

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Figure 19—Totem park in Klawock, Alaska.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Tina Pedersen

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Table 15—Summary of sociocultural effects mentioned by residents**

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

## **Resource Effects**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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