

## Section 5: Tourism Effects

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

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

### Economic Effects

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

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

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

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

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

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



Lee Cerveny

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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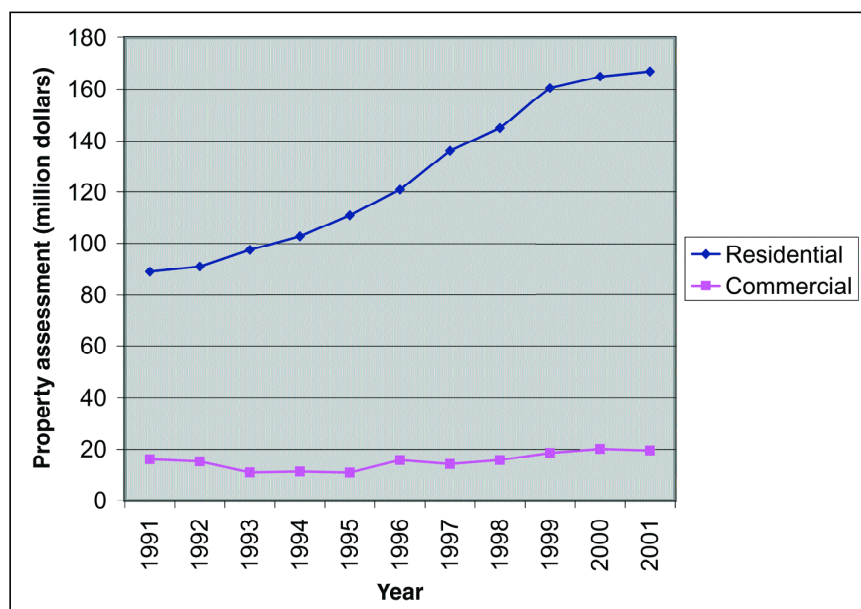


Figure 17—Commercial and residential property assessments, 1991-2001 (Haines Borough 2001).

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

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

**Table 14—Summary of economic effects mentioned by residents**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **Sociocultural Effects**

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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**Tourism growth  
created social  
tensions among  
residents.**

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

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

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

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