advertising and information packages. For some local tour operators, this meant that their budget for direct advertising to customers was negligible. Instead, pre-sold tour owners spend considerable time and resources marketing their companies and new products to the shore excursion representatives of the cruise lines (“shore-ex”). Intensive and ongoing networking with the shore-ex was required to maintain satisfactory working relations with the cruise line. As one independent operator noted, “We have different customers; for us it is the cruise ship passenger; for them (pre-solds) it is the shore-ex.” Independent tour operators were required to spend more time marketing their tours directly to customers, through brochures, signs, props, the appearance of their vehicles, and personalities.

A third key difference was that pre-sold operators sold between 50 and 90 percent of tours from Skagway, whereas independents were more focused on cruise ships docking in Haines. This means that the independent tour operators relied heavily on the ongoing presence of cruise ships in Haines. Throughout the field research period, considerable tension was evident between pre-sold and independent operators. Pre-sold operators worried that the “mom and pop” independents might not meet quality standards of the pre-sold tours and thus diminish the overall quality of Haines as a destination. Independent operators interviewed felt somewhat

¹⁴“Independents” are tour operators not contracting with cruise lines. These are not to be confused with independent travelers, who are arriving in Haines not as part of a cruise ship or other package.

¹⁵In some cases, it is impossible to participate in a tour unless one is a cruise ship passenger, owing to the popularity of the tour, the schedule of the tour (which is geared to the docking of cruise ships), and the lack of information about the tour available to the general public.

envious of pre-sold owners—perhaps stemming from their inability to market their tours with cruise industry executives.

The rationale used by a shore-ex in selecting local partners may be idiosyncratic and mysterious to some; however, interviews with Haines business owners and industry observers pointed to several factors that characterized successful partnerships.¹⁶ According to pre-sold operators interviewed, cruise lines catered to businesses that maximized total receipts, allowed customers to return to the ship within the docking time, provided a high-quality experience consistent with the level of service offered on cruise ships, and catered to larger groups. (These criteria were not confirmed with cruise line officials.) According to one interview participant, there was some pressure among operators to provide tours that were mechanized (for example, helicopters and motor boats) so that people may return to the ship or join another tour more quickly. Mechanized tours, however, may put more pressure on natural resources. Furthermore, these criteria may have pressured tour company owners to adjust to increase volume demands—also potentially impacting natural areas and other recreation users. Over time, the cruise lines increasingly relied on profits from Haines-based tours. As long as Haines proved to be a profitable destination, they would continue to dock their ships in port.

The growing influence of cruise tourism also may have inspired a challenge to the values and ethics of various tour operators. Just after the Port Chilkoot dock was completed, there appeared to be two types of tour operators: those who desired to build their businesses by building volume and those smaller scale tourism enterprises that developed based on the idea of sustainable tourism (eco-tours). As visitor volume grew and customer demand for adventure and eco-tours increased, many eco-tours also became pre-sold tours, marketed by the cruise lines. As one tour operator explained, “I wasn’t really planning for this to happen. Every year, it just became more and more. Now I’m looking at my company and realizing it’s not the same company I started with.” As a result, the tours began to change: they were of shorter duration, more frequent, and with larger groups. What started out 5 years ago as an all-day or half-day raft or kayak adventure, ended up being a 90-minute miniadventure by 2000. As one guide told me, “It’s not that fun anymore; it’s more like herding sheep. We really don’t get to spend time with the people and get to know them.” The growth in cruise tourism caused many tour operators to question their values and priorities for running their business, as pressure to grow larger was affecting the degree to which the tour could be considered environmentally sustainable.

¹⁶These “criteria” have not been confirmed with cruise officials but represent the local or “folk” knowledge about the industry.

Although some may have had qualms about the appropriate level of growth, others were enjoying their success and planning to expand even more. For example, one successful boat tour company sought permits in 2000 to expand their product array to include airboats on the Chilkat River. Whereas some Haines residents not involved in tourism spoke about what they perceived to be growing greed among tour operators, the tour operators explained their approach differently. For many in the industry, the love of people, Alaska, or wilderness may have ignited their initial involvement in tourism, but the thrill of entrepreneurship was perpetuating additional growth. One successful tourism owner said simply, “It’s really fun to start new ventures. It’s the part I really enjoy.” In addition, a philosophical desire to spread the excitement of Alaska to others was a pressing motivation for some. The same business owner adopted this view of maximum utility, “I figure turning people on to Alaska is a great thing. It changes people’s lives, so more of it will be better.” Regardless of the motivation, tour companies found themselves expanding in response to the demands of the cruise industry.

Change in independent travel trends—

Haines also attracted independent visitors traveling on the daily ferry from Juneau, the Haines Highway through Canada, or by air taxi from Juneau or Gustavus. Others traveled up the Lynn Canal by boat and docked in the public boat harbor. Some independent visitors passed through en route to other points in Alaska and Canada. Other independent travelers made Haines their primary destination. Haines also attracted Canadians from the Yukon and northern British Columbia who enjoyed fishing and boating. Many spend several days or weeks camped in public or private campgrounds or on the roadside at popular sites such as Lutak Inlet. In addition to the many motels, tourism attractions, and other facilities serving independent visitors, there were numerous special events including the Southeast Alaska Fair, the ACTfest (theater event), the Kluane-Chilkat Bicycle Race, the Bald Eagle Festival, ski competitions, and other events.

With the growth of cruise-based tourism, there was a significant decline in the independent travel market. The growing influence of cruise travel meant that a greater proportion of visitors were arriving by cruise ship. In 1989, nearly 40 percent of visitors to southeast Alaska were independent travelers, compared to 25 percent in 2000 (McDowell 2002). In addition, there appeared to be a decline in real numbers of independent visitors. Unofficial reports and resident interviews suggested that independent tourism in Haines had declined between 1995 and 2000. One informal survey sponsored by the Eagle Eye Journal in June 2000 questioned 48 businesses that catered to independent visitors, including lodge owners, RV parks,

With the growth of cruise-based tourism, there was a significant decline in the independent travel market.

restaurants, and shops. Survey results suggested that independent visitor numbers were down 25 percent from 1999. According to a news report in October 2000, sales also were down between 17 and 30 percent for one prominent downtown gift store and 35 percent for one RV park (Chilkat Valley News 2000a). Another report of Canadian travel trends showed that the number of Canadian visitors to Haines fell from 12,370 in 1993 to 6,121 in 1999.¹⁷ Several quantitative indicators confirm these suspicions held by local business owners, including border crossings, ferry traffic, and air travel.

- Border crossings.** While border crossings from Canada into Haines increased from 1987 to 1993, there was a steady decline in arrivals from Canada through 2000 (fig. 19). In 1993, more than 56,000 persons crossed the border southward into the Haines area, compared with 43,000 for 2000. In a given year, traffic increases in the 5-month period between May and September, owing to both improved weather for local traffic and the increase in out-of-town visitors. The proportion of persons traveling in the May-to-September period increased from 71 percent in 1987 to nearly 80 percent in 2000.

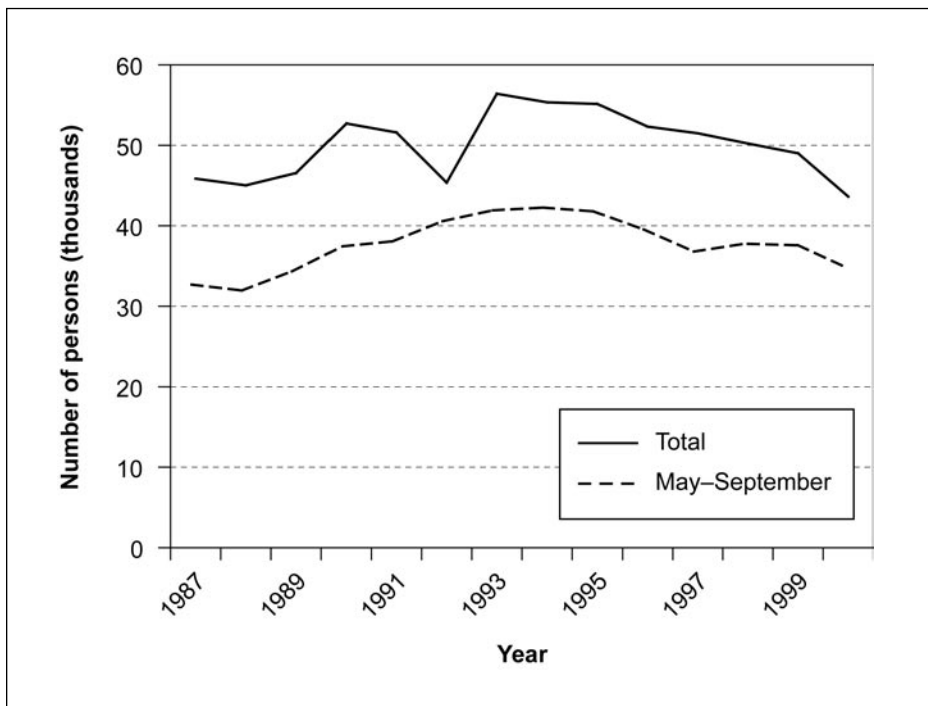


Figure 19—Persons crossing from Canada at the Haines border crossing: total and summer (May–September) traffic, 1987–2000 (U.S. Bureau of Customs and Border Protection 2000).

¹⁷ From a presentation by Aasman Design reported in the Chilkat Valley News (2001a).

- Alaska Marine Highway System.** In the summer, Haines receives daily ferries from Juneau and Skagway, linking vehicles and passengers to the Alaska Highway. In spite of improved service through 2000, ferry travelers to Haines declined from 45,300 in 1992 to 37,800 in 1998. This 3-percent average annual decline from 1993 to 1998 mirrors overall declines in ferry use throughout southeast Alaska, which has experienced an average annual decline of 3.3 percent since 1993 (fig. 20). The independent tourism industry depends on this ferry access. In the 2001 season, Haines merchants experienced a significant setback, when a ferry ship failed to meet its repair deadlines and ferry service was reduced to three weekly visits.

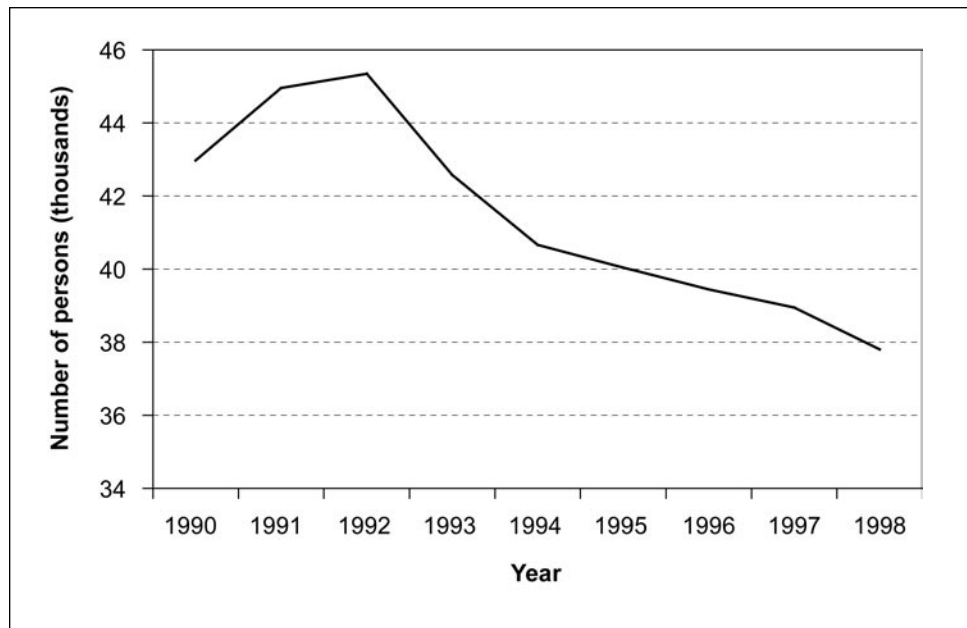


Figure 20—Alaska Marine Highway: Haines arrivals 1990–98 (Alaska Marine Highway System, Department of Transportation 2000).

- Air transportation.** Air traffic to Haines slowed down somewhat from 1998 to 1999—the most current years available (table 16). According to an Alaska Department of Transportation database, total passenger numbers to Haines from all air taxis combined was 10,014 in 1998 and 7,839 in 1999. Air passenger traffic nearly tripled during the peak visitor season, from 1,054 in the first and fourth quarters combined to 2,803 in the second and third quarters (summer) (Alaska Department of Transportation 2000).¹⁸

¹⁸The second and third quarters comprise the months of April through September—correlating roughly with the summer tourism season.

Table 16—Commuter air activity from Juneau to Haines

Quarter	Passengers	
	1998	1999
1	1,492	920
2	3,317	2,484
3	3,477	3,247
4	1,728	1,188
Total	10,014	7,839

Source: Alaska Department of Transportation (2000).

The independent travel industry appeared to be more susceptible to fluctuations in the national economy, statewide marketing trends, and structural shifts in the travel and tourism industry. First, the economic might of the cruise industry allowed it to engage in large-scale marketing efforts to attract passengers and fill berths. Whereas a Haines-based tour benefits from the expansive marketing efforts of the cruise lines, a local bed and breakfast establishment relied on state tourism marketing, efforts of regional industry associations, the Haines Visitor Center, and their own initiatives to attract new customers. With the inevitable budget limitations on state and municipal tourism agencies, efforts by any individual Haines business to attract visitors may be muted. Second, the cruise industry owned their means of travel (the ship), whereas independent travelers relied on other forms of transportation, including Alaska Airlines, the ferry system, and the Alaska Highway. Thus, the cost and convenience of transportation was out of the hands of the independent tourism industry, which was susceptible to labor strikes, abrupt changes in ferry schedules, highway construction, and other variables. Third, the cruise lines cooperated with other aspects of the travel and tourism industry to increase customer demand. Travel agents, who no longer benefit significantly from the sale of airline tickets, earn revenues by booking cruises and other package tours to Alaska. Thus, travelers with an interest in Alaska are steered toward cruises. And, with cruise prices made more affordable, many choose to visit Alaska as a cruise passenger.

Explanations for the apparent decline in independent tourism are many. State budget cutbacks reduced statewide tourism marketing efforts (from \$10.5 million in 1991 to \$4.2 million in 2000), and many in Haines linked this change with the decline in independent visitors. In addition to the state budget, this decline was attributed by Haines residents to other factors: (a) intensive marketing by Anchorage-based car rental companies and RV rental agencies that attracted tourists to a different region of Alaska; (b) an increasing lack of vacation time, making it difficult for people to take the time to travel to Alaska by private vehicle; (c) increasing oil

The independent travel industry appeared to be more susceptible to fluctuations in the national economy, statewide marketing trends, and shifts in the industry.

prices that raise the cost of road and boat trips; (d) difficulties experienced by travel agents booking independent travel to Alaska because of unreliable or unwieldy ferry schedules; (e) economic incentives for travel agents to push cruise ship travel and other tour packages; and (f) the weakening Canadian dollar, which curbed Canada-based travel. In spite of reports of declines in the independent visitor trade, capacity for independent tourism expanded. From 1996 to 2000, Haines experienced growth in the number of bed and breakfast inns, motels, campgrounds, and other forms of lodging. In 1996, there were 16 different businesses hosting overnight guests, compared to 28 in 2000.

Growing reliance on cruise visitors in local attractions—

The growing influence of cruise-based tourism also can be observed by studying visitor patterns in local attractions. Evidence suggests that local tourism institutions, such as the Sheldon Museum (2000) and the American Bald Eagle Foundation (2000), were becoming more dependent on the cruise ship passenger for survival. The Sheldon Museum, which relied most on independent visitors, saw flat growth trends subsequent to dock expansion. Meanwhile, the American Bald Eagle Foundation saw steady growth, while increasing its participation in local tours. A third local attraction, the Chilkat Dancers, experienced serious declines in visitation levels when they lost support of the cruise industry, forcing the event to close in 2000.

- **Sheldon Museum.** The Sheldon Museum was a borough-owned facility that included a vast collection of cultural and historical artifacts collected by Steve Sheldon in the early part of the 20th century. Starting with a small budget and a volunteer staff, museum patronage grew from fewer than 10,000 in 1981 to nearly 25,000 in 2000, with average annual growth rates at 6.3 percent (fig. 21). However, since 1996, growth rates were flat at about 1.6 percent. Moreover, there was a zero-percent growth rate among visitors coming to the museum in the summer (third quarter). In 1981, summer visitors made up 63 percent of total museum visitors, compared to 55 percent in 2000. In spite of efforts to entice passengers aboard the large cruise ships, such as keeping the museum open during evening hours when cruise ships dock in town, the museum received just 35 percent of its total business from cruise ships, with most of its patrons coming from smaller ships.
- **American Bald Eagle Foundation.** Meanwhile, visitors to the American Bald Eagle Foundation, which included a museum and visitor center, increased at the average annual rate of about 8 percent each year from 1995 to 2000 (fig. 22). Visitation declined somewhat after 1997, when a nominal admission fee was instituted; however, 2000 visitation levels approached

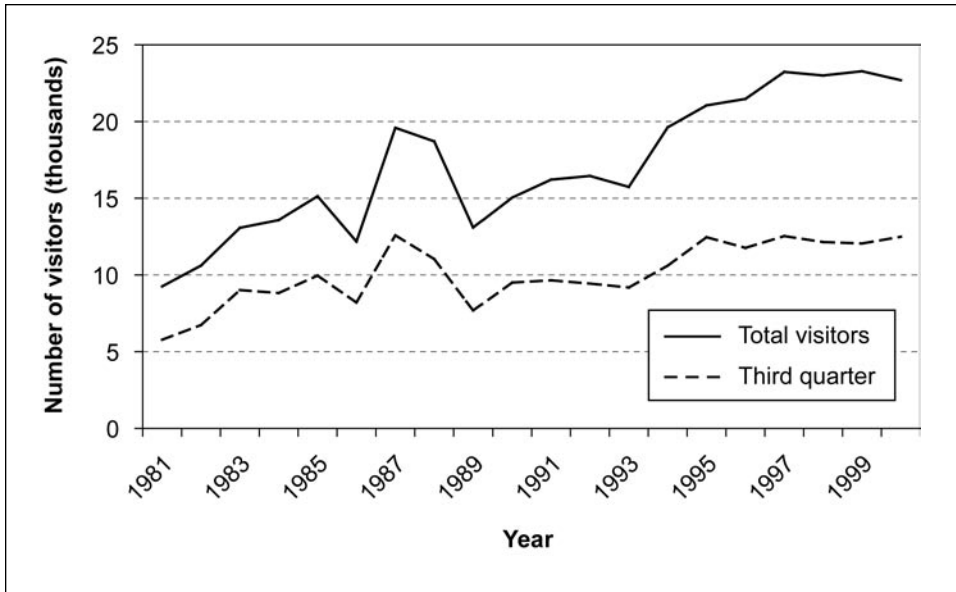


Figure 21—Visitation to the Sheldon Museum: 1981–2000 (Sheldon Museum 2000).

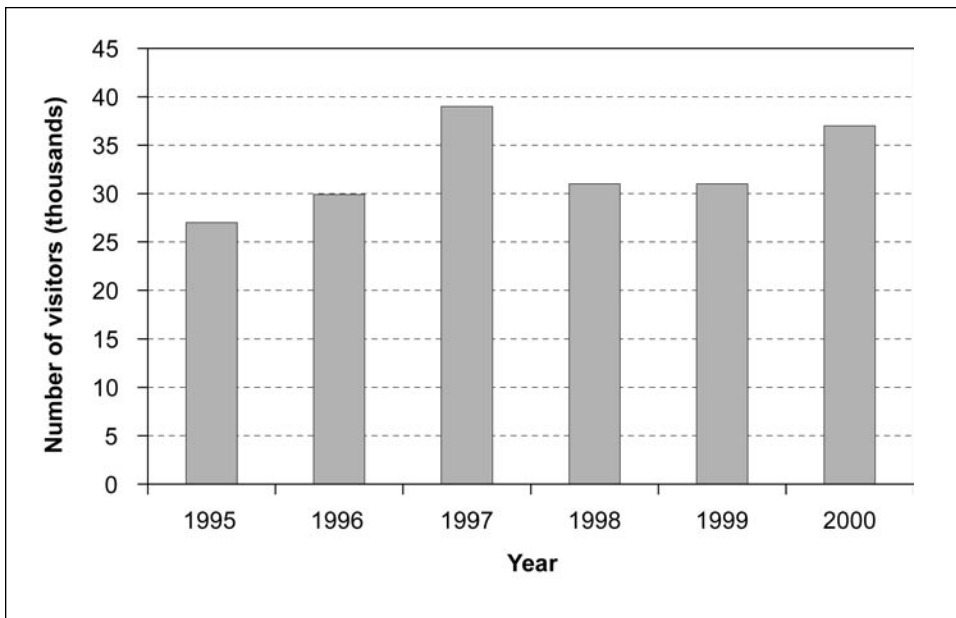


Figure 22—Visitation to the American Bald Eagle Foundation (American Bald Eagle Foundation 2000).

1997 levels, with more than 37,000 estimated patrons. Participants of organized tours represented the majority of visitors to the American Bald Eagle Foundation. In 1997, just 25 percent of visitors arrived as part of a scheduled tour, compared to 61 percent in 2000. The growing reliance of tour-based customers to local attractions was apparent.

- **Chilkat Dancers.** The Chilkat Dancers, a long-standing Haines tourist attraction, was forced to cease operations in 2000 after 42 years, apparently owing to competition with other local attractions. In 2000, Royal Caribbean canceled its long-standing contract with Hotel Halsinglad and Alaska Indian Arts for a tour that included a salmon bake and a performance by the Chilkat Dancers—a package that had been sold since the early 1980s. Without support from the cruise lines, the Chilkat Dancers shut down at the end of July on account of low sales volume and rising operating costs (Chilkat Valley News 2000c). Some residents suggested that the demise of Chilkat Dancers was evidence that Haines’ role as a center for the arts was in decline because of the emphasis on its adventure tours.

Cruise ship traffic seemed essential to the ongoing viability of prominent local tourist attractions. The Sheldon Museum did not aggressively cater to cruise visitors and saw little growth since the construction of the dock. Meanwhile, the American Bald Eagle Foundation increased its involvement with cruise visitors and experienced healthy growth rates. And, the Chilkat Dancers found it impossible to continue with independent visitors alone, once they lost their cruise ship contract.

Growing interdependence with Skagway—

Faced with serious economic decline resulting from the closing of the White Pass-Yukon Route Railroad in 1982, Skagway residents united to promote their community as a tourist destination. In 1984, the railway depot opened as a visitor center, and the National Park Service invested significant funds to restore the facility and adjacent buildings and homesteads. During the 1980s, a historic district was developed, and in 1988, the railroad reopened to bring visitors along the Chilkoot Trail to the summit.¹⁹ Skagway actively marketed its identity as a gateway to the Yukon and the embodiment of gold rush history (Brady 2000). White Pass then invested millions of dollars into building up downtown and improving docks to handle more cruise ships. By 2000, Skagway could handle five cruise ships simultaneously and was entertaining nearly 600,000 cruise visitors annually. The restored downtown area became an ideal setting for small shops in a Western motif. According to a 2000 McDowell Group study, visitors spent an average of \$123 per person in Skagway, compared to \$55 in Haines (McDowell Group 2000). As further testimony to the immense economic potential of Skagway, several cruise companies purchased local real estate and opened their own shops, restaurants, and businesses. Skagway’s appeal rested in its value as an historic site and diverse shopping opportunities.

¹⁹ In 2000, more than 250,000 guests rode the rails in Skagway (Skagway Alaskan 2000: 9).

Tourism growth in Skagway affected Haines in three significant ways. First, as cruise ship traffic in Skagway grew, enterprising Haines businesses provided quality land-based excursions to Skagway visitors. Beginning around 1990, Haines tour companies were flying guests from Skagway to participate in rafting, kayaking, boating, and other adventure tours. Guests would either fly back to join their fellow passengers in Skagway or wait for the ship to dock in Haines several hours later. In 1997, Klukwan, Inc., built a rapid water shuttle between Haines and Skagway, which facilitated the transportation of guests to and from these communities. By 2000, Haines pre-sold tour companies relied on Skagway significantly, with Skagway-based customers comprising between 50 to 90 percent of total sales. Two water shuttle companies brought at least 12,000 visitors to Haines from Skagway in 2000 (Haines Visitor Center 2000). Second, several Haines-based businesses operated subsidiary tours or owned shops in Skagway. Furthermore, many Haines artists sold their products in Skagway stores, and Haines residents increasingly used the shuttle service to commute to Skagway, where retail and tourism jobs were plentiful. Third, tourism growth in Skagway did not appeal to everyone; many Skagway residents felt discouraged with the escalating business climate and swelling crowds. Since 1990, Haines had become home to a growing number of “Skagway Refugees,” as they sometimes referred to themselves. To some extent, Haines had become a de facto bedroom community for Skagway during the tourist season. As Skagway continues to grow, Haines businesses invested in Skagway likely will benefit. This economic interdependence presents interesting management challenges for Haines residents, who cannot easily control the number of visitors coming to Haines from Skagway or the means by which they arrive.

Local Efforts to Plan for Tourism and Manage Tourism Impacts

As cruise-based tourism grew, Haines residents began to feel the strain on local infrastructure. As one former public official noted, “We put up the dock, but we didn’t really plan for what happened afterward.” The town struggled with pedestrian traffic, exacerbated by the absence of sidewalks or signs. The need for public restrooms became paramount. And, with a growing number of tour companies, the vehicle traffic swelled, especially near Port Chilkoot dock, Fort Seward, and downtown Haines. Horse and buggy tours as well as antique motorcar tours were highly popular among visitors but contributed to concerns about slow-moving traffic in town. Some city tours involved frequent stops or slowdowns in key transportation corridors or quiet neighborhoods, while tour guides shared aspects of Haines with their guests—sometimes creating safety hazards for other motorists. Meanwhile, residents were facing increasing congestion in popular recreation areas such as

As cruise-based tourism grew, Haines residents began to feel the strain on local infrastructure.

Chilkoot Lake. Efforts to engage in planning were met with little enthusiasm and in January 1999, the city tourism director resigned in frustration about the community's lack of willingness to plan for tourism growth.²⁰ Several initiatives reflect the growing interest among Haines officials and residents in managing tourism's effects.

Tourism taxes and cruise caps—

In 1999, the Haines Borough, faced with an annual budget deficit of about \$300,000, sought ways to fund key community institutions, such as the library, the museum, the Chilkat Center, and the swimming pool. With declining state contributions and the waning influence of the oil industry, local infrastructure needs were not being met. One Haines Borough Assembly member proposed the idea of taxing the tourism industry as a means to make up the difference. This logic was well understood, as the commercial fishing and timber industries had long contributed to municipalities through the raw-fish tax and stumpage fees (figs. 9 through 11). The tourism tax proposal was seriously debated over the summer of 1999 and was put on the ballot for the October 1999 election. The proposed 4-percent tax on tours and charters was expected to raise \$133,258 for the Haines Borough (Chilkat Valley News 1999f). In addition, the borough proposal requested a 4-percent bed tax, which was expected to raise \$68,475 (Chilkat Valley News 1999e). In October 1999, Haines voters narrowly approved both measures.

In the aftermath, many felt that the borough's tax measures contradicted the use of city tax dollars to pay for the new dock. Some members of the tourism industry, who would be negatively impacted by the tax, were outraged and warned that Haines could experience backlash from the cruise lines (Chilkat Valley News 1999g). In December, this vote was declared invalid on account of a technicality and a revote on the bed and tour tax was held in April 2000. Prior to the revote, a Visitor Promotion Committee formed to inform residents about the economic benefits of tourism and the community's need to support the tourism industry. Many local tour operators worked together to campaign against the tourism tax and spread the word about the benefits of tourism. In spite of their efforts, the measure passed again by a margin of 12 votes (Chilkat Valley News 2000n).²¹

The October 1999 ballot had another tourism initiative as well—suggesting a general desire for tourism management. Several local citizens initiated a proposal to limit the number of cruise ships coming to Haines to 2000 levels. According

²⁰ This finding stems from confidential interview data.

²¹ In 2003, the sales tax on tours was repealed by Haines voters to jump-start the lagging tourism industry and attract cruise ships back to Haines.

to petition organizers, the impetus behind this measure was for the community to regain local control of tourism (Chilkat Valley News 1999a). The measure gained public support in June 1999, when Royal Caribbean admitted that it had dumped toxic chemicals into the Upper Lynn Canal and agreed to pay Alaska \$6.5 million. In August 1999, 50 protesters, including many people involved in the tourism industry, gathered at the dock to greet Royal Caribbean executives who had come to apologize to Haines residents. A subsequent public meeting elicited angry accusations from Haines residents (Chilkat Valley News 1999d). At the same time, two citizens' groups, Lynn Canal Conservation and Friends of Glacier Point, raised concerns about the impacts of tourism at Glacier Point, a site used by Chilkat Guides for motorized canoe tours of Davidson Glacier. Members of these organizations felt that local recreation experiences were being altered by the presence of the tourism operation, and noise from air traffic was affecting neighboring property owners. Meanwhile, at Chilkoot Lake, signs that tourism had exceeded its limits were evident when the Lutak Land Use Service Area board rejected the permit application of one tour operator to base kayak operations on private lands (Chilkat Valley News 1999b). Various tourism impacts felt by residents throughout the Chilkat Valley appeared to be lending support to the cruise ship cap initiative, which passed in October 1999 as an advisory measure.

Public meetings—

While debating the April 2000 tax measure, two efforts initiated by the Visitor Promotion Committee sought to gain input from area residents about the effects of tourism. Many acknowledged this was a positive step toward recognizing the need for public input and planning. The first was a household survey distributed by the Haines Chamber of Commerce to all box-holders asking respondents to discuss positive and negative impacts of tourism and to propose solutions to mitigate issues (Chilkat Valley News 2000n). Many local observers felt that this survey represented a strategic shift among local tourism businesses to elicit public opinion and learn about tourism's effects, both positive and negative. Survey results showed that economic benefits were widely acknowledged, but several aspects of tourism caused concern for residents including downtown traffic and congestion, a lack of visitor facilities, congestion in local recreation areas, and noise concerns from airplanes over the Chilkat Peninsula.²² A public meeting to discuss survey results and elicit other tourism issues drew 60 residents, discussing everything from bear safety to traffic flow to noncommercial recreation use of local sites (Chilkat Valley News 2000l). Another diverse group of residents met several times in 2000 to discuss

Survey results showed that economic benefits were widely acknowledged, but several aspects of tourism caused concern for residents.

²² There were 187 respondents to this survey.

the impacts of tourism on local recreation. As a result of the tax issue, public regulation of tourism no longer was a taboo subject in Haines, and a series of dialogues had begun.

Tourism Planning Committee—

In response to the public's need for tourism planning, Haines Mayor Otis created the Tourism Planning Committee in May 2000. Several local residents were appointed to wrestle with tourism issues. The purpose of the Tourism Planning Committee was to “develop a Haines tourism strategy that balances sustainable long-term economic and social benefits with minimum adverse impacts to the community and the environment.” The committee consisted of two tourism industry proponents, two business owners, and three others not directly involved in tourism. Early initiatives in summer 2000 focused on developing short-term solutions for impending traffic problems related to the proliferation of tourism activity during cruise ship dockings. Several recommendations were made to the city council to alleviate congestion and improve public safety. The biweekly tourism planning meetings were well attended by Haines residents involved in various aspects of tourism. Tour operators and tourism business owners readily offered input and suggestions, often influencing committee outcomes.

During summer 2000, the Tourism Planning Committee tackled the need to regulate activities of independent tour operators on the Port Chilkoot dock. This initiative was brought to the agenda by a tour operator on the committee who sought to “close a loophole” in city code that allowed private sale of goods on a public facility.²³ As the committee wrangled with this issue, the implicit goals of the group were to eliminate concerns about a growing “shark-pit” mentality at the dock, to provide some mechanism for controlling the quality and integrity of tourism operations in Haines, and to ensure passenger safety and compliance with city codes. The need for this discussion was further prompted by the alleged actions of one tour operator who had purportedly violated city codes for solicitation on public property. Initial discussion focused on the construction of a kiosk on the dock and a broker system for selling tours—a measure approved by the city council. Intense verbal debate ensued during several meetings, and independent tour operators pitted themselves against pre-sold operators, with the former expressing concerns about the city inhibiting local business development and favoring the

²³ Tour operators were allowed to apply for a permit to sell tours on the dock and its apron, provided certain restrictions were met in relation to signage, the nature of verbal contact with visitors, vehicle registration, and other features. Interestingly, the committee member proposing these limitations also served as operations manager for Klukwan's tourism division, which owned land adjacent to the dock and often rented this land to independent tour operators.

big corporations. After several weeks of detailing this plan, the kiosk idea fizzled because of repeated objections by local independent tour operators. Later discussions focused on a “three-strikes” policy for dealing with rogue tour operators, but this topic also was dropped. Throughout its first months, the committee often wrestled with its role—discussing the extent to which it should be advocating the needs of the tourism industry versus the interests of citizens. The growing influence of the tourism industry on local decisionmaking was evident.

Appeals and protests at Glacier Point—

Concerns about the increase in tourism activity at Glacier Point escalated in 1999 and 2000. A highly scenic area, Glacier Point was long used by local residents for beachcombing, picnicking, hiking, hunting, and rock climbing. In 1998, Chilkat Guides purchased 121 ha at Glacier Point and transformed existing trails into small roads for use by off-road vehicles and buses and began providing motorized canoe tours of Davidson Glacier. Chilkat Guides flew cruise ship passengers from Skagway and Haines to Glacier Point for their canoe experience. By 2000, nearly 10,000 annual visitors were enjoying Glacier Point through a Chilkat Guides tour. Two major concerns arose about the changes at Glacier Point. First, some residents lamented the change of this area from a rural recreation site to a populated tourist destination. Others were concerned about escalating noise from air traffic over Chilkat Peninsula—a rural Haines neighborhood. In 1999, Lynn Canal Conservation and Friends of Glacier Point submitted an appeal to the Alaska DNR related to Chilkat Guides permit to store canoes on state lands. This appeal was denied. In December 1999, a representative of Friends of Glacier Point sent a letter to cruise officials requesting a dialogue regarding the impacts of tourism at Glacier Point. When a dialogue was not achieved, the citizens’ group announced that it would initiate a series of protests at Glacier Point beginning the following summer. As a result of these letters, Kirby Day, Director of Southeast Operations at Princess Cruise Lines, sent a memo to other cruise lines suggesting that Haines be boycotted (Juneau Empire 2000a).

In June 2000, protests by Friends of Glacier Point and another grassroots organization, Haines Peace Keepers, began at Glacier Point and continued throughout the summer. Flyers distributed to tour customers asked them to be aware that airplane noise from the tour upset local residents living nearby (Chilkat Valley News 2000o). A formal meeting was held between Chilkat Guides’ representatives and the citizen groups, but few tangible steps were made to remedy conflicts (Chilkat Valley News 2000i). In August, the groups again appealed the permit to store canoes on state lands. In September 2000, Chilkat Guides and Klukwan, Inc., announced plans to construct a new catamaran to ferry passengers from Skagway

by water to reduce impacts from air traffic. In December 2000, a coalition of environmental groups, including Lynn Canal Conservation, Friends of Glacier Point, the Southeast Alaska Conservation Council, and EarthJustice Legal Defense Fund, sued the DNR as a means to push the state into regulating commercial recreation use of public lands. They also sought an injunction to limit commercial uses of state land at places like Glacier Point until a process was in place (Chilkat Valley News 2000e). Glacier Point had come to symbolize the potential of tourism to transform local recreation spaces into tourist arenas.

Chilkoot corridor: tourism and bears—

A 1.7-km strip of land leading from Lutak Inlet to Chilkoot Lake was widely known for its high concentration of brown bears during summer feeding. Many visitors frequented the area, including locals and independent travelers involved in boating, fishing, camping, and sightseeing; 12 to 14 tour operators also brought customers out to Chilkoot Lake for recreational activities, sightseeing, and bear-watching. These combined factors created a situation where congestion was commonplace and public safety concerns were imminent. In addition, the area is culturally significant to the Chilkoot people, who were concerned about impacts of tourism on cultural sites and subsistence resources. In May, Lutak residents, who had experienced repeated problems with bears habituated to humans, killed two yearling bears. In mid-June, campers were evacuated from Chilkoot Lake State campground for about 2 weeks, owing to problem bears (Chilkat Valley News 2000h). In July, biologists from the Alaska Department of Fish and Game met to discuss bear viewing guidelines and to provide an information session for tour operators (Chilkat Valley News 2000b). In August, a bear biologist began conducting research on bear behavior and human interactions with bears at Chilkoot. Congestion intensified during peak bear feeding weeks in late summer. By the end of summer, four bears had been killed, and residents acknowledged a pressing need to monitor tourism activity. In response, the Haines Chamber of Commerce received a small grant to initiate a planning process in the Chilkoot corridor. The Chilkoot Corridor Management Plan would involve key stakeholders, including Lutak landowners, the Chilkoot Indian Association, Lynn Canal Conservation, tour companies, and other local residents. Again, the emergence of this organization demonstrated the need for tourism management.

The Cruise Industry Response

The votes in favor of taxing tourism businesses and capping cruise ship levels resulted in a flurry of activity affecting the Port of Haines. The first setback to Haines businesses occurred in October 1999, when a small cruise company, Special

Expeditions, announced that it would not return with its two ships because of the increase in large cruise ship activity. Shortly after the October tax and cruise cap measures were approved, Princess Cruises announced that the company would not return with the *Dawn Princess* for the 2000 season, citing an “unfriendly attitude” (Chilkat Valley News 1999c). Then, after the vote in favor of taxes on beds and tours passed in April 2000, Norwegian Cruise Lines announced that they would not bring the *Norwegian Sky* back to Haines for daytime dockings after the 2000 season. These decisions were attributed to “economic factors,” but many local tour operators insisted that the antitourism climate in Haines led the companies to back away from the community. Some felt that the cruise industry was making an example of Haines for other southeast Alaska communities considering tax levies or docking restrictions.

In December 2000, the community of Haines received a significant shock. Royal Caribbean International announced that they were canceling all their 52 summer dockings for 2001 (Chilkat Valley News 2000j). This announcement came after what many perceived to be a positive visit by Royal Caribbean officials to Haines in July 2000. Royal Caribbean executives cited rising fuel costs as the primary reason for its withdrawal—indicating that they would save \$1.45 million in fuel costs and docking fees by dropping Haines. Another economic factor may have been related to the expanded schedule of Skagway’s White Pass Yukon Route Railway; economic analyses determined it would be more lucrative for the ships to sell railway tours in Skagway rather than to dock in Haines. This schedule change reduced the number of large ships from five to just one, resulting in the loss of about 120,000 passengers. The news dramatically affected shopowners and small tour operators who relied on the cruise ships. Local estimates suggested that the municipality would lose an estimated \$445,000 in sales tax revenues, docking fees, and water sales to the ships (Chilkat Valley News 2000f). In addition, business owners predicted a significant loss in business activity. Moreover, the late announcement of this schedule adjustment did not allow some businesses enough time to plan ahead. As one former Haines resident put it, “Everyone was surprised by the news. It was terrible the way they told us—no warning. They could at least have the decency to give us a year so that we could have time to adjust.” Haines residents tended to personalize this corporate decision that was likely made based on sound economic analysis and profit maximization principles.

Haines residents offered various interpretations and explanations of the Royal Caribbean decision. Many interpreted the abruptness of the announcement as a “slap in the face.” Although economic factors were cited, local tour operators blamed environmental protests and an unfriendly attitude among Haines residents

The Haines community received a significant shock when Royal Caribbean cancelled all 52 of its summer dockings for 2001.

as being key to the Royal Caribbean decision. Regardless of the rationale, Haines businesses were devastated by the news. One former tourism director reacted in this way:

We need to keep in mind that the cruise industry made Haines a destination. They could easily go somewhere else. ... If you've never been to Haines, you don't know how beautiful it is. People in Haines often say, 'Haines is beautiful. People will continue to come here, so we shouldn't worry about the cruise ships leaving.' People don't realize that the cruise industry decides what is beautiful by bringing people there. People on the ships don't know what they've missed—other places in southeast Alaska are also beautiful to them. The reality is, if we're not nice to the cruise industry, they will leave. And they did.

Other residents interpreted the Royal Caribbean decision as a message being sent to all southeast Alaska ports involved in cruise-based tourism, namely, “you play it our way or you don't play it at all.” “They are just trying to make an example of us,” said one tour operator, “so that the other communities fall in line.” One tourism owner perceived the cruise line's reasoning in this way: “Maybe the cruise companies want the upper hand—so that the town will be destroyed and people will go crying back to them—ready to play on their terms. Then they can get the upper hand and have it their way.... Maybe they are trying to crush us.”

Some worried that the cruise companies would use this opportunity to weaken the economy and purchase local businesses at a discounted rate. The abruptness of Royal Caribbean's decision and the seemingly vague explanations offered caused many to speculate and worry about the future.

Haines residents took several steps to respond to the potential of diminished cruise traffic. In a meeting sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce, 40 business owners discussed ideas about how to respond to Royal Caribbean's decision. One idea proposed by a tour operator was to consider voting again to eliminate the tour tax to entice the cruise companies to return to Haines. Other ideas included developing a large attraction (of similar scale to the Juneau Tramway or the White Pass Railroad), or supporting state efforts to introduce a state cruise tax. As an intermediary step, a delegation of four Haines officials, including city and borough mayors, economic development director, and a local business owner, went to Florida to meet with cruise officials to consider ways to attract cruise ships in the future (Chilkat Valley News 2001c). As a result of these meetings, the Norwegian dockings for 2001 were confirmed and communications with Royal Caribbean were maintained. The foursome also met with representatives from small cruise lines to encourage

Haines residents took several steps to respond to the potential of diminished cruise traffic.

their return to Haines. It is interesting to note that in other industries, such as timber, established lobbyists with significant expertise in forest economics and timber policy would network with congressional representatives at the national level to influence corporate politics. In the case of tourism, four local officials were dispensed without congressional intermediaries to influence corporate decisionmaking directly. The lack of knowledgeable advocates savvy to international tourism economics and cruise industry politics was striking.

The cruise industry further demonstrated its ability to determine the success or failure of individual tourism businesses in Haines. As in any business, partnerships and financial relations come and go, reflecting shifting priorities. In working with the cruise lines, many Haines businesses were reminded that economic relations were not entirely equal. At least one Haines tour operator who had publicly favored the tour tax measure was told in May 2000 that the company's tours would no longer be sold by a cruise line. Then, in January 2001, Royal Caribbean announced it would terminate relations with two long-term Haines tour operators (Chilkat Valley News 2001c). The corporation explained that they needed to work with tourism partners who could provide high-volume tours and meet quality standards. For local businesses, the potential loss of cruise ship contracts was real, and the decisions made involving these three prominent businesses were a reminder to all about the ramifications of gearing a product to one aspect of the tourism industry—cruise-based tourism. "We'll just take a step back, look at our business, and try to reach out more to independent tourists," said one impacted tour operator.

Despite these setbacks, the tourism outlook for Haines was not entirely gloomy. Cruise traffic to Haines dropped to 43,000 passengers in 2001, and many businesses suffered losses in revenue. Yet, the focus of tourism development was on 2002. A new city tourism director with considerable experience in corporate tourism sought to deepen ties with large and small cruise lines, and her efforts to attract cruise ships for 2002 paid off, with increased dockings by two major cruise lines, increasing 2002 totals to more than 80,000 passengers. A marketing plan by the Haines Chamber of Commerce to target Yukon residents also was initiated (Chilkat Valley News 2001a). The shock of a diminished large-ship cruise industry provided an opportunity for the community to plan its future relations with tourism more deliberately. One local resident saw the change as a welcome pause: "The independent tourism market has been ignored. The small cruise ships have been ignored. Now, maybe people will start thinking and planning to attract these markets." Another former resident agreed, saying "Maybe the Royal Caribbean decision is a blessing; it will force the community to plan."

Conclusion

Tourism in Haines grew quietly for many years until the decline of the timber industry sparked an interest in tourism among local leaders concerned with the future of their community. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, local decisionmakers initiated changes in the community that led to the blossoming of cruise ship tourism in the late 1990s. Once the cruise industry invested in Haines, the community found itself subject to global tourism markets and corporate politics. By 1999, Haines residents were becoming aware of negative externalities associated with cruise ship tourism. When local efforts to manage the increasing visitor volume were met with resistance, tourism politics took on a different tone. Some problems were addressed through localized efforts in collaborative management. Other problems eluded the planning process, resulting in high-profile protests and letter-writing campaigns. As the community wrestled with these issues and efforts were being made to find a common ground between local interests and cruise ship needs, executives at Royal Caribbean decided to delete Haines from its itineraries, leaving the city with a \$1.5-million debt and a limited source of income. The story of tourism in Haines seems to represent a classic study of the relation between agency and structure, between local autonomy and the power of big industry.

As the emphasis on cruise-based tourism increased, local companies responded in various ways. First, small-scale tours began to cater to cruise passengers, changing the volume, frequency, and intensity of their tours. To meet cruise-industry demands, tours offered shorter trips for more people and at more frequent intervals. Many business owners expanded and diversified their products and services to create new niches. Second, as local tour companies competed for cruise passengers, the need for cruise ship partnerships became paramount. This led to a polarization between pre-sold and “independent” tour operators, who cooperated within their respective groups to lobby for their shared positions. Third, the involvement of Klukwan, Inc., a highly capitalized corporation, intensified competition and took some business away from existing providers. Although many supported the Native corporation, there was a growing realization that as tourism developed, larger companies would be in a better financial position to invest in the industry and the “mom-and-pop” flavor of Haines tourism would dissipate. Finally, the increasing reliance on cruise traffic created a rift between the traditional style of tourism (shops, galleries, and arts events) and land-based tours. Because of the intense marketing of tours by the cruise ships, many local businesses experienced a decline in their customer base. Social rifts within Haines tourism players made it difficult to achieve a unified vision related to future tourism.

Section 4: Understanding Tourism-Community Relations

This section presents results from a preliminary analysis of interview data from Haines residents. Future reports will provide more detailed understanding of local tourism trends and further substantiate and quantify these findings. This initial analysis has elicited several themes related to the community's relation with tourism. (1) Tourism both reflects and reinforces division in the community among those who prioritize the need for local jobs vs. those valuing minimal changes in the relation between the community and the environment. (2) The perceived positive impacts of tourism are largely economic, although tourism results in changes to the sociocultural fabric of community life as well as to local resource uses. For example, although a small number of entrepreneurs may realize direct economic benefits, the sociocultural and resource effects are shared throughout the community. (3) As a service-sector industry, tourism favors workers with a different set of skills than those useful in the timber economy. Its emergence as a key industry has altered the structure of the workforce. (4) Actions by tourism corporations and their local tourism intermediaries influence the economic future and local identity of the community.

This section is structured around three subsections. First, I discuss responses to questions about the controversial nature of tourism in Haines. Next, I present resident perceptions of the various impacts of tourism—economic, social, cultural, and environmental. In the final section, residents discuss their visions and concerns for the future and elaborate on key aspects of the relation between their community and tourism. In this preliminary analysis, I present responses from community members as a whole, with some discussion about variations among key social groups. In future reports, further analysis of various social actors and tourism stakeholders will be undertaken. As is standard in the presentation of qualitative data, themes will be presented and substantiated with direct quotations from resident interviews.

Understanding the Roots of Tourism Conflict

During my research tenure in Haines, tourism was of concern to most of its residents. There was an ongoing dialogue about tourism both within and implicitly between the local papers, the *Chilkat Valley News* and *Eagle Eye Journal*. At least five researchers of different academic backgrounds were studying some aspect of tourism and recreation in Haines. Many public meetings elicited comments about the role of “industrial-scale tourism” and its impacts on public lands, city streets, water and sewer systems, and many other aspects of community life. With tourism being such a “hot” issue in Haines, it made sense to ask Haines residents what was at the root of local tourism debates.

Those who have chosen to live in Haines because of the natural surroundings and minimal signs of development often were pitted against those with a more utilitarian view of natural resources.

Specifically, research participants were asked to explain why tourism was a controversial issue in Haines. Responses to this question pointed to conflicts in values and lifestyle preferences. I have organized responses into several broad themes that reflect a wide range of community perspectives. One general trend emerging from the data is that some Haines residents struggle with the shift in local identity away from total reliance on commodities-based production, namely timber and fishing, toward a more diverse economy, with a growing prominence of tourism. This shift in economic organization also brings social changes that are not always welcomed or well understood. Most agreed that the natural beauty of Haines seemed to attract a variety of people and perspectives to the community. Those who have chosen to live in Haines because of the predominance of the natural surroundings and minimal signs of development often were pitted against those with a more utilitarian view of resource development. These competing views of community identity and land use were repeatedly rationalized during public debates. Interestingly, whereas long-time residents often pointed to these inherent social conflicts as the root cause of tourism debate, relative newcomers tended to identify the source of tourism conflict in the nature of the industry itself. Meanwhile, people involved in the tourism industry often observed that residents on all sides of the issue appeared to fear the changes associated with tourism, whether they are changes in the structure of the workforce or changes to the natural environment.

Jobs versus the environment—

There appeared to be much tension in the community between those who chose to live in Haines because of its natural beauty or small-town life and those who resided in Haines because they sought to develop its natural resources. For many long-time residents especially, the future of the city is dependent on economic development and jobs. Several decades of precarious economic conditions led to an institutionalized sense of insecurity for long-time residents. Many long-time residents want to create local jobs so that their children and grandchildren can remain in Haines, but there is some doubt that tourism jobs will satisfy this economic need. Meanwhile, other Haines residents, whose income may or may not be derived from the local marketplace, tend to prioritize clean air and water, access to wilderness, abundant recreation opportunities, and rural living over future employment opportunities. Over the past years, many have moved to Haines in search of a simpler lifestyle and a backdrop of natural beauty. Some work as teachers, government employees, health professionals, consultants, stockbrokers, and farmers. Some are telecommuting out of California and Anchorage. For these residents, growth in the local economy at the expense of natural resources is not desirable. In short, there is a conflict in values among those who prioritize the health of the economy and those

less willing to tolerate unwelcome changes in the environment. As one long-time business owner said, “People move up here from California or Seattle to get away from the smog and the pavement. They don’t want to see this development happen in Haines. Haines is their Shangri-la.” Another restaurant owner added, “Those environmentalists come from down south. They don’t want Haines to become like the places they left.” One relative newcomer phrased this in a different way: “Tourism reflects a division in the community between those who want to make a living in any manner possible and those who don’t—those who seek something beyond the economy.” As the economy becomes more tentative, these conflicts heighten.

Several long-time Haines residents indicated the source of tourism conflict was those whom they perceived as deliberately preventing development of any kind in Haines, while wanting to preserve the environment for their own enjoyment. One long-time resident noted, “Some people have a ‘shut-the-door’ mentality,” meaning that once they have arrived, they do not want to see further population growth or alterations in the landscape or in the city’s character. One tourism proponent echoed the sentiments of many long-time residents and business owners, “There is a segment of the people that has made its money down south and now want things to be left as they are. Meanwhile, others need to work for a living.” Some claimed that there was an antidevelopment bias among certain residents of the population, whereas another attributed the contentious nature of tourism to the “radical fringe” that had moved to Haines. Several people who supported business development in Haines suggested that tourism would not be such a big issue if there were not so many people “who are independently wealthy and have lots of time on their hands.”

Indeed, Haines attracts a variety of people who come to the community for different reasons. As the community moves forward in planning tourism and other economic development opportunities, awareness of the diverse goals and interests of the population will be necessary. In the future, one set of interests may win out over the others determining whether the town will retain its essential character as a logging community or evolve into something else.

“Us” and “them”: a culture of conflict—

Most Haines residents interviewed—across the political spectrum—attributed the current conflict over tourism to the contentious nature of local residents. Some even traced this culture of conflict back to the area’s original inhabitants—the Chilkat and Chilkoot clans, which long battled over access to resources in the valley. A Fort Seward resident suggested that historical divisions between Haines and Fort Seward—first in its incarnation as a military post and later as a blossoming community of artisans, entrepreneurs, and newcomers—may have fostered an “us-versus-them” mentality. Several residents identified the roots of local conflict in the

unique character of Alaskans: “People attracted to Alaska are those who are opinionated and not big into rules. They are strong-willed and maybe not too socially adept—that’s why they left the places they came from.” Others felt that the weather ignited local conflicts, believing that long winters, darkness, and isolation of Haines contributed to an antagonistic mentality. One 18-year resident of Haines observed, “Sometimes people get squirrely in the winters, because of the weather. Unless you are able to escape south for a few weeks, you get a little pallid and cantankerous. This is like a breeding ground for conflicts. It never fails; every winter we end up fighting about something.” Whether or not Alaskans are inherently “cantankerous,” this pugnacious spirit is commonly mentioned among residents and seems to be an important aspect of a shared Haines identity.

The spirit of conflict may have been cultivated or exacerbated by a 20-year series of local debates about the future of the Haines economy that have pitted environmental interests against development. As one 20-year resident noted humorously, “No matter what the issue is, people walk around town with ‘Yes’ buttons and ‘No’ buttons. It’s either ‘Yes mining’ or ‘No Mines.’ The next year it’s ‘Yes’ to helicopters or ‘No’ helicopters.’ Maybe we should just wear hats that simply say ‘Yes’ and ‘No’ and put them on every year.”

Another resident agreed, “Local people are so vicious in debates. One issue seems to carry into the next.” Over time, these debates have personalized public issues and polarized the community. One business owner declared, “Everything is controversial in Haines.” Another called Haines the “Valley of Vendetta,” citing numerous examples in which physical violence, boycotts, and smear campaigns had been used to solve problems. This history of conflict causes many Haines residents to divide the community into two distinct camps. As one tour operator suggested, “Rhetoric in Haines gets down to black and white. Either you’re for it or against it.” Many people feel that their views are “pigeon holed” before they even get a chance to share them. “Without even talking to me, people assume I’m going to feel a certain way, when they may not realize that I actually agree with them. People stereotype without knowing my opinion.”

Another business owner agreed, “People are locked into a perspective and just become stuck there, even though they may not fully agree with it.” A relatively new tour operator added, “Rifts are strong. People now oppose each other for personal reasons.” A couple of respondents asked me searchingly whether an anthropologist can serve as a kind of “community therapist.” Conflict seems to have become a habit in Haines. Several people noted that the only time the community got along well together was in 1990, during the filming of *White Fang*, when almost everyone had money and work through the winter.

“Rhetoric in Haines gets down to black and white. Either you’re for it or against it.”

Haines as a transitional economy—

One explanation of the controversial nature of tourism often was espoused among tourism industry proponents, who often felt that the history of Haines as a mining, timber, and fishing town had created a bias toward manufacturing jobs. Since 1980, the economic structure of Haines had become more similar to that of the rest of the United States, with a balance of jobs in manufacturing, services, and retail. With these changes came a new breed of workers, a new pattern of work, and a new style of job that favors skills in communication, computers, entrepreneurship, marketing, and sales. Long-time Haines inhabitants, who traditionally worked in blue-collar jobs, did not always value retail and service jobs. One business owner in the tourism industry was quite specific, “There is some resentment in the community about the service industries and a sense of superiority related to the manufacturing industries.” Moreover another tour operator stated simply, “Haines is a transitional economy. It’s hard for people to adjust to changes.” Some long-time residents may simply lack the necessary skills to perform successfully in the tourism industry, causing business owners to recruit workers from outside the community and leaving long-time locals out of the new economy. One long-time resident expressed his fears: “It scares me not knowing where this wealth comes from. How do these people make their money? To me, wealth comes from resource utilization: trees, food, minerals, fish, oil. Now everyone seems to be some sort of consultant.” Some conflict related to tourism stems from this step away from resource-based commodities production.

Not only are the tourism jobs different, but also the structure of the industry differs radically from that of manufacturing. During the timber years of the 1970s and 1980s, jobs were generally full-time, year-round positions with living wages and benefits. Tourism jobs, meanwhile are short term, part time, and seasonal—catering to the schedule of cruise ship visits. As a result, tourism appears to be fragmented and piecemeal as an industry. People often work several jobs at odd times of the day to put together a living wage. The economic uncertainty of this industry also seemed to be alarming for some. One business owner offered this explanation:

Before, everyone worked for the timber industry or something that supplied services to timber. Jobs were secure and people were well paid. Now, Haines is a fragile collection of little businesses, where people are dependent on each other for survival. They no longer depend on one industry. This is scary for many people. There is a lot of uncertainty—no one is sure who is going to make it and who is not.

In a small community, where social relations are extremely tight and lives inextricably interwoven, this economic uncertainty is experienced on a more personal level. Although several notable community residents made a transition from timber jobs to tourism—currently owning motels, tour operations, resorts, and recreational vehicle (RV) parks—others either left town or went into other blue-collar jobs. One resident now involved in tourism noted, “Most of my friends from the timber days are either dead, they moved away, or they’re pounding nails somewhere in town. . . . I like to talk to people and tell stories. I figured maybe I could make a living doing this.”

Another important difference between tourism and timber relates to the economic relations inherent in service and manufacturing industries, respectively. With manufacturing, the consumer of the product generally is estranged from the production process. For example, in the timber industry, the final end-user of the wood product does not typically witness, or is even cognizant of its origins or the value-added modifications that have taken place. In a service industry, such as tourism, the consumer of the product is present during production and the “product” is the consumer’s experience. As one tour operator put it, “Tourism is a people-intensive industry . . . a customer-intensive industry. The customer is right there where the service is being created. In the timber industry, the customer was unseen. You just shipped the product to another factory. It was different.”

The interaction with people in a consumer marketplace may be foreign to a community like Haines, which for so long made its living in the mines, in the trees, and on the seas—far from humanity.

Newcomers and visitors challenge the Alaskan identity—

For many residents interviewed, tourism-related tension resulted from a conflict in values between long-time residents and newcomers to the community, including both tourism entrepreneurs and environmentalists.¹ Although people who have moved to Haines in the last 20 years represent a wide range of backgrounds and experiences, the term “newcomers” was used loosely to describe a category of people who may possess a combination of these characteristics: (a) middle-class or upper middle-class upbringing; (b) higher education levels; (c) experience in nonmanufacturing sectors of the economy (for example, retail, government, and services); and (d) exposure to ideas and trends from outside Alaska. Many of these qualities were rhetorically pitted against those who had lived and worked in Haines

For many residents, tension resulted from a conflict in values between long-time residents and newcomers.

¹Many words were used by Haines residents to describe these groups of people: newcomers, newbies, upstarts, old-timers, natives, etc. These terms were chosen because they are deemed to be the most inclusive, descriptive, and objective of the groups they are intended to represent.

for many decades and who have held various jobs in traditional industries (for example, fishing, timber, oil, and construction). In other words, newcomers seemed to threaten the idea of what it meant to be Alaskan. Long, cold winters marked by rain, snow, and darkness do not make Haines an easy place to live year-round. However, living has been made easier because of a greater availability of products and services, improved public works and transportation links, libraries, and coffee shops—“improvements” that came with each wave of new residents. Thus, to be Alaskan no longer requires one to homestead through the winter without plumbing and central heating. Furthermore, it does not require one to work several odd jobs to scrimp and save—carving out a living on the frontier. There is no reason to test the perseverance of newcomers to see if they can handle the daily difficulties that once drove many away. As one interviewee noted, “When I first came [1960], no one would take me hunting. I had to prove myself, so I spent the winter home with the women. Some days I was the only able-bodied man in town. The next year I got invited to go hunting. They started to take me seriously.” That today’s new Alaskans are involved in small businesses, have professional skills, may even spend several months of the year down south, and may not need to hunt or fish, is shocking to some long-time residents. These sentiments suggest that perhaps Haines has become more integrated with the rest of the world and no longer requires a “pioneering” spirit for survival.

Other factors may be shaping this viewpoint that rhetorically pits newcomers against long-time residents. First, long-timers sometimes feel that newcomers to Haines shun the traditional structure of authority that shaped the community in years past. This unspoken system of decisionmaking meant that younger people deferred to the judgment of elders, and newcomers remained relatively muted until they had been accepted fully into the community, which some said took up to 20 years.² The newcomers of today are said to speak more freely in public meetings and challenge the ideas of their elders. Second, this tension between newcomers and long-timers represented the potential for an erosion of local power, away from leaders in the commodities-based industries and in favor of tourism entrepreneurs and new business owners. Long-time Haines residents may feel that some of their power is ebbing as newcomers become involved in commerce and public affairs. As one long-time resident and tour operator noted, “There is a conflict in the community between those who were born and raised in Haines and those who moved here.” Another Haines native added, “People who lived here a long time are not making money from tourism. A lot of people making money from tourism brought

² One 50-year resident interviewed said that only 5 years ago did she feel like she had been fully accepted by the original Haines residents.

their money with them.” Many long-time residents did not directly participate in the tourism industry and associated this industry with newcomers, even though some of its biggest players are long-time residents, including mill owners and workers. These attitudes reflected a local bias among a segment of the population against service-based industries, such as tourism.

The presence of visitors in Haines sometimes changed the perceptions held by local residents about their community. Inherent in the idea of tourism is that visitors (strangers) journey to someone else’s home to see something new. People originally attracted to Alaska may not be the same type of people who enjoy catering to visitors. As one resident reminded me, “In the past, Haines was home to miners, fishermen, and loggers. When I first got here [1977], the community hated tourists... They thought tourists were for Disneyland. People really didn’t take to outsiders.” For a community that was long isolated from the rest of the world, it is a dramatic shift to have strangers milling around town, treading on local hiking trails, or enjoying drinking water at local springs. In talking with Haines residents, I got the sense that the mere presence of visitors somehow had raised concerns about change in their community. Both newcomers and those who had lived most of their lives in Haines observed that the essential character of their town was evolving, and many linked these changes with the tourism industry. “We don’t want to lose what Haines is; we don’t want to become like every other tourist town.” Another tour operator noted, “The population of the town has been stable, but we’ve seen many timber people leave and they are being replaced by people involved in the tourism industry.” Economic indicators discussed earlier seem to confirm this observation.

Tourism is pervasive and unpredictable—

From 1995 to 2000, the number of cruise ship visitors arriving in Haines grew, and tour companies increased their volume significantly to meet the demands of the cruise industry for larger and faster tours. Local tour companies frequently changed their itineraries, schedules, and locales in response to each other and to customer demand. Thus, one tour operator noted that tourism is a unique industry because its impacts are “in your face.” In other words, the effects of tourism are widespread and pervasive—occurring both downtown and in natural areas. Further, tourism has the capacity to alter the feeling and patterns of a place in a way that other industries, such as timber, do not. The thoughts of a long-time business owner are paraphrased here:

With the timber industry, all of the work was done out of people’s view. We had to put up with the trucks going up and down the road, but that was something known and predictable. We knew the schedule and

Tourism has the capacity to alter the feeling and patterns of a place in a way that other industries, such as timber, do not.

worked around it. With tourism, the impacts are everywhere, and they are occurring closer to people's homes. It's harder to predict when you will run into tourists and where. It becomes frustrating for residents who don't know how best to take care of daily business or spend free time with their families.

Many residents interviewed were concerned about the presence of visitors and tour groups on their streets and in their backyards, as well as on their favorite trails and waterways. One lifelong resident of the community commented, "Tourism hits people closer to home. It affects how they make their living as well as how, when, and where they recreate." It also affects the way people feel when they are at home. For some, their sense of peace was threatened by tourism. "My sanctuary had been transformed into something you see in a Vietnam movie." Another long-time resident and public official concurred, "Tourism impacts people where they live—it affects their lifestyle. The planning process needs to take into account these concerns." One resident said that he felt frustrated when he saw tourists walking in his backyard but did not know what tour they were with or whom to call to complain. The heterogeneous and spurious nature of tourism and the lack of a singular management authority is a peculiar trait of the tourism industry—one that sometimes incurs confusion or frustration among residents. Many tourism workers acknowledged that the tourism industry had not been fully aware of its negative effects on community life, nor had it worked closely enough with residents to address these concerns.

Wave of protest throughout southeast Alaska—

Part of the flurry of activity surrounding tourism in Haines was attributed to broader events happening throughout the region, namely in Juneau. When Royal Caribbean announced in summer 1999 that it was guilty of dumping toxic chemicals in Inside Passage waterways, many residents of southeast Alaska were furious. This, combined with escalating conflicts related to noise from helicopter tours in Juneau, sent many Juneau residents to nightly public hearings. A wave of protests occurred in Juneau and eventually Haines. Regional environmental organizations, such as Southeast Alaska Conservation Council, got involved in following the cruise ship issue, and the local Lynn Canal Conservation joined this effort. For some, the admitted cruise ship dumping was the proverbial straw that broke the camel's back. Residents had been tolerant of the changes caused by tourism, but when they learned about the pollution, it "pushed" many Haines residents "over the edge." There was the sense that one can adapt and adjust to crowds in recreation areas or city streets, but pollution of southeast Alaska waters, which people relied

on for food and to make a living, was unconscionable. This anger stemming from awareness of the environmental implications of cruise ships caused many people to actively seek to restrict the influence of cruise ships on the Haines community.

Tourism’s fair share—

The borough’s budget crisis seems to have represented an opportunity for some members of the community to make sure that the tourism industry was paying its fair share. Several residents acknowledged that the Haines Borough’s budget crisis fueled tourism debates, causing public officials to seek new revenue sources and propose the tourism taxes of 1999. Many felt that the tourism industry needed to contribute to upkeep of local infrastructure, just as timber and fishing industries had contributed to municipalities through the raw-fish tax and stumpage fees. On the other hand, tourism proponents sometimes resented that the tourism industry had been targeted to solve long-term problems caused by chronic overspending. “The social infrastructure in Haines has built up beyond our means to support it,” according to one long-time resident. One tour operator said that the tourism industry needed to improve its ability to convey the positive benefits the tourism industry brings to the community.

Understanding the Impacts of Tourism

All research participants discussed both the benefits and negative effects of tourism for the community of Haines. The effects of tourism are discussed below under five categories: economic, social, infrastructure, recreation, and environment. During interviews, I asked residents to separately reflect on both the positive and negative impacts of tourism. In presenting the results, rather than separate “positive” from “negative” effects, I discuss the diverse effects of tourism thematically to promote a more holistic understanding of this industry. In many cases, what seemed to be an overall positive impact also had some shortcomings. For example, many people observed that tourism created jobs; however, they also mentioned that tourism jobs were not year-round, well-paid positions with benefits. In considering tourism impacts, most interviewees took into account the ways tourism impacted the community as a whole. However, some also mentioned how tourism affected them personally.

Economic Impacts

Most of the interviewees stressed the economic benefits of tourism to the community. Many talked about economic benefits in a generic way—the overall circulation of tourist dollars. Others spoke more specifically about its effects on job

creation, business development, and tax benefits. Yet, nearly half of the comments about the negative effects of tourism on Haines were linked to economic factors, with residents questioning the extent to which tourism truly contributed to the local economy. A *Juneau Empire* story published in May 2000 described results of a 1999 study on the economic impact of tourism in Skagway (Juneau Empire 2000b). This article, widely cited by Haines residents, showed that 1 tourist dollar in 10 that was spent in Skagway actually remained in Skagway's economy. As a result of this article, many Haines residents began to wonder just how much tourism was actually contributing to their economy.

Circulation of tourism dollars—

Many Haines residents were aware that tourism brought money into the city in the form of direct spending by tourism firms, payroll expenditures, and contributions to the tax rolls through tax revenues. Not only did businesses directly involved in the tourism industry benefit from outside spending, but many also noted the more subtle ways that local businesses were affected indirectly. For example, one mechanic explained that he worked on all the vehicles for a particular tour operator. An owner of a local clothing company sold jackets and sports equipment to another tour operator. A restaurant owner talked about the benefits of spending by ship employees on food and beverages. A tour operator noted that he bought fish from local fishermen to feed his customers.

Many interviewees felt that a high percentage of tourism dollars left Haines for several reasons. First, a significant proportion of tourism employees were nonresidents, who take a portion of earnings with them when they leave for the winter. Second, many perceived that an increasing proportion of business owners were seasonal residents of Haines. Third, some residents interviewed felt that tourism did not adequately pay its dues to city and borough governments, and that more tax benefits from tourism needed to be achieved through careful monitoring of industry. A few respondents found it interesting that although tourism grew dramatically from 1995 to 2000, the budget for the visitor center, which was derived from sales tax revenues, remained flat—thereby suggesting that tax revenues were not matching economic growth. Finally, several downtown merchants noted that a shift in emphasis on shore excursions meant that visitors were spending more time on tours outside the city and less time spending money in town. The implication was that the business community was not benefiting fully from the vast numbers of visitors coming off the cruise ships. A thoughtful economic impact study would be necessary to test these observations. However, these comments reflect some dissatisfaction with tourism's economic role.

Tax contributions—

The ability of tourism to contribute to local municipalities through sales tax revenues also was important to residents. The issue of tax revenues was particularly cogent because the tour tax and bed tax measures had been passed in April 2000. Although the bed tax was being phased in and the implementation of the tour tax had been delayed until 2001, the potential for tourism to contribute to local coffers in the future was significant—especially the ability of tourism to help bridge a budget deficit for Haines Borough. Many residents make a direct connection between the tourism tax and the future of the library, the museum, and other key services provided by the Haines Borough government. As one 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.”

Local jobs and employment skills—

For many people, especially those who have lived in Haines for more than 20 years, tourism was viewed as an important means of economic survival. As one business owner noted, “Without tourism, 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.”

Another business owner noted, “Tourism provides the cashflow needed to feed, clothe, and house people.” Many interviewees expressed the idea that tourism is keeping the community going or “keeping businesses afloat” after downturns felt in the timber industry. As one resident observed, “Tourism has allowed families to stay in the community who otherwise might have left because there were no jobs.” Although tourism was initially viewed by many as an industry to “tide the community over” until a more substantial industry was introduced, tourism was now recognized as the primary industry of the town. “Without tourism, the economy would be stagnant.”³

Although job creation was often cited as a benefit of tourism, many respondents, including those within the tourism industry, commented that tourism jobs are not as highly paid as those found in other economic sectors. In addition to low wages, tourism jobs are highly seasonal—allowing people to get by in summer, but creating economic difficulties in winter. A small percentage of tourism jobs came with employee benefits, such as health plans or retirement plans. One tour owner

A small percentage of tourism jobs came with employee benefits.

³ Many commercial fishermen would argue that their industry is still the most economically significant in Haines.

noted, “Tourism does not put food on the table for most people. It goes into the pockets of owners and numerous college kids.” Some felt that tourism jobs were bifurcated, creating a few high-wage, management positions and many low-wage, minimal-skill jobs. The lack of midlevel jobs is a common characteristic of the tourism industry. For a tourism worker to earn a year-round living, he or she must patch together two or three summer jobs. In addition, workers often clocked in long hours to meet visitor needs and unusual ship schedules. A local motel owner noted that the downside of tourism was that the jobs were low paying compared to timber. “Where timber jobs paid \$15 per hour with benefits, the tourism jobs pay \$8 per hour with no benefits. Plus, it’s seasonal work.” One resident took offense to tourism jobs, which he called “shallow and stupid.”

Employment skills were another benefit of tourism to residents. The ability of tourism jobs to promote lifelong employment skills was noted especially by tourism operators and parents, who often stated that tourism provided young people with important personal and professional skills that will be helpful in future professional endeavors. As one 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.”

Inequitable benefits—

Some noted that tourism had tangible economic benefits for a handful of successful business owners, but that the economic benefits for other workers were marginal. “Unless you’re an owner of one of the Big Five, you can’t really say that tourism has a lot of direct benefits for you.” One former tourism worker stated that one day she realized that she was “working her 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.” The inequitable economic benefits associated with tourism are related to the lack of opportunities for advancement within small tourism businesses, which are structured horizontally, with one or two owners and a larger number of workers.

Economic dependence—

The anger and frustration expressed by some residents toward the cruise industry stemmed from feelings of powerlessness and economic dependence on the cruise ships. Many people stated that they felt tired of having their lives wrapped around the decisions of the cruise ship industry. “I feel like we’re at the mercy of tourism.” For many in Haines, the success or failure of the local economy hinged on the continued presence of two major cruise lines. In public debates about the tour tax,

tour operators further fostered this belief about the importance of the cruise ships in the economic success of the community. During an interview with the *Chilkat Valley News*, one local tour operator was reported to have said that if voters passed a tour tax, the cruise ships would leave town (Chilkat Valley News 1999f). Many pre-sold tour operators interviewed echoed this sentiment. An interview with another tour operator revealed further evidence of this fear, “There is a rumor that Royal Caribbean is pulling out. The only thing that keeps them here is the guilt from dumping chemicals.... We’ll be lucky if we don’t get burned.” People whose livelihoods depended on cruise ship traffic tourism often felt a sense of desperation—that tourism is the last hope for the community. “Everyone is fighting for the one last dollar. If we had a stronger economy, we’d be more relaxed,” one long-time restaurant proprietor said. This doubt and insecurity stemmed from a long history of involvement with cyclical industries. Haines residents discussed their fears about the potential downfall of the Haines economy. As one interviewee pointed out, “Haines, like many Alaskan towns, has a long history of building an industry, losing it, and building it again. Boom and bust. In between, there are some losses—some people leave, while others stay behind to pick up the pieces.”

The result of these economic cycles is that “People in Haines live with tremendous feelings of doubt and insecurity. They worry that the economy will not protect them.” This doubt pervaded Haines—affecting the short-term economic decisions of the community and its local identity. Many viewed tourism as the town’s “last hope” or “our last chance,” perhaps suggesting that if cruise ships stop coming, the town will disintegrate. “We’ve done mining, we’ve done timber, we’ve done fishing, now we have tourism,” one respondent explained. There seemed to be a shared sense that Haines is at the end of its rope on some evolutionary scale of economic development. For some, this belief inspired a desire to cater to the cruise companies at all costs, or risk economic demise. Local residents and city officials, while seeking efforts to diversify the economy, were working with a limited list of options. Yet, both tourism proponents and critics expressed the need for local control of the economic future of the community.

Characteristics of the tourism industry—

Several interviewees said there were some aspects of the tourism industry they did not enjoy including its competitiveness, emphasis on networking, and lack of courtesy. First, some failed to appreciate what is perceived to be the fiercely competitive nature of tourism. Several people commented that tourism leads to intense competition, “nastiness,” and a cut-throat “sharkpit” mentality that requires some business owners to engage in price-gouging, competitive marketing, product simulation, and other characteristics of a market economy. Specifically, some locals were not

comfortable with the competitive nature of tour operators at the Port Chilkoot dock. Haines residents feared the aura of competitive business, epitomized by Skagway, that is sometimes characteristic of tourism. Some felt that if tourism were to grow in Haines, lower quality businesses would be attracted to the area and thus potentially harm the reputation of Haines. Second, tourism operators often shared that they did not enjoy ingratiating themselves with the cruise lines. To be a successful tour company serving the cruise lines, a proprietor is required to “wine and dine” the shore-ex on a regular basis. Gifts, favors, dinners, and evening entertainment for the shore-ex comprise a regular portion of the budget for any pre-sold tour company. Nearly every tour operator stated that this process was exhausting but essential for successful relations with the cruise industry. Although some independent tour operators refused to curry favor, others had tried and failed to make an adequate presentation to cruise executives, thereby becoming deeply embittered. For residents who had been trained in commodities industries, this type of human interaction proved difficult. Third, many residents disliked what they perceived to be a lack of courtesy among industry professionals. A lack of courtesy also was observed among tour operators. “They need to work on being better neighbors,” one business owner commented. There was a sense that the tourism industry was not fully tuned in to the ways their business and their industry interacted with the community. Finally, others made general comments reflecting their disregard for persons involved in tourism. As one long-time resident noted, “Tourism brings to town the carpet-bagger, the flim-flam man.” There seemed to be a general sense that the tourism industry attracted or cultivated business characteristics that contrasted with common local practices of commerce.

Seasonality—

In talking about the economic benefits, some research participants qualified their responses to note that tourism contributes to the “summer economy” or “seasonal economy.” Whereas some respondents viewed this as a negative feature of tourism, one tour operator enjoyed the fact that tourism allowed him to “work hard 6 months and play hard 6 months.” Others pointed out that tourism was important for creating summer jobs, especially for local teenagers, teachers, and returning college students, but that the jobs created by tourism were not enough to sustain most families on a year-round basis. A rough analysis of several tour companies provides an understanding of the ability of tourism to provide year-round employment. Among 16 tour operators offering shore excursions, 25 employees made a year-round living in tourism, and another 305 workers received seasonal payroll benefits. In other words, for every year-round employee, there were 12 seasonal workers (or, for every tour company, there were 1.5 year-round employees). This analysis does not include

other tourism-related businesses, such as shops, museums, and tourism attractions, which generally hire fewer seasonal employees than tour operators. However, it does provide an indication of year-round tourism beneficiaries.

Some residents were saddened by the growing seasonality of businesses in town. The industry attracted many nonlocal workers employed as guides, as hotel staff, and in shops. Tourism contributed to a growth of seasonal workers who have different values and interests from long-time Haines inhabitants. Many local residents observed that summer workers tended to socialize among themselves and did not interact often with year-round residents—creating a rift between locals and the tourism industry. Some questioned the extent to which tourism workers were involved in community life. A former guide 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.” Furthermore, an expansion in the “second-home economy” also contributed to this growing feeling that Haines was becoming a summer community.

Greater product variety and access to markets—

Residents acknowledged their improved ability to purchase a broader variety of affordable goods and services in Haines and associated this trend with tourism. Several local businesses purchased bulk items for reduced rates to sell to visitors and residents. Without tourists, these goods would not be purchased in bulk quantities and would be sold for higher prices, if at all. In addition, many felt that because of the presence of visitors, they had greater access to quality goods than in the past. Some pointed to the proliferation of coffee shops, natural-food products, high-quality art, and recreational services available. One resident stated, “We’ve never before had so many places to go for a cup of coffee.” On the other hand, several residents also expressed dismay about the predominance of products geared for tourist consumption. Shops that had once catered to local needs now had items marketed to visitors, thus reducing the amount of items geared to locals. One resident said, “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.” Some observed that each wave of people coming to Haines had brought in new ideas, interests, and consumer patterns. The appearance of new items in the market seemed to signal a change in community values and priorities associated with participants in the tourism economy.

For many artists, tourism connects them to the buying public. Although at least one artist has refused to sell his work to visitors on principal, many had their works displayed in one or more of the local galleries. Tourism allowed them to live in a desirable community without having to travel great distances to access a customer

base. In addition, one Tlingit resident noted that tourism created a market for Native arts and crafts and thus has spurred an interest among Native carvers to rekindle their arts tradition.

Social Impacts

Although economic aspects of tourism were frequently discussed, many commented on the ability of tourism to alter social relations and institutions in Haines. Several residents spoke of the positive social impacts of tourism, such as the enhanced opportunities for social interaction, the joy of sharing Alaskan life with visitors, and a heightened sense of community pride. Far more comments related to negative social impacts including its effect on the pace of community life, conflict between social groups, a change in quality of life, and the transformation of local identity. Some of the most compelling comments stemmed from resident frustration about having to experience the effects of tourism from their homes and neighborhoods.

Social interactions and community vitality—

Many residents alluded to the ability of tourism to promote social interactions between residents and nonresidents. This interaction took place on many levels: between visitors and tourism workers, between visitors and residents, and between local tourism workers and nonresident workers. The exchange of new ideas, trends, and experiences was a welcome aspect of tourism, especially for the community's youth. "Without the tourists, it gets kind of boring around here," one young resident noted. "It breaks up the pace of life a bit," conceded one tourism critic. Many agreed, noting that the opportunity to look at and talk to new people is important in a relatively isolated community such as Haines. Several residents, including those concerned about cruise ship tourism, noted that life in Haines feels more spirited during the visitor season. This added vitality, assumedly, stemmed from increased interactions among people, increased flow of money throughout the community, and the frenetic pace of work associated with tourism.

A significant number of people interviewed were concerned about the quickened pace of life during the summer tourist season. This view was especially common among those involved directly in tourism. Because the cruise ships often docked in the evening, it was possible for family members to work tourism jobs at night in addition to their daytime responsibilities. The nonstop pace was difficult to maintain for families, especially when both parents held one or more tourism jobs, as well as for friends, who rarely got to see one another during summer. Two respondents noted jokingly that they did not plan to see their friends until October, when the potluck season would start up again. Some lamented the feelings of disjointedness in their social networks during summer—one said that tourism

Several residents spoke of the positive social impacts of tourism, such as social interaction, sharing Alaska with visitors, and community pride. Far more comments related to negative social impacts such as conflict between groups and a change in the quality of life.

represented a fracture in the continuity of community life. During the tourism season, tourism workers tended to socialize with “work friends” with the same schedule. People involved in tourism complained that they were worn out by the stressful schedule. “It’s a different kind of stress from the winter, when you’re worried about paying the bills” as one business owner noted. “I’m a seasonal workaholic,” another noted.

Sharing our home: community pride and local knowledge—

Some residents, particularly those involved with tourism, talked about the joy of sharing the Alaska lifestyle and the natural beauty of the Chilkat Valley with visitors. Many residents appreciated the opportunity to tell stories about wildlife, history, and people. For some guides, it was important to be able to share ideas about wilderness and nature. Several eco-tour operators explained their hope that by exposing Alaska visitors to wilderness and resource management ideas, they would go home and advocate for additional protections. One tour operator commented, “I love turning people on to wilderness—to cool places. I like people. ... It’s great to have people tell you, ‘This trip changed my life.’” Others enjoyed relating to visitors something of the Alaska lifestyle and their relation to the land and resources. Several interviewees, especially those involved in tourism, mentioned that the presence of the industry promoted knowledge about Haines history, culture, and wildlife. One resident said that tourism had taught him to be proud of his community and its cultural heritage. A bed and breakfast owner said, “It [tourism] helps people [residents] become more aware of the cultural richness of the community. We have a lot of treasures here ... scenic beauty.” For many this knowledge also fostered local pride about the community. One 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.”

Social conflict—

Some noted that tourism was responsible for creating tension among local residents who harbored opposing views about the industry. “I don’t like the feeling of running into people in the grocery store and having them avoid me,” said one tourism operator. Another member of the environmental community felt that her friends who worked in tourism avoided her, assuming that she no longer wanted to speak with them. Many references were made to past boycotts of certain merchants owing to their positions on tourism. This tension among tourism proponents and critics was evident in 1999, when a local gallery owner was arrested for throwing tomatoes at participants in a parade float that targeted the issue of cruise ship pollution.

Several tour operators noted that it was becoming more difficult to feel comfortable living in Haines with so much tension surrounding tourism. One even predicted that in the future, more tour operators would head south for the winter because of tension in the community. Some tour operators were reluctant to contribute to local charities because “the town doesn’t support me, why should I support the town.” This tension was exacerbated in 2000 by the vote to impose a bed and tour tax, which many tourism proponents interpreted as an antitourism sentiment. This tension seems to be related to the growing emphasis on cruise ships and high-volume tours. Tourism critics were dismayed with what they called “industrial tourism,” in the form of cruise ships. The conflict over industrial tourism seemed to create a social rift among residents who otherwise had similar values and interests, such as tour guides and the environmental community. One spouse of an adventure guide found it very difficult to rationalize these competing interests. “These people [environmentalists] are my friends. They are cool people who I’d like to hang out with and maybe even be neighbors. 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.”

Change in social dynamics—

Interviewees often spoke about the loss of “small-town life” associated with tourism and the population increase. Several commented that they used to know everyone in town, but tourism had brought in so many new people, they could not keep track of who they are and what they did for a living. “I don’t feel at home in Haines anymore,” said one long-term resident. Some talked about the influx of seasonal tourism workers and new residents who brought a different set of values to the community. Said one 5-year resident, “Every April, I wait for the invasion of the Dead-head jocks.” The new residents were perceived to prioritize wilderness adventures and extreme sports over community life. As newcomers interact with residents, new values and interests become integrated into community life. Many residents shared their worries that Haines might become a place suitable only for wealthy residents and retirees. The increase in housing prices and the steady investment in Haines by non-Alaskans were trends some residents feared. Indeed, several interviewees noted that they could no longer afford to buy the property they own, if they had to purchase it in 2000. Those who had traveled or lived outside Alaska pointed to resort communities in the Rocky Mountains and Hawaii, where long-time residents can no longer afford to live. “We are going to turn into another Aspen,” exclaimed one resident. Finally, a few worried that Haines’ popularity would continue and the population would grow beyond desirable levels.

The Alaska lifestyle as a commodity—

The propensity of tourism to market aspects of contemporary Alaskan culture proved disconcerting for some residents. A few interviewees talked about the ability of the tourism industry to create “artificial events” to be sold to visitors. The idea was that if one labels and identifies historical, natural or cultural objects, everything begins to take on new meaning and “the place begins to become strange to the people who live here.” Another referred to this as the “Disneyfication” of Haines, where tours are created to present an illusion of experience that is distinct from the everyday reality of the place. “I don’t want Haines to become a theme park, like Williamsburg,” said one long-time resident. 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 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.” One concern shared by this same resident was that some of the information about Haines is watered down to the extent that it has become inaccurate or misleading. Another resident objected to what she called the “commodification of the Alaskan lifestyle.” She said: “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.’” Another added, “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.

Facing tourism at home—

Finally, many residents felt frustrated that tourism affected them in their homes, summer cabins, their yards, and their neighborhoods. In addition to noise from air traffic, passing vehicles, and pedestrians, some residents reported visitors in their yards picking apples and cherries, wandering in their gardens, walking into their residences, and beachcombing in their backyards. One resident of Chilkat Peninsula whose home was under the flight path of Skagway flights to Glacier Point said, “I’m not normally an activist, but the sound of airplanes back and forth all day long in my own home has driven me out of the house and into the office to do something about it.” One public official summed it up well: “Tourism hits people close to home, which is why so many people object to it.” For many Haines residents, seeing visitors near their neighborhoods, homes, and their summer cabins felt invasive, although individual thresholds for visitor contact differed. Most residents tolerated

some increased visitor activity in the commercial areas of Haines and Fort Seward, but bristled at the notion of visitors in residential or remote areas. For example, several residents of a neighborhood near Carr's Cove on the Chilkat Peninsula expressed frustration with vehicle traffic, bicycle tours, and walking tours near their beaches and homes. Two business owners interviewed were quite comfortable hosting visitors in town, but when we discussed the potential for visitors near their cabins at Chilkat Lake, they became more protective.

Resource Impacts

Haines residents perceived both positive and negative impacts of tourism on local use of natural resources.

Several types of environmental impacts were discussed, including problems associated with bears, eagles, and fish. Although cruise ship pollution played a role in activating local citizen movements against industrial tourism, it was not an issue on the minds of most residents by summer 2000. Discussions about tourism did prompt conversation about the industry's effects on natural resources and wildlife. Many residents acknowledged that business owners, particularly tour operators, generally had a strong appreciation for the environment. In particular, several eco-friendly tours were praised for their attempts to minimize the human footprint and to teach customers about nature and wilderness. One local land manager noted, "These guides are really good. They pick up after themselves, they keep a watch out for wildlife, and they educate people about the resource. They try to work with us. Usually we don't have problems with the tour companies, but we don't always have the same level of cooperation or control over independent visitors."

Indeed, tour operators often commented on their ability to educate guests about proper etiquette in relation to wildlife and the resource, in contrast to independent visitors who are out on their own. However, several residents identified tour operators whom they had deemed to be less respectful to the resource.⁴

Wildlife-human interactions—

Many residents worried about the frequency and intensity of encounters between humans and wildlife, especially bears. Human encounters with bears at places such as Chilkoot River were raising concerns about safety (for humans and bears) as well as the long-term impacts on bear habituation. In summer 2000, four bears were killed in the Chilkoot River area because they had become overly confident in the presence of humans. Many visitors, both independent and on package tours, were

Tour operators have the opportunity to educate visitors about the environment.

⁴ Some of these comments originated from other tour operators. There often is intense competition among tour operators who vie with each other for resources and prime recreation spots.

observed coming too close to bears for safe viewing. As a result, bear-viewing principles were developed by the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, and signs listing bear-viewing ethics were posted. Furthermore, tour operators attended training sessions on safe bear-viewing practices sponsored by the Alaska Department of Fish and Game in June 2000. One biologist was conducting bear behavior research in 2000 to quantify the effects of viewers. Accusations of bear-baiting and spot-lighting bears (shining headlights or searchlights during evening hours) also were rampant among rival tour operators. In addition, several concerns were registered relating to one tour operator's practice of feeding eagles in the eagle preserve. Many in the Chilkat Bald Eagle Advisory Committee were concerned about how eagle baiting affected habituation, and the tour operator agreed to forgo this technique in 2001.

Wildlife marketing—

Other residents deplored the marketing of bears by some local tour operators who advertise “guaranteed bears” and “guaranteed eagles.” Some believed that the overall marketing of Alaska creates undue expectations for visitors seeking to fulfill their dream of observing Alaska wildlife, while potentially compromising the safety and well-being of the animals. Marketing wildlife to attract people to Haines has become commonplace, and nearly every tourism brochure offers an image of an eagle, bear, or moose. One tour company owner told me that her business improved markedly when she put a moose on the brochure because no one else advertised moose sightings. Each time a large cruise ship docked at the public dock, a half dozen small tour guides stood nearby holding up placards advertising wildlife events. Drivers posed next to their viewing scopes in hopes that guests would join them for a trip to Chilkoot Lake or the eagle preserve. One operator told me that if his guests failed to see at least one eagle, he offered a full refund. These tactics put additional pressure on tour operators to site bears and eagles on their trips. Several interviewees wondered about the implications of packaging and selling nature in this fashion. One Haines newcomer felt that by selling wildlife tours, one is changing the meaning of the place: “You’re degrading it and making its value worthless.” Another long-time resident wondered, “Is it fair to label and put a price on wilderness when wilderness has no voice in the matter?”

Cruise ship pollution—

Royal Caribbean's admission to dumping toxic chemicals in Alaska waters raised awareness of the environmental impact from the release of toxins, treated wastewater, and air emissions by cruise ships. Many equated the declining salmon runs on the Chilkoot River to environmental pollution by the cruise ships, although

scientific evidence connecting these phenomena is scarce. These concerns were especially noted among environmentalists, the commercial fishing community, and subsistence fishers. Several residents involved in commercial fishing discussed the impacts of cruise ships on the health of the fishery and the impact of cruise dumping on fish resources. After the Royal Caribbean indictment, the cruise industry began testing new technologies to handle ship-board waste and to ensure that waste emissions comply with state requirements. They also made engineering innovations that improved air quality, including Royal Caribbean's new gas turbine engines that reportedly reduce smokestack emissions by 80 to 95 percent (Cruise News 2001). In 2001, the Alaska legislature enacted a new law (Alaska Statute AS-46.03.460—46.03.490) related to cruise ship and ferry waste. The law establishes the Commercial Passenger Vessel Environmental Compliance Program to ensure that cruise ships comply with wastewater effluent and visible emission standards. The U.S. Coast Guard also developed a program for monitoring safety and environmental compliance.

Air traffic—

Both the noise levels and visual effects of air traffic to and from Glacier Point were of primary concern for many residents, especially for those residing on the Chilkat Peninsula, whose homes were near the flight path of the commuter airplanes. Two citizens' groups, Friends of Glacier Point and Haines Peace Keepers, mobilized to address this issue through local protests, letter-writing campaigns, and public awareness efforts. In September 2000, Chilkat Guides announced that they would use a catamaran to transport visitors from Skagway in 2001, which reduced the noise levels considerably.

Subsistence and fishing—

As discussed in section 2, a significant portion of the Chilkat Valley population engaged in subsistence-based activities necessary for physical and cultural survival. Both Native and non-Native residents hunt, fish, gather forest and sea products, and seek other means of sustenance. A small number of interviewees stated their concerns about the growth of tourism and its effects on subsistence resources. Concerns focused on three areas: (1) effects of cruise ship waste on the overall health of the ecosystem, including subsistence resources; (2) effects of the growing use of area resources by visitors and tour companies impeding traditional access routes to subsistence products; (3) competition for limited resources between sport and subsistence fishers. Several interviewees actively involved in a subsistence lifestyle stated that in 2000, tourism did not have a significant effect on their ability to harvest traditional resources. However, it was something that many worried about

for the future. Of greater concern to the Native community was the impact of the fishing weir on salmon runs in the Chilkoot River, and increased development and residential sprawl that affected access to places for gathering berries, mushrooms, medicinal plants, and other forest foods. A few mentioned that jet boat activity on the Chilkat River was negatively affecting the salmon spawning beds, and raft activity was taking away good back eddies for net fishing.

In addition to cruise ship pollution, commercial fishermen also expressed dismay about the lack of courtesy cruise ship captains showed for fishers. There were several reported examples of cruise ships breaking fishing lines. Some murmurs of potential conflict between commercial fishermen and charter fishermen reverberated during the Haines field study, but this was not viewed as a significant issue because of the poor fish runs in recent years. However, given events in Sitka and Craig, competition between charter and commercial fishers over fish could be an area of future concern. Among commercial fishermen, there was a sense that the state favored charter fishing when setting catch limits. “Here you have one industry killing another,” one commercial fishing proponent suggested. Many commercial fishers felt that the economic significance of their industry had been ignored by local policymakers, in spite of the fact that the raw-fish tax generated income to Haines Borough for many years and that many Haines residents are employed in commercial fishing as skippers and deckhands.

Recreation—

In places like Alaska, where the natural scenery is the primary draw, the presence of visitors has a significant impact on recreation resources. Some residents believed that the presence of visitors and the development of the tourist industry improved their recreation opportunities. Along with a tourist industry comes many recreation products and services that benefit both locals and visitors. Several residents interviewed appreciated the recreation opportunities provided by tourism. Said one life-long resident,

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 tour operators offered local rates or local-only familiarization trips to enhance public perception of their product and promote positive community relations. Tour operators often take responsibility for maintaining public recreation facilities

such as docks, trails, picnic tables, and other facilities they use. Several local hunters mentioned that the trails at Glacier Point provided easier access to the mountains and did not deter from their recreation experience. According to one hunter, “I was up on the hill looking down on the [Davidson] lake and I could barely see the people in canoes. They didn’t bother me.” Thus, the general public does experience benefits associated with increases in visitor use.

Growth in tourism also has led to some negative impacts on recreation resources. For many residents, one of the biggest problems associated with tourism was its propensity to create congestion in shared recreation areas. As discussed in this section, there was increasing pressure among tour operators to accommodate growing numbers of cruise visitors. As cruise volume swelled, more visitors were found in key natural areas used by tour companies and locals. In addition to impacts on facilities, user conflicts have surfaced between high- and low-volume users and commercial and noncommercial actors. These conflicts are heightened because Haines attracts residents who value highly unmitigated access to recreation resources. In addition, Alaska weather and other factors make opportunities for optimal recreation few and far between. As one resident stated,

People in Haines wait all year—through bad weather, darkness, snow—so that they can enjoy Alaska in the summer. It’s very frustrating for them to go out to enjoy a favorite trail or kayak route to find that it has been overrun by tourists or that they cannot enjoy it because of the noise from air traffic. It can be disheartening.

Another resident explained,

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.

Given the need for brief excursions to accommodate tight docking schedules, companies using mechanized travel can offer Alaska’s natural beauty, wildlife, and wilderness more quickly. This growing emphasis on rapid, high-volume tours has altered the ways residents use and perceive local recreation areas. First, congestion from commercial tours has affected local recreation behavior. Second, many residents feel that the tourism industry has inhibited recreation access to local residents and altered their sense of place. Third, tourism development has transformed natural areas to conform to visitor needs.

One of the biggest problems associated with tourism was its propensity to create congestion in shared recreation areas.

Local recreation users who encounter congestion in their favorite areas adjust their behavior by avoiding these areas during peak hours or modifying their expectations. Many locals visited favorite places on weekends when organized tours were less frequent. When visiting popular areas like Chilkoot Lake and the Chilkat River, local residents who had previously sought a sublime wilderness encounter, no longer expected to be alone on these trips. Expansion and diversification of shore excursions and a trend in ferrying cruise passengers from Skagway meant that popular areas visited by locals were being used more frequently by commercial tour operators. One person observed, “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.” Visitor volumes increased during evening hours because of the cruise ship schedule. Yet, evening hours presented opportunities for residents to venture onto trails, lakes, and creeks for exercise, family time, and relaxation. Thus, encounters with visitors on organized tours in favorite sites were quite frequent.

Some residents expressed a strong place attachment to Haines sites including Chilkoot Lake, Glacier Point, Mud Bay beaches, and other popular recreation areas. For many Haines residents, recreation and wilderness opportunities were essential to their quality of life and personal identity. Residents who valued access to favorite recreation sites felt that their relations with these sites had changed with growing commercial recreation use. Many felt frustrated sharing the area with cruise visitors because there was a sense that special places were being lost. Concerns about crowding often reflected the notion that popular recreation areas, such as Chilkoot Lake and Glacier Point, were no longer readily accessible, nor was it part of the local recreation landscape during summer. As one resident observed, “Chilkoot Lake has become a tourist place.”

In addition to Chilkoot Lake, Chilkat River, and Glacier Point, other areas were mentioned as being potentially threatened by tourism development including Battery Point Trail near Portage Cove, and at the Portage Cove Beach. One person said that they regularly encountered large groups of hikers on the Battery Point Trail, which diminished their recreation experience there. Trail erosion was associated with heavy trail use by commercial tour operators and countless independent visitors and locals. Portage Cove Beach used to be a popular site for swimming and picnicking among Haines residents. The presence of large cruise ships docked in front of the beach and the large numbers of people exiting the ship nearby have affected local use. One kayak operation was using the beach as a staging ground, affecting the potential for use of the beach by residents or independent travelers. Still, many local organizations and family groups continued to frequent the beach. Other recreation sites mentioned by one or two interviewees as being impacted by

tourism included Taiyasanka Harbor, Mud Bay Road Beach, Mount Riley, Letnikof Cove, Mosquito Lake, and Chilkat Lake. Several other places emerged from the conversations that may merit special attention in future planning processes including River Road, Tsirku River, Porcupine, Sunshine Mountain, Kellsall Valley, Upper Chilkat River, Kickinghorse River, Takhin River, and the Ferebee Valley.

Impacts on Local Infrastructure

Some Haines residents mentioned ways that tourism impacted local infrastructure such as roads, parks, and public works. Some appreciated the improved look of the town, for example, fewer abandoned cars and boats stored in public places and the proliferation of flower boxes, signs, and benches. Tourism dollars also paid for local facilities and activities enjoyed by the broader population; a new pedestrian sidewalk along a prominent Haines artery was funded in part by the 1-percent tourism tax, and Royal Caribbean paid for a softball field and playground.

Congestion—

Most impacts on the local infrastructure were perceived as problematic. Although not the most popular complaint, congestion in town and on the roads leading to Haines was a concern to the greatest variety of residents interviewed. Tourism proponents, business owners, and tourism critics all acknowledged the serious nature of problems associated with vehicle and pedestrian traffic related to tourism. The 2000 Haines Chamber of Commerce Tourism Survey listed congestion as the most significant “negative impact” from tourism. And, the City of Haines Tourism Planning Committee sought ways to improve the flow of vehicle and pedestrian traffic. Most traffic problems occurred when cruise ships were docked. Often, interviewees mentioned local traffic being slowed by tourism vehicles, including horse carriages, antique cars, buses, and vans. A main focus of this congestion was at Port Chilkoot dock, but traffic problems also emerged in Fort Seward, downtown, and near popular attractions, such as the American Bald Eagle Foundation. In addition, residents of outlying neighborhoods, such as Lutak Inlet and Haines Highway, complained about escalating bus and other vehicle traffic that made it difficult to travel to and from home to Haines. “Sometimes going home I get stuck behind a tour bus for 20 miles,” said one interviewee. Safety was of primary importance, and many residents reported that tour vehicles would stop dead in the middle of the highway to observe wildlife or abruptly pull off the road. Local athletes also complained about congestion on popular exercise routes.

Another primary concern was pedestrian traffic. In the first 2 months of the 2000 tourism season, cruise passengers often were found walking on the roads, lawns, and other inopportune places. In late June, a sidewalk was constructed

along a major pedestrian thoroughfare to streamline pedestrian traffic to town. In addition, onboard announcements on the cruise ships encouraged visitors to practice caution and courtesy in walking through town. As a result, pedestrian traffic improved considerably. Still, many residents felt frustrated having to alter their schedule for work, shopping, or errands on account of the presence of cruise ships, and avoided certain parts of town or certain restaurants and bars entirely to limit visitor contact. “When ships are here, I try not to leave my house or my neighborhood.” A few complaints arose concerning the issue of congestion in local stores, where some residents felt frustrated having to wait in longer-than-normal lines.

Public works—

Several residents noted that the cruise industry put stress on local infrastructure, such as water, waste, sewers, roads, medical facilities, police, and emergency services. As one former Haines tour operator commented, “I think that once all is said and done, that the cruise ship business is unhealthy for a small destination like Haines, or any destination where the incoming numbers overwhelm the local population. Local infrastructure is simply not capable of properly handling the needs of thousands of people descending on the town daily.”

The amount of garbage collected during summer was evidence of the increased infrastructure effects related to tourism. During winter (January through March), Haines residents dumped an average of 56 tons per month, or 1.9 tons per day. During the peak summer season (June through September), waste disposal doubled to an average of 117 tons per month, or 3.9 tons per day (Haines Sanitation 2000). Although many residents and public officials acknowledged these effects on local infrastructure, few seem to ask the question: Who pays for this burden? Public investment in local improvements to mitigate impacts of cruise-based tourism ultimately benefits the resident too; however, the cruise industry may be forcing the community to allocate funds to these projects and services while other pressing needs are being ignored. For example, the construction of a new sidewalk may not have been a priority, if it were not for the increase in visitor volume.

Future Tourism Impacts

Although interviews focused on the impacts of tourism in 2000, many respondents expressed concerns for the future that they associated with more advanced stages of tourism. Residents framed their concerns by talking about their fear that Haines will become “like Skagway,” which has invested heavily in the tourism industry and which many perceive as significantly transformed by tourism. For many Haines residents, Skagway served as a living reminder about tourism’s potential to alter a community’s character, economy, and landscape. As one resident noted, the

presence of Skagway serves as a “striking example for what Haines could become.” In addition to building four cruise ship docks, Skagway also restructured its community life, economy, and architecture to suit tourism demand. Skagway epitomized concerns of Haines residents on several levels. When Haines residents described their fears of becoming like Skagway, they noted several factors including the volume of visitors, the transformation of the community to a seasonal tourist town, the contrived, “Disneyland” quality of the town that many felt demeaned the history of the community and people, the dominance of outside corporations in downtown business, and the seasonal nature of the economy.

Although in 2000, all tourism businesses in Haines were owned by local entrepreneurs, there was a fear that some of the bigger players might one day sell out to the corporations. As Hannerz (1973) argued, the nature of the tourism industry is such that small tourism operators often face terrifying competition from powerful local elites and transnational conglomerates. There was general consensus that the present tourism owners were good corporate citizens with overall concern for the social and economic life of the community. If outside corporations were to buy up local businesses, residents feared they might not be as committed to Haines or might not demonstrate the environmental ethics of current business owners. Not only were residents concerned about the corporate power of international conglomerates such as Royal Caribbean, but many also were wondering about the impact of local corporations, such as Klukwan, Inc., which had invested significantly in the tourism industry. Some smaller companies worried that they could not compete with Klukwan, Inc., which possessed tremendous assets from other business enterprises. Whereas some interviewees feared that Klukwan, Inc., would buy up small businesses or destroy them through competition, others were grateful that Klukwan, Inc., was able to provide jobs for shareholders and believed that Klukwan, Inc., was committed to the people of the Chilkat Valley.

Interviewees also discussed their visions for the future of tourism in Haines. Although a minority of interviewees desired unlimited growth of cruise ship traffic, most were happy with the 2000 levels of cruise visitation. Others desired modest growth in large cruise ships, with a maximum of 7 to 10 large ships per week (compared to 5 in 2000). Nearly all residents interviewed indicated a preference for small cruise ships. Whereas residents’ thoughts about the scale of cruise-based tourism differed, there was much more uniformity in considering other forms of tourist activity. No one interviewed wanted to eliminate tourism from Haines altogether. In fact, there was a significant plea for growth in the independent tourism trade, (including RV traffic, eagle festival visitors, and outdoor adventurers) as well as some forms of packaged tourism including educational tours, adventure tours,

natural history tours, and other groups. Finally, there was tremendous desire to see growth in winter tourism such as cross-country skiing, heli-skiing, snowboarding, and snowmobiling.⁵ In general, interviewees wanted to see the tourism industry in Haines diversify and become more sustainable on a year-round basis.

Conclusion

Haines is situated in a scenic valley that attracts a mobile class of workers such as retirees and telecommuters, and those involved in resource-development industries. The conflicts in Haines may not be as pronounced in similar communities with fewer scenic resources. The isolated location of Haines combined with its small-town setting and intense weather conditions may set the stage for conflict; these same conditions force the diverse community to work together to resolve public issues. Haines residents of all types feel passionate about their community. “It boils down to this: People love Haines and don’t want to see it spoiled.” Several conclusions emerge from this preliminary data analysis that will be tested further in the final analysis and examined in other study sites as well.

Tourism brings vitality to the community and economy of Haines. Residents enjoy the presence of visitors and the opportunities for fresh social interactions, exchange of ideas, education about news and events outside Alaska—much in the same way the early pioneers of Haines enjoyed the periodic visits of the steamships 100 years earlier. With the growth of cruise-based tourism, the opportunities for social encounters increased. The pace of life escalated in association with tourism, and some residents experienced fatigue and frustration as they attempted to match the pace and enjoy the long daylight hours of an Alaska summer. Spending by visitors, the cruise industry, and crew members increased the local economy in summer and allowed many to survive through winter on a reduced income. Benefits of tourism on municipalities also were acknowledged, as people made a direct connection between the health of the economy and valued public institutions, such as the library and the museum. Indirect benefits were felt especially among businesses that supply tourism companies with clothing, food, fuel, transportation, maintenance and repair, and construction. In spite of the recognized importance of tourism to the local economy, many still questioned whether the majority of economic benefits were remaining in the community and whether the economic benefits were great enough and widespread enough to warrant significant changes in quality of life related to the presence of visitors and the tourism industry.

⁵In March 2001, a conflict over heli-skiing in the Chilkat Range erupted when one community member petitioned the sponsors of an international heli-skiing event to consider the community’s vote against flight-seeing in 1995 (Chilkat Valley News 2001b).

Tourism resulted in a range of social, cultural, economic, and environmental impacts that affected a variety of people at various times and in various places. Unlike a lumber mill, which is located in a certain part of town and affects predetermined areas and roads away from town, tourism can affect an undetermined geographic area. As tour customers desired more intense experiences of Alaska, more companies emerged to meet these demands—thus bringing greater numbers of people into local neighborhoods or to favorite beaches, trails, and springs. Furthermore, the schedule of tourism was often erratic and unpredictable, so that visitors were seen at almost any time of day or night. In addition, the need for product differentiation meant that a variety of activities were encouraged (for example, flight-seeing, hiking, rafting, kayaking, or touring in buses, horse carriages or old cars, walking on foot, etc.). And, as tours became increasingly mechanized, local residents were more likely to be exposed to new noises and visual disturbances in their homes. Because of these factors, virtually everybody in Haines was somehow affected by tourism.

The growth of cruise-based tourism both reflected and enhanced social conflict. First, cruise-based tourism caused division among those who lived in Haines to pursue commodities production at the potential cost to the natural environment, and those who favored sustainable development or minimal development, at the cost of jobs. Historically, Alaska's economy was dependent on development of natural resources. Long-time residents often viewed tourism as "the last option" for a viable economy, beyond fishing, timber, and mining. They were more likely to prioritize jobs and are more willing to adapt their community to meet the changing demands of tourism. Meanwhile, those moving to Haines to escape from more developed regions of the country sought to maintain the rural character of the place and preserve nearby natural areas. Second, the advent of "industrial-scale" tourism sparked a division within the community of environmentalists between those who supported cruise-based tourism and those who did not. Businesses involved in small-scale, sustainable tourism slowly became more integrated with the cruise market and changed the volume and structure of their tours as a result.

Residents acknowledged the economic benefits of tourism and the costs to other aspects of community life. When discussing the community's relation with tourism, most described the potential for tourism to create jobs, generate business development, and increase local income. However, many questioned the fine print of these economic benefits, pointing to the growing seasonal workforce, increase in seasonal residency among tour operators, and the percentage of tourism spending that remains in the local economy. Although the economic contributions of tourism were disputed, the changes associated with the growth in tourism were readily

acknowledged. For better or worse, tourism directly or indirectly resulted in social tension, sociodemographic change, congestion, an increase in human-wildlife interactions, crowding in recreation areas, increased noise, and changes to favorite places. As a result, many were starting to perform personalized cost-benefit analyses to assess whether they want to continue making the tradeoff between an increase in jobs and a perceived decline in quality of life.

Section 5: Research Implications

This report discusses preliminary findings that relate to tourism and its various impacts on the community of Haines. I present four themes associated with tourism and its ability to link communities to global processes of economic transformation. First, I reflect on the interactions between those who are affected on local and global levels in the process of mediating and modulating the scale and tenor of tourism in Haines. Next, I examine the extent to which growth in cruise-based tourism has led to segmentation within both the community and the tourism industry, based on similar and dissimilar interests. Then, I discuss how the increased presence of the cruise industry in Haines has led to rapid expansion of land-based tours and the subsequent transformation of local land into tourist landscapes. Finally, I reflect on the transition from an economy based on timber to an economy based on tourism, and the challenges this brings to the community. These characteristics of tourism are not necessarily unique to Haines but may drive processes of community change in other places worldwide. I follow with a set of questions that will drive subsequent case studies in southeast Alaska.

Local Control and Corporate Decisionmaking

The account of tourism in Haines describes the influence of a global industry on one community and the growing involvement of nonlocal factors, including people and institutions. Haines community leaders set out to attract the cruise industry in the 1980s by expanding the public dock and creating economic incentives in town. Throughout the 1990s, cruise passenger traffic grew and many local firms began to profit from cruise ship contracts. The influence of the cruise industry expanded, and local tour operators responded by increasing the speed and capacity of their tours to match customer demand. Increasingly, local firms became dependent on the presence of high-volume cruise ships for survival. Existing shopowners invested labor and capital and oriented their business plans, products, and schedules to cruise visitors. Tour operators forged contracts with cruise companies to provide services to passengers. New businesses blossomed in anticipation of ongoing tourism growth, city and borough budgets were developed in anticipation of sales tax revenues, and public and nonprofit institutions relied on revenues from visitor fees. Moreover, in less tangible ways, the pace, rhythm, and composition of the community were shaped by tourism brought in by cruise ships. Residents, business owners, city officials, and tourism workers alike began to hang their hopes and dreams for themselves and their children on the future of tourism.

As the influence of the cruise ships increased, local efforts were made to control the flow and volume of tourism in Haines. Citizens tried to mitigate the impacts of tourism through public planning efforts and social protests. Meanwhile, local

tour operators hoped to minimize impacts through open dialogues and voluntary measures, such the “tour-free Sunday” offered by one operator, and the industry’s development of safety standards. In spite of these local measures to mitigate the impacts of tourism, one cruise line, Royal Caribbean, removed Haines from its schedule and terminated long-term partnerships with local tour companies. Some speculated that these decisions were a vengeful message for the community and a warning for other southeast Alaska ports. Whether or not Royal Caribbean considered the personal losses and community hardships resulting from its decision is not known. The reality is that corporations in many industries make economic decisions that often have repercussions for workers and communities. Alaska communities are especially vulnerable because of the dearth of alternative economic development opportunities. Local efforts that addressed the interests of various residents were ignored as the cruise industry steered a course toward other ports. The influence of nonlocal corporations with greater access to resources and increased involvement in local decisionmaking challenges the ability of local stakeholders to make decisions about tourism (Pi-Sunyer and Thomas 1997).

The growing presence of the cruise industry also created a new class of business owners with economic, personal, and political ties to the industry. Tour operators with cruise contracts began to serve as local spokespersons for the cruise industry by using their privileged role to weigh in on public debates related to tourism and other economic development matters. Naturally, it was in the vested interests of these business owners to support the cruise industry, but many also had the broader interests of the community in mind. Several tour operators reportedly kept cruise executives informed of current civic and municipal movements and periodically solicited their input in crafting a response. Because of their direct contact with the cruise lines and deep knowledge of the tourism industry, these local business owners often became unofficial representatives of the cruise lines and mediated communication between the industry and the community. They also came to be viewed by many locals as tourism experts, and considerable deference was given to their opinions related to tourism and the motivations of the cruise lines. In the process, these local “intermediaries” increased their positions of power within the community—translating local needs and issues to the cruise industry and translating cruise line policy and economics to the community. While business owners served as liaisons between the community and the cruise lines, public officials generally demonstrated superficial understanding of the tourism industry. This also elevated the position of local tourism intermediaries. Yet, power is relative and fleeting. Although these intermediaries experienced increased power locally,

they were under tremendous pressure from the cruise industry to perform, as evidenced by the cruise line's decision to terminate contracts with local tour companies.

After the Royal Caribbean decision, many Haines residents wondered what lay ahead for the tourism industry and the economy as a whole. Although some tour operators would continue to benefit from tour sales to Skagway-based customers, others who depended on ships docking in Haines would likely struggle, thus increasing the relative power of the more successful tourism ventures. Haines residents, as well as community leaders of other southeast Alaska ports, were concerned about the economic future—worrying about their own city's tenuous relations with the cruise industry. As a monopolistic provider, the cruise industry is in a position to “play” communities off one another.

Tourism and Social Segmentation

The development of cruise-based tourism in Haines drew attention to and perhaps accentuated existing divisions in the community. Tourism affects social groups of host communities unequally and can cause tension between groups with differential access to resources (Adams 1990). For many in the community, tourism debates amounted to differences between environmentalists and supporters of industry. This research, however, highlights greater complexity in the social fabric and more subtle distinctions in the sources of conflict that emerged. There were distinctions among Haines residents based on orientation to tourism specifically, and to overall economic development in general. Under certain conditions, these differences erupted into social conflicts of varying proportions. I argue that the growing power of cruise corporations deepened certain differences among residents and promoted community conflict. This tension resulted from three sources. First, the volume of visitors brought by cruise ships into the small area of Haines proved overwhelming for the community, which was left to mitigate impacts and resolve conflicts stemming from excess volume. Many residents who supported tourism were critical of the cruise industry for its focus on high-volume operations. Second, social tension was enhanced by the sensation of powerlessness and the loss of local control to the corporate cruise interests. Without direct access to cruise executives, residents had few outlets to express frustration except among their neighbors. Third, the cruise corporations favored some local businesses and not others, which naturally resulted in competition.

Social division related to cruise-based tourism occurred on many levels. First, there was significant tension between those individuals who favored cruise-based tourism and those eager to manage growth of this sector. Those favoring tourism

Three sources of community conflict over tourism are the number of visitors, the loss of local control, and favoritism.

growth tended to work in the industry or benefit directly or indirectly from visitor spending. Conversely, those more critical of tourism included residents eager to preserve the undeveloped areas around Haines and the rural quality of life in the community. Both members of environmental organizations as well as workers in traditional industries were wary about the growth of tourism, although for different reasons. To environmentalists, tourism threatened undeveloped lands and reduced opportunities for remote recreation, which were important for their quality of life. In some cases, rifts widened between environmentalists critical of tourism and successful tour operators who formerly were considered part of the environmental community in the battle against growth in other industries, such as mining and timber. For traditional workers, tourism embodied a different class of workers possessing a different set of professional skills, a different style of business, and a different mode of production. These workers did not readily envision a role for themselves within this industry, nor did they perceive direct economic benefits from the industry. Tourism represented something of which they were not a part.

Among those directly involved in tourism, there were two major and overlapping segments: those focused on cruise-based tourism and those catering to independent visitors. Although many tourism businesses catered to all visitors, some clearly targeted specific types of guests. For example, tour operators typically oriented their trips to the cruise ship schedules in Haines and Skagway. An independent visitor who wanted to participate in a land-based excursion may have had difficulty booking a seat on a popular tour, or finding a tour that matched their scheduling needs. Hotels and other lodgings catered almost exclusively to independent visitors, although some had diversified their product line and were conducting tours as well. Other business owners who catered to independent visitors also advertised to cruise passengers on shore in hopes that they might one day return to Haines independent of the cruise line. In spite of these overlapping interests, some tension existed between businesses catering to independent travelers and those catering to cruise guests. For example, many proprietors felt that their needs had been overshadowed by the cruise industry and that local tourism officials were not doing enough to cater to the independent travel market.

Within the segment of tourism businesses catering to the cruise industry, there was further tension between those businesses offering land excursions and merchants who were stationary. Store merchants sometimes resented the growing interest in adventure tours, which drew passengers away from shopping areas. At the same time that tours increased in popularity, ships schedules were increasingly tight. Thus, many merchants felt cruise ship passengers had less time to spend shopping than before. The tight schedules of the cruise ships and the timing of

Haines dockings in the evening hours exacerbated the need to hurry hungry guests back to the ships where their meals awaited them. Some tour operators sought to alleviate this tension by offering to drop guests in shopping zones.

And finally, among tour operators themselves, there was a clear demarcation between those who possessed cruise ship contracts (pre-solds) and those who did not (independents). Conflicts often erupted between pre-solds and independents, especially with regard to city efforts to regulate the sale of tours on the public dock. These groups incorporated widely different marketing tactics; pre-solds appealed directly to shore excursion coordinators, whereas independent operators focused on customers. Competition for cruise-line approval created tension among tour operators, who often expressed these conflicts on both personal and professional levels. Because of the higher public status given to local companies with cruise partnerships, the influence of independent operators in the realm of public policy also was diminished. Greenwood (1989) showed that tourism also provides an increasingly unequal distribution of wealth—exacerbating existing divisions and perhaps creating new ones.

The types of conflicts that occurred may be unique to cruise-based tourism. Different social divisions may have surfaced if Haines had not sought a role in the large cruise ship market but instead promoted independent travel, small cruises, or a different type of packaged tour. The differences and tensions described above, are not static, but likely will evolve over time as conditions change. A longitudinal study of Haines may show that under different social and economic conditions, other alliances formed and new differences surfaced. In future research efforts, I hope to examine more closely the changes in power relations related to tourism.

Tourism and the Commoditization of Landscape

Tourism often is said to lead to commoditization, which can alter the meaning of cultural products and human relations (Cohen 1988, Greenwood 1989, Selwyn 1996). A landscape becomes a commodity when it is packaged, marketed, and sold to tourists based on potential benefits for consumers (Brown 1999: 296). When the sale of a tour is negotiated, visitors bring expectations about the scenery, wildlife, history, or culture. Some of these expectations are preformed, based on images of Alaska the visitor has seen before even leaving home. Other expectations derive from the negotiation with the cruise line's shore excursion representative or the individual tour operator who familiarizes the visitor with the tour product. To meet consumer expectations, tour operators conceptualize, define, develop, and present a final product that captivates visitor imaginations and satisfies their thirst for an Alaska adventure.

As Haines became more dependent on cruise-based tourism, global trends in leisure travel and changes in the structure of the tourism industry affected the ways Haines residents and institutions carried out business and interacted with the landscape. In recent years, to respond to a surge in shore excursions among cruise passengers, the tourism industry expanded its spatial presence on port communities and increased competition for recreation on public lands. A new type of cruise traveler demanded more active excursions. To meet this demand, the cruise lines invested in and marketed tours that brought cruise passengers closer to wilderness and wildlife within the constraints of tight cruise ship schedules. Alaska visitors take tours that allow them to hike on a glacier, kayak a roaring river, canoe on a pristine glacial lake, or jet boat to an eagle preserve, and return to port within 4 hours. This increased emphasis on recreation adventure expanded the footprint of tourism in Haines and changed the ways in which land, waterways, and resources are used and perceived by residents. Tremendous effort is necessary to provide an experience that meets the level of quality consistent with that provided on the ship. Thus, Alaska landscapes are presented to visitors in crisp, accessible, digestible ways through interpreters (guides) who not only anticipate and answer visitors' questions but who also exemplify the Alaskan spirit; they themselves become a commodity. The guided Alaska experience represents a unique interplay of visitors, their guides, the cruise ships, and the landscape.

This interaction influences ways land and resources are used and valued by the tourism industry and by local residents. For the tourism industry, a natural area becomes valued when it provides opportunities for scenic beauty (preferably with a special feature such as a glacier or fjord), solitude (relative to the cruise ship), adventure, a sense of wilderness, wildlife (preferably bears, eagles, moose, marine mammals, or spawning salmon), natural history, and Native culture or frontier history. The cruise lines, because of operating costs and scheduling constraints, require that these activities be near town or accessible by rapid, high-volume transportation such as boats, buses, and planes. These constraints make certain areas of the community desirable for development in the eyes of the tourism industry, whereas other equally rich areas are ignored. For Haines, the Chilkoot Lake area is highly valuable because of its scenic beauty, accessibility, opportunities for bear and eagle observation, recreational opportunities, and cultural significance. The Chilkat Bald Eagle Preserve is an area of special interest because of its designation as a preserve and its association with the national bird. Glacier Point is an area of natural beauty that offers a glacier and glacial lake near a landing strip. Each of these examples is an area that has been packaged and redefined by the tourism industry.

As the tourism industry assigned new meanings to local spaces, residents wrestled with their own relations with these places. Before the cruise ship dock was constructed, local residents shared Chilkoot Lake with independent visitors—anglers, boaters, campers, and sightseers, as well as cruise guests. As local tour operators increased the volume of visitors, the amounts of time the area served as host to commercial tours increased. Consequently, many residents eliminated Chilkoot Lake from their summer recreation repertoire. Others ventured there but with the understanding that they would be sharing it with visitors. Glacier Point represented a special place in Haines that was transformed by the tourism industry—both altering local recreation behavior and shifting local meanings assigned to the place. When the area was developed and repackaged as a tourist site, some residents who once used the area for recreation felt displaced. Others felt the loss of its potential and were dissatisfied with the growing commercialization of the place. Moreover, Glacier Point signified the potential of the tourism industry to redefine places of social significance. The emphasis on shore excursions has expanded the “footprint” of tourism in Haines and transformed local recreation spaces into commodities of interest to visitors. Thus, forest creeks become bear-viewing areas and fluvial plains become wilderness safaris. Following Pi-Sunyer and Thomas (1997), I argue that in the process of creating a tourism commodity, the attachments and meanings residents hold for the environment are altered. If tourism to Alaska continues to grow, other local spaces may be adapted as well, especially when public land agencies lack the ability to regulate commercial recreation.

Transitioning to Tourism

Although laden with its own history and idiosyncratic leadership, Haines is similar to many southeast Alaska communities. With the waves of sawmill closures in the 1980s, Haines found itself undergoing a shift in identity and industry. Local leaders sought ways to benefit from the growing tourism industry that had stabilized the economies of Ketchikan, Skagway, and Sitka. Many loggers left with their families, whereas others remained rooted in Haines and sought other ways to make a living. In a new wave of economic interest, newcomers with business skills brought fresh ideas, and local entrepreneurs sought ways to start, grow, or expand their businesses in the tourist trade. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Haines’ economy shifted from one of largely manufacturing to one more balanced in manufacturing, retail, government, and services, and tourism emerged to join fishing as a principal mainstay. Although many lamented the loss of their livelihoods, others made the best of it and learned to enjoy a new trade. No one spoke about this being

an easy transition, and many long-time workers found themselves left out of the tourism economy.

The change from timber to tourism correlated with alterations in local economic and social structures. The employment structure was greatly affected. Throughout history, the timber industry promoted well-paid, steady, generally year-round positions often with benefits. Many young families from logging towns in the Pacific Northwest were attracted to jobs in Haines mills. Both entry-level and middle-management jobs were common in the timber industry, which operated based on the model of a corporate hierarchy. In contrast, tourism in Alaska is a relatively young industry, characterized by numerous small businesses and seasonal employment. Although three Haines tourism companies employed more than 40 seasonal workers, most midsize tourism businesses employed fewer than 10. Tourism primarily generated wealth for a relatively small number of successful entrepreneurs, including tour operators and shopowners and resulted in few year-round, middle-management positions. In contrast with the timber industry, jobs were relatively low-paying positions without benefits, catering more to the college student or itinerant adventurer than to workers with young families and mortgages.

Job growth in tourism also has resulted in the need for different employment skills, and in some cases, different employees. As a service industry, tourism promotes a particular set of management and service delivery skills. Successful business owners are adept at interpersonal communication, sales, corporate communication, management, networking, marketing, advertising, product development, and business planning. Tourism workers are expected to have excellent customer service and communication skills. When these skills are not found locally, workers with the desired skills are brought in from elsewhere. Although the Haines labor market contained many workers with tourism savvy, such as the former logger who was a tour guide and the mill owner who ran a motel, many chose not to pursue tourism owing to lack of interest or inability to compete. Indeed, many residents expressed a lack of interest in tourism jobs and discounted tourism as a serious career. Because tourism jobs were generally short term and part time, with erratic schedules, tourism appeared to many locals as a fragmented, piecemeal industry, which required its workers to hold several jobs simultaneously to generate a living wage.

Tourism is unique in that it promotes development of small, horizontal businesses and niche products. With relatively low barriers to entry, including low capital investment and startup costs, and minimal labor requirements, tourism is accessible to many aspiring entrepreneurs. Unlike investment in the timber industry, which requires significant capital to invest in equipment and develop markets, tourism occurs on a smaller scale and is characterized by small businesses. It is

possible to start a tourism business by expanding a home into a “bed and breakfast,” by renting retail space in a local building, or by purchasing a van and developing a tour. The most successful tourism businesses in 2000 all started out with a single van, a couple of rafts or kayaks, a small advertising budget, and a state permit.

Because vertical growth opportunities were often limited within a single tourism company, there was a trend toward rapid proliferation of tourism businesses. After years of dealing with visitors, a tourism worker may notice opportunities for a new niche product. When this employee’s well-honed tourism skills are combined with a business plan and marketing acumen, a new company is started. Also, in areas like Haines, scenic beauty sparks entrepreneurial ingenuity, as some will do whatever it takes for the privilege of living in Haines. Thus, professional growth is achieved horizontally, through the startup of new businesses. This combination of niche marketing and lack of vertical opportunity means that many businesses frequently sprout up in the community. This trend differs significantly from the structure of the timber industry, which was characterized by one or two dominant companies employing a large number of workers in a more vertical management structure. Although the tourism industry is accessible to many, those accustomed to having a boss and a predefined work plan may not fare well in the role of a tourism entrepreneur, who must survive within a free-wheeling, constantly evolving environment.

The tourism industry also is characterized by small, flexible businesses that rapidly alter their products and services to meet customer demand. As with other service industries, the site of production is the same as the site of consumption. In other words, customers are present at the time that their product (the tourism experience) is created, which means that the customer exerts tremendous power over the final product. Businesses must be tuned to customer needs and modify their products according to changing tastes, trends, and whims. This intense customer focus is quite different from the timber industry, where customers were geographically separated from the producer by layers of value-added processes, wholesalers, and retailers. For many, this direct relation with customers is thrilling; for others, it can be intimidating.

Not only is the Haines economy shifting, but residents also see the essential character of their town changing. “We don’t want to lose what Haines is; we don’t want to become like every other tourist town,” reflected one tourism business owner. Tourism has contributed to growth in seasonal workers and professional tourism entrepreneurs in Haines who bring a different set of values and interests to the community. One interviewee described the increasing influence of itinerant adventur-

ers, who arrive from Aspen, Australia, or the Andes, where their accomplishments in extreme outdoor adventure are highlighted. If this trend continues, some fear that Haines will be valued more as a playground than as a community. The influx of tourism industry owners with business and management skills also reflects a shift in social structure from blue to white collar. In addition, tourism figures are becoming more powerful in local decisionmaking, which previously had been dominated by a small number of long-standing business owners, landholders, and investors. Many tourism professionals have assumed positions in municipal and civic leadership. If the tourism industry continues to grow, the influence of these leaders may become further institutionalized, threatening the traditional structures of power. Taken together, the out-migration of loggers and manufacturing workers, the influx of seasonal entrepreneurs, and the growing influence of tourism entrepreneurs in the polity and the economy portend long-range shifts in the social and economic structure of the community.

Alaskans take pride in being different from the rest of the country; the presence of visitors to the community reinforces the distinction.

Tourism also challenges and reinforces the Alaskan identity. Over the years, the media and Alaskans themselves have cultivated a mystique about rural Alaska life. Part of this image involves bearing hardship, living in semiprimitive conditions, enduring winter, working in the outdoors, and embodying an independent and perhaps quirky personality. Alaskans take pride in being different from the rest of the country; the presence of visitors to the community reinforces the distinction. Visitors often are fascinated about the lives of the Alaskans they encounter and pay top dollar for the opportunity to visit Alaska and romanticize about life on the frontier. The contrasting notions of “visitor” and “resident” are created through this process of romanticizing and objectifying Alaskans as being different, when in reality, Haines residents share much in common with the visitors they meet. Thus, visitors reinforce the mythic Alaskan identity. At the same time, the tourism industry has encouraged the migration of new residents as tourism entrepreneurs and seasonal workers. This new breed of workers is changing the structure of the workforce and the economy. Tourism professionals bring different values, tastes, and priorities, with some choosing to ignore the rules and existing symbols of status as a “true Alaskan” such as a house without running water, a rusty four-wheel drive vehicle, and a job in the woods or on the sea. Economic migrants also bring a degree of experience in “lower 48” commerce, and a business style that may not be familiar or appealing to existing residents. For many Alaskans, the state’s relative isolation and lack of integration with global forces have been heralded. Tourism threatens to further weaken these barriers between Alaska and the rest of the world by bringing outside ideas and people to the community—shattering both the myth and reality of difference.

Future Community Studies

In this study, I explored three hypotheses related to tourism and community change in three Alaska communities making a transition away from commodities-based production. First, I hoped to understand something about the role of local and nonlocal actors in shaping the tourism arena. Tourism growth initially occurred largely because local business leaders and municipal officials worked to develop Haines' tourism infrastructure and attract cruise lines through economic incentives. Although local business ownership characterized the tourism industry in Haines, the economic relation between successful tourism entrepreneurs and the cruise lines grew stronger, with the latter able to exert significant influence in local political and economic decisions. As Haines became more dependent on the cruise lines as a source of visitors, it became clear that the economic future of the community was increasingly in the hands of executives in transnational cruise corporations. In future community studies, the relation between local and nonlocal participants in contributing to tourism outcomes also will be explored.

Next, I sought to understand how tourism growth impacted community life and the local economy in three diverse Alaska communities. In Haines, the relation between a small Alaska community and the cruise industry was explored. The volume of visitors associated with large-scale cruise ships resulted in rapid changes to the economy, the community, and the landscape. Several business owners benefited directly from tourism, and the city experienced economic growth owing to spending by visitors and cruise lines, yet some residents questioned whether the economic benefits were enough to offset changes they had experienced in their daily lives. Tourism resulted in shifts in the structure of the local economy, as well as changes in the pace of community life, demographic composition, and social relations. Tourism also was linked with the expanded use of natural areas and competition between local and nonlocal recreation users. These issues will be explored in future community studies to understand the extent to which other forms of tourism lead to changes in the community and the environment.

Third, I desired to gain some understanding about the ability of tourism to alter relations between residents and their environment. The research shows that as tourism expands its geographic range, residents amend their use patterns and alter their perceptions of significant natural areas. Congestion in Chilkoot Lake had caused many Haines residents to avoid this area during summer months, and for many, resulted in the area becoming redefined as a domain of tourists. The Glacier Point experience demonstrated that an area once treasured by Haines residents had been altered owing to the presence of a high-volume commercial tour. The volume of visitors and the level of development that took place in Glacier Point had altered

local attitudes toward this area and changed the patterns of use. The effects of tourism on local uses of natural resources are examined in other case studies for comparison.

Conclusion

As this research continues in the Alaska communities of Hoonah and Craig, the impacts of tourism on communities, economies, and resources will continue to be explored. A continued look at local economies in transition from timber to tourism may shed more light on similarities and differences in these industries, and the impacts of this shift on the social and economic life of the community. Future reports will illuminate more diverse aspects of the tourism industry and its effects on social, economic, cultural, and ecological systems of host communities. Some of the factors described in this report may be associated more readily with cruise ship tourism and will not be found accompanying other tourism forms. A study of Hoonah, where signs of tourism are fresh, will illuminate aspects of tourism development in its early stages. In addition, the Hoonah study provides an opportunity to understand tourism perceptions in a predominantly Native community. Research in Craig explores the charter fishing industry and its effects on social and economic structures. These case studies allow exploration of the essential features of a tourism economy, with attention to how local and global participants negotiate their interests and how these interactions play out in local discourses.

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English Equivalents

When you know:	Multiply by:	To find:
Meters (m)	3.28	Feet
Kilometers (km)	.6215	Miles
Hectares (ha)	2.47	Acres
Degrees Celsius (°C)	1.8, then add 32	Degrees Fahrenheit

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Appendix: Interview Guides

Haines General Interview Guide

This study is being conducted by the Pacific Northwest Research Station (PNW) 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, (c) local use of natural areas. We are interviewing many tourism businesses to understand both the nature and extent of tourism activities in Haines 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 Haines.

I. Background Questions

A. Time in Haines

Years in Haines/Years in Alaska

B. Previous Residences

Where from originally/School/Other places lived

C. Resident Status

Year-round or seasonal

Neighborhood

D. Household Economics

1. How do members of your family contribute to the household income in 2000?

II. Haines Community Life

1. Why did you decide to move to Haines?

[Or, Why have you decided to remain in Haines?]

2. How would you describe Haines when you first moved here?

[Or, how would you describe the Haines of your childhood? (note years)]

PROBES:

- a. Where did you live? What were people doing for work then?
- b. If you think back to those early days, where in Haines did you get together to socialize with your friends?
- c. What kinds of activities did you do in your leisure time?
Where did these activities take place?
- d. What was Haines like during and after the War? The pipeline?
- e. What do you remember about Haines when the mills were running?

3. What changes have you observed in the time you have lived here?
 PROBE: How would you explain the cause of these changes?
4. What do you value most about living in Haines? and
 What do you value least about living in Haines?
5. What characteristics, if any, do you feel Haines residents share in common?
 - a. What differences do you see among people living in Haines?
 - b. How, if at all, do newcomers differ from the people living here?
6. If you were to describe your ideal image of Haines in the future—say
 10 years from now—what would it be like? [What would you hope for the
 community in the future?]
 PROBES:
 - a. What industries would you like to see grow in Haines in the
 future? Why?
 - b. What are your biggest fears or concerns for the future of Haines?

III. Tourism

A. Background

1. When did you first notice that tourism was becoming an important part
of life in Haines? [Try to get approximate year.]

PROBES:

- a. Did it happen overnight or was it a gradual process?
 - b. Was there an event or incident that made you realize what was
going on?
 - c. What types of tourists did you notice first? What activities were
they involved in?
2. What changes have you noticed in the shape of tourism in Haines?

PROBES:

- a. What changes have you observed in the types of visitors who come
to Haines?
 - b. What changes have you observed in the types of tourism activities
taking place?
 - c. What changes have you observed in the places tourists are visiting
in Haines?
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 Haines?

PROBES:

- 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 Haines affected your life?
3. What aspects of the tourist season do you look forward to?
4. What one aspect of tourism personally drives you crazy?
5. Has the growth of tourism changed the way you think about Haines?
If so, how?
6. What does it mean to become a “tourist town” or a “tourist destination?”
Could Haines be described this way?

C. Impacts of Tourism

1. In your view, how does tourism benefit Haines as a community?
2. In your view, what are the most significant negative effects of tourism for the community?
3. Has the growing presence of the tourism industry affected...
[Y/N, if yes, how?]
 - a. friendships and social relationships among residents
 - b. local decision-making in the city and borough
 - c. access to recreation areas/recreation options
 - d. access to subsistence areas/quality of subsistence resources
 - e. ability to conduct everyday business
4. Tourism obviously is a controversial topic in Haines. What makes it so controversial?
 - a. Why is this issue so important to people?
 - b. How are local politics affected by debates about tourism?
 - c. How do the issues and debates surrounding tourism compare to those involving timber? Mining? Other economic development projects?
5. In the best of all worlds, how would you describe your ideal vision of tourism in Haines, say 10 years from today? (2010)
 - a. How much tourism would you like to see in the future—say in 10 years?
 - b. What sectors of the tourism industry would you like to see grow, decline, stay the same?
6. What are your biggest fears or concerns for the future tourism of Haines? In other words, if you picture tourism in Haines in the worst possible way, what would it look like?

Interview Questions for Tour Operators

Introduction—

This study is being conducted by the Pacific Northwest 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, (c) local use of natural areas. We are interviewing many tourism businesses to understand both the nature and extent of tourism activities in Haines 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 Haines.

A. Background & Community Questions

1. Life before Haines. (where from, previous businesses, education)
2. Number of Years in Haines _____ In Alaska _____
3. Resident Status: Full-time/Seasonal _____
4. Why did you decide to move to Haines? What do you value most about the community of Haines?
5. How would you describe Haines when you first moved here?
6. What changes have you observed since living in Haines?
7. What concerns (if any) do you have about the community's future?

B. Early Tourism Business

1. What kind of work were you doing before you became involved in this business?
2. What events led up to your getting involved in this tourism business?
3. How many years have you been working in tourism?
 - a. What year did this business begin?
4. What was the original idea or vision for your company?
 - a. What gave you the inspiration to start this business?
 - b. What products and services did you originally offer?
 - c. How many employees did you start with?
 - d. What equipment (or capital resources) did you start with?

C. Current Tourism Business

1. EMPLOYEES

- a. Number of employees: FT _____ PT _____
YRRD _____ SEASONAL _____
LOCAL _____ NON-LOCAL _____

- b. How do you go about recruiting employees?
- c. What percentage of employees typically return for the next season?
- 2. PRODUCTS & SERVICES
 - a. What products and services do you currently offer?
 - b. How have your products changed over time?
 - c. 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

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? Which ones?
 - 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 & MARKET SHARE
 - a. Who are your biggest competitors?
 - b. What is your approximate market share? How has it changed?
 - d. How has price been affected by increasing competition?
 - e. What does it take to survive in the tourism market in Haines?
- 8. IMPRESSIONS
 - a. What do you like about working in the tourism industry?
 - b. What do you not like about working in the tourism industry?
- 9. FUTURE

Where would you like to be in five 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 & DEMANDS

- a. Have you noticed any changes in either the types of visitors coming on your tours or the expectations of visitors over the last 5–10 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 do you plan to address them?

3. WILDERNESS EXPERIENCE

Many people come to Alaska to seek a “wilderness experience.” How would you define the term, “wilderness experience?” Does this differ from the way a visitor would see it?

E. Tourism Impacts

1. In your view, how does tourism benefit Haines as a community?
2. What are most significant negative effects of tourism for the community?
3. Why is tourism so controversial in Haines?
 - a. What are the positions being taken?
 - b. Whose interests are at stake?
 - c. How does your work address or alleviate local concerns?
4. How does the growing presence of the tourism industry affect...
 - a. friendships and social relationships among people
 - b. local decision-making in the city and borough
 - c. access to recreation and quality recreation experiences
5. What is it like being a person involved in tourism and living in a community where tourism is so controversial?
6. Has the growth of tourism changed the way you think about Haines?
7. If you could picture tourism in Haines in the best possible way, what is your vision for the future?
8. What fears or concerns, if any, do you have for the future tourism of Haines?

Pacific Northwest Research Station

Web site	http://www.fs.fed.us/pnw
Telephone	(503) 808-2592
Publication requests	(503) 808-2138
FAX	(503) 808-2130
E-mail	pnw_pnwpubs@fs.fed.us
Mailing address	Publications Distribution Pacific Northwest Research Station P.O. Box 3890 Portland, OR 97208-3890

U.S. Department of Agriculture
Pacific Northwest Research Station
333 SW First Avenue
P.O. Box 3890
Portland, OR 97208-3890

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