United States
Department of
Agriculture

Forest Service

Pacific Northwest
Research Station

General Technical
Report
PNW-GTR-734

October 2007

Sociocultural Effects of Tourism in Hoonah, Alaska

Lee K. Cerveny

Author

Lee K. Cerveny is a research social scientist, Pacific Northwest Research Station, 400 N 34th St., Seattle, WA 98103.

Abstract

Cerveny, Lee K. 2007. Sociocultural effects of tourism in Hoonah, Alaska. Gen. Tech. Rep. PNW-GTR-734. Portland, OR: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Pacific Northwest Research Station. 115 p.

This report examines the growth and development of the tourism industry in Hoonah, Alaska, and its effects on community life and resource use. The report describes the gradual development of tourism in Hoonah and presents resident perceptions of tourism's effect on the natural and social environment. A multisited ethnographic approach was used featuring indepth, open-ended interviews with local residents, tourism providers, business owners, and government officials. Data were analyzed using Ethnograph, a software program used to assist in coding data based on prominent themes. Results indicate that tourism has brought changes to the lives of Hoonah residents, particularly those relying on natural resources for everyday survival. Expansion of nature-based tourism in the area surrounding Hoonah resulted in conflicts between resource users. The growth of the charter fishing fleet led to competition with commercial fishers. Nature tour operators using remote recreation sites experienced conflicts with local hunters and fishers as well as other commercial guides. The development of a cruise ship destination on private land outside of Hoonah led to shifts in use of this historic site by local residents as well as in use of other private lands used for subsistence. Findings may enable 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: Alaska, tourism, communities, natural resources.

Summary

Hoonah, Alaska, is a coastal community located in Icy Strait, the primary transportation corridor linking Juneau to Glacier Bay National Park, one of the most popular natural attractions for visitors to southeast Alaska. Hoonah has a long history as a permanent settlement for the Huna Tlingit and more recently has been home to fishermen, loggers, government employees, teachers, artists, and many others. Its prime location, protected harbor, proximity to abundant fishing, and road access to the national forest for hunting and recreation make Hoonah an ideal location for tourism to flourish. Yet, tourism did not play a significant role in the local economy prior to 2004. A reticence to develop tourism stemmed from concerns about changes the industry might bring to the local community and to the natural environment in the Huna Tlingit territory.

When declines in resource-based industries occurred in the 1990s, local businesses and community organizations began gearing up for tourism. A small number of local firms advertised charter fishing excursions, and a few residents built guest accommodations that catered to visitors in pursuit of a rural Alaska experience. Hoonah also was home to several experienced bear-hunting guides. Although tourist traffic to Hoonah was modest, visitor activity flourished in more remote parts of the traditional Huna territory. Glacier Bay hosted more than 300,000 visitors on cruise ships and charters. And each year, tour boats passed through Icy Strait, where fishing and whale watching were popular activities. Tourist activity in the outlying areas generally was initiated by nonlocal proprietors operating from Juneau or other nearby ports.

Prior to 2004, tourism was not having a significant effect on everyday life in Hoonah. Still, residents were aware of the implications of increased visitation based on their observation of changes in nearby Juneau and Sitka, Alaska. Several themes emerged from interviews with local residents about the perceived effects of existing tourism.

- For some residents, tourism represented an opportunity to share the merits of rural Alaska living, Tlingit cultural history, and the natural environment. Tourism presented an activity consistent with tribal efforts to generate awareness of Native culture and promote Native pride, particularly among youths.
- The ability of the visitor industry to interpret aspects of Tlingit culture and the special relationship Huna people had with their natural environment was a particular focus of concern. Residents discussed how competing

interpretations of Native history and culture by non-Native guides as well as among Native interpreters representing different clans, presented a potential source of tension.

- Some residents described feelings of defensiveness or obligation in the presence of tourists who are unfamiliar with the rural Alaska lifestyle. Outward appearances of village physical structures and infrastructure may be viewed by outsiders as less than adequate. Many interviewees, particularly those living in downtown Hoonah, described discomfort interacting with visitors.
- Marine tourism led to some congestion and competition for slips at the boat harbor between recreational (nonlocal) boaters and local fishers. Growth in charter fishing activity in Icy Strait contributed to competition for fish among charter, commercial, and subsistence fishers. Commercial fishers described issues of resource allocation, access, and the importance of long-term sustainability of the fishery.
- Growth in guided commercial tourism throughout the Huna territory led to user conflicts among tourism providers of various kinds and between tourism groups and local sport and subsistence users of natural resources.
- Increased visitor activity in Glacier Bay was viewed negatively by some Huna Tlingit, who wondered why their access to Glacier Bay was being curtailed while visitor access on tour boats and cruise ships was being expanded.
- Hoonah residents monitored the effects of tourist activity on the environment and wildlife, with particular attention to the quality and availability of subsistence resources.

Despite concerns shared about tourism, most residents interviewed in 2000–2001 favored modest tourism growth that emphasized local employment and the direct involvement of local firms. Community leaders maintained that tourism growth in Hoonah was inevitable, and that the community should be prepared to embrace the industry before outside interests gain control. Several themes emerged in discussions about future tourism growth in Hoonah.

- Hoonah residents perceived local economic benefits associated with future tourism, including job creation, business development, tax revenues, and visitor spending. Tourism was viewed as a strategy to keep jobs in the community and reduce the loss of young workers emigrating out of the community for employment.

- Several concerns about tourism were noted, including change in local character, an increase in traffic and congestion, frequent interactions with outsiders, domination by nonlocal business interests, the export of tourist dollars outside the economy, fears about sharing cultural information with visitors, negative effects on subsistence resources, and exclusion from federal lands.
- Hoonah residents shared several ideas about the desired characteristics of tourism. Most sought tourism that was modest in scale and located away from the central business district so as to minimize changes to downtown neighborhoods. They hoped tourism would embody and reflect local identity and cultural values. Residents talked about four critical elements for a tourism development: local participation in tourism planning, local control of the pace of tourism development, mechanisms to encourage benefits to local firms and workers, and interagency cooperation.
- Several tourist activities and attractions were favored by residents contemplating future tourism. Residents generally approved the idea of a tourist facility at the Point Sophia cannery, which they believed would contain visitors in a site away from the downtown area. Most residents interviewed preferred small cruise ships over larger cruise ships, owing to concerns about the capacity of local infrastructure to handle high visitor volumes. Many also favored a heritage center to showcase Tlingit culture and traditions. A campground or RV park was an idea that would minimize congestion on forest roads and maximize tourist spending into the local economy. The development of nature-based attractions also would encourage tourist use of the national forest.
- Residents noted several potential constraints inhibiting future tourism development, including attitudes of long-time residents and elders toward new business growth, the cost of utilities, particularly electricity, the capacity of local infrastructure to support visitors, the overall appearance of the community, the prevalence of intensive logging along coastlines, and gaps in the local labor market.

After the sale of a prominent seine vessel in 2001, signifying changes in the commercial fishing industry, and the gradual closing of the Whitestone logging camp, community leaders began to consider the potential for tourism. Several local institutions initiated discussions about the tourism industry as a source of economic development, and a conference was held considering tourism alongside other

resource-based industries. In 2001, Huna Totem captured the attention of residents by announcing plans to renovate a cannery to create a cruise ship destination. Cannery renovations beginning in 2003 employed hundreds of Hoonah workers.

The development of Icy Strait Point was welcomed by most Hoonah residents interviewed, although many recognized that the project did not have full community support. The economic benefits in the form of jobs, income, and visitor spending appeared to offset some losses from the loss of fishing and timber employment. The short-term and sporadic nature of the work meshed well with the subsistence lifestyle of many employees. Project developers appeared to recognize and address local concerns when planning their destination, particularly the need to retain the community's rural character and Native culture.

- Hoonah residents interviewed said they enjoyed interactions with visitors they encountered. Although some experienced the sense of being objects of the "tourist gaze," others used these impromptu encounters to share the Hoonah lifestyle. The cannery employed more than 100 residents, with many jobs emphasizing customer relations.
- Youth and other residents involved in cultural performances for tourists had opportunities to learn about their heritage, and many experienced a growing sense of pride. Point Sophia executives, tribal officials, and city leaders shared a sense of success and accomplishment at the close of the project's first season. The relocation of cultural materials of local significance to the tourist site, such as the tribe's totem poles, represented a potential source of contention among tribal members.
- Residents interviewed also noted their hopes to improve the connection between the Hoonah community and the development at Point Sophia. Residents were eager to maintain their rural lifestyle with access to natural resources and special places of importance. Several residents discussed the implications of restricted access to the Spasski Creek area because of the presence of a bear-hunting tour on Huna Totem land. Spasski Creek represented an important area for hunting, fishing, and cedar bark harvest, as well as other subsistence resources.
- Residents desired open access to the cannery facility and the cannery grounds at Point Sophia, which represents an important part of the community's history as well as a favorite place for recreation. Many also desired that the cannery accommodate the needs of independent visitors, whose growing presence in Hoonah could generate revenues for downtown business owners and proprietors of local lodges.

- Residents wanted visitors to know about their community, rather than have it missing from the tourist maps and brochures. They recognized the need for the Point Sophia Development Company to control visitor flow to minimize undesirable impacts from a high volume of cruise guests. But, they also commented upon the corporation's strategy to keep visitors on site to maximize corporate (and cruise line) earnings from the sale of corporate-approved tours. The lack of acknowledgment of Hoonah's proximity to the cannery or its historical and cultural connection was disconcerting to many residents.
- Despite corporation attempts to discourage the flow of guests outside the cannery grounds, many visitors chose to walk the mile to Hoonah. The arrival of cruise guests and crew members proved to be an unexpected boon to those proprietors who quickly identified products and services desired by visitors. Residents desired greater opportunities for local businesses to benefit from tourism.
- The need to moderate and monitor the frequency of ship arrivals with growth of tourism was essential to interviewees. Many recognized the dual role of the Native corporation as an economic entity generating shareholder dividends, and as a political organization protecting community interests. The risk of emphasizing one of these roles over the other would have widespread repercussions.

Preface

The Hoonah community study was part of a larger project to examine resident perceptions of the sociocultural effects of tourism in three southeast Alaska communities. The research plan was developed by a study team from the Juneau Forestry Sciences Lab with input from the U.S. Forest Service Alaska Regional Office and the Tongass National Forest. This report on Hoonah, Alaska, is one of a series of community reports on tourism in southeast Alaska. An earlier report described tourism trends in Haines, Alaska. A report on Craig is forthcoming. A final report analyzing and comparing tourism trends in all three communities was published in 2005. Results 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 relationship between tourism growth and community well-being. Information also may be useful in decisionmaking related to tourism management and recreation development. In addition, the research may assist coastal communities in various stages of decisionmaking with regard to tourism development. Lessons from Haines, Hoonah, and Craig provide insights for tourism scholars and for communities worldwide negotiating their relationships with the tourism industry.

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Study Context

Background

Since the mid-1980s, tourism has grown to become one of the most important industries in southeast Alaska, generating new business growth and employment. Tourism growth in the region has allowed communities to survive and thrive amidst regional economic transition resulting from downturns in logging and commercial fishing. With few economic alternatives available, tourism presents a potential option for development. Tourism also brings change to rural Alaska communities, which are seeing an inflow of seasonal tourism workers and visitors. Many acknowledge that tourism provides jobs, but also perceive that tourism alters the character of Alaska communities and affects local user patterns of natural resources. Community leaders throughout southeast Alaska are deciding to what extent their economies should be based on tourism. Important questions are being raised:

Many acknowledge that tourism provides jobs, but also perceive that tourism alters the character of Alaska communities and affects local user patterns of natural resources.

- Do we want to promote tourism? If so, how much tourism do we want to have?
- What types of tourism activities do we want to encourage?
- How do we mitigate tourism's less desirable effects on communities and resources?
- How do we develop tourism while maintaining our existing quality of life?

The Hoonah community study was part of a larger project to examine the sociocultural effects of tourism in three southeast Alaska communities. Sites were selected for indepth study because they feature contrasting histories of tourism development and represent a broad range of Alaska experiences with tourism. Like many communities in the region, Hoonah faced stark declines in its traditional economic base. Tourism provided a source of employment and income for residents and was viewed as being compatible with efforts of cultural revitalization. This study of tourism in Hoonah allowed greater understanding of the process of tourism development in its formative stages. Conversations with Hoonah residents about the future of tourism in their community and their initial perceptions of tourism development, has cultivated understanding about initial hopes, ideas, concerns, and challenges that face the community.

This research incorporates an ethnographic approach featuring the use of participant observation and intensive interviewing with residents. Twelve weeks of

field research took place in Hoonah in two segments: from October through December 2000 and March and April 2001. Followup interviews took place in the summers of 2002 and 2004. The resulting data set was largely qualitative, stemming from semistructured interviews, focus groups, and public meetings, where residents talked about their lives and their community's relationship with tourism. A report comparing research findings from Hoonah with the other two study sites also has been prepared (Cerveny 2005).

The goal of this report is to present qualitative data that illustrate resident perceptions of tourism and its effects on community life. The style of presentation common to ethnographic accounts includes analytical statements demonstrating the author's findings substantiated by quotations from research participants involved in the study. In most instances, names of actual research participants and their institutional affiliations were omitted to protect their anonymity. Quotations used in this report were extracted directly from notes taken during interviews. To the best extent possible, these quotations capture the actual words spoken by research participants. Precise phrasing may have been lost in the process of note-taking; some transition words were added or deleted to promote fluidity or readability. The meaning or intent of the statements was not altered in editing. Because audio-recording techniques were not employed in this study, all quotations included should be viewed as paraphrases.

Global Context

Tourism is a global industry that is growing at a rapid pace. The tourism economy accounted for 3 percent of global gross domestic product in 2004, employing more than 76 million workers. (World Travel and Tourism Council 2006). Developments in transportation technology and changes in the geopolitical and economic environments have spurred an increase in the number of travelers worldwide. In the 1950s, an estimated 25 million visitors crossed international borders. By 2006, this number had exceeded 842 million (World Tourism Organization 2007). Contemporary travelers are more ethnically and economically diverse than ever before. Segmentation in the travel and tourism industry has expanded the repertoire of travel possibilities (Munt 1994). Conventional forms of travel, such as destination resorts, bus tours, and cruise ships, have been augmented by customized itineraries and niche modes, such as cultural and historic tourism and nature-based tourism. These travel

niches have expanded travel possibilities and opened up destinations worldwide. Thus, tourism is an industry that is increasingly diversified and far-reaching and that connects rural areas to the world economy.

Southeast Alaska is an archipelago of densely wooded islands that extends 966 kilometers from Cape St. Elias, near Yakutat in the North to the Dixon entrance near Ketchikan (fig. 1). The area provides habitat for many marine and wildlife species and has long been home to Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian peoples, who have lived in the area for more than a millennium. With the arrival of European traders, trappers, and settlers, natural resources have formed the basis for this region's economy. Mining, commercial fishing, logging, and tourism created jobs for Alaskans and provided an economic boost for the state. Lands are primarily managed by the federal government, including the U.S. Department of Agriculture Forest Service and the U.S. Department of the Interior National Park Service. A

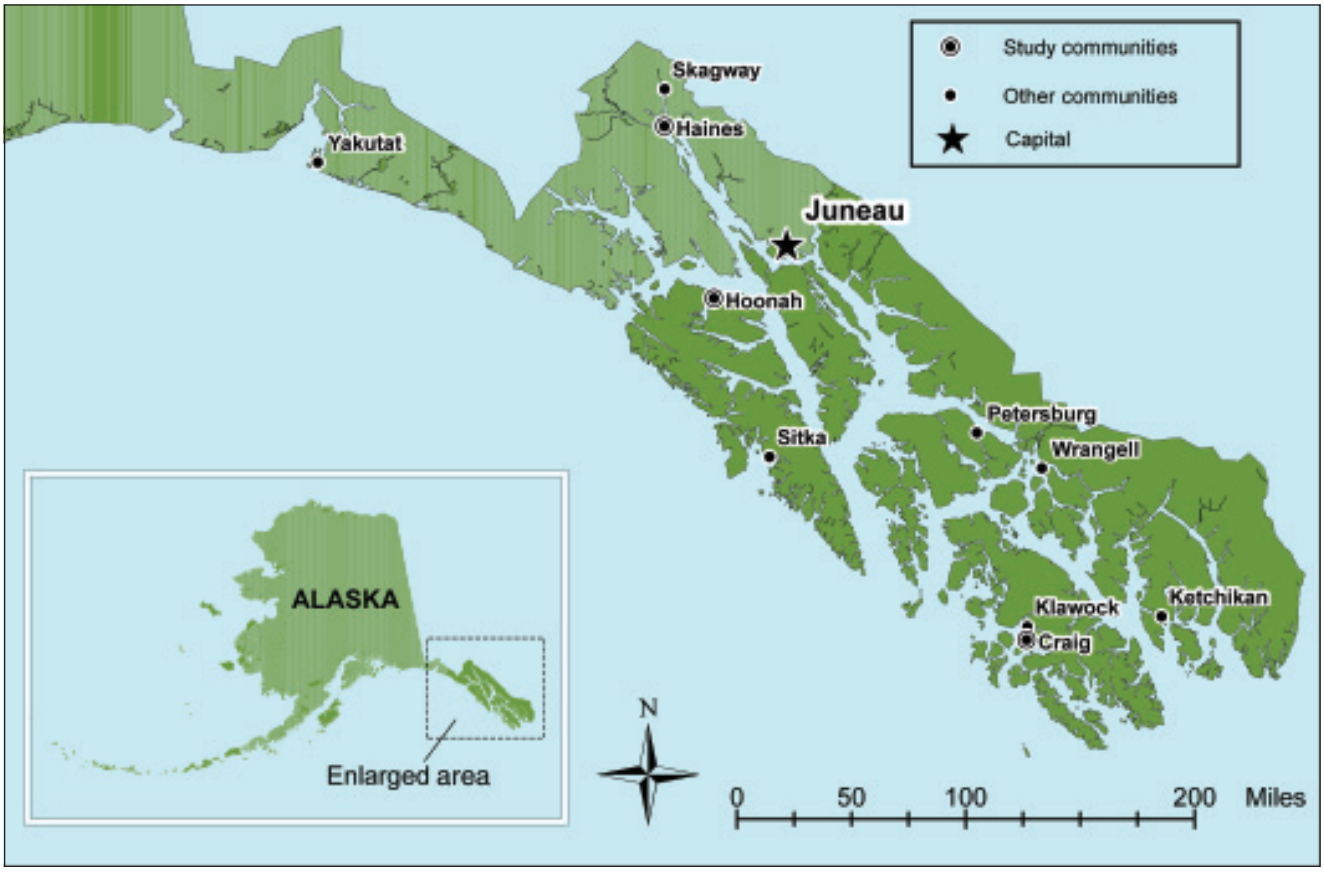

Figure 1—Southeast Alaska.

smaller proportion of the region's land is owned and managed by Native corporations created by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971. In 2002, the area was inhabited by nearly 72,000 residents, of whom roughly 20 percent were Alaska Natives. Throughout the 20th century, many Alaskans depended on natural resources for their livelihoods and relied on harvest of fish, game, and other products to sustain families and cultural traditions.

Since Alaska became a U.S. territory in 1867, it has attracted tourists eager to explore America's last frontier (Nash 1981). Nature writer John Muir visited Alaska in 1879 and wrote about the rugged coastal landscape he found in what is now known as Glacier Bay (Nash 1981). Early visitors to southeast Alaska arrived on steamships and visited tidewater glaciers, fishing villages, and Gold Rush outposts that served as a gateway to the Yukon (Dunning 2000, Norris 1985). A curios trade developed, which provided a market for Alaska Native artists (Hinckley 1965, Norris 1985). Tourism became recognized as an official part of Alaska's growing economy in 1945 by the territorial Governor. Commercial tourism began to develop in the 1950s and 1960s with improvements in transportation routes, the construction of lodges and road-houses, and the establishment of the Alaska Visitor's Association (West 1997). These improvements attracted independent visitors arriving on commercial jets, state ferries, and by automobile on the Al-Can Highway. In the 1970s, cruise ships gained popularity as both a means of transportation and a floating resort. Although the region had been host to smaller tour ships in the 1960s and 1970s, large cruise ships began to ply Inside Passage waters in the mid-1970s and became more commonplace in the 1980s.

Visitor arrivals to southeast Alaska grew rapidly, doubling from 473,000 visitors in 1985 to more than 950,000 in 2005.

Mirroring global trends, visitor arrivals to southeast Alaska grew rapidly, doubling from 473,000 visitors in 1985 to more than 950,000 in 2005 (Juneau Convention and Visitor's Bureau 2006). Visitor levels increased at an average annual rate of 10.5 percent from 1980 to 2002, far exceeding global rates of 4.2 percent. In 2004, an estimated 90 percent of visitors to southeast Alaska arrived by large cruise ship, including some transporting more than 2,800 passengers. Intense competition among rival cruise lines made the price of an Alaska cruise more affordable to middle-class travelers and family groups (NFO Plog 2002). Small cruise ships represented another growing market segment, providing cruise experiences with fewer than 200 passengers. Cruise passenger participation in shore excursions also increased dramatically in the late 1990s as a result of intensive marketing and the expansion of contractual relations with local tourism

providers. The rapid growth in shore excursions that take guests into remote places by plane, boat, or bus meant that Alaskans were encountering more visitors in more remote places (Klein 2002). These changes resulted in effects on communities and natural resources used by residents.

The growth of cruise ship travel to Alaska afforded new possibilities to communities struggling for economic survival amidst declines in traditional industries.

High visitor demand for the Alaska experience makes tourism a logical choice for communities eager to improve their local economic base. The growth of cruise ship travel to Alaska afforded new possibilities to communities struggling for economic survival amidst declines in traditional industries. Tourism created jobs, spurred business development, and contributed to tax revenues in many communities. Yet, tourism also has brought changes to rural communities, not all of them desirable, including noise, congestion in city streets, crowded beaches and trails, and changes in patterns of subsistence use. Several communities supported tourism-related taxes as a means of offsetting these costs to the community. The influx of tourism businesses and workers has been linked to subtle shifts in local demography (Cerveny 2004). The environmental effects of tourism also have been weighed, sparked by the discovery of cruise ship pollution from air and water emissions. These issues fueled public scrutiny about tourism benefits and inspired a wave of local citizen activism.

Hoonah represents an excellent example of a southeast Alaska community facing changes in the local economy and searching for solutions in tourism. Located on the northeast shore of Chichagof Island about 40 miles west of Juneau, Hoonah sits in a sheltered bay in Port Frederick, which feeds into Icy Strait (fig. 2). Hoonah is a predominantly Tlingit community whose people have origins in the area of Icy Strait since time immemorial. Icy Strait is a busy cruise ship corridor leading to Glacier Bay National Park. Icy Strait has experienced heavy use by charter fishing boats from nearby Elfin Cove, Gustavus, and Pelican. Numerous whale-watching, sight-seeing, kayaking, and other tours concentrate around nearby Point Adolphus, which attracts a dense population of whales. Several areas in the Tongass National Forest have experienced rising visitor use.

Few visitors traveled to the community until 2004. Up until the 1990s, the majority of Hoonah residents were content with the smattering of hunters, fishers, and boaters who found themselves at the ferry terminal or the boat harbor. Declines in Hoonah's historical industries prompted community leaders to explore economic alternatives. Logging on Native land owned by Sealaska Corp. slowed down gradually and virtually came to a standstill by 2004. The fishing industry, once the

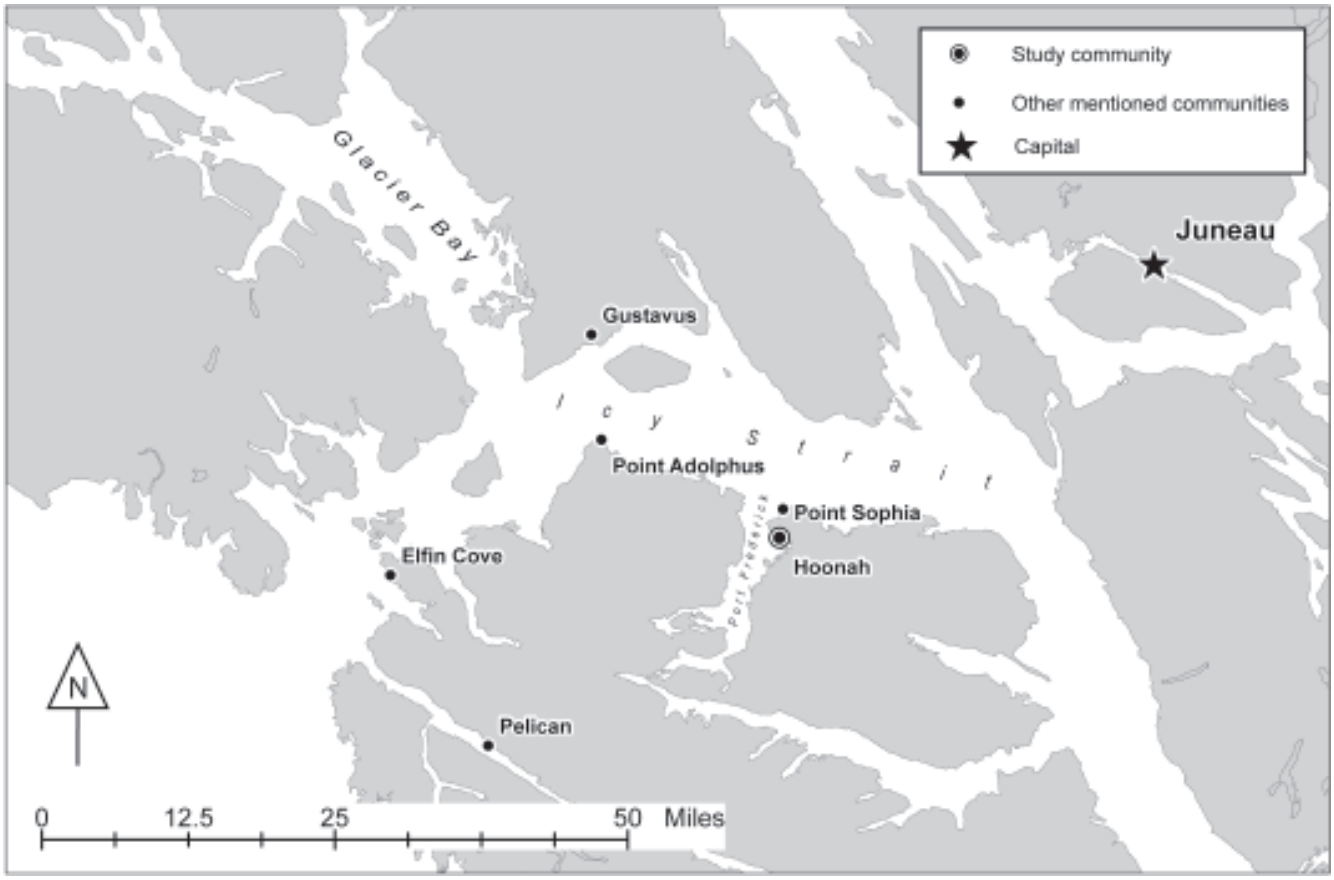

Figure 2—Hoonah and Icy Strait.

mainstay of the local economy, was hurt by the closure of the Inian Island fishery and to a lesser extent the closure of Glacier Bay to commercial fishing. The development of a limited-entry program for salmon fishing also resulted in a decline in the number of locally held permits. With timber and fishing on the wane, Hoonah residents sought a means to sustain their community and keep young workers at home. For many, tourism was a logical and necessary step for economic survival. Yet, some cautioned that tourism could represent a threat to community integrity, cultural identity, access to subsistence resources, and traffic on forest roads. This report presents the hopes and concerns of Hoonah residents in relation to tourism.

Study Goals and Methods

This report is one piece of a broader investigation to understand how tourism interacts in different ways with Alaska communities (Cerveny 2004, 2005). Using a regional framework and a multisited approach (Kottak 1999), I explored how tourism shapes human communities and alters relations between humans and their environment. The broader research effort contributes to theoretical discussions about the complex relations among actors and their landscape within a tourism economy. Three main study objectives framed this study:

- **Collect and analyze baseline tourism data.** This research provides baseline socioeconomic, demographic, and tourism data that will permit future comparison and allow analysis of change in tourism over time.
- **Understand local attitudes toward tourism and perceptions of sociocultural effects**. This research involved describing current attitudes toward tourism, their origins, and their potential for shaping tourism growth. The study also examined local perceptions of the tourism industry and its role in the community, as well as the impact of visitors and the tourism industry. The effects of tourism on local lifestyles and livelihoods, and key social, cultural, and economic institutions also were explored.
- **Explore the role of tourism in the relation between residents and their environment.** This research examined the effects of 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 resident relations with their environment.

This study used an ethnographic approach. Ethnography is a scientific approach for discovering and researching social and cultural patterns and meanings within a community, institution, or cultural group (Schensul et al. 1999). The goal was to understand tourism by observing its effects directly through interviews with local residents to elicit stories and detailed explanations about how residents have related to tourism and adjusted to the changes.

In keeping with social science methods, triangulation, or the incorporation of data from a variety of sources, was valuable to the data collection approach. The use of multiple data sources helps to validate and substantiate qualitative data and improve the quality, depth, and rigor of qualitative research (Bernard 1995).

Similar data collection strategies were employed at each research site to facilitate comparison. All efforts were made to ensure that the researcher's presence did not disrupt community life and a scientific approach to data collection was taken.[1]

Data for this research stem from multiple sources, including participant observation, resident interviews, focus groups, surveys, archival sources, and economic and census data. A major strength of this study was the opportunity for indepth fieldwork, which fostered greater understanding of local patterns of community life and value orientations and was helpful for interpreting results about community perceptions of tourism.

Participant observation—

Participation in the daily lives of Hoonah residents was an important component of data collection and interpretation as the researcher's ethnographic knowledge becomes embedded in daily habits and routines (Pelto and Pelto 1978). I participated in daily life in the community and attended numerous public events, city council meetings, and other public functions and conferences. The opportunity to participate in daily life allowed me to understand something about what residents of Hoonah value and cherish about their lifestyle and community.

Resident interviews—

Initial introductory interviews were held with eight key informants, who held leadership positions in various community institutions, such as the city, tribe, Native corporation, school district, churches, civic groups such as Alaska Native Brotherhood and Alaska Native Sisterhood, and the national forest. Key informant interviews were unstructured, conversational meetings to promote familiarization with issues and actors, as well as local frames of reference and geography (Spradley 1979). Key informants identified various social and stakeholder groups active in the community and suggested names of residents to include in the sample.

[1] The scientific framework that shapes research in other disciplines assumes a different role in ethnographic studies, where the anthropologist is the tool for data collection. Contemporary anthropologists typically assume this stance of reflexivity (rather than objectivity) in presenting their work. My upbringing in a rural tourist community in New England shaped my decision to study the effects of tourism in a more isolated setting in Alaska. The changes I witnessed to my hometown made me especially attuned to changes in other rural communities. I also funded my college education by working in the tourism industry and am personally aware of its many economic and social benefits. This dual stance of healthy skepticism and appreciation for tourism likely shapes my interpretation of changes in Hoonah. An awareness of my own perceptions of tourism along with a commitment to a rigorous methodological approach allows me to render an honest analysis of tourism in Hoonah.

Based on a snowball sampling technique, a list of potential research participants was created, which was amended as new contacts were made. All efforts were made to include residents from within a variety of sociocultural and stakeholder groups, including major clans. Special efforts were made to include owners of tourism-related businesses and enterprises, to understand the shape and size of the tourism industry.[2]

Individual interviews were conducted with 54 residents representing a variety of interests and backgrounds. (See appendix 1 for a description of the demographic composition of respondents.) A semistructured interview guide allowed comparisons among respondents while promoting flexibility to accommodate emerging themes (See appendix 2 for interview guides.) Several participants were interviewed multiple times either because their schedules permitted brief discussions or because they had much information to share. Interviews were recorded in handwritten notes, including both the questions asked and answers given.[3] Followup interviews were conducted with 12 Hoonah residents in 2004.

Focus groups—

In addition to the individual interviews, two focus groups were conducted at city hall during the second phase of data collection in Hoonah. A focus group is a means of collecting interview data from a small group of people who are guided through a series of targeted questions dealing with a given topic (Morgan 1988). Focus groups were viewed as an effective means of gathering data from groups of residents with similar interests and backgrounds. Two homogeneous groups were held. The first group included 12 business owners and artists. The second group consisted of seven active subsistence users. Focus groups were 90 minutes in length, and members worked together to address a set of questions focusing on perceptions and attitudes toward tourism. Data from focus groups were analyzed in an aggregate fashion; individual group member responses were not identified or separately analyzed.

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[2] Of the 28 tourism-related businesses in town, 20 were included in the study.

[3] This technique was chosen in favor of audiotaping for several reasons. First, I wanted to cultivate a sense of trust and security in an area where natural resource issues have been controversial. Thus, I chose to minimize the potential for discomfort or caution during interviews by selecting a less obtrusive recording method. In addition, not all residents were comfortable with research originating from a government organization. Again to encourage trust, I refrained from using audio records, as some residents worried that their verbatim comments would become part of the public record. Third, because I had employed note-taking techniques in the previous site study (Haines), I wanted to ensure consistency in data recording. Finally, many of the interviews were conducted in public places, such as restaurants, with challenging acoustics, or on boats, where audio recording was impractical. Note-taking allowed me to ensure that I captured the words and sentiments of research participants.

Other data sources—

In addition to the above sources of data, quantitative data were collected to illustrate various aspects of community life, including demographics, economics, and subsistence. Economic data, including tax, budget, and employment information, were collected at the Hoonah Indian Association, City of Hoonah, Central Council of the Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska, and the State of Alaska Division of Labor and Workforce Development. Subsistence data were found at the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Subsistence Division (Schroeder and Kookesh 1990). The Forest Service had a considerable amount of data on recreation and land use in the Hoonah Ranger District (USDA Forest Service 1999, 2000, 2001). Data on visitation to Glacier Bay originated from the National Park Service.

Study Limitations—

Findings should be understood as themes for further exploration.

This report presents qualitative data from one Alaska community engaged with tourism. Findings reflect resident perceptions of changes associated with tourism. A variety of opinions were encountered during field research. This summary presents broad themes experienced by residents from a variety of backgrounds, noting differences among stakeholders. Because of the ethnographic nature of this project and its emphasis on interpretation, rather than quantification, responses were not tallied and weighed. These findings should be understood as themes for further exploration. Because of the small sample size, data from this study may not be generalized beyond the community level. However, trends observed in Hoonah also were found in other coastal southeast Alaska communities.

Relation to Other Research Efforts

Previous tourism research in Alaska has largely catered to industry needs and focused on understanding visitor patterns and behaviors, including tourism marketing (GMA Research Corp. 1996), visitor statistics, opinions, and activities (McDowell Group 1993, Northern Economics 2002), and economic effects (Dugan et al. 2006, McDowell Group 2000, Robertson 2001). Other studies initiated by the Pacific Northwest Research Station have shed light on tourism trends in southeast Alaska, including a study of tourism projections for southeast Alaska (Schroeder et al. 2005) and a comparison of case studies in tourism (Cerveny 2005). This series represents the first focused effort to understand the community impacts of tourism in southeast Alaska. This microlevel analysis allows for a depth of understanding not possible in broader survey efforts. The study also allowed exploration of connections among local and nonlocal institutions.

Hoonah—A Community Profile

Physical Setting

Hoonah (pop. 860) is situated at the entrance of Port Frederick on the northeastern shore of Chichagof Island, a mountainous and heavily wooded island. Hoonah lies in a protected harbor on Port Frederick, which extends from Icy Strait, a main east-west thoroughfare in the Inland Passage. Hoonah is 64 kilometers west from Juneau and 129 kilometers north of Sitka, but the city has no land access to these cities; travel to neighboring communities depends on air and water transportation. Hoonah receives an average of 178 centimeters of precipitation annually.

Land near Hoonah is largely managed by two federal agencies and two Native corporations. More than 256 365 hectares of Tongass National Forest land includes most of Chichagof Island surrounding Hoonah. The National Park Service manages 1.3 million hectares in Glacier Bay National Park, also in the Hoonah territory. Huna Totem Corporation owns roughly 8900 hectares surrounding the community and along part of the coast of Chichagof Island to Spasski Creek. Sealaska Corporation owns 92 000 hectares along both shores of Port Frederick.

In 2004, Hoonah was serviced by an airport for propeller aircraft and a floatplane dock, which handles seaplanes. Several private airlines provide scheduled flights from Juneau. The Alaska Marine Highway System of ferries serves the community, with typically three ferries weekly to Juneau and Sitka. The town had one grocery store, a hardware store, and a smaller convenience and video store, three sit-down restaurants, two takeout eateries, two bars, one bank, and a tackle and sport shop. Several churches were active in the community. Medical services were available at the Hoonah Health Clinic, which staffs two physician's assistants and receives periodic physician visits. The local school houses a public library, two gymnasiums, and a heated indoor pool, used for community-wide events.

Cultural History

Hoonah is often recognized as the largest Tlingit village in southeast Alaska. According to former city mayor, Hoonah is a Tlingit word meaning, "in the lee of the north wind."[4] Hoonah was settled after the Little Ice Age resulted in the glacial advance in Glacier Bay. The first store was built by Northwest Trading Company in the 1880s and the first post office was established in 1901, officially changing the community's name to Hoonah.

[4] Other sources note that the original village in Hoonah, Gaudekan, is translated as, "village by the cliff."

The Huna Tlingit have inhabited the area of Glacier Bay and Icy Strait for millennia. The archaeological record indicates a human presence as long as 10,000 years ago (Ackerman 1968). Oral history describes the exodus of several Huna clans from the Glacier Bay area in the 1700s, when the glaciers advanced; clans separated into smaller groups and scattered throughout the Icy Strait area. Glacier Bay remains a culturally significant place that has been actively used for subsistence hunting and fishing (Hunn et al. 2003). Hoonah was established as a permanent community some time in the 19th century.

The Huna kwaan (or Kaawu) consists of several clans with houses in the Huna territory. T'akdeintaan is a Raven clan. Eagle clans include Wooshkeetaan, Tcukanedi, and Kaagwaantaan (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946, Hope and Thornton 2000).[5] Clans possessed access rights to specific lands and resources, (e.g., salmon streams, berry picking grounds, hunting grounds), as well as cultural properties, (e.g., ceremonies, songs, stories, names, and crests).[6] Each clan is represented by a leader, often recognized for his or her oratory skills, wisdom, and wealth.[7] The

[5] Tlingit society is made up of two moieties: raven and eagle. A person's moiety is inherited from the birth mother and marriage takes place to a person of the opposite moiety. Each moiety is broken down into clans that are named for animals, fish, or other natural phenomena. Clans are further divided into houses, which are smaller groups of related families (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946). Some of the clans have split and migrated, which explains why a clan may be found in several communities, such as Kaagwaantaan.

[6] Customary land use and rights of Tlingit peoples is in contrast to European notions of property ownership. In contemporary Euro-American societies, land is owned by an individual or corporation, and generally its owners have full access to the resources it contains. Land is assigned value through the process of market exchange, where land is bought and sold. In Tlingit society, land and resources are not owned, per se, but the use of particular territories is assigned based on tribal and clan affiliation. Much as land ownership is a sign of wealth in Euro-American thought, claiming access to a territory and its resources also is a sign of wealth in Tlingit culture. These use patterns have extended back into prehistoric times. Clans within each village possess rights to certain lands for certain activities and specific times of the year. Prolific fishing grounds, hunting reserves, berry patches, and sites for gathering other foods, medicines, and herbs were well-defined and highly protected. In turn, individual houses and families have user rights for particular territories. House and clan leaders managed the continued use of particular areas among clan members, with more productive and coveted areas often assigned to higher status members. Claims to particular territories were affirmed and substantiated during periodic potlatches—a feast demonstrating economic prowess and social status sponsored by a member of one moiety for the opposite moiety. In addition, totem poles detailed titles to land and property among house and clan members.

[7] Early anthropologists described Tlingit society as highly stratified, with certain families containing more wealth and power than others. Chiefs originated from families with more wealth, which was measured by rights to use certain lands, titles, rights to ceremonies, religious rites, cultural properties, material goods, and even recipes. Although Hoonah society has become more egalitarian, decisionmaking remains somewhat hierarchical.

clan structure remains the predominant form of social organization, although evidence suggests that social structure is in transition with population decline. Decisions affecting the future of Hoonah are typically discussed among clan elders and deference is given to clan leaders. Huna territory includes areas from the mainland coast near Point Howard on Chatham Strait and west to the Pacific Coast. The northern boundary is Lituya Bay south of Yakutat (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946). The territory includes Glacier Bay and Dundas Bay, Icy Strait, Excursion Inlet, the community of Gustavus, and the northeast portion of Chichagof Island. Although these territories exist under a variety of jurisdictions and land ownerships today, the boundaries remain alive within the worldview of the Huna Tlingit.

Decisions affecting the future of Hoonah are typically discussed among clan elders and deference is given to clan leaders.

The first known European contact with Huna Tlingit likely occurred in 1741, when Russian explorer Alexei Chirikov traveled along the coast. Throughout the 18th century, British and French explorers and traders arrived, including Captain James Cook, French explorer LePerouse, and Captain George Vancouver (Kurtz 1995). European voyagers typically traded for furs and other goods with Huna people, although there were several examples of resistance to these encroachments among the Tlingit. In the late 18th century, the Tlingit economic system came into contact with the Russian fur trade and the Russian America Company. Tlingit hunters hunted for sea otter and whales throughout Icy Strait in exchange for Russian goods until 1867, when Alaska was sold to the United States (Kurtz 1995). At the time of Euro-American contact, there were an estimated 900 people living throughout the Icy Strait area (Krause 1885, Petrov 1884). Countless hundreds died of diseases resulting from contact with Euro-American visitors, which in some cases decimated entire family groups.

The period between 1870 and 1944 may be characterized by the institutionalization of Hoonah. In the 1880s, Hoonah was home to 500 residents. The Northwest Trading Company built a store, and Presbyterian and Russian Orthodox missionaries built schools and churches. A post office was created in 1901. Companies from Seattle and San Francisco established salteries and later canneries throughout Icy Strait. The Hoonah Packing Company built a cannery near town that operated intermittently from 1912 to 1953. In 1926, the Hoonah Indian Village was established by the federal government and authorized under the Native Townsite Act. In 1939, the Hoonah Indian Association was founded as a federally recognized tribe under the authority of the Indian Reorganization Act. That same year, Hoonah was incorporated as a first-class city under Territorial law. Families throughout Huna territory moved to Hoonah to attend schools, resulting in 716 residents by 1940 (fig. 3).

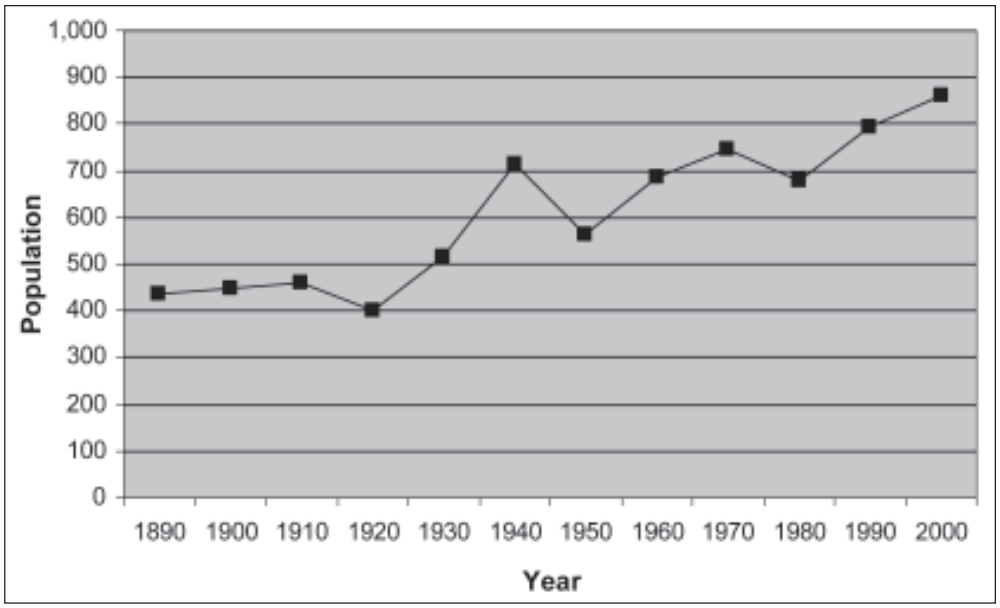

Figure 3—Hoonah population, 1890–2000. Source: Alaska Division of Community Advocacy 2007.

In the 1970s, Huna Totem, the village corporation established with the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, emerged as a powerful economic and political entity.

The years between 1944 and 1960 were difficult after a fire destroyed much of the community, requiring many to resettle elsewhere. In 1945, new homes were constructed, but residents mourned the loss of items of cultural and historical significance and the separation of families. The dislocation from the fire and from World War II resulted in a temporary population decline. Boarding schools for Native youth further divided families, while churches and government institutions discouraged expressions of Tlingit culture and language.

From 1960 to 2000, Hoonah city officials focused on building infrastructure and improving quality of life. The post-war era saw transportation improvements, such as docks and an airport, and Hoonah became linked with Juneau and other neighbors. State oil revenues sparked city investment in public works, including road paving, water and sewer systems, and utilities. This period also saw the city's first bank, a fire hall, senior center, and cultural center. In the 1970s, Huna Totem, the village corporation established with the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, emerged as a powerful economic and political entity. Industrial logging brought an influx of workers in the 1980s, putting added pressure on local infrastructure. A logging camp (Whitestone Logging) was created outside Hoonah, which transformed the social and economic structure of the community. The timber industry funded a new gymnasium, teen center, and swimming pool. Airport improvements

prompted daily commercial flight service to and from Hoonah. Another population influx to the region occurred in the 1990s, when an intentional religious community relocated to Game Creek about 7 miles from town. In 2000, construction of 20 new single-family homes for Hoonah residents alleviated pressure from population growth. Many strides were made in infrastructure development throughout the 20th century, yet challenges remain, including the need for a source of low-cost electrical power (fig. 4).

In 2000, 860 people resided in Hoonah, an 8-percent increase since 1990, reflecting the influx of logging and mill workers into town and the expansion in available housing.[8] Hoonah was 61 percent Alaska Native in 2000 (USDC Bureau of the Census 2000). The proportion of Alaska Native residents of Hoonah had declined since the 1980s, when 80 percent of residents were Native (USDC Bureau of the Census 1980). Although the actual Native population has remained fairly constant in the last 20 years, there has been an increase in non-Native residents moving in to take jobs in logging, local schools, or the Forest Service. Despite the change in demographics since 1980, political and social institutions remain embedded within the Tlingit community. Before 1980, most residents knew each other, and the arrival of a newcomer was widely noted. As one resident noted, "Not only did I know the names of everyone's children, but I knew the names of their dogs as well." Hoonah residents still describe the community as "close-knit" and look out for one another in times of crisis.

Economic Trends

Like many southeast Alaska communities, Hoonah has relied on its natural resources, especially fish and timber, for survival. Changes in industry structure as well as a decline in market prices have caused local officials to explore new economic development options.

Subsistence—

The harvesting of foods and other resources has been important to the Huna people for centuries and remains a vital force for contemporary Hoonah residents (Schroeder and Kookesh 1990). Some families rely heavily on the consumption of traditional and customary resources for survival, whereas others use them to supplement their income from wage-based employment. In addition, the harvesting, preparation, and consumption of foods and resources constitute an important part

[8] In 2007, state demographers estimated the population at 829 (Alaska Department of Community Advocacy 2007).

Lee Cerveny

Figure 4—View of downtown Hoonah.

of the community's cultural heritage, and preserving access to subsistence resources is a high priority. Residents harvest many resources, including deer, otter, seal, salmon, saltwater fish, waterfowl, shellfish, seaweed, berries, and other forest resources. In 1996, more than 95 percent of households harvested some type of subsistence resource (Alaska Coastal Management Program 2005). Subsistence is both an economic necessity and a cultural practice for Huna households (Wolfe 1998).

Commercial fishing—

Commercial fishing and fish processing have been an important link to the cash economy for more than 100 years (Price 1990). During the mid-1800s, three salteries appeared in Russian Alaska, signaling the commercialization of the salmon industry in Alaska (Price 1990). In the late 1880s, commercial canneries were established throughout Icy Strait. The Hoonah Packing Company built a cannery at Point Sophia near Hoonah in 1912. Canneries generally were owned by companies from outside Alaska.[9] Beginning around 1910, Alaska Natives became involved in the commercial fishery. Some skippered their own fishing boats; others worked in the canneries. Household survival depended on a combination of subsistence and

[9] In the early years of canneries, corporations made payments to clans or clan houses that had rights to streams—acknowledging Tlingit systems of land use (Price 1990). Fees were paid for use of the land and for the fish. However, this practice deteriorated after several years. The primary means of harvesting salmon were the floating fish traps placed at the mouths of prolific salmon streams.

commercial fishing. Hoonah's fishing fleet grew over the years, with an emphasis on seining and trolling. The fishing industry represented a vital component of the Hoonah economy from the 1950s through the 1980s. Since the 1990s, fishing has been in a gradual decline. The number of fishermen fishing their permits fell from 131 in 1980 to 54 in 2004 (fig. 5). The decline also is evidenced by studying total number of permits issued. In 1980, there were 283 permit holders, the majority devoted to purse seining. Over time, the number of local permit holders declined to 112 in 2004 (Alaska Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission 2005).

Several events led to this gradual decline. First, the unregulated use of fish traps had reduced many of the salmon runs in the Huna territory by the late 1930s. As a result, salmon and eventually halibut fishing became regulated by government organizations and treaties. Allocation systems for salmon and halibut limited the number of permits issued. A limited-entry permit system was developed for the salmon fishery in 1975. Permit sales and transfers resulted in a large movement of permits out of the community. The entry costs for fishing, including permits, boats, gear, and insurance, made it difficult for many young fishermen to enter the market. Hoonah fishing also suffered a blow in 1976, when the Inian Islands fishery, a source of income and employment since 1915, was closed to purse seining. This culturally significant fishing ground gave the Hoonah fleet a comparative advantage; their ability to fish in the torrential currents flowing near the islands offered social status among regional fishermen. After the closure, Hoonah fishermen were forced to travel further to catch fish (Price 1990). Another setback came in 2000, when the National Park Service closed Glacier Bay to most commercial fishing. After 2000, the global market for salmon created competition for Alaska harvest (Gilbertsen 2003). The Hoonah fleet, which reportedly consisted of more than 40 seine boats in peak years, dwindled down to 3 in 2001. The decline in the seine fleet represented a loss of livelihood and a reduced capacity to contribute to the local subsistence share. In addition, the seine fleet had been a tremendous source of community pride. With the demise of the fleet came a loss of community identity (fig. 6).

Logging—

The timber industry became important to the Hoonah economy beginning in the early 1980s, when the USDA Forest Service began timber sales on National Forest land near Hoonah. Of the 268 650 hectares in the Hoonah Ranger District, 40 percent was designated commercial or productive land. By 1995, nearly 8500 hectares

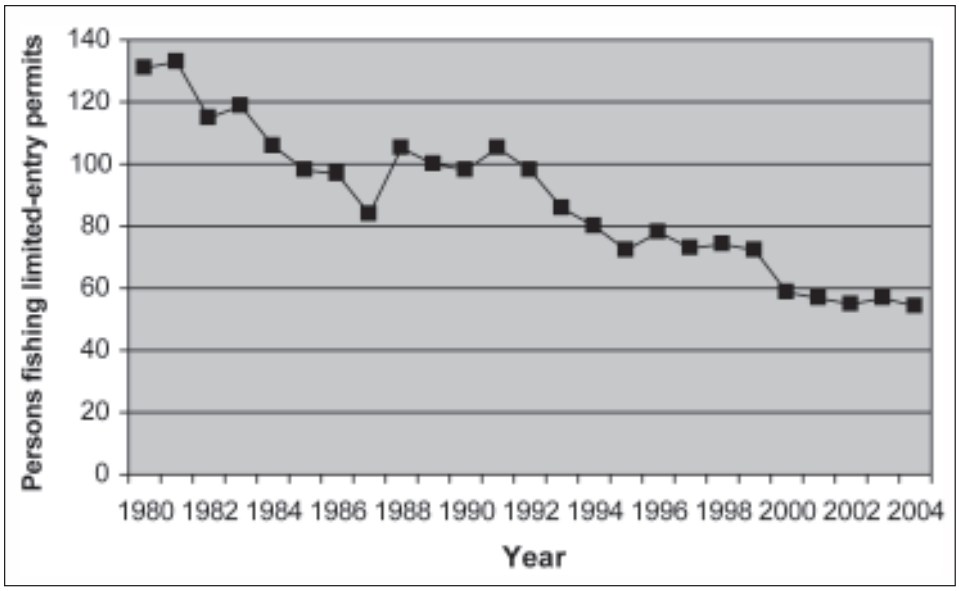

Figure 5—Limited-entry permits registered in Hoonah, 1980–2004. Source: Alaska Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission 2005.

Lee Cerveny

Figure 6—Fishing boat, Hoonah, Alaska.

had been cut, totaling 689 million board feet (3.1 million cubic meters) (Alaska Coastal Management Program 1997). Several log transfer facilities were built, and temporary logging camps were constructed throughout the district. More than 170 miles of roads were built to access the timber sales.

Native Corporation logging in the Hoonah area began in the 1980s and continued steadily through 2000. The Huna Totem Corporation had harvested more than 1200 hectares of land in the vicinity of Hoonah by 1985. Faced with bankruptcy,

Huna Totem sold the stumpage rights of their land to Sealaska in 1994. Sealaska extensively logged the hillsides near Hoonah in 1996, in spite of community opposition to the loss of their viewshed and salmon habitat. After 2000, the Alaska timber industry received competition from tree plantations in the southeastern states as well as an increase in timber supply in Russia and Asia (Gilbertsen and Robinson 2003). Timber activity waned after 2002, and Whitestone Logging, the primary contractor, shifted its focus to value-added timber products and small-scale logging. The loss of longshoring opportunities associated with the logging decline hurt Tlingit households. Longshoring offered sporadic, highly paid, and physically demanding work that blended well with the subsistence lifestyle.

The loss of longshoring opportunities associated with the logging decline hurt Tlingit households. Longshoring offered sporadic, highly paid, and physically demanding work that blended well with the subsistence lifestyle.

Employment and income—

Hoonah's employment structure demonstrates the economy's reliance on natural resources and government agencies. Among wage and salary workers, the largest percentage worked in forestry, fishing, hunting, and mining (24 percent). Other prominent industries were education and health services (23 percent), transportation and utilities (13 percent) and manufacturing, which includes logging and seafood processing, (11 percent). Manufacturing employment had declined from 15 percent in 1990 (USDC Bureau of the Census 2000).

Declines in traditional industries of fishing and timber meant a reduction in employment opportunities for Hoonah residents, particularly young people. The unemployment rate for Hoonah residents fell from nearly 15 percent in 1989 to 12.5 percent in 1999 (USDC Bureau of the Census 1990, 2000).[10] Hoonah's unemployment rate in 1999 was twice that of the state (6.1 percent). In addition, nearly 40 percent of eligible workers chose not to participate in the labor force, compared to 29 percent statewide. In other words, 48 percent of working adults were employed in a wage-based economy, compared to 62 percent for all of Alaska (U.S. Department of Commerce 2000). These data reflect the difficulties experienced in generating local employment opportunities.

A brief look at income levels revealed that Hoonah was significantly below average income for the state of Alaska. Median household income in 1999 was $39,029, compared to $51,571 statewide (USDC Bureau of the Census 2000). However, these data do not account for the income from subsistence sources, which can translate into an additional $3,000 to $4,000 per household (Schroeder and

[10] The unemployment rate measures the ratio of unemployed workers actively seeking work over the total number of possible workers in the labor force. Adult residents who are not working and not actively seeking work are not considered to be in the labor force.

Kookesh 1990). About 12 percent of residents supplemented their income with public assistance in 1999, compared to 8.7 percent of Alaskans statewide. And 14 percent of Hoonah families lived below the poverty level, compared to 6.7 percent statewide. These income indicators suggest that Hoonah is falling behind the rest of the state. This realization has prompted many community leaders to pursue other sources of income to support Hoonah households.

In 2001, local officials were actively searching for sources of employment to keep young workers in Hoonah or to attract those who had moved away to make a living. These efforts were considered important for maintaining the economic and social life of the community and for encouraging the sharing of cultural knowledge between generations. Shifts in traditional industries caused local officials to look anew at tourism and its potential to create jobs.

Local Government and Civic Institutions

In contemporary Hoonah, there appear to be several parallel and sometimes overlapping structures of decisionmaking and authority: the City of Hoonah, the traditional clan structure, the tribal government, and the Native corporation. Hoonah is a first-class city led by an elected mayor and a city council. The City of Hoonah oversees all activities within city limits and is responsible for infrastructure improvements that affect economic and community development. The city owns and leases property to businesses and runs the boat harbor. The city planning committee plays an important role in shaping the pace of economic development.

The Hoonah Indian Association (HIA) is the tribal government. The HIA was founded in 1939 as a federally recognized tribe under the authority of the Indian Reorganization Act. The goal of the organization is to negotiate with federal and state governments on behalf of tribal members. The HIA serves as manager of economic, political, and legal affairs for the tribe and has the goals of protecting and preserving natural resources and cultivating Native arts, language, and culture. The HIA is a vibrant organization, with programs that assist tribal members in many aspects of life, including higher education, housing, health care, social services, cultural preservation, and land use. They also operate the Hoonah Medical Clinic, which serves as a primary health care facility for all Hoonah residents. The HIA regularly consults with tribal elders in its planning and decisionmaking processes. However, some families still do not recognize the authority of the HIA to represent the Huna Tlingit. The traditional clan structure involves leadership by elders whose decisions represent the whole. When an issue occurs that requires clan

leadership, multiple gatherings take place to discuss protocol, process, and implementation of clan rules. An elders council is convened when decisions require multilateral participation.

The Huna Totem Corporation, headquartered in Juneau, is one of the largest landowners in the city, with 21.4 square miles. Decisions made by Huna Totem board of directors directly impact Hoonah residents. The corporation includes 1,150 shareholders, with about one-third residing in Hoonah. Shareholders receive dividends from the corporation, ranging from a few hundred to several thousand dollars annually, representing an important source of household income. Huna Totem lands were selected as a result of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971). Timber harvesting had been the primary source of income from corporation lands, although the corporation began pursuing tourism in 2003. Huna Totem derives the bulk of its revenues from managed investments including stocks, bonds, real estate, and venture capital projects based in Los Angeles, Seattle, and Las Vegas. Huna Totem is managed by nine board members, with day-to-day operations run by a CEO and staff. A subsidiary, the Huna Heritage Foundation was established to encourage preservation of culture and language.

The Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) and Alaska Native Sisterhood (ANS) were founded after 1912 as civil rights organizations with philosophical and intellectual roots in the Presbyterian missions (Mitchell 1997). Throughout the 20th century, ANB and ANS were active in protecting the economic and political interests of Native people, including fishing regulations, education, and citizenship (Price 1990). Membership in these organizations has dwindled in recent years and their mission has changed to focus on community services, college scholarships, and sponsorship of social events.

The city has undergone many changes in the last 20 years, with significant improvements in local infrastructure, transportation, and telecommunications. With the advent of cable and satellite TV, a local Internet provider, and an automatic teller machine, the community is more closely integrated to the rest of the world and perhaps more subject to global social and economic changes. The implications of these social and economic changes perhaps far outweigh the long-term impacts of any one industry, such as timber or tourism.

Prior to 1990, visitors to Hoonah found few accommodations or organized attractions to entertain them.

Tourism Development and Local Response

Although many southeast Alaska communities embraced tourism to varying degrees in the 1980s and 1990s, Hoonah leaders had adopted a more cautious approach.

Prior to 1990, visitors to Hoonah found few accommodations or organized attractions to entertain them. Beginning in the late 1990s, a number of small, locally owned tourist enterprises emerged, including several bed and breakfasts (B&Bs), charter fishing operators, and a guiding service. Then, in 2001, following downturns in logging and fishing, Huna Totem announced plans to invest in a culturally based cruise ship port at the Point Sophia cannery, with the promise of hundreds of jobs. This section traces the development of tourism in Hoonah from 1884 to 2001 and local responses to the first wave of tourism to the area.

Early Visitors to Hoonah

A study of the history of tourism in Hoonah shows that tourism to the area initially grew as a result of external initiatives. Early explorers and scientists visiting Glacier Bay piqued the interest of travelers, resulting in the growth of steamship travel. The creation of Glacier Bay National Monument in 1925 accentuated tourist interest, attracting independent adventure travelers, tour vessels, and eventually cruise ships. In the 1990s, the popularity of whale watching and charter fishing led to further tourist growth in Icy Strait.

Explorers and scientists—
A series of visits to Glacier Bay by scientists and adventurers sparked the growth of steamship tourism to southeast Alaska (Norris 1985). Adventurer Charles Wood, under auspices of the U.S. Navy, arrived in 1877, en route to Mount St. Elias, where he hoped to conduct the first Euro-American ascent. Woods spent several weeks in nearby Cape Spencer with Tlingit hosts, and later wrote about the area's cultural life and the natural features and sparked keen interest (Kurtz 1995). John Muir traveled to Alaska in 1879 to study glaciers. Arriving from Wrangell in a cedar dugout canoe with a Presbyterian missionary, a Tlingit guide, and a crew of three, Muir tried to convince Hoonah fishermen to guide him into Glacier Bay, an area where ice was known to destroy canoes. Muir found a seal hunter willing to take him into Glacier Bay, where he spent 5 days observing nature (Nash 1981).

Muir's writings about the '"primordial" and "pristine" beauty of Glacier Bay sparked the interest of the Pacific Coast Steamship Company, which began bringing visitors in 1883. One passenger, Eliza Scidmore (1896), documented her trip in a popular travel narrative, *Appleton's Guide-Book to Alaska*. Steamships often stopped in Hoonah and Bartlett Cove, where a trading post had been established. Scidmore was greeted by a canoe of Tlingit who offered baskets in exchange for

goods. Over the next few decades, Tlingit artists would demonstrate an astute understanding of the consumer market for Native arts and crafts. In 1899, Edward Harriman organized a famous expedition to Alaska with a steamship of scientists, artists, photographers, historians, and writers who documented their observations of the area's natural and human history (Grinnell 1995). This well-publicized voyage further heightened interest in Alaska and Glacier Bay. That same year, an earthquake near Yakutat caused calving of glaciers in Glacier Bay, which became locked with ice. The earthquake halted steamship tourism to Glacier Bay until the early 1930s. Hoonah residents still remember when steamships, such as Alaska Steam used to dock at the cannery, bringing supplies and visitors.[11] Local residents were known to offer shuttle service and sell handicrafts.

Glacier Bay National Monument—

A second wave of tourism was kindled when Glacier Bay National Monument was created in 1925. National interest in the geological and ecological importance of Glacier Bay was sparked with the 1916 visit of William Cooper, a professor of ecology studying aspects of glacial recession. Cooper petitioned to the Ecological Society of America that Glacier Bay become a national monument (Catton 1997). In 1925, President Coolidge proclaimed 4700 square kilometers as a national monument for purposes of scientific study. In 1939, the Tongass National Forest transferred an additional 2500 square kilometers to Glacier Bay National Monument, with the understanding that tourist facilities would be developed there. The monument was virtually ignored by the National Park Service, which did not assign a full-time ranger until 1951. In 1953, a ranger began operating out of a new headquarters in Bartlett Cove. A lodge was also built there in 1966 to cater to visitors. By 1970, an estimated 29,000 visitors annually came to Glacier Bay, including 16,700 cruise ship passengers (USDI National Park Service 2005).

When the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act was passed in 1980, Glacier Bay National Monument was expanded further and redesignated as a national park. The area gained worldwide attention in 1986, when the United Nations Man and the Biosphere Program identified the new Glacier Bay-Admiralty Island Biosphere Reserve. In 1992, Glacier Bay became a World Heritage Site. The layers of national and international designations have promoted this site in the eyes of the world and encouraged further tourism growth. From 1980 to 2004, total

The emphasis on cruise ships as the predominant form of travel has been apparent since the 1970s.

[11] One life-long resident of Hoonah recalled the excitement of the visiting steamers at the cannery in the 1940s. As there were no roads to drive on, local entrepreneurs offered boat trips for visitors from the cannery to town for 15 cents.

visitation to the park increased from 95,000 to more than 350,000 (fig. 7). The emphasis on cruise ships as the predominant form of travel has been apparent since the 1970s. The percentage of total visitors arriving by cruise ship increased from 85 percent in 1980 to 95 percent in 2004 (USDI National Park Service 2005).

In 1996, the tourism industry petitioned the National Park Service to increase the number of large cruise ships permitted to enter the park between June 1 and August 31 from 107 to 139. As a result of an environmental impact study in 2003, the number of ships arriving in those peak months was limited at 139, with the potential to increase based on scientific review (USDI National Park Service 2003). Limitations also were placed on other types of visitor traffic. Vessel traffic associated with Glacier Bay was expected to grow steadily in response to an increase in ship arrivals. Cruise ships without permits to enter Glacier Bay seek other ports, such as Haines and (after 2004), Icy Strait Point (Hoonah).

Understanding visitor trends in Glacier Bay is important for two reasons. First, historical management of the park occurred without significant recognition of the Huna people and their special relations with Glacier Bay. Huna Tlingit felt excluded from their traditional homeland, with the gradual erosion of subsistence and fishing access and the regulated visitation (Catton 1997). These attitudes shaped the views of some residents, particularly elders, when discussing tourism in general, and some residents worried that other federal agencies, such as the Forest Service,

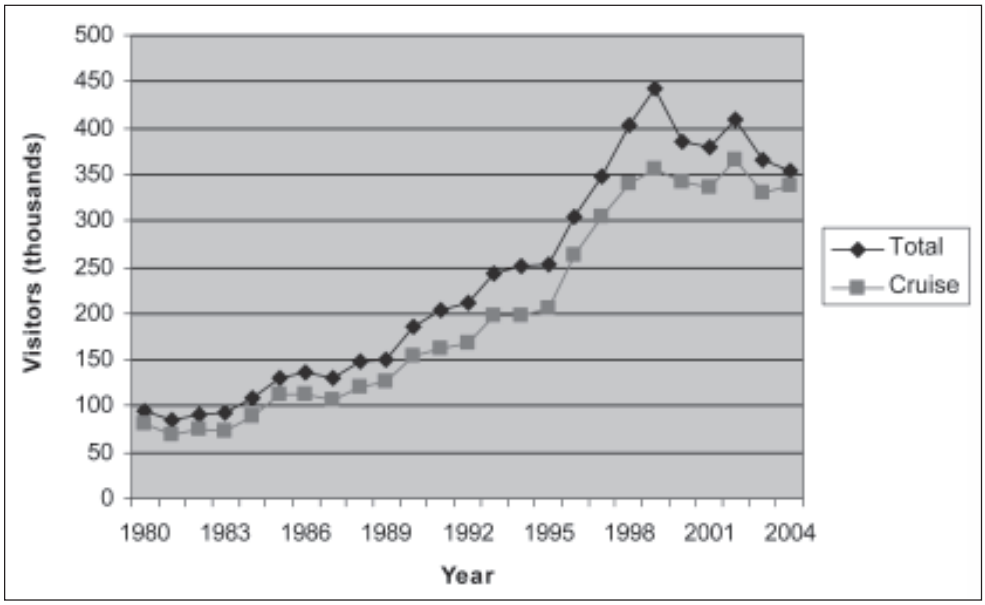

Figure 7—Visitor traffic to Glacier Bay National Park, 1980–2004. Source: USDI National Park Service 2005.

could impose similar restrictions. Glacier Bay tourism trends are also important because of the sheer volume of people in the area. Visitors to Glacier Bay on smaller tour boats often visit the Huna territory for sightseeing, wildlife-viewing, and sport fishing. Glacier Bay serves as a catalyst for tourist activity in the Icy Strait region, with implications for Hoonah.

Independent visitors—

Although relatively close to Juneau, Hoonah was not an easy place to access until the early 1970s. Steamships brought people to Hoonah through the early 1950s, but stopped operations in 1954. Until the late 1960s, when an airport was built, Hoonah was only accessible by float plane or private boat. In 1970, the ferry dock was completed, linking Hoonah and other small communities. Although connections to Hoonah improved, few visitor accommodations awaited travelers venturing to the community. In the 1960s, one Hoonah resident operated a charter fishing cruise in Port Frederick and catered to high-end clientele. One 20-room lodge was built in the 1960s and operated intermittently. This was the primary site for hosting travelers, although some families rented rooms to guests.

The growth of logging in the mid-1980s affected the tourist trade in three significant ways. First, logging created a system of roads, which afforded hunters access to previously remote areas. Whereas hunting previously took place from a boat with hikes deep into the woods, hunters soon discovered the advantages of hunting on the road system. Weekend hunters with campers and four-wheelers arrived from as far away as the Yukon (Dugan et al. 2006). Some speculated that logged areas provided forage and habitat for deer, resulting in a perceived increase in deer populations on north Chichagof Island. Second, logging activity brought loggers to town, many of whom were impressed by the opportunities for fishing and hunting. Friends and family of loggers would often travel to Hoonah for recreational hunting and fishing. Third, some have suggested that logging had a dampening effect on growth of other forms of tourism. Clearcutting in Port Frederick created what one resident described as a "moonscape aesthetic" in the bay. Tour operators worried that visitors would prefer not to see clearcut mountains and slash piles.

Local governments have long considered the potential of tourism as a means of economic growth.

Local Efforts to Expand Tourism: 1980–2001

Local governments have long considered the potential of tourism as a means of economic growth. Like many rural Alaska communities, Hoonah had depended on natural resources and small cottage industries to support the economy. Many

community leaders were recognizing the impending declines in the timber industry and the unpredictable nature of fishing. In 1980, the Hoonah Community Action Committee, chaired by the city mayor, Albert Dick, contracted with a Juneau consulting firm to create a Hoonah Tourism Plan, which provided an outline for how to develop tourism (Homan-McDowell 1980). The report encouraged residents to establish a tourism organization and develop a cooperative marketing program. Specific strategies included the creation of a Tlingit cultural attraction, capitalizing on access to Glacier Bay, the development of boat tours, and outdoor recreation opportunities. The report indicated that Huna Totem, which had purchased the 20-room lodge, was in the best position to lead tourism development efforts. Although this report offered useful suggestions, it resulted in few actions. According to one official, the rapid growth of the timber industry boosted the economy in the 1980s and 1990s, providing no immediate need for other development. Huna Totem sold its lodge in 1991. In addition, community ambivalence about inviting visitors to Hoonah curtailed formal planning efforts.

In the 1990s, many people recognized that logging was a finite operation and would likely be diminished by 2005, owing to the declining timber supply. Thus, the 1990s brought about a resurgence of interest in tourism potential. A survey conducted in 1995 interviewed 101 Hoonah households about attitudes toward tourism and other aspects of business development (McDowell Group 1995). The report showed that more than 77 percent of households favored tourism growth that offered jobs or new businesses. Among tourism supporters, several tourism activities were identified as being desirable: a cultural heritage center or museum, gift shops, charter fishing, and big game guiding.

Based on the apparent support for tourism, as indicated by the study, the 1997 Hoonah Coastal Zone Management Plan identified opportunities for developing outdoor recreation. The plan recommended development of attractions and facilities that served residents as well as visitors. They also urged tourism approaches that did not over-tax infrastructure. The plan recommended a focus on small-scale nature-based tourism and cultural tourism, urging protection of subsistence resources. Hoonah's forest road system was identified as an important asset, along with the Point Sophia cannery. The report also recommended capitalizing on Hoonah's special relationship with Glacier Bay by developing ferries and air taxis to Glacier Bay. In addition, local accommodations would need to be expanded and upgraded (Alaska Coastal Management Program 1997). The plan also called for a collaborative approach among local agencies and public officials. The report

acknowledged residents' concerns about tourism growth, especially conflicts with subsistence, worries about disproportional economic benefits, and tourism's ability to alter local character and cultural identity.

The City of Hoonah also adopted a long-range goal of encouraging and expanding tourism. In 1999, the city developed an Overall Economic Development Plan (OEDP) to outline priorities for economic development and consider how city infrastructure and services could support economic growth. The plan recognized that Hoonah would benefit from developing outdoor recreation and tourism that would both attract visitors and contribute to local quality of life (City of Hoonah 1999). Specific suggestions included a campground/RV park, ferry service to Glacier Bay, small cruise ships, and air taxi services. The report also identified the need for improved marketing and upgraded accommodations (City of Hoonah 1999). The OEDP outlined several priorities for the city to encourage visitor growth, including the expanded boat harbor, berthing for large tour vessels, airport improvements, a new city park, a cultural center, and a downtown beautification program.

In 1999, the Hoonah Ranger District office of the Tongass National Forest initiated a planning process for recreation development. The Hoonah District offered two cabins, six trails, and two wildlife viewing areas. The district ranger informally questioned residents of Icy Strait communities about their desires for recreation development. Feedback received suggested an overall desire among area residents to maintain existing levels of developed recreation and to keep recreation facilities as primitive as possible. For Hoonah respondents, boat ramps and picnic sites were preferred to campgrounds and trails.

Several organizations in town were developing plans and ideas about tourism in 2001. The Hoonah Indian Association was in search of a larger, more centrally located building to serve as a museum and cultural center. The current building was perceived to be insufficient in terms of size and the technology required to store and display cultural artifacts. The HIA also was initiating a long-term project with the National Park Service to develop a tribal house and cultural center at Bartlett Cove. In addition, there were some speculative discussions about the tribe sponsoring interpretive programs on charter fishing vessels or whale-watching tours and some interest in building a lodge.

In September 2000, a Holland America cruise ship traveled into Port Frederick for the first time.

Huna Totem had a long-standing interest in tourism. Although the company had invested most of its resources in the timber industry throughout the 1980s, the company purchased the cannery at Point Sophia in 1997 and in 1999 began

researching its potential for a tourism development. In the meantime, Huna Totem began providing interpretive services in Glacier Bay on board Holland America cruise ships. In September 2000, a Holland America cruise ship traveled into Port Frederick for the first time. Tlingit dancers, corporation board members, and local officials boarded the ship to provide a cultural program. The corporation hoped to build from this positive experience to generate future interest and investment from cruise lines in the Point Sophia development. In 2001, the corporation announced plans to develop the site and invest $2 million in rehabilitation.

Tourism development also was occurring on a grassroots level. In 2000, roughly 30 local artists, Native and non-Native, developed an artist's cooperative and arranged use of an historic building for sale of their goods. The cooperative often opened their doors and sold art during conferences and gatherings in Hoonah. According to one of the project's founders, the co-op had encouraged many local artists to produce new works and had established a sense of community among artists and artisans of all backgrounds.

Cooperation among civic, cultural, and governmental organizations to develop tourism was one of the recommendations offered by the Coastal Zone Management Plan in 1997. In interviews with community leaders in 2000 and 2001, there was widespread acknowledgment about the need for agencies to work together on tourism initiatives. The Economic Development Group, a local volunteer organization that formed in response to the need for an OEDP, provided one forum for cooperation and information sharing about tourism.

Visitation Levels in 2001

The period of 2000 to 2001, when the primary data for this study were collected, was characterized by a growing interest in tourism among local residents and increasing visitor pressure from outside the community. Independent travelers were the most common form of visitors, including deer hunters, bear hunters participating in guided hunts, fishing enthusiasts in chartered fishing, and independent visitors arriving by ferry, air, or private marine vessel. Other visitor activity took place outside Hoonah proper, but in the traditional Huna territory.

Deer hunters—

Deer hunters are attracted to Hoonah by the abundance of roads and deer. A significant proportion of deer hunters on Chichagof and Yakobi Islands came from outside Hoonah during the 2000 and 2001 seasons (ADFG 2001b). In fact, 45 percent of hunters (about 500) came from Juneau, Haines, or Skagway, and 24 percent from

other southeast Alaska communities, compared to 19 percent from Hoonah.[12] Juneau and Lynn Canal area hunters harvested 38 percent of the total deer harvest, compared to 36 percent harvested by Hoonah hunters (ADFG 2001b). Hunting activity increased steadily along the Hoonah road system.

Guided bear hunters—

Another category of visitor activity that affected the Hoonah economy was guided hunts for brown bears. In 2001, there were three established professional brown bear guides based in Hoonah. Brown bear guiding was a highly profitable business, for many customers travel from across the globe for the opportunity to hunt in Alaska. Clients paid between $10,000 and $12,000 for a brown bear hunt in 2001. Local outfitters and customers purchased many supplies in Hoonah before heading into other parts of Chichagof Island and Icy Strait. According to the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, there were 173 brown bears killed in 2000 in Game Management Unit 4, which included Admiralty, Baranof, and Chichagof Islands (ADFG 2001a). Estimates suggest that brown bear hunting generated $300,000 in gross revenue in 2005 (Dugan et al. 2006).

Private marine travelers—

Other independent visitors arrive in Hoonah via private marine vessels. Hoonah's well-run boat harbor offers mariners a safe and protected place to rest and to purchase fuel and provisions. Growing popularity of yachting and wooden-boat travel in the late 1990s created an increase in marine traffic to Hoonah. Hoonah's harbormaster described the brisk pace of boat traffic in the summer, associated with the arrival of yachts and pleasure cruisers. The harbormaster also noted that many nonresidents stored pleasure boats in Hoonah for seasonal use, estimating recreational visitors to make up about 40 percent of boats stopping in Hoonah during the summer months (Dugan et al. 2006). An examination of marine traffic in Glacier Bay provides some indication of the level of boat activity in Icy Strait. In 2001, 322 private recreational vessels from outside the region traveled into Glacier Bay.[13] We assume that many stopped in Hoonah en route to Glacier Bay waiting for their

[12] Because of traveling distances, it is most likely that hunters from Lynn Canal communities are hunting on Northeast Chichagof Island near Hoonah and Sitka hunters are visiting southern Chichagof and Yakobi Islands.

[13] This is considerably higher than the 5-year average of 148.

permits to take effect. The growth in private marine traffic was often noted by residents, especially fishermen, who described increased competition over slips at the harbor.[14]

Other independent visitors—

Visitations to Hoonah by ferry and air taxi were difficult to measure without more detailed survey research. Ferry visitor arrivals to Hoonah remained fairly constant between 1988 and 2003, ranging between 5,000 and 7,000 people (Alaska Marine Highway System 2005). There is no way to determine what portion of those people on the ferry are visitors, however. First-hand accounts from local residents indicate that an increasing number of hunters, fishermen, and other travelers are arriving by ferry. In addition, many travelers passing through to and from other communities stop in Hoonah and briefly wander through town. Air travel represented an important part of the tourism equation. Three companies provided regular air service to Hoonah's airport, with 10 to 13 inbound flights daily. In 2000, 60 percent of air traffic to Hoonah took place in the summer months (second and third quarters), which may have been caused by the increase in seasonal logging and cannery jobs. In 2000, 9,664 passengers flew into Hoonah (Alaska Department of Transportation 2001). Local air industry officials also described significant airport activity for private airplanes. Hoonah was a popular place for Juneau aviators to fly for lunch outings and day-trips.

Steady customer interest in nature-based tourism, including whale watching, wildlife viewing, and adventure travel, led to an increase in visitor activity throughout the traditional Huna Territory.

Commercially guided groups—

Steady customer interest in nature-based tourism, including whale watching, wildlife viewing, and adventure travel, led to an increase in visitor activity throughout the traditional Huna Territory. In 2001, there were at least 15 Gustavus companies and 6 firms in Pelican and Elfin Cove offering guided, nature-based tours into Glacier Bay and Icy Strait. One area of high visitor use was Point Adophus, located across Icy Strait from Gustavus, where visitors traveled to enjoy a high concentration of whales. Other companies based in Juneau, offered guided tours by boat or float plane, such as fly-in fishing, which was popular in remote areas of Freshwater Bay near Hoonah. The growth of these tourism sectors influenced overall tourist activity in the traditional Huna territory.

[14] According to harbor officials, fishermen are assigned slips, but when they are on the water, these slips are offered to transient marine traffic. Occasionally, conflicts arise when fishermen return unexpectedly to find a yacht in their space. Harbor officials noted that the summer season meant for a rapid flow of boat traffic and continuous juggling of slips. Local boaters often made adjustments to accommodate harbor visitors.

Table 1—Client visits to Tongass National Forest sites near Hoonah

Forest Service recreation sites	1998	1999	2000	2001
Pt. Adolphus/Mud Bay area[a]	2,697	3,854	3,647	2,131
Icy Strait Islands[b]	50	136	147	102
Port Frederick area[c]	223	191	192	380
Idaho Inlet area[d]	1,158	1,313	1,578	1,253
Total in Hoonah vicinity	4,128	5,494	5,564	3,866

Source: USDA Forest Service 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002.

[a] This area includes: Point Adolphus, Eagle Beach, Pinta Cove, Pinta Point, Mud Bay, Flynn Cove, Chicken Creek, Gull Cove, and Goose Island.

[b] This area includes Inian Island, Pleasant Island, and Sisters Island.

[c] The Port Frederick area includes Port Frederick, Neka Bay, Freshwater Bay, Salt Lake Bay, Humpback Creek, and Game Creek.

[d] The Idaho Inlet area includes Idaho Inlet, Fox Creek, and Trail River.

Tour operators using Forest Service lands are required to apply for a special use permit from the Tongass National Forest. The Tongass National Forest experienced growth in special use permits for recreation (table 1). Data show a steady increase in visitors to the Hoonah vicinity from 1998 to 2000, but a slight decline in 2001. In 2000, 32 companies or individuals had special use permits to bring guests to the Hoonah Ranger District.[15] The use of lands within the vicinity of Hoonah by outfitter guides was concentrated in a handful of large, nonlocal firms. In 1999, 40 percent of the total site user days came from three firms.[16]

Charter fishing—

Each year thousands arrive in Alaska with the intent of fishing for wild salmon, halibut, and other species. Some visit all-inclusive fishing lodges, where they stay several days. Others hire charter guides for a day or two, utilizing local accommodations. Cruise ship visitors sign up for half-day trips that return them to their ship by early evening. Experienced guides take lodge guests to choice fishing holes and carefully clean, prepare, and pack the catch into boxes for shipment. Charter fishing has an economic impact on Alaska communities. Nonresident anglers in Alaska spent $54 million, nearly 40 percent of which went directly to the charter fishing

Between 1982 and 2004, the number of charter vessels operating in southeast Alaska increased from 139 to 1,306.

[15] Of these 32 outfitter guides, 19 processed permit applications through the Hoonah Ranger District, while others sought permits from other districts.

[16] It should be noted that these data from the Forest Service measure outfitter guide use of the Hoonah Ranger District among those with a portion of their activities taking place on land. Numerous other guides and operators offer water-based activities, which are more difficult to measure.

operation (ISER 1999). The growth in charter fishing interest in Alaska has been dramatic. Between 1982 and 2004, the number of charter vessels operating in southeast Alaska increased from 139 to 1,306 (ADFG 2000b). Among the four Icy Strait communities, the number of registered charter vessels increased from 21 in 1986 to 110 in 2001 (fig. 8). In 2001, there were 34 fishing lodges or charter fishing operations in Icy Strait region.

Hoonah was host to a fledgling charter fishing fleet. In the mid-1990s, local organizations sponsored several Hoonah residents for a training program to acquire their guiding licenses ("six-pack licenses") from the U.S. Coast Guard. In 2001, there were 17 registered charter vessels in Hoonah, although estimates from state officials suggest that between 30 and 50 percent of these actively fished. (Several local fishermen held charter licenses as a hedge for the implementation of a quota system for the charter fishery or because they hoped to transition to charter fishing

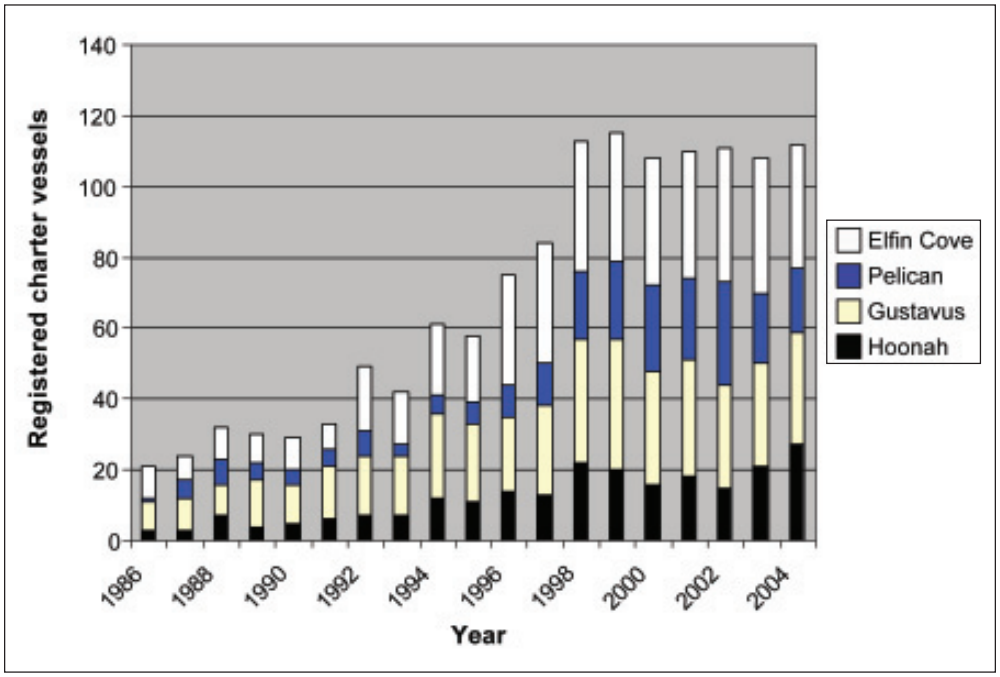

Figure 8—Charter vessels registered in Icy Strait communities, 1986–2004. Sources: Alaska Department of Fish and Game 2000b. Alaska Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission 2005.

in the future.)[17] In 2001, three companies offered comprehensive guest services that included lodging and charter fishing, and nine other independent charter operators provided services. Half of charter vessels registered in Hoonah were owned by local operators.[18] In 2000, 131 nonresident anglers traveled to Hoonah for sport-fishing, with nearly half purchasing 3-day stamps (ADFG 2000b).

Local accommodations—

In 1990, a summer visitor to Hoonah had just one choice for overnight accommodations. By 2001, there were 10 overnight establishments in Hoonah. Many of these did not operate year-round, and some catered primarily to charter fishing guests. Others advertised as a lodge, but typically rented rooms to long-term tenants or business travelers. The viability of accommodations also was difficult to predict. The former Huna Totem Lodge, sold by the corporation in 1991, has undergone several new owners.[19] During my field stay, the facility opened and closed several times. In 2001, the lodge owners, who were Juneau-based, bought a van for local transport, and registered a few charter vessels. The B&B owners interviewed primarily catered to three types of clientele: business travelers, particularly from government, transportation, and telecommunications industries; charter fishing guests, particularly those establishments that had cultivated a partner relation with local charter operators; and hunters. At least one such facility had a room with hoses, sinks, and equipment for preparing deer and fish.

Tourism businesses—

In 2001, there were roughly 35 tourism-related businesses in Hoonah and many others operating in the vicinity of Hoonah, including 10 lodges, 9 charter operators, and 4 gift shops (table 2). Two cab companies provided local transportation and three air taxis offered service to Juneau. One small outfit rented kayaks and another

[17] One resident described the "quota mentality" of many southeast Alaskans, who watched as friends and family members were excluded from the halibut quota program because they had temporarily left the area to find work elsewhere, or had stepped out of fishing.

[18] Some additional companies may be using Hoonah as a base, but did not register this information with the Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission at the time the report was issued. According to the Alaska Division of Community and Business Development, nine businesses applied for licenses for charter fishing in 2001.

[19] In 2001, the 28-room facility was called the Icy Strait Lodge and was owned by a proprietor from Juneau.

Table 2—Tourism businesses by category in Hoonah, 2001

Hoonah tourism businesses	Number
Tour operators (adventure, eco-tours, sight-seeing, cultural)	1
Lodging (inns, motels, hotels, lodges, cabins)	10
Attractions (museum, totem park, cultural center)	1
Galleries/gift shops	4
Transportation (air, water, or city taxi)	5
Fishing lodges and guides	9 (4)
Restaurants	4
Kayak/skiff rental	1
Total	35

Source: Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs 2001.
Note: number in parentheses is estimated "active" businesses.

sightseeing business offered cultural tours. Several existing businesses in Hoonah, such as the grocery store, hardware store, convenience store, and tackle shop, had expanded their product line to include gifts, souvenirs, and other items of interest to visitors (fig. 9).

Hoonah showcased one major tourist attraction, the Hoonah Indian Association's museum. The HIA building housed cultural artifacts and properties of the Huna people and displayed aspects of Hoonah's recent history. The building also served as offices for HIA staff and as a meeting place for the community. Perched atop a small hill, the building was relatively inaccessible to visitors, and its presence was not widely advertised. A few residents noted that the building hours sometimes did not coincide with the periodic influx of visitors from the ferry or the boat harbor. Furthermore, while always willing, HIA staff members were not always available to offer tours when visitors wandered in. In the late 1980s, a tour operator from Gustavus had offered guests a trip to Hoonah and a tour of the HIA museum, bringing several groups of visitors through the facility. This relationship deteriorated over a reported dispute over fees. The HIA sought funding for construction of a new, separate museum facility in an area that would encourage visitation and be less disruptive to staff.

Determining tourism employment in Hoonah was difficult, as many of the tourism businesses were part-time or seasonal. As noted above, some businesses operated on an as-needed basis. For instance, one charter fisherman worked only when a friend or a friend-of-a-friend called to make arrangements–about once annually. Another charter operator pieced together several jobs to make a living.

Lee Cerveny

Figure 9—Hoonah business.

In addition to the charter boat, he crewed on commercial boats, worked construction, did periodic work for the logging company, and relied on hunting and fishing to feed family members. Still another charter fishing company was owned by a commercial fisherman, who divided his time depending on the season and the run of fish. Some tour operators had full-time jobs in other professions. One Forest Service employee operated a kayak rental company out of his backyard, while another was a charter guide. One B&B owner/charter guide also worked as a public school teacher. There were few year-round jobs in tourism in 2001, but many residents did supplement their income by renting out rooms or taking a few guests on charter tours.

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Marketing—

Advertising among the existing tourist businesses in 2001 tended to be rather low key, relying primarily on word-of-mouth. Some local institutions had produced visitor materials. The Forest Service offered a directory of visitor services at the ranger station. In 2001, a Hoonah High School English class developed a brochure that was distributed at city hall. In 2001, three Hoonah tourism providers offered brochures. In 2001, no Hoonah tourism businesses had their own Web sites, but

Among local firms, there was a shared concern that outside businesses could compete and eventually dominate Hoonah's tourism economy unless local firms became more proactive in their marketing.

several B&Bs and charter operators were listed in online directories. Some small operators were not advertised in yellow pages. Local business owners recognized that they were not employing highly sophisticated advertising techniques commonly found in the tourism industry. For some, this marketing strategy represented a decision to keep their business low key and manageable and to work with a predefined clientele. Several local entrepreneurs indicated a desire to improve their advertising capacity but lacked capital to invest in advertising. Among local firms, there was a shared concern that outside businesses could compete and eventually dominate Hoonah's tourism economy unless local firms became more proactive in their marketing.

Sociocultural Effects of Tourism

Interactions with visitors shaped local attitudes toward tourism and made some residents worry about the implications of increased tourist volume. Visitor encounters were far more common among residents living in downtown Hoonah near the boat harbor and ferry terminal. Many of the downtown homes were owned by clan elders and community leaders. Residents often noticed the increase in ferry passengers and boaters in the summertime. Ferry passengers passing through Hoonah were drawn into town by the attractions and services such as the cultural center and the arts cooperative. In addition, boaters passing through Hoonah were found at the harbor and walking along the main street to grocery and convenience stores.

Strangers in town—

Hoonah is a close-knit community and residents are keenly aware of each other's habits and personalities. When strangers enter the community, they are subject to a great deal of attention and scrutiny. For some residents, the presence of a significant volume of strangers was uncomfortable or undesirable. One life-long resident explained, "I don't like not knowing everybody. It would be hard having strangers in town. I'm concerned about safety." Encounters with visitors garnered mixed reactions among Hoonah residents. One resident said he enjoyed the opportunity to learn from other people about life in other parts of the world. Another resident enjoyed the opportunity to expand her horizons:

> Talking with visitors reminds me that there are more places than here. It's nice to get to know people with different thought system than the people here. The kids always say it's boring here, but they say the same thing in New York City. Then you realize the boredom is inside you.

Tourists sometimes unconsciously assume that residents are part of a fabricated world–created for their own consumption.

According to resident accounts, some visitors appeared to interact with their environment as if they were participating in a theme park or display. Tourists sometimes unconsciously assume that residents are part of a fabricated world–created for their own consumption (Selwyn 1996). Residents of the old part of town, which is located closest to the harbor, often commented about tourists taking pictures of objects in their yard, such as smokehouses, salmon drying racks, fishing equipment, and the array of everyday-life objects in the yard. Hoonah residents sometimes wondered what about their lifestyle and community appeared to be so different in the view of tourists. As one resident explained,

> 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.

This resident commented that tourists often seem to think that because they paid for a tour or because they are on vacation, everything and anything is open to them for exploration and viewing. A focus group participant explained the feeling of being in a fishbowl or a living museum, particularly when you live in downtown Hoonah. "It's an intrusion of privacy…because, wherever the tourists are, they own. That's just the way it is. They own it. They own the space and you're just here for them." Unsolicited, direct contact between locals and tourists, especially in "local spaces" often seemed to result in feelings of frustration similar to that expressed above. Urry (2002) described this as the "tourist gaze" referring to the idea of the tourist transforming the world around them into aesthetic spaces for their own entertainment and consumption. When the private spaces and personal lives of residents become part of the tourist gaze, it makes locals aware of the social differences between themselves and visitors.

Respect for local lifestyles—

The presence of visitors made some Hoonah residents self-conscious about the appearance of their community and how the city would be interpreted by outsiders. Robinson (1999) noted that guest appreciation and tolerance of host cultures is an important component in tourism success. "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." Other residents

echoed this notion. “I worry that people come and won’t understand the Native way of life. They may look unkindly upon our people. We may appear less than what we are.”

The cemetery represented one common source of concern. “You see tourists taking pictures of the graveyard. They had to put a fence around it to keep the tourists out. They were going in there and trampling on the flowers and walking on the gravestones.” Another resident added, “We have some problems with people who bring their dogs to the cemetery and let them [urinate] on the graves. They infringe on our spirit and our dignity. It really makes me wonder, ‘Are we less than human?’” Residents told me stories about driving early in the morning to see visitors with their sleeping bags sleeping on the graves while waiting for the ferry, with backpacks strewn about. Eventually, the community built a fence around the graveyard, but ferry passengers still wandered over to take photographs. Tourist respect for local practices and places was important to residents.

Residents of tourism destinations may be sensitive to differences in income level and social status from visitors, which can foster a negative reaction (Mathieson and Wall 1982). Hoonah residents acknowledged the value of their lifestyle and the conscious choice residents have made to uphold it. Yet, they also recognized that the lifestyle appeared foreign to a person unfamiliar with rural Alaska. One owner of a tourism business felt uncomfortable with tourist questions about poverty and social welfare issues. “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 felt a need to downplay social problems and tout the virtues of rural living. One resident told a story about the time a group came to town during a time when a gravestone of an important relative was sitting in their yard, waiting to be moved to the cemetery. This is a common cultural practice among Huna Tlingit. Tourists were photographing the gravestone. “I was very upset. They probably thought my mom was buried in the yard. I wanted to say something to them, but didn’t know what to say.” This resident felt that visitors would not understand the difficulties of erecting a monument in a town with no funeral home.

Questions visitors would ask about timber harvesting practices also made many Hoonah residents feel uncomfortable. “I get tired of explaining about the clearcuts,” said one Hoonah resident who frequently interacts with visitors. Another Hoonah resident told me,

> People come here and ask us about the clearcuts, saying, "How could you let this happen." It is a long and complicated story and they are not really that interested in hearing it. They see Hoonah and think people here are either passive victims or partners in creating this tragedy.

Some tourists had left the impression that they were avid environmentalists by asking questions and making comments about the logging. Visitors with a lack of understanding about the complexities of regional resource politics can appear condescending to residents. Many Hoonah residents interviewed enjoyed opportunities of sharing their lifestyle and their community with outsiders, yet some felt uncomfortable being made to feel different from their guests.

During the summer season, competition for slips intensified, creating social tension between local fishermen and visitors.

Congestion at the boat harbor—

Localized congestion of tourism can be difficult for residents working or living in areas of tourist concentration (Mathieson and Wall 1982). In fishing communities, the boat harbor can be a place where fishing identities are represented and contested (Macleod 2004). Although visitors to Hoonah were few, several hundred private marine vessels arrived in Hoonah's boat harbor each year. Some were small groups of visitors on a chartered excursion, while most often they were couples or families. In some cases, nonlocal residents harbored their boats year-round in Hoonah, using the community as a base for shorter trips. During the summer season, competition for slips intensified, creating social tension between local fishermen and visitors. As one city employee explained,

> The harbor gets a lot of money from tourists coming in and from Juneau people who keep their boats in Hoonah. In the summer, there is some competition from the slip. We do hot-berthing in the summer. Fishermen who keep their boats here are assigned a slip, but if they are out, we give their slip to someone else.…They are supposed to let us know if they are coming back in and when. Sometimes they don't. Sometimes they get mad when they find someone in their slip. I've heard them make comments about the private boaters. Some of them don't like having them around.

The harbormaster described one incident where local fishermen were harassing a boater, who was found in the slip they usually occupied.

> A young couple pulled up in a charter boat. They were from out of town but were here doing some fishing. A man…pulled up in his boat next to theirs. The couple was tied next to him and he revved the engine,

> spitting soot from the stack. The soot got all over their boat. It's really hard to clean. He felt that they were in his spot, even though I tell people that they don't own their spots. I really chewed him out.

While these events were rare, it does suggest the possibility for deeper tension between local and nonlocal interests, as well as possible conflicts among boaters of different types. As the reputation of Hoonah's harbor grows among recreational boaters, the community is likely to see a steady increase in marine traffic, putting more pressure on harbor infrastructure.

Tourism creates competition for fish and game and affects the ability of local residents to access natural resources necessary for everyday survival.

Tourism and Implications for Natural Resource Use

Tourism creates competition for fish and game and affects the ability of local residents to access natural resources necessary for everyday survival. Residents interviewed described situations that reflected conflict among resource users, representing different values, backgrounds, or interests. Resident encounters with commercial tour groups owned by nonlocal proprietors raised concerns about outside exploitation of local resources. The theme of local vs. nonlocal access reverberated throughout these discussions, suggesting a shared wariness about the role of outside interests in the management and use of natural resources.

Commercial and charter fishing—

The growth in charter fishing activity can create competition for the commercial fleet, as well as local sport and subsistence fishermen (Young 1999). Commercial fishermen expressed several concerns over the growing charter fleet, especially competition for fish. Over the years, the allocation of salmon to the charter fleet increased at the expense of the commercial fleet. For those commercial fishermen with a long fishing history, it seemed unfair that anybody with a boat could begin charter fishing and be allowed to take away a portion once allocated to the commercial fleet. "Now, anyone can come in and get a charter license," said one commercial fisherman, "while the commercial fisherman got their quota dropped back. It doesn't seem fair." Many claimed that the charter fleet was having a negative effect on salmon trollers, which fished in the same waters as the charter fleet. On the other hand, charter fishermen pointed out that, overall, commercial fishermen harvest significantly more fish than charter fishermen. In the words of one charter operator, "There is no bigger baby than a fisherman. It is always someone else's fault when you don't catch fish."

Some commercial fishermen worried that the growth of the charter fishing fleet was having a negative impact on the resource. Competition for fish was viewed as being particularly devastating for halibut. Although commercial fishermen were not allowed to catch halibut fewer than 32 inches in length, there were no such restrictions for charter fishing. "Charter fishermen are a different breed," said one Hoonah seine fisherman. "The government says it's not commercial, but it is. They catch little halibut—less than 32 inches—and there are no restrictions. The tourists don't care about the size of the fish. They would be happy with herring." Several fishermen felt that the state should reclassify charter fishing to regulate it in a way that is more similar to commercial fishing. The implication was that because they are not recognized as a commercial enterprise, their potential for having a significant impact on the fish resource was being overlooked. One charter fisherman explained, "Charter boats should not be lumped in with sport fishing. We are making money from the resource. It should be treated as another form of commercial fishing."

The increase in charter boats in Icy Strait to more than 120 vessels in 2004 was noticed by charter and commercial operators alike, who almost universally felt that a quota program should be developed for charter fishing (see fig. 8). Fishermen of all types were concerned about unrestricted growth of the charter fleet and its effects on the health of the fishery. Existing charter fishermen also indicated that they would benefit from a quota program because they would be assured a permit. "You need a moratorium for charter boats, not because of problems today, but because you need to control for the future." Many saw a quota program as essential for protecting the long-term viability of the resource. For those who may have been denied a permit for halibut fishing, charter fishing is viewed as a last effort to keep a boat and continue making a living as a fisherman. Thus, some may view the quota system as an assurance that they will be able to keep fishing in the future. Others may object to the implementation of a quota system on charter fishing.

Another concern expressed by commercial fishermen was that some charter operators lacked experience on the water. Inexperienced charter captains were known to gravitate toward the commercial boats, presenting safety concerns. Commercial fishermen, who may be setting nets, typically require a great deal of space. Commercial fishing boats, particularly purse seiners, are larger and heavier, with limited maneuverability. Charter boats, on the other hand, are small and nimble, and sometimes jockey around commercial boats looking for an advantageous position. Inexperienced charter captains risk getting tangled in the nets as they position themselves between the commercial boat and the beach. In addition,

Of particular concern for charter fisherman was the growth in competition from nonlocal charter operators.

new charter captains may not be aware of protocols for passing, and according to local accounts, many dangerous situations have resulted. In other cases, charter boats are a nuisance, making it more difficult for the commercial boat to navigate.

The rapid growth of charter fishing vessels caused concern among local charter operators worried about the future of their enterprise. Of particular concern for charter fisherman was the growth in competition from nonlocal charter operators. Because of declines in fish, particularly halibut in the Juneau area, many fishermen moved into Icy Strait. Clusters of charter vessels were found in areas accessible to the Juneau fleet. One charter fisherman observed that a few newcomers were actually running trips out of Hoonah harbor, but were booking these trips from out of state. Several charter operators noted that increased competition made for more difficult fishing. "When you have four or five boats, it is too much."

Encounters between recreation and subsistence users—
Many local residents noticed the increase in commercial recreation activity around Hoonah and worried about the long-term resource effects. "It's happening more and more that outfitter/guides are coming from Gustavus, Pelican, and Juneau…they come to Hoonah and catch fish, hunt for bear and deer. They are taking things away from us." One resource manager noted that conflicts between local and nonlocal users seemed to shift to new areas as guides moved around searching for an elusive experience of solitude. One year, a conflict might surface in one part of the forest, and the next year a new area of high use crops up on the radar screen. Hoonah residents were concerned that tourism growth would inhibit their future access to subsistence resources. In 2001, few actual reports of diminished access to fish and game had been reported. But, local residents were watching closely.

One example of conflicts between local subsistence users and commercial recreation outfitters was in the area of Neka Bay. Located inland from Port Frederick, Neka Bay was accessible to Hoonah residents by skiff and represented an area heavily used for everyday hunting, fishing, and berry picking. Since 1998, guided freshwater fishing had gained popularity in Neka Bay. One Juneau guide flew customers into lakes, streams, and bays near Hoonah, including Neka Bay. According to one local account, "Neka Bay is more crowded. We go there for berry picking, but there are so many boats, skiffs, and people. I'm worried about getting shot. I see strangers on the skiffs." In 2000, nine groups of guests came to Neka Bay for fishing expeditions. That season there was one notorious incident on the Neka River when a local fisherman and his family crossed paths with the guide and his guests. Apparently, their conversation nearly turned physical as they argued over rights to the fishing area. As a relative of the fisherman recounted,

> There is one tour that does fishing and photography. They transport up Port Frederick and walk the beach.…They came from Juneau. They were swearing, belching, snapping, and popping. Airplanes were landing on the beaches. They took a rubber raft up a creek. [My relative] was there with a friend. They got into a verbal dispute. That would kill tourism, if local people found out about this happening in their special local public places.

This story was widely circulated throughout Hoonah and served as an example of the growing realization that the territory shared both by tourists and locals was expanding. In talking about the growing practice of sportfishing at Neka Bay, one Hoonah resident did not endorse the Forest Service practice of awarding permits in this area. In 2001, commercial recreation use of Neka Bay shifted again, with the arrival of a large tour boat, with permits for 30 or more passengers to go on-shore. Although the sportfishing operation had moved to another site, the visitor volume in this active subsistence area increased from 47 visitors in 2000 to more than 300 in 2001 (USDA Forest Service 2001).

Another resident described an incident in Mud Bay. "I've had conflicts with kayakers when I do a lot of sea otter hunting out by Mud Bay. There is a big haul-out for the kayakers. There's a pile of them up there all the time and that's a good spot for sea otters. And, I've had them up there hooting and hollering at me when I'm hunting." According to the district ranger, these types of encounters were not unusual, because of the increase in resource use by nonlocal fishing outfitters. "Everyone is seeking a 'wild experience' but you have a number of groups fishing the same holes or adjacent holes looking at each other. Each creek only has a few holes. We're starting to see complaints both by locals and other outfitter guides." Residents told similar stories about encounters with charter fishing groups in various places in the Huna territory. One man described his experience of feeling displaced by tour operators at Mud Bay. "We were out there fishing for cohos. Some duck hunters from Juneau came with helicopters. People get the idea that they are paying to use the land [with permits] and that they own it." One local resident worried about the growing Forest Service role in promoting recreation in the vicinity of Hoonah. "The Forest Service emphasis on recreation is in conflict with the needs of local people to live off the land."

Several residents did not believe that tourism was in conflict with subsistence uses near Hoonah. One community leader emphasized that tourism was highly concentrated at Point Adolphus, an area used primary in the fall for shellfish harvest

and by commercial fishermen year-round. Another resident actively involved in subsistence issues noted that "six-packers [charter fishermen] view whales and fish for kings. This doesn't affect us much." Another active fisherman said that the presence of charter boats was not a serious problem.

> I don't like it when I'm out there fishing and there are charter boats around me. It bugs me, but it's not the end of the world. I just go somewhere else. There are plenty of fish out there. …Some people think tourism is a threat to subsistence fishing. I personally don't see it, but that fear is out there.

Another long-time Hoonah resident shared this view when I asked him about subsistence, "There is enough for everyone. This is not a problem."

Friction occurred when a proponent of one type of tourist activity encountered another tour of a different size, shape, or scale using the same resource.

Conflicts among tour operators—
There was a wide range of tourism enterprises plying the waters of Icy Strait, from low-tech kayaks to 4-passenger fishing vessels, 20-passenger tour boats, 100-passenger cruise ships, and 2,000-passenger cruise liners. Conversations with Forest Service officials and regional tour operators suggested that encounters among different types of recreation users were increasing and intensifying. Friction occurred when a proponent of one type of tourist activity encountered another tour of a different size, shape, or scale using the same resource.

Hoonah residents noted several areas with increased congestion from tour boats, sport fishers, commercial fishers, and outfitter-guides. One of these areas was Point Adolphus, a promontory along Icy Strait directly across from Gustavus and down the coast from Hoonah. Once the site of a Tcukanedi settlement, Point Adolphus has long been a prolific fishing grounds (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946). Localized warming currents fostered a productive feeding site for humpback and orca whales. The Point Adolphus area includes eight salmon streams that attract bear, deer, and small game as well as hunters. From 1950 through 1975, 60 to 75 percent of active subsistence users visited the area near Point Adolphus for fish, deer, shellfish, and other subsistence foods. However, use of the area declined sharply in the 1980s probably resulting from the opening of logging roads closer to town (Schroeder and Kookesh 1990).

Point Adolphus' proximity to Gustavus made it ideal for half-day or full-day outings for whale watching and fishing excursions. The area was also popular among guides providing multiday kayak and camping tours, because of the accessibility of beaches for camping. Independent groups and solo trekkers also discovered the virtues of Point Adolphus. In 1999, the Forest Service listed Point

Adolphus as a recreation "hotspot" that required special management consideration to provide quality recreation experiences for a variety of users. For Hoonah fishermen, Point Adolphus was a concern because of the increased competition with charter boats for fish and congestion in the area that made it more difficult to pull up nets. Meanwhile, outfitter-guides and wildlife biologists wondered about the effects of increased activity by land and sea on both bear and whale populations, prompting a study of the effects of tourist activity on wildlife and marine life at Point Adolphus in 2000 and 2001. As one active fisherman said,

> At Point Adolphus, sometimes you see 80 people per day.…There are canoes going back and forth, boats, from Glacier Bay. The boats unload…10 to 12 canoes with two people in each canoe. Everyday new groups come, every other day. Some people are on foot too. I…see them on the beach.…The canoeists must be controlled.

A former charter guide also perceived problems associated with congestion and multiple uses in this area:

> At Point Adolphus, it seems like [outfitter] is always there at the cabin. You see a lot of mini cruise ships, pleasure boats, charter boats out there. Twenty years ago, you'd see local boats and commercial fishing boats. Everyone had a destination. People were going from one place to another–from home to a fishing site or a hunting site. Now you see people just wandering around on the water.

Unregulated growth of tourist activity at Point Adolphus will place pressure on the resource. The conversion of the Hoonah cannery into a cruise ship destination and the resulting whale watching and fishing tours to Point Adolphus likely will increase pressure on this resource.

Mud Bay was the site of a former smokehouse and was used by Huna Tlingit for berry picking and hunting (Goldshmidt and Haas 1946). Grassy estuaries allowed easy hiking and fishing access. The area features sandy beaches, prolific salmon streams, an air strip, and a Forest Service cabin for public use. Mud Bay was popular with many types of recreation visitors, such as duck hunters, bear hunters, deer hunters, kayakers, freshwater fishers, and campers. The shoreline often was heavily populated with commercial fishermen and charter boats. And, located a day's paddle from Point Adolphus, the area attracted individual and groups of kayakers on multiday adventures. In 2001, more than 300 visitors used the Mud Bay area. Noise concerns were paramount, with guides issuing complaints about pilots "buzzing" wildlife.

Idaho Inlet represented another hotbed of visitor activity near Hoonah. Located on Icy Strait near Elfin Cove, the area is a part of the historic Takdeintaan clan area and includes historical fish camps and berrying areas (Goldshmidt and Haas 1946). Because of its distance from Hoonah, recent resource use at Idaho Inlet had been modest with fewer than 40 percent of subsistence users visiting the area (Schroeder and Kookesh 1990). Forest Service records showed 1,200 guided visits to sites in Idaho Inlet in 2001. In addition, Idaho Inlet was frequented by hundreds of additional saltwater fishing groups. Two firms using small cruise ships possessed Forest Service permits to bring guests ashore. Idaho Inlet historically supported a population of sea otters and bears, attracting nature-based tourists. In 2000, one tour operator ran jet boats on Trail River in Idaho Inlet, shuttling people and gear to freshwater fishing sites, causing some concern for some tour groups, according to Forest Service officials.

Point Adolphus, Mud Bay, and Idaho Inlet represent three areas experiencing growth in commercial recreation use near Hoonah. The co-existence of diverse users in these areas was reportedly causing friction among tour operators with different goals and values. According to Forest Service officials, those tour operators seeking to provide, "a solitary wilderness experience" differed in behavior and orientation from visitor groups embracing different conceptions of "wilderness." Furthermore, there were situations in which multiple parties were simultaneously seeking wilderness experiences in the same locale, and the presence of other groups diminished that experience. Forest Service officials noted that conflicts sometimes emerged when groups of different sizes and levels of technology encountered one another in a remote setting. For example, a group of 20 kayakers might have felt disappointed to find that their beach or picnic spot was being visited by a small cruise ship or a cadre of jet boats.

With more companies involved in tourism, the sense of competition also has grown. One Forest Service official indicated that the number of complaints among outfitter guides and tour operators about the actions of their competitors had increased between 1998 and 2001 with more people using the forest. For the last several years, several active guides using hotspots met with Forest Service officials to discuss common issues and to schedule use among themselves to preserve the feeling of solitude for guests. In 2004, the Shoreline Outfitter Guide environmental impact study was completed, which regulates patterns of resource use in high-intensity areas (USDA Forest Service 2005).

Bear hunting—

Guides escorting bear hunters also reported occasional encounters with charter fishing and tour boat operators in remote bays. According to one guide, the presence of boats frightens bears. In previous years, tour operators and charter boat captains recognized the boats of local hunting guides and knew to stay away from that area. There had been an implicit understanding that the tour boat operator would avoid contact with guides and their guests. New tour operators were not always aware of or willing to acknowledge professional courtesies extended to bear hunters. For example, in 1999, one guide reported seeing a tour boat release 45 passengers into an active bear area during hunting season. Guides were concerned because increased human presence scared off the bears. In addition, they noted that the growth in guided freshwater fishing could result in a decline in the bear population feeding in those freshwater areas. One guide explained that it might be displeasing for guests on a wildlife-watching tour to witness hunters shooting bears. If tourism in the spring and fall seasons continues to grow, the potential for these conflicts to increase is apparent. As one public official noted, "When clients pay $15,000 for a prize bear, this is a big deal."

Several Hoonah residents expressed concern for how the cruise ship activity in Icy Strait and Glacier Bay was potentially affecting the natural environment.

Resource integrity—

Several Hoonah residents expressed concern for how the cruise ship activity in Icy Strait and Glacier Bay was potentially affecting the natural environment. Concerns were focused on three major areas: the effects of air emissions on wildlife; the effects of wastewater emissions on marine mammals, shellfish, and kelp; and the effects of human activity on wildlife. Scientists have not detected dangerous levels of chemicals in shellfish, fish, or other species; however, the perception that ecological integrity has been compromised was very real, and these beliefs shaped their views of tourism.

Some residents interviewed wondered about the long-term effects of smog from cruise ships. One Tlingit elder had observed specific changes in goat behavior over many years, noting that in places where the cruise ships have traveled, the goats have disappeared. He had observed that when the ships added speed to their engines, black smoke released from the smokestack. It is possible, he argued, that the mountain goat's food was being contaminated by the black smoke. On one trip to Glacier Bay, he observed a dead mountain goat in the water. Mountain goats have vanished from several places. Several other residents mentioned concerns about changes in the mountain goat population as well.

Others were worried about the effects of underwater emissions from cruise ships on area wildlife and subsistence resources. These concerns were particularly relevant, given that one cruise line was indicted in 1999 for toxic wastewater emissions throughout southeast Alaska. A particular area of concern voiced by an elder was the impact of gray water on Point Adolphus. Deer typically come down to Point Adophus in the winter for kelp and he worried that the kelp was contaminated by the cruise ship waste. "Our subsistence lifestyle has gone to pot because of the pollution," he said. Another resident was concerned about discharges from cruise ships and its effects on seaweed. In 2001, tougher standards for wastewater treatment were introduced and the state was given authority to monitor wastewater quality in hopes that the industry would become cleaner over time. The visit of the Holland America cruise ship to Hoonah in 2000 generated some local discussion about the environmental effects of cruise ships closer to home. "The cruise ship just sat out there polluting our waters, and no one even got off the ship," noted one artist, eager to sell her work to passengers.

The effects of human activity on wildlife also presented a concern for many. One resident commented that the impacts of tourism were potentially more serious than those of timber harvesting. His rationale was that when you harvest timber, wildlife still can use the area and eventually the trees return. But when land is used for recreation, people inhabit the area and wildlife disappears. "All that it takes is one dog and an ATV and you've cleared out your whole estuary." One interviewee maintained that recreation occurred in areas that were more ecologically fragile, whereas timber activity occurred in less sensitive areas. "Once you lose the solitude of a place, you never get it back." The growth of interest in freshwater fishing also may affect wildlife. Area bear hunters noticed more sportfishing activity in remote creeks and estuaries.

Glacier Bay Tourism and the Huna Tlingit

Increased visitation at Glacier Bay National Park had implications for Hoonah resource users. To Hoonah residents, it seemed that tourist activities in Glacier Bay had become prioritized over local use of the region. When I asked residents how tourism affected them, they told me straightforwardly to look at Glacier Bay. "That's the biggest impact right there" said one elder. Many Huna people felt that they were pushed out of Glacier Bay by the government so that tourists could enjoy it. While commercial and subsistence use of Glacier Bay has been reduced or eliminated, the number of cruise boats allowed in the park has increased steadily. The importance of Glacier Bay was made clear to me by another elder, who stated,

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

And a local fisherman told me,

> You have to beg, borrow, and steal to get into Glacier Bay and then you see double-decker tour ships and cruise ships there—right where Bartlett Cove is now owned by the Park Service. There used to be two to three Indian settlements there. Gustavus Airport is the site of one. Strawberry Point is there, where we used to pick strawberries. The Park Service planned to shut the Natives out. …These experiences severed people's attitudes about tourism in Hoonah.

This notion that Glacier Bay was taken away from them by the federal government and given to the tourists is pervasive. One elder explained,

> I fished in the winter and spring in Glacier Bay and now the area is closed off for the kayakers. We could try to compromise. Maybe the summer—the tourists can have it. But, let me fish in Glacier Bay in the winter. Let me fish in the spring. You deny me of my livelihood. I can't even anchor up to the harbor in heavy seas. It's all about money.

Interpreting Glacier Bay—

The creation of Glacier Bay National Park demonstrated the capacity of tourism to impose a new layer of cultural meaning on natural places (Catton 1997). Glacier Bay remains important as the ancestral homeland of the Huna Tlingit and an important place for subsistence. As one elder explained, "Glacier Bay is our food locker. It has been for many centuries." For some, the changes in Glacier Bay represented the single most significant impact of tourism on local culture. The loss of Glacier Bay was not only the closing of the "food locker," but it also meant a disconnection from their place of origin. For members of clans with origins in Glacier Bay, accurate interpretation of the Huna clans and their relationship with particular geographic sites is an important aspect of cultural identity. As one elder explained to me, "There are only a few things that are important to a people, and one is its history and origin of life. History and origin of life make our culture. For us, that's in Glacier Bay."

Tourists to Glacier Bay learn about the Huna people and their land through interpretative programs sponsored by the cruise ships, smaller tour boats, and the

National Park Service. Cruise ship passengers traveling through Icy Strait and visiting Glacier Bay learned about human ecology through interpreters from Glacier Bay National Park and Huna Totem. In addition, tour boats and ferries bringing guests to and into the park included interpreters who shared aspects of cultural history and resource use. And, outfitter guides from nature-based tour companies were known to describe Hoonah history and culture.

Hoonah residents observed what I call competing cultural frameworks between the Huna Tlingit people and their relationship with Glacier Bay and the story of John Muir. In the minds of many Huna people, explorers like Muir and Cooper played a key role in redefining Glacier Bay from the "food locker" of the Huna people to the "glacial paradise" embodied by the tourist brochure. One elder, who had worked on tour boats as a cultural specialist, reacted to the interpretive program offered by park officials. "They are selling White history," he said,

> John Muir was the biggest story for the National Park Service. It was the biggest topic.…The Tlingit people were up there when the first steamship came to Glacier Bay. The Tlingit people were quiet and watched. They showed Muir around. They are selling White history on the ship. My job is to explain Native culture.

Another clan leader who had worked as a cultural interpreter explained her reaction to the emphasis of tour guides on John Muir.

> I worked as an interpreter for [company] in Glacier Bay.…I got sick of hearing stories from other interpreters about John Muir. I said, "You know what? John Muir was a neurotic and obsessive person who was relentless and demanding. He would not give up until he got into the John Muir Inlet, even though the weather was bad and the water dangerous. He went to Glacier Bay with Tcukanedi seal hunters who were his guides. They left him on the shore with a dog. They left him there so that he could discover it. After a while, they decided to go back and get him. Because they have respect for all living things, they went back to get him, even though they didn't want to.

Among Tlingit guides, there also was disagreement about how Huna history was being conveyed and which clan's stories were being told.

While many were concerned about what stories were being told about the human history of Glacier Bay, others made note that the storyteller often was not Tlingit and did not always understand the history. Tour guides described the history and social life of Hoonah residents in ways that guests appreciated, but which imposed a certain rendering of that history.

> I used to work for NPS [National Park Service] as an instructor in Glacier Bay. There were college kids from Salt Lake learning about the wilderness. I told them what to look for. I was surprised that the Park Service people were telling them the wrong thing about Huna people.

Among Tlingit guides, there also was disagreement about how Huna history was being conveyed and which clan's stories were being told. As one clan elder explained in a public meeting about tourism,

> We have a battle within us regarding how we present ourselves to visitors. We must be respectful to ourselves and try not to offend anyone. Tourism means hard decisions–how we present ourselves. Sometimes it is easier to talk to visitors than it is to our own. We must tell people who we are, where we come from, and we must do it in a way that does not sell us out.

A guide said, "I enjoy people. I do not like it when people give the wrong information out to tourists. They focus on the fierce Tlingits.…I hear a lot of lies." Tribal officials described an ongoing discussion among Huna clan leaders about the ownership and use of stories being shared with visitors in Glacier Bay. Disagreements about cultural property had temporarily stalled relations between the tribe and the National Park Service in efforts to develop a cultural center within the park boundaries.

Interpreting nature—

One area in which the Tlingit worldview and that of the tourist contrasted was over the issues of wildlife and wilderness. Each group views these resources through their own cultural lens. Some Hoonah residents observed differences in perspectives of nature between the Huna Tlingit and the tourist. When I introduced my study of tourism with one elder, he said,

> I always see the tourists standing on the deck of the cruise ship and looking through their binoculars. I wonder what do they see—water, mountain goat, otters? They are too far away. It would be better if they got off the boat and came down for a cup of coffee; to get out and talk to people and learn something about what they are seeing.

He went on to describe cruise ship guests marveling at the marine life.

> They see the seals on the iceberg and say, "It's beautiful." I look at the same seals on the ice and I say to myself, "It's my table." They look at

These differences in perceptions of wilderness and wildlife between tourists and residents suggested a broader conflict in land use policy and philosophy among agencies and peoples.

> the sea otters and think they are cute. I think they are predators for fishing. I see something different from what the tourist sees.…The seal, the sea gull, the mountain goat—this is medicine, it is spiritual. It is food.

Other residents noted that marine mammals, such as the sea otter, often are revered by tourists, yet their proliferation has resulted in destruction of shellfish harvested by subsistence users. "Those sea otters dig up the beach and destroy the cockle beds," said a tribal member.

These differences in perceptions of wilderness and wildlife between tourists and residents suggested a broader conflict in land use policy and philosophy among agencies and peoples. These contrasting views of wilderness, landscape, and the relationship of Huna culture to the natural world will likely continue to be relevant as long as tourists come to Glacier Bay (fig. 10).

Blair Kipple

Figure 10—View of glacier from cruise ship.

Future Tourism: Hopes and Concerns

Community leaders and public officials in 2001 openly expressed concern for the future of the local economy. Residents recognized the need for some economic engine so that the community could support jobs and help families survive. "Fishing used to be the safety net for the community, but this is no longer the case," said one resident. There was a shared sense among interviewees that tourism was perhaps the best viable option that remained for Hoonah. One resident thought about it this way.

> I see three economic options for villages. Fishing, but the problem here is the market is gone, and the number of seine boats has dropped from 25 to about 3…timber, but this will be gone soon…and the third option is tourism.

For many, tourism was seen as a necessary evil or a last resort. As one resident stated, "Some people are looking at tourism, but very reluctantly. They see it as the only option. Some people would prefer the community to decline rather than accept tourism." There was a great deal of ambivalence about the tourism industry and reticence to invite visitors to Hoonah. There also was a sense of inevitability about tourism—that tourism was coming to Hoonah whether residents cared for it or not. "People should be gearing up. There is no stopping it. It's what we'll have to do."

While many in the community were moving forward in efforts to develop a tourism industry, others urged caution, "Hoonah is clambering for tourism. They don't know what they are getting into." Indeed, when I asked residents about overall community support for tourism, most said that it was divided. "You're likely to get a mixed bag when you talk to people about tourism" said one long-term resident. Another explained, "From some you will hear a lot of cuss words. Other people will think it is the greatest thing." Interviews collected in 2000 and 2001 showed that while not overly enthusiastic about tourism, most residents supported it in some form or to some extent. Among those I interviewed, it was widely felt that if done correctly, tourism would benefit the community.

Perceived Tourism Benefits

Hoonah residents believed that tourism could bring immediate economic benefits to their community and also would promote opportunities for residents to share their culture.

Economic benefits—

Many saw tourism as a source of jobs and an economic boost for the community.

> There is a real need for jobs in the community. All my kids have gone off to college. Now they live and work away from home.…I would like them to come back. We need more educated people to stay here. We need more civic leadership and young blood in the community. No one even wants to run for mayor.

The ability for tourism to provide a market for local artists was seen as a significant benefit of drawing visitors to Hoonah.

One resident described how meaningful jobs lead to a sense of pride and well-being that was missing among young people who remained in Hoonah to work and raise families. "Workers would feel better. It would be an opportunity for more people to take care of their family and get off welfare. This [work ethic] gets passed along to their children." Another added, "we need jobs for kids who want to come back. Now, young people piece together two or three jobs to make a living. There are no year-round jobs."

The ability for tourism to provide a market for local artists was seen as a significant benefit of drawing visitors to Hoonah. "It would encourage more artists and more young people to pursue arts." According to one local artist, "It provides access to artists for local cultural talent—not just for their products, but for their talent and their reputation." City officials talked about tourism's ability to increase tax revenues; however, few residents acknowledged the broader effects of tourism on the economy. Some business owners observed that tourism has trickle-down effects, but most residents emphasized employment benefits.

Sharing cultural traditions—

The potential to promote the sharing and learning of cultural traditions also was viewed as a potential benefit of tourism. Hoonah residents are proud of their heritage and the need to protect it for future generations. If Hoonah were to attract visitors interested in Tlingit culture and art, the need for young people to learn stories, songs, and dances would be great. The process of sharing traditions may enhance cultural pride among youth.

Others recognized that tourism enhanced the ability of Huna people to tell their stories and share their historical relationship with Glacier Bay and other parts of the Huna territory. One resident felt that residents should get involved in tourism to present an alternative history of Glacier Bay. "They should tell what the government did to the Huna people in Glacier Bay." For this resident, it was important for the broader population to understand what was perceived as the injustice to Native

people in the creation of Glacier Bay National Park and its ongoing management. In 2004, Huna Totem bid for and received a multiyear contract to provide concessionaire services in Glacier Bay, which included the operating of tour boats in the park and management of the Glacier Bay Lodge. This business decision was widely viewed as a positive step in reclaiming the history of Glacier Bay for the Huna people. It also presented an opportunity to introduce new interpretations of park history and the cultural significance of the park to Huna clans.

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 Hoonah residents.

Tourism also was thought to provide an opportunity for residents to share with outsiders the unique benefits of the Alaska lifestyle and the importance of maintaining a sustainable relationship with the environment.

Sharing the rural Alaska lifestyle—
Tourism also was thought to provide an opportunity for residents to share with outsiders the unique benefits of the Alaska lifestyle and the importance of maintaining a sustainable relationship with the environment. "I used to tell people from out-of-state that Alaska is an 'ace in the hole.' You can live off the land here. If you destroy the land, you have no ace in the hole." Some noted that tourism had an educational function for visitors and residents—allowing people to learn from one another about different ways of life. "Maybe they will learn about a different, more simple lifestyle from their busy, hectic lives. Maybe it will teach them to slow down a little."

Recreation facilities—
A handful of residents noted that tourism might result in more recreation facilities for residents—particularly hiking trails. One person stated, "Tourism might result in more hiking trails, but I wouldn't want to see people [tourists] on them." While residents acknowledged the benefits of added recreation facilities for their own use, many worried about the implications of sharing them with visitors.

Concerns About Future Tourism

Hoonah people were extremely savvy to the changes caused by tourism, because of the proximity of Juneau. As one resident pointed out, "People do not want to see tourism have detrimental effects on the community." In a community that has been

relatively isolated and that has experienced changes slowly over the years, tourism may seem to threaten a sense of balance. The volume of concerns mentioned does not reflect a lack of support for tourism, but rather the complexity of issues associated with any new form of economic development.

Changes in community character—

There was a shared sense that if tourism were to be introduced, it could threaten Hoonah's sense of community and culture. "[Tourism] would threaten the close-knit community we have." Of primary concern were the crowds generated by cruise traffic. One lifelong resident asked, "Do we really want 500 or 2,000 people running around our streets? I'm not anti-tourist. I'm pro-tourism. I would like to be in control of tourism." A focus group member also wondered about the implications of large cruise ships in Hoonah.

> They're talking about bringing tour boats in here now. I've heard anything from 6 this year to 60 in 5 years. So, you have to think, there's 2,000 people on the tour boats and the population of the town isn't that. So you are going to have 2,000 people roaming the streets every day–people who don't live here. So, you're looking at this town becoming like South Franklin [Street, in Juneau] and that's going to drastically change what was and is Hoonah. The people here can't even fathom how much it's going to change it.

Primarily, residents were concerned about pedestrian traffic, vehicular traffic and parking. A tourism proponent noted, "We've got to do something so that they are not running loose all over town. Maybe we can put up a fence to block tourists from walking on our yards. There should be a local council to handle and monitor people in town."

Hoonah residents also noted that tourism can alter the rhythm of community life. As one focus group participant explained in contemplating cruise ships, "It might change the rhythm of the town…the living rhythm of the town. When you get tourists you have to go with the rhythm of the boats. It just dominates everything."

Several Hoonah residents were concerned about the growing commercialism linked to tourism—especially the potential proliferation of gift, curio, and t-shirt shops. One resident was concerned about "rampant commercialism" taking over the town. Meanwhile, another resident urged that the community stay away from this type of tourism. "We don't need t-shirt shops. We just need to be ourselves." Most Hoonah residents do not want to see the community's low-key character change.

Tourist encounters—

Many people in the community worried that the personalities of tourists would clash with their own. Residents were not sure they wanted to deal with tourists "asking goofy questions all day." Some residents I interviewed speculated that they would meet visitors who were unpleasant, disrespectful, or pushy. One tourism business owner explained, "People are worried about the nosiness of visitors. They want to be left alone. I like to talk to people, to see where they are from and to learn something. People here like to be left alone."

Conversations about tourism also brought up issues of safety and crime, especially within the context of children. One mother explained,

> I would like to see some tourism. It might work. But, I don't want to see so much tourism where I won't feel comfortable with my daughter walking down the street by herself. I always know where my daughter is. It used to be that I would let my kids play anywhere in town. If my child was into trouble, people would call me up.…Today I don't think anyone would call me.…There's a lot of people in town I don't know.

Many interviewees and focus group participants talked about safety for their children in the streets. "I don't like it when you don't know everybody. I'm concerned about safety." Another concern among parents was the issue of drugs. "I'm worried about more drugs coming to the community. It's already getting out of hand; there are too many drugs already."

Many recognized the potential for nonlocal interests to benefit from a Hoonah-based tourism enterprise without looking after the needs of residents.

Exploitation by outsiders—

Issues of exploitation had been part of the relations between Hoonah residents and outsiders for centuries. Many recognized the potential for nonlocal interests to benefit from a Hoonah-based tourism enterprise without looking after the needs of residents. One small business owner described her fears,

> If you don't have people with gumption, they will let others take over.…I don't want to see some Texans come and tell us what to do. I'm not for the greed of taking money and leaving outsiders to come in saying this is their home. I don't like the idea of corporations coming—cigars, big business, old man stuff. They have no ethics and are careless. They make everything commercialized and cold. We need to pass legislation to keep that from happening. I say to people, "This is your home and has been for centuries. You don't want to have them take it

> away." I don't like the idea of people making money here to have a castle in Texas.

Some felt that nonlocal entrepreneurs had an advantage over local business owners because of their business training and improved access to capital.

> They [people] 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. People don't want to capitalize on large business here.

Moreover, nonlocal tourism entrepreneurs were often associated with a different set of values and ethics. One resident equated tourism with "scam artists and business types," who they viewed as undesirable elements.

Sharing cultural knowledge—

Although most hoped that future tourism would have a cultural basis, there were many hesitations expressed about the impacts of sharing cultural knowledge with non-Natives. Some concerns dealt with the value of cultural performance. A few residents told me that when dancers perform strictly for tourist entertainment, the ceremony or song is diminished in value. Others worried about the controversies that might arise in making decisions about which songs to sing, stories to tell, and dances to perform. The process of making these decisions about which stories to share is complex, and involves discussions within and between various clans. As one community leader explained, "telling them about the raven and the eagle is okay, but we need to stay away from family stories."

Another concern about cultural tourism was related to exploitation. "I wouldn't want our culture to be exploited" said one resident. There was some interest in the idea of sharing with visitors how traditional foods and other household items were gathered, processed, and preserved. However, several residents pointed out that sharing this knowledge could result in subsequent commercial processing of Native resources. Such commercial enterprises would threaten the integrity of the resources and create competition for subsistence users.

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," explained one tribal member. The need for creating a facility for secure storage of cultural materials was mentioned by several residents. Some felt that the most precious items were better off housed in private homes or individual clan houses.

Equity and local control—

Some residents worried about potential negative economic repercussions of tourism, including raising prices of goods and services and the increase in the cost of living. "In Juneau, people complain about the thousands of people in town and the high prices." A few people worried that tourism would put them at the mercy of the global market and its cyclical nature. Others explained that tourism, especially cruise ships, meant that communities entered into a financial arrangement with corporate interests who focused on the bottom line, not the best interest of the community. As one long-time resident asked, "I'm worried about why Royal Caribbean left Haines. Why did it happen? I wonder if it could happen here too." Several Hoonah residents were skeptical about the quality of jobs that would be generated by the tourism industry, and wondered whether locals would be the ones to get the well-paid jobs. Implicit in these statements is that tourism resulted in differential benefits.

Effects on subsistence resources—

The environmental effects of tourism growth were often mentioned as a concern. Residents worried about the effects of air and water emissions from cruise ships and its effects on marine mammals, shellfish, wildlife, and seaweed in particular. Some worried that tourism would attract business owners who did not share their respect for the environment. Yet for some, these environmental concerns were outweighed by the potential economic benefits.

> There are not too many drawbacks [to tourism] unless pollution gets out of control. You have problems with emissions, garbage, sewage. But it's only 4 months of the year and you make good money. You don't have to do anything for the rest of the 9 months.…Tourism could help to protect the environment—to see what pristine country we have left. I think it's a big benefit.

Exclusion from federal lands—

The experience of Hoonah with the National Park Service in the creation of Glacier Bay National Park led some to distrust federal land management agencies. Because of the Glacier Bay experience, some Hoonah residents had adopted a conservative attitude toward developed recreation and tourism in other federally owned lands, including the Tongass National Forest. One elder explained, "I have a fear of being locked out of federal lands. When the Park Service people came, they promised that we would be allowed to continue seal hunting, berry picking, bear hunting—to keep

our lifestyle that had always been there. But, not any more. That's all gone." A few residents interviewed felt that developed recreation would compete for local use of areas in the vicinity of Hoonah. As one prominent community leader shared, "I'm worried they'll say one day, 'Sorry, you can't carry a gun in here.' I don't want them to turn it into a reserve—a backyard playground for Juneau." Many feared that what happened to Glacier Bay will happen to the Tongass National Forest. One comment in particular reflected these concerns.

> People worry that the Forest Service is like the Park Service. They have the same attitude about all federal agencies—that they are going to take away hunting and fishing. They will build cabins and [provide] another place for outfitter/guides to go. But if local people try to rent a cabin, it's booked.

Some residents wondered why the Tongass National Forest focused on creating new recreation facilities and opportunities that seemed to cater to outside interests rather than local residents, such as the hot springs facility along the Neka River. There also was a concern that Forest Service recreation venues will attract a different breed of people to town. "A lot of people do not want to see outdoor yuppie types with their LL Bean clothes and their two kids, their dog, and their SUV, who show up to see the 'Native village.'"

Desired Characteristics of Future Tourism

Despite the long list of precautions, Hoonah residents were interested in pursuing tourism on some scale. Hoonah residents shared interesting and creative ideas about tourism-related businesses. Some of these ideas originated from previous planning documents. Other ideas were based on the experiences of residents in other Alaskan communities or other parts of the country. Since Huna Totem had purchased the cannery with the intention of investing in tourism, many residents naturally contemplated potential uses of the cannery site.

Small scale—

There was much agreement about the size and scale of tourism development desired. In talking about future tourism, most were supportive of some level of tourism as long as it did not drastically alter the everyday life patterns of the community or inhibit access to subsistence resources. Because of concerns among residents that large groups of visitors would disrupt community life, most residents felt that tourism should take place on a small scale and at reasonable intervals. Focus group

participants were asked whether they wanted to see "significant tourism growth," "small-scale tourism growth," "the same level of tourism as in 2001," and "decreased tourism levels." There was unanimous agreement among the group of business owners and artists, that small-scale tourism growth was ideal. For the group of active subsistence users, responses were split evenly between small-scale growth and no growth.

Outside of town—

Residents interviewed preferred that the tourism enterprise take place away from the main part of town, such as in the national forest or at the cannery. A major reason for supporting tourism outside of town was control. One resident explained, "You need to keep people at the cannery. You need activities to keep them busy and keep them controlled." Yet, many recognized that if an attraction was located outside of town, downtown businesses may not benefit to the fullest extent. However, most felt that having a large number of visitors in a controlled location away from town would reduce the impact of congestion. Some suggested that local entrepreneurs may develop shuttle buses, water taxis, or van tours to bring guests to town in an organized fashion so as to minimize impacts. Focus group participants were asked whether they preferred tourism "in downtown," "close to town," or "well outside of town." The vast majority of business owners and artists preferred tourism to take place close to town, while active subsistence users preferred a tourism development in an outlying area away from town.

The cannery at Point Sophia was on the top of everyone's mind in 2001, because it was viewed as the project with the greatest potential. The advantage of this locale was summed up by one resident, "They need to find an area, buy it, build it, and take tourists away from town … [to a place] where they can absorb 2,000 people." Although some were critical of Huna Totem's policies and some were doubtful about the project's feasibility, virtually no one interviewed spoke out against the idea of developing the cannery into a tourist attraction. The cannery site was historically significant for many Hoonah residents. Some worried that tourism would change the flavor of the cannery, "There is talk that they are going to convert the cannery into a tourist attraction. I hope they don't. It's nice out there. It's a quiet place and a good place to walk your dogs. I don't want to see it swarmed with tourists." Generally speaking, there was support for a development at the cannery as long as it created local employment and business opportunity, provided structured activities for visitors, followed city codes, ensured maximum safety, and

There was support for a development at the cannery as long as it met a list of criteria.

involved local input in the planning process from citizens, tribal members, agencies, and clans. One life-long resident echoed the sentiments of many in talking about the cannery. “Hoonah needs to be connected with it not separated from it.”

Reflect local identity—

Residents also agreed that a tourist attraction should reflect local identity and should be something that is not offered in other communities. Many wanted to see Hoonah do something that would reflect its Tlingit heritage in an authentic and meaningful way. Still others suggested that Hoonah take advantage of its access to roads and remote recreation sites. The idea was that Hoonah should develop a niche product that would be widely recognized as unique to Hoonah and be closely linked with Hoonah’s identity as a community. Almost everyone interviewed suggested that Hoonah should take advantage of its identity as a Tlingit village. Several residents stipulated that a cultural tourism program should emphasize authentic production and sale of Tlingit arts and handicrafts. For others, the importance was placed on creating an experience that was alive and not framed in the past tense. “I don’t want to see a static display, but want to show a living, breathing culture.” Many felt that tourism had the ability to spark a renaissance in Tlingit arts and culture and inspire youth to learn Tlingit language and tradition.

Many residents desired a museum or cultural center to store Native artifacts and to showcase the history of Huna people, as well as the contemporary history of Hoonah and its residents. In both focus groups, there was unanimous support for a museum or cultural center. In addition, focus group participants wanted to see a performance center built for dances, storytelling, and other arts events. Other ideas included the development of a school or educational program to teach aspects of Native art and culture to Native and non-Native learners.

Local economic benefits—

Of utmost importance to Hoonah residents was that tourism be planned to benefit the local economy and to create local jobs and businesses. As one focus group participant noted, “Tourism should be developed that offers productive and positive experiences for people involved.” No one wanted to see tourism benefit outside entrepreneurs or nonlocal workers. A resident who had lived in Hawaii and Juneau worried about the ability of local residents to benefit economically from tourism, particularly cruise-based tourism, which relies heavily on tours and promotes shops owned by the cruise lines.

> [In Juneau]…the tourists are basically herded off those ships, put onto their own set of tour buses, taken on their own tours, taken to their own tourist shops. Mostly the local people miss out. And, the same thing happened…in Hawaii. The local people…don't really benefit by the tourism. They get maid jobs and bellboy jobs, but basically the tourism belongs to larger companies that bring workers in from somewhere else.

Local cooperation—

Many felt that local agencies should be cooperating to promote tourism. For some, the key to success was working together, "If we can do it hand in hand, maybe it would be okay." Several community leaders noted that different agencies offer different expertise and resources, but that these resources must be pooled for maximum effect. Others suggested that clan participation be stressed from the beginning. "We need all the clans involved. We need approval of the clans to share culture with visitors. It has to be a joint effort." A number of residents noted the need for a stronger umbrella organization to focus on tourism and make sure that local agencies were involved jointly. One resident suggested that key organizations should get together and offer a workshop about agency roles and responsibilities with regard to recreation and tourism. Another resident suggested a moderator be hired to bring organizations together to get something started. "Everyone wants to be the leader," she said.

Tourism should go at a slow pace so that locals can get involved.

Planning and pacing—

There was a shared sense of urgency about moving into tourism quickly. "Someone has to jumpstart it, not just talk about it." Many hoped that the potential Huna Totem project at the cannery would spark local tourism efforts. At the same time, the need for "slow careful planning" for tourism was emphasized. Planning was seen as crucial for minimizing the potential negative effects of tourism and maximizing the benefits. One resident felt that tourism should proceed slowly to maximize local involvement. "Tourism should go at a slow pace so that locals can get involved." The need to prepare locals for the tourism industry was embedded in this concern.

Cruise ships—

Residents interviewed in 2001 were not supportive of large cruise ships docking in town. Residents were generally fearful about the potential effects of large cruise ships on the natural and social environment. In fact, 18 of 20 focus group participants put large cruise ships on the bottom of their list of desired tourism

developments. The consensus was that Hoonah was not set up to accommodate the high visitor volumes. Criticisms of large cruise ships focused on several areas. Some residents worried that cruise lines have too much control over communities. "Wherever they go, they own the town," said one resident. "The cruise lines are cheap. They want to absorb everything. They don't want to share the wealth with the local community." Other critiques were leveled about the amount of local spending associated with cruise guests. "They have the most impact and leave the least in the community." "Visitors eat on the boat. They don't spend money on food in town." "A lot of them don't even get off the boat." "They have minimum economic impact compared to other forms of tourism." Other concerns focused on the impact to the community. "Our town would get trampled. Skagway can absorb a lot of tourists. This would be hard in Hoonah." One business owner did note some benefit to the cruise ships, "On a positive note, it would bring people to town. It would get people to Hoonah." Another added, "it might work if it was limited to one part of town, like the cannery."

Small cruise ships were deemed far more acceptable to Hoonah residents interviewed in 2001. Some residents readily touted the merits of small cruise ships, noting that guests tend to be more interested in learning about the ports they visit, and that small cruise ships offer significant programming to focus on nature and culture. "We might pursue this on a trial basis to get our feet wet." Some talked about small cruise ship tourism on a limited basis, "I would not like to see boats every day—maybe once a week unless our infrastructure can be improved." In talking about small cruise ships, the need to keep visitors separate from downtown and to provide structured activities for guests to eliminate aimless wandering was echoed. Among focus group participants, business owners and artists were more likely to support small cruise ships, whereas subsistence users were less enthusiastic.

Forest recreation–

Hoonah's extensive system of forest roads offers access to hundreds of miles of national forest land for hunters, anglers, and other outdoor adventurers. The recreation resources of the Tongass National Forest were developed to promote primitive or rustic outdoor experiences, catering to those who prefer fewer signs of human activity. Although many Juneau hunters have discovered the Hoonah road system, other recreation users could be attracted to the area as well. Residents interviewed mentioned a number of activities that would promote recreation and take advantage

of Hoonah's location, including kayak and canoe routes, bird-watching areas, bear-viewing facilities, mountain bike tours, car and jeep rentals, and other nature-based tours.

The need for a campground facility near Hoonah was discussed by many in 2001. A campground or RV park near town was seen as a way to benefit local businesses and the city. Businesses would benefit from in-town shopping by campers, and a downtown camping facility would reduce the resource problems created by camping along forest roads. Some residents felt that Whitestone Harbor may serve as a good site for primitive camping, because it could adequately serve road-based traffic as well as marine traffic along Icy Strait. The lack of funds to maintain the campground was recognized as a barrier. In addition, some residents worried that a campground may attract too many visitors to the area.

Tourism Constraints

Although Hoonah's tourism potential was widely acknowledged, many also focused on the constraints that could inhibit tourism growth. When I asked people to reflect on reasons why tourism has not already been developed in 2001, several factors were mentioned. Many of these themes relate not only to the development of tourism, but to economic development of any kind. Some focused on the business climate and cost of utilities, others were concerned about perceived inadequacies in infrastructure and facilities.

Business climate—

Several interviewees felt that Hoonah lacked a pro-business atmosphere. One public official explained that the city owned significant land-holdings in Hoonah acquired as a result of statehood. Unlike some other Alaska cities, which sold their land to private interests, Hoonah officials held onto this property–leasing to local businesses. The process of receiving a permit to lease city land was reportedly somewhat cumbersome up through the 1990s, making it difficult to start new business ventures. Some residents told me that over the years there had been an anti-business sentiment among city committees that resulted in the denial or delay of permit issuance. According to one resident, "If the city does not favor your business, you will not get a lease. This gives the city a lot of power to determine business activity and impedes business development." Another noted, "The city policy makes it hard for people to do business. Everything goes through the planning commission. There is an anti-development sentiment on the planning commission. It has been against new ideas." According to the city manager, the process for permit applications had

Decades of ambivalence about business development and a cumbersome permitting process discourage significant outside investment.

been streamlined in 2001. However, decades of ambivalence about business development and a cumbersome permitting process discourage significant outside investment.

Utilities and infrastructure—

Several public officials and business owners commented on the need for a low-cost energy supply to promote economic development. The high cost of electricity dissuaded many prospective businesses from locating in Hoonah. In 2001, electricity costs were 37 cents per kilowatt hour, compared to 8 cents in nearby Juneau. "Electricity is a serious problem in Hoonah. It makes the cost of doing business very high," the mayor explained. The city was working with state and federal agencies to solve this problem, but until it is resolved, utility costs remain high for residential and commercial customers.

Several residents commented that Hoonah was not set up to handle tourists. Two areas were mentioned most often: public works and municipal services. Some were concerned with the capacity of city infrastructure to handle high visitor volumes. Areas most emphasized were waste, water, sewer, fire, and medical services. There was awareness among those interviewed that cruise ship passengers may be elderly or ill and that the local medical facilities may not be able to accommodate health needs. Others worried about the city's ability to handle emergencies in the national forest.

Local attitudes—

Tourism appeared to be quietly controversial in Hoonah and there was some hesitancy to talk openly about tourism. One resident told me he could not discuss his personal views and ideas about tourism until several organizations had an open community discussion about it and all viewpoints were on the table. Another resident described that she came back to Hoonah after having been away for many years and was very excited about Hoonah's tourism potential. However, when she brought this up in social situations, she was told to stay quiet with her beliefs. "People told me 'no, that's not a good thing to talk about.' They don't want to see people wandering around." Another person informed me, "I will tell you that I am in support of cruise ships, but I wouldn't say that in public." There appeared to be an anti-tourism undercurrent in the community, yet few residents interviewed were actually against tourism. One resident suggested that opposition to change was coming from elders and those who had never lived outside the community and were

opposed to change. Meanwhile, the generation of adults assuming leadership positions in civic and government institutions seemed more supportive of tourism as a viable development option.

Aesthetic appeal—

Hoonah residents often joked about the overall appearance of their community. Although many defended the right for people to maintain their homes and yards in the way that suited them, they recognized at the same time that visitors may come to the community with a different set of aesthetic standards. In one person's words,

> Tourists don't want to come here and see a beat-up town with trash everywhere. They are going to have to clean up the town first. Get rid of some of the old cars and boats lying around. Haul out the garbage and the old refrigerators. Do something with the store fronts. I don't know that people are going to want to do that.

In one focus group, someone made the suggestion that tourism might be an incentive for people to "clean up their yards." Another group member responded, "Maybe people don't want to clean up their yards." If visitors are to come to Hoonah in greater numbers, the community may anticipate some discussions about aesthetic standards or city codes.

Local tour operators commented that the timber industry had squelched the tourism industry somewhat because of their practice of clearcutting. One resident lamented the fact that the Native corporations chose to harvest timber in a way that had such an impact on scenery. "They need to log in such a way that views are protected and fish and game habitat is protected. At least do logging behind the hills and out of my face." When considering the potential for tourism in Hoonah, one tour operator said, "What about eco-tourism? We destroyed that when we clearcut the hills." He went on to say that businesses will have to attract tourists who do not care about the lack of visual appeal of the area. Charter boat operators explained that often their guests do not comment on or notice the logging because they are focused more on fishing and less on their surroundings. For charter fishing and hunting, the clearcuts may not be a deterrent to tourism growth, but a few local tour operators believed it will be a long time before nature-based tourism catches on in the vicinity of Hoonah.

Labor constraints—

Community leaders described the need for more jobs in Hoonah, yet some residents were skeptical that local workers would be interested in or trained for tourism jobs.

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Several residents expressed a concern that if tourism were to grow, outsiders would be hired to assume tourism jobs because Hoonah workers may not favor these jobs. One Hoonah resident claimed that the timber industry had spoiled workers with high salaries for sporadic labor. Many Hoonah residents worked sporadically as stevedores, longshoremen, and as sorters and loaders for the logging ships—earning high wages for several days. The sporadic nature of this work was preferred by some residents, who would then be free to hunt, fish, work in other jobs, or relax between ships. According to some government employees, local workers were not attracted to year-round, full-time employment. "We can't even fill jobs at the city," said one city employee, "even though we offer benefits, no one wants to work 9 to 5." It remains to be seen whether tourism employment would be attractive to local workers. The part-time and sporadic nature of some tourism labor may fit well with local employment patterns.

Although the timber employment had diminished significantly, a generation of workers was accustomed to higher wages and may have a difficult time adjusting to jobs that offer more stability but at lower wage rates. Many residents pointed to the Hoonah Cold Storage plant, which offered some year-round employment and many seasonal jobs in fish processing. In 2001, the plant imported workers from out of state to fill seasonal jobs. In addition, a commercial fisherman described his difficulties putting together crews of local workers for fishing trips despite the potential to earn hundreds of dollars a day. "Kids do not seem to have the same work ethic." Another resident told me, "Some people don't want to work. They have new homes for about $50 per month. They are trained not to work. Many people are not going to work. They will have to bring people in to work. People won't want to work these jobs. They don't like consistent work. They will quit after a week." Without employment skills training, Hoonah residents may not possess appropriate skills for success in the tourism industry. Local agencies discussed the need to work with the schools to develop a curriculum that addressed professional needs relevant for tourism jobs.

Creation of Icy Strait Point

The development of a cruise ship destination at an historic cannery 1 mile from downtown Hoonah in 2004 altered the face of tourism in Hoonah. This section describes the efforts by Huna Totem to promote economic development through tourism. After explaining the various stages of decisionmaking that resulted in the creation of Icy Strait Point, I describe the status of tourism in Hoonah in 2004.

Resident interviews conducted at the end of the first cruise ship season provide a glimpse into local reactions to the new economy and the presence of visitors.

The degree to which corporation executives responded to the needs and concerns of Hoonah residents ultimately may determine the success of this tourism project. Residents explained their desire for tourism that was small in scale, located away from the downtown residential core, and that represented the unique cultural identity of the Huna people. They desired multilateral participation in the tourism process to control the pace and rate of tourism development. They also sought tourism that resulted in wide distribution of benefits throughout the community and promoted jobs, employment skills, and business opportunities for a wide range of residents. To a great extent, the development at Point Sophia achieved many of these goals. Yet, issues of equity, access to local spaces, and local control remain important.

Residents explained their desire for tourism that was small in scale, located away from the downtown residential core, and that represented the unique cultural identity of the Huna people.

Point Sophia Development Corporation

The cannery at Point Sophia, known locally as "Cannery Point" has a long history. The area at the mouth of Port Frederick was originally known as Gaax'ayi ("Duck's Point") where Huna people from throughout Icy Strait joined together at the time of the advancing glaciers. In 1912, the Hoonah Packing Company built a cannery at Point Sophia. The cannery closed in 1923, but reopened in 1934 under ownership of the Icy Strait Salmon Company. In its peak season (1944), the cannery employed 82 Hoonah residents and 21 nonresidents canning salmon (Roppel 2001). The cannery closed in 1953, but was later used by Wards Cove Packing to store and repair seine boats, nets, skiffs, and gear (fig.11). In addition, houses at the site were leased by local families, and the area was a popular recreation and picnic area for residents. A small cemetery on site also had historical and social significance for many Hoonah families.

In 1996, Huna Totem purchased the cannery with hopes of developing the site. Tourism was considered a top investment prospect because of its historic value and advantageous location on the mouth of the bay. For 5 years, no changes were made at the cannery site, although the corporation continued leasing the facility for fishing boat repair. Plans were drawn to convert the cannery into a tourist facility as early as 1999, and Huna Totem actively began seeking exclusive partnerships with cruise lines. In the meantime, Huna Totem began its forays into tourism when board members began working as interpreters onboard Holland America ships. In September 2000, a Holland America cruise ship pulled into Hoonah harbor, setting the stage for future cruise ships in the community.

Lee Cerveny

Figure 11—Cannery Point in 2001.

In 2001, Huna Totem officially broke ground for renovation of the cannery complex and community residents gathered for speeches about plans for tourist development. According to Huna Totem board members, local meetings were held in the summer of 2001 to air concerns and share hopes for the project.[20] At these sessions, residents emphasized the need for local employment opportunities and expressed concerns about potential changes to community life. Huna Totem still had not developed a contract with a cruise line, but planned to invest corporation resources into the project.

In 2002, Huna Totem announced the creation of the Point Sophia Development Company (PSDC), a joint venture between Huna Totem and Koma Sales, a tourism company based in Juneau. The corporation would invest $20 million in cannery renovations to attract the interest of cruise lines. The 7.7-hectare facility would be developed around a Tlingit theme, emphasizing cultural performances, Native arts and crafts, culturally-based tours, and wildlife tours. Architectural drawings revealed a cannery museum, cultural center, shopping areas, restaurants, a salmon bake, walking trails, and bus tour staging areas. The firm also announced that the destination would accommodate a maximum of one ship daily. Over the next 2 years, 60 people were employed in cannery restoration–more than 90-percent locals.

[20] More than one Huna Totem board member interviewed in 2003 explained that community meetings had been held in 2001 to share project ideas and generate community input. However, no documented evidence of these meetings exists, suggesting that perhaps they were not widely advertised.

In 2003, Huna Totem hired a former executive of Princess Cruises to an executive position in tourism development. With his help, PSDC achieved a 5-year contract with Royal Caribbean Corporation to bring 33 cruise ships to Hoonah in 2004 (Huna Totem Corporation 2003). The cannery was renamed Icy Strait Point by a Florida-based destination development firm, and was billed "Alaska's first purpose-built destination," reflecting a trend in the cruise industry to create wholly owned destinations. Icy Strait Point was to be the first privately-developed cruise destination in Alaska. The city of Hoonah issued a memorandum in support of the project and sought federal grants to build a cruise ship dock. An agreement was made with the Hoonah Indian Association to manage cultural resources and develop cultural programs for visitors. Point Sophia Development Company purchased six fishing boats and two 149-passenger whale-watching boats for shore excursions. A consultant's report assessing the feasibility of the project determined that Icy Strait Point would generate 298 direct jobs, with an annual payroll of $3.5 million (McDowell Group 2003). The city of Hoonah would receive sales tax revenues from the sale of tours.

On May 26, 2004, Celebrity Cruise Lines' 1,800-passenger ship *Mercury* became the first to dock in Icy Strait Point. The ship anchored off-shore within sight of Hoonah and was greeted by a flotilla of Tlingit canoes. An estimated 1,300 passengers came to shore to participate in excursions or wander the cannery grounds. During the first season, 32 cruise ships brought an estimated 55,000 passengers to shore twice weekly. The cruise lines expressed approval, sending 37 ships to Hoonah in 2005. In 2006, Holland America added 20 ships, bringing the total to 55 calls (estimated 130,000 visitors). Governor Murkowski visited in September 2004 and declared the project a success. In late 2004, Huna Totem renegotiated its arrangement with Koma Sales and became a majority owner of Point Sophia Development Company, renamed Icy Strait Point.

An understanding of the creation of a cruise ship destination in Hoonah would not be complete without recognizing the important social ties among leaders of key Hoonah institutions. Through the early phases of the PSDC project, the tribal administrator, harbormaster, and a prominent PSDC executive were all members of the same family. In past decisions related to economic development, infrastructure improvements, or other proposed actions affecting Hoonah, tension among various civic leaders made collective decisionmaking an arduous process—in some cases resulting in inaction. The coalescence of relatives in local positions of power resulted in a more unified voice in favor of swift movement toward tourism.

Overview of Tourism in 2004

In September 2004, I returned to Hoonah on the weekend of the final cruise ship visit of the season and the arrival of Governor Murkowski and his delegation. My purpose was to assess the status of tourism in 2004 and the initial community response to tourism. Three days were spent conducting 12 standard interviews and engaging in casual conversations with another 6 residents. A variety of people were included in the followup sample including tribal officials, PSDC administrators and employees, downtown business owners, tour operators not affiliated with the cannery, Forest Service employees, and everyday residents. This section draws from interviews along with personal observations to describe Icy Strait Point.

The cannery had been completely overhauled since 2001—painted barn red with white trim. Worn and creaky boards were replaced with new wood. Warehouses that once housed fishing gear, marine repair parts, tools, and boats in varying stages of repair were replaced with a very open structure, housing a fishing museum, café, and several shops. The facility was rustic, but comfortable, with adequate lighting, heating, and amenities. The boardwalk was well-maintained, and informal trails had been converted to wide gravel pathways adorned by attractive landscaping and prolific signage in a consistent aesthetic theme. The layout promoted the circulation of visitors over a large area, creating a relaxed, unhurried atmosphere symbolized by the presence of the long-time cannery dog sleeping in the sun in the center of the boardwalk (fig. 12).

Icy Strait Point employed approximately 125 part-time and full-time employees during tourist season, with an estimated 94 percent local residents (Alaska Coastal Management Program 2005). Employment opportunities included administrative staff, deck hands, boat captains, mechanics, maintenance workers, drivers, clerks, restaurant workers, and customer service agents. Several elder Tlingit tribal members served as storytellers at the fire pit on the beach. Others performed as dancers in the performance center or engaged in cultural reenactments as part of the "Journey Through Time." On cruise ship days in May and September, local schools closed to provide a labor pool of students and teachers.

The cruise ship arrived in midmorning, anchoring in Icy Strait. Guests began arriving on zodiac boats that brought them to the cannery dock. The first guests boarded fishing vessels and whale-watching boats and were escorted out of Port Frederick. Other guests boarded buses, vans, and bicycles for land-based tours in Hoonah. Icy Strait Point featured 11 shore excursions, including charter fishing,

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Figure 12—Cannery after renovation, 2004.

whale watching, bush exploration, forest and nature tram, jeep tours, bicycle tours, Glacier Bay flight-seeing, and a cultural history exhibit. A wildlife tour took guests to Spasski Creek, an area about 10 kilometers from Hoonah on land owned by Huna Totem. Most tours were owned by PSDC; two tours were developed by local entrepreneurs. Tours were sold to Royal Caribbean at a fixed price and the cruise line marked up prices based on market demand. Tours ranged from 1 to 3 hours in length and were priced between $40 and $80.[21] Corporate officials explained that the most popular excursions were whale watching, fishing, and bear viewing.

The most popular excursions were whale watching, fishing, and bear viewing.

Subsequent zodiacs brought guests who wanted to visit the cannery museum, cultural center, or walk on the trails. A group of Huna Tlingit dancers in ceremonial dress greeted them on the boardwalk and performed to the beat of a drum. A welcome center provided information about Icy Strait Point and many customer service representatives circulated to guide visitors (fig. 13). The cannery provided space for 24 shops. In its first season, 12 shops operated on an open-lease basis. At least four shops had local ties, including one that served as a fund-raiser for the

[21] By 2007, the range of tour prices diversified, with some selling from as low as $36 to $299 for the most expensive tour (Glacier Bay flight-seeing).

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Figure 13—Dancers with tourist on deck at Icy Strait Point.

Hoonah School District. Another venture was a result of a Hoonah Incubator Project that helped low-income residents gain business skills through a combination of grants and training. Other businesses were owned and operated by Juneau entrepreneurs, some of whom flew into Hoonah on cruise ship days. A theater provided the venue for cultural programs and Tlingit dances.

Visitors to Icy Strait Point appeared to enjoy the destination, particularly its tranquility, peacefulness, and absence of commercialism. Visitors also commented about the authenticity of Hoonah. I overheard one visitor say to his traveling companion, "Now this is the real Alaska." A downtown business owner told me, "Visitors say to leave Hoonah the way it is, don't commercialize it." Most guests appeared to enjoy the absence of jewelry and t-shirt shops, but not all visitors were at home in Hoonah. As a PSDC official explained, "This is not the best place for power shoppers." Residents noted that visitors were quite interested in community life and asked questions about local schools, winter weather, and how people in Hoonah acquire food and provisions (fig. 14).

Corporation officials seem to have acknowledged local concerns to manage the growth of tourism by establishing use limits up front.

Corporation officials seem to have acknowledged local concerns to manage the growth of tourism by establishing use limits up front. According to PSDC officials, the corporation's intent was to attract one cruise ship per day, with a maximum of five or six weekly. Most residents who were interviewed agreed with this gradual approach to growth and to the idea of establishing limits on cruise ship visitation. One resident stated, "One ship a day is perfect. They come out with the tide and

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Figure 14—Visitors to Icy Strait Point.

leave with the tide." Another person said, "If you get more than one ship per day, people will move in with gift shops and you won't get that Alaska experience." As the number of ship arrivals increase in 2006, as expected, it may be useful to reassess local reactions to maximum cruise ship arrivals.

Resident Reactions to Icy Strait Point

Among residents interviewed in this small followup sample, there was widespread agreement that the development at cannery point had been a success and that tourism was an overall benefit. Most impressive were the economic benefits, including jobs and business opportunities for residents. Many acknowledged the role of the Huna Totem Corporation for making this happen. As one resident said, "This is a great economic opportunity not possible otherwise without corporate investment." Still, there remained the concern that residents need to control the direction and pace of development. As a local fisherman explained, "Tourism is the only hope we have. Logging and fishing are gone. We have to handle tourism in the proper way to benefit." The creation of Icy Strait Point resulted in jobs and income for Hoonah residents both directly at the cannery site, and in town. Although response was profoundly favorable at the end of the first season, residents

did share a few concerns about the development. Several themes emerged from conversations with residents that are elaborated below. These themes should be viewed as possible trends for future research and analysis.

Community involvement—
Local involvement in the cannery project was seen as essential to its success by PSDC officials, who claimed that they had support from 98 percent of the community. Yet, residents interviewed in 2004 had mixed responses about the extent to which PSDC officials had solicited local involvement. Several interviewees indicated that the tourism project at the cannery had brought the town together and created a more cohesive community. Although most residents interviewed were supportive, some acknowledged that the corporation had turned off some people by approaching the community with ready-made plans, "They knew what they were going to do–like a steamroller." Another person said, "PSDC never sat down with people in town and refused to meet with local organizations to plan."

One major concern raised by residents was their inability to access the cannery during the visitor season.

Cannery access—
One major concern raised by residents was their inability to access the cannery during the visitor season. The PSDC officials made the cannery off-limits to Hoonah residents, resulting in the loss of a favorite place for local recreation, dog walking, and family outings. The cannery also represented an important part of the history of the community, and Hoonah residents were dismayed that they were not invited to cannery grounds, a rule particularly enforced during cruise ship visits. The PSDC officials explained that the prohibition of visitors was required by the cruise line, Royal Caribbean, because of liability issues. However, few fully accepted this explanation. "They don't want us at the cannery. That is the clear message we're getting–stay away." During the last week of the season, posters were hung around town inviting Hoonah residents to a Local Appreciation Day at the cannery, where they could benefit from 40-percent discounts on selected items. After the 2004 season, a decision was made to open parts of cannery grounds to residents, which somewhat alleviated this sense of exclusion. Still, the beach beyond the salmon bake remained closed to locals.

Visitor flow downtown—
Icy Strait Point was designed as a comprehensive and enclosed destination, responding to a wide variety of guest needs for food, comfort, and entertainment. The PSDC officials explained that they were concerned about the effects of large visitor groups on downtown Hoonah and the loss of corporate revenues when visitors left

the grounds. Thus, they sought to control the flow of Icy Strait Point guests both at the cannery and in the PSDC tours to minimize interaction with downtown residents.

Developers did not anticipate the extent to which visitors would desire to venture to Hoonah on their own volition, nor did they predict the disappointment of many downtown business owners and others who hoped to benefit from tourism. The PSDC officials and local business owners alike were surprised about the volume of guests who opted to leave the cannery site to walk downtown. Maps of the site clearly labeled a "guest boundary," but this did not dissuade guests from leaving the cannery. One PSDC official estimated that between 200 and 400 cruise ship guests walked to town with each ship. As one PSDC employee stated, "On the day of the first ship, we were overwhelmed. No one thought or imagined people would come through town." According to residents, visitors walking downtown wanted to see an authentic Alaska community. The appearance of visitors outside the cannery also brought some unanticipated changes to the flow of pedestrian and vehicle traffic in town.

Downtown Hoonah businesses benefited from the cruise guests who walked or shuttled to town. Many shops offered gifts, artwork, and other items of interest to visitors. One enterprising youth sold lemonade to passersby along the dusty road leading from the cannery to town. A crafts market featuring local works also sprouted in the ANB hall and drew visitors looking to buy directly from artists. Downtown restaurants also experienced an increase in business from tourist traffic or crew members–hiring additional help during cruise ship days.

Not knowing how many cruise ship guests would actually venture to town, many businesses used a "wait and see" approach and responded quickly to address emerging visitor needs. Local business owners explained that they had not specifically geared up in preparation for visitors, but were responding to demand from passengers and crew. The story of one local restaurant/bar was fairly typical. "We just stumbled on it," said the owner. Crew members were looking for a local establishment for relaxation. The restaurant responded by offering crew free cans of salmon and special beverage prices. Rumor spread throughout the ship fleet and the Internet about the friendly Hoonah establishment, and business grew. "We spoiled the crew with favors and they told the tourists about us." Customers began requesting food service and the bar responded by serving fresh salmon, crab, and side dishes. The bar owners hung large banners welcoming crew members and ship guests onto their deck. The business also benefited from PSDC workers, who came

in for dinner after the ship had sailed. This entrepreneur had identified and capitalized upon a niche. Then, when a neighboring restaurant wanted to get in on the action, the two businesses developed an informal agreement not to compete; one restaurant offered crab and the other served halibut.

Several local businesses also fared well with the arrival of the steady trickle of pedestrians coming from the cannery. Stores, such as the Hoonah Trading Post, had stocked up on gifts. Still, other businesses noticed few changes in their receipts. One tackle shop explained that when the cruise ships were in town, they saw more tourists but fewer locals, as many local customers were working at the cannery. Hoonah business owners and city officials also recognized that the attention brought to Hoonah from the cruise stop could result in an increase in independent visitors in the future. Some B&B operators and restaurant owners were thinking of ways to gear up to support future tourism among cruise ship guests who wanted to come back on their own. The city was considering how a potential increase in independent guests might place demands on existing infrastructure.

Over the course of the first season, local firms emerged to offer a variety of services, including a shuttle service to town, cultural and historical tours, and fishing excursions. These tours were not sanctioned by Point Sophia and targeted guests who either had signed up for a shore excursion on board, or who had contracted their own tour options on the Internet. The PSDC officials apparently underestimated visitor use of local tours not sold on the ship. Tension flared between local start-up businesses not formally associated with the cannery, and PSDC executives, particularly as the number of off-site tours increased.

Some residents felt that PSDC actively discouraged visitors from knowing about the proximity of Hoonah. According to resident accounts, the first cruise ships to arrive in the spring of 2004 anchored within full view of Hoonah. After visitors surprised everyone by walking unguided to downtown Hoonah, ships began anchoring in Icy Strait. Some believed that this change was designed to discourage people from leaving the site by downplaying the cannery's proximity to town. Several interviewees showed me the map of Icy Strait Point, noting the clear delineation of a "guest boundary" and the presence of a checkpoint or guard station. They also made a point to indicate that the town of Hoonah was not marked on the map. Moreover, brochures distributed to guests did not discuss the location of Hoonah. One interviewee told me that PSDC employees were discouraged from elaborating on the location of Hoonah. Clearly in the minds of many residents, Icy Strait Point was designed to be a self-enclosed destination. While this model

worked to limit visitor encounters with residents and reduce opportunities for social change, the separation of the tourism development from the business district was perceived negatively by many downtown business owners.

Encouraging independent tourism—
Another issue noted by interviewees was the cannery's emphasis on catering to cruise ship guests and their unwillingness to provide guest services to independent visitors. A well-publicized incident in the *Juneau Empire* described the experience of a small party of independent travelers. According to media reports, a party of independent visitors approached PSDC about the possibility of participating in a cannery tour. The corporation initially responded that tours were unavailable because they had been previously sold out to cruise ship guests. Later they explained that the tours were not actually full, but there was no existing procedure for ticketing visitors who did not book trips on the cruise ship. Regardless of intention, the corporation was not set up to handle request from independent visitors. Moreover, cruise line representatives may have been concerned about their ability to capture spending by independent visitors (Juneau Empire 2004).

Employment and earnings benefits—
The cannery provided an opportunity for local workers to earn income and support their families. One worker claimed that jobs at the cannery reduced resident dependence on food stamps. Point Sophia was viewed as a primary employment opportunity for high school and college-age students as well as parents and elder tribal members without other sources of income. Cannery jobs provided a secondary income for teachers, school officials, and others with part-time or seasonal work in other sectors. Nonlocal workers also were hired in key positions, where local skills were not available. Although residents acknowledged the importance of these workers to the success of the operation, many hoped that the local organizations could provide opportunities to improve hiring opportunities for the local labor force.

Hoonah residents also noted that the cannery provided opportunity for workers to learn new skills. Local residents, particularly youth, had learned to engage with the public and to establish a work ethic. However, PSDC officials observed that in some cases there was a gap in the skills needed for some cannery jobs and the job skills available in the local labor force. According to resident interviews, some cannery workers had been dismissed because their work practices did not match with management needs. One interviewee told me that PSDC management was

"fire-happy"–removing people too quickly and without adequate justification. The PSDC managers indicated the need to import workers from outside Hoonah with particular skills. Given that cruise ship arrivals were expected to increase after 2004, there was a concern about the long-term supply of skilled workers to meet seasonal employment needs.

Tax revenues—

The Icy Strait Point development also provided tax revenues to the city, based on sale of tours taking place in Hoonah. Indeed, sales tax revenues to the city increased from $374,000 in 2003 to $522,000 in 2004 (Alaska Coastal Management Program 2005). City officials were determined that PSDC would make a contribution to the city coffers to help offset costs for infrastructure and city services. "They (corporate officials) are in a position of power," said one city employee, "but why should the city pick up the tab for people in town?"

New business growth—

The role of Icy Strait Point in generating new business growth is difficult to determine. An analysis of business licenses issued between 1999 and 2007 shows that the number of tourism-related businesses registered in the local community has been relatively stable, although the proportion of businesses in various categories shifted. Table 3 shows a growth in nature-based and sightseeing tours as well as gift shops and galleries. The number of charter fishing businesses licensed in Hoonah declined, along with local accommodations. However, some businesses operating in Hoonah may be registered in Juneau or other cities, suggesting ownership outside the Hoonah region. The portion of local firms devoted to tourism has increased from 27 percent in 1999 to 39 percent in 2007, although this increase also reflects stark declines in the total number of registered Hoonah businesses.

Cannery officials expected that more local entrepreneurs would secure vendor contracts in future years.

Prevalence of nonlocal firms—

The cannery sponsored several nature-based tours, which it developed internally and sold to the cruise lines at a markup. Some Hoonah residents noted that they hoped to see more involvement in the cannery development by local business owners in future years. During the first season of operation, there were 3 to 4 (of 11) vendors with local roots operating at the cannery. Others stores were owned by nonlocal entrepreneurs. Hoonah workers were employed by some of these establishments as clerks and in other functions. Cannery officials expected that more local entrepreneurs would secure vendor contracts in future years.

Table 3—Tourism businesses for selected years between 1999 and 2007

Year	All Hoonah businesses	Lodges and inns	Charter fishing guides	Hunting guides	Nature and cultural tours	Gift shops galleries	Tourism-related businesses	Tourism as a percentage of all businesses
								Percent
1999	109	10	10	3	2	4	29	27
2001	107	10	9	3	2	4	28	26
2004	104	10	11	3	3	6	33	32
2005	97	7	11	2	2	7	29	30
2006	95	8	7	3	3	10	31	33
2007	80	8	7	1	5	10	31	39

Source: Alaska Division of Community Advocacy, 2007.

Emergence of independent guides and firms—

A small number of independent firms who were not endorsed by PSDC also offered services to cruise ship guests. Originally, corporate officials had intended to cooperate with these local entrepreneurs to handle guest overflow. When the fishing excursion was sold out, they would subcontract with local charter guides. However, several enterprising guides managed to book trips without the aid of the cruise lines, using word of mouth recommendations shared among guests and crew and from sources such as cruisecritic.com, a Web site used by guests to assess the quality of local tours and attractions. Local providers found themselves competing with PSDC tours for customers, which created a tense atmosphere. As one resident explained, "There has been a lot of tension between the cannery and downtown business owners, over infrastructure issues, problems, failed promises."

Local, independent providers explained that the corporation was eager to prevent them from accessing the cannery to pick up and return guests. Independent guides were prohibited from dropping off or picking up guests at the cannery parking lot or on the beach. As one charter guide said, "[PSDC official] told me, 'don't land here.' We grew up together, went to school together and played on that beach. They say they own it." The sense of being excluded from economic benefits associated with the cannery was a repeated source of concern among long-time residents. Independent guides worked with city officials and private landowners to clear out a turnaround area directly outside the cannery boundary. According to local guides, PSDC employees began parking there to discourage use by these independent (nonendorsed) firms. In response to pressure from local business owners, the city erected a "15-minute parking" sign at the parking site, which eliminated PSDC employee parking and provided a venue for local tour operators, taxi companies,

and bus lines to generate business at Icy Strait Point. These negotiations created an atmosphere of distrust among members of Hoonah's business community. One guide felt that the corporation was reluctant to see dollars spent outside the cannery. "Give us the leftovers" he said, "there is enough to go around."

This resounding emphasis on nature-based tours was unexpected, given that Icy Strait Point is billed as a destination for experiencing Tlingit culture.

Emphasis on nature-based tours—

Between 2004 and 2007, the number of tours sold onboard the cruise lines increased from 11 to 14. Over this period, the tours increasingly emphasized wildlife-viewing, adventure, and fishing, rather than cultural themes. This resounding emphasis on nature-based tours was unexpected, given that Icy Strait Point is billed as a destination for experiencing Tlingit culture. Of the 14 tours offered to Royal Caribbean guests in 2007, 4 were wildlife-related, 3 involved active adventure, and 2 were charter fishing excursions. Just two tours sold on the cruise ship had explicit cultural themes. Corporate officials indicated that their most popular (and most expensive) tours were fishing and wildlife-viewing. A meeting was held in 2006 with members of Huna Heritage Foundation and HIA to discuss the declining focus on cultural heritage at Icy Strait Point, in lieu of revenue-generating adventure tours. After 2006, the "Journey Through Time" tour, which involved many tribal members reenacting and representing various cultural periods of Hoonah history, was cancelled. A new zip-line attraction (adventure tour) was installed in 2007. In addition, the cultural museum was relocated to a smaller room to allow more space for the gift shop (Mary Beth Moss. 2007. Curator, Hoonah Indian Association).

Visitor interactions—

Residents interviewed were enjoying opportunities to interact with visitors and share stories about their home. Some saw this as an opportunity to share with visitors an accurate portrayal of their lifestyles. As one person stated, "The bottom-line thrill is being able to share Hoonah with visitors from all over the world. The more important thrill is the opportunity to be involved in our own culture." Many told stories of residents who had given pedestrians walking from the cannery a free ride to town, or had taken them to one of the local attractions not on the tourist map, such as the dump, which is a beacon for bears. There was little indication that local residents felt inundated by the presence of visitors. Several people noted that Hoonah residents had opened up to visitors and were more comfortable with strangers around as a result of tourism. One former timber industry worker said that the tourists did not bother him because he worked all day and they were gone by the time he got home from work. "I just try to avoid hitting them on the road," he quipped.

A few said that the presence of visitors in town was still something to which they had to get accustomed. Elders who lived in town sometimes felt intimidated by visitors and were more hesitant to come out of their homes on cruise ship days. One downtown resident told me that visitors walk onto her mother's porch and peer into the windows. "My mother peers back at them. She doesn't get out much. They take pictures of the signs on her front door that tell guests to remove their shoes." Later she described how she once went home for lunch and found visitors gazing into her house. She greeted them on the porch and talked to them. "They wanted to know if we had outhouses in our backyard. I said no, they were smokehouses. I told them about smoking fish." The visitors also were curious about the headstone in the yard and took pictures of it. This interviewee enjoyed the exchange and the friendliness of the guests. Still, a few others felt uncomfortable with the presence of visitors in her home. "They say Hoonah is this little village. They way they say it sounds like we're … I guess we are a little village; I guess I'm sensitive about it." As many social scientists have found, the presence of tourists from a different socioeconomic and cultural background can create a sense of "otherness" that can manifest itself in visitor-host interactions (Smith 1989). Many residents were somewhat surprised about how sincerely interested cruise ship guests were in their everyday lives.

Sharing Tlingit culture—

Hoonah residents interviewed very much appreciated the opportunity to share Native culture with visitors. The early emphasis on cultural attractions required that workers learn more about traditional culture, particularly dancers, performers, and storytellers. Youth, who may not have prioritized cultural learning from elders in the traditional way, found new incentives to learn about their cultural heritage. "Young people get hands-on experience in cultural history. They work all summer and get paid to learn about culture." In the spring, a storyteller came from Juneau and provided an all-day workshop on storytelling for the Tlingit theater group. As the tribal administrator pointed out, the opportunity to share Native culture through art and performance has strengthened existing efforts in cultural education and also promoted a sense of pride. The presence of visitors also created a market for locally produced Native art, which sparked local artists to learn or return to carving, basket-making, and other skills. Stories from Huna clans were being shared in 2004, because clan elders had given permission for use of their stories. Other clan stories and songs were not represented because PSDC did not have permission to use them. Some stories told were not owned by any particular clan (fig. 15).

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Figure 15—Heritage Center at Icy Strait Point.

Because residents were denied open access to Icy Strait Point, some worried about being separated from their cultural legacy.

Although most comments about the effects of the cannery development on Native culture were positive, one person observed that the tribe had moved the totem poles from their position in front of the tribal office to the performance center at the cannery. Others were concerned about what was supposed to be a temporary relocation of a carved canoe from the front of the high school to Icy Strait Point. Not everyone had agreed with the tribe's decision to relocate the totem poles and other cultural items to the tourist venue. Others were concerned about the cultural museum, which housed some clan property on the cannery site for the benefit of tourists. Because residents were denied open access to Icy Strait Point, some worried about being separated from their cultural legacy. These concerns were given greater weight after 2005, when PSDC took over the management of cultural programs from HIA and deemphasized the museum. Local access to this historic site remained an important issue in 2007.

Resource effects—

With the exception of visitors walking to town, most tourist activity took place at the cannery site or on lands owned by Huna Totem. In 2004, there was minimal cruise-related tourist activity taking place in the adjacent national forest. Still, community residents were eager to ensure that natural resources were not adversely impacted by tourism. One long-time resident explained, "Tourism is okay if villagers can make a few dollars without [the tourists] destroying the natural resources." Thus far, the footprint of tourism had remained confined to Native corporation

land-holdings; however, Forest Service officials were predicting an increase in demand for national forest land, both by tour operators and resource users who may have been displaced from corporation land. Forest Service officials had seen an increase in request for special use permits for commercial recreation and were predicting an increase in permit issuances in 2006. Recreation planning was underway in 2004 to consider future demands for cruise-based tourism on public lands.

Access to subsistence areas—

Few interviewees observed any adverse impacts to the natural resources as a result of tourism. However, one issue widely discussed had to do with Native shareholder access to corporation lands, in particular, the area in Spasski Creek, located roughly 10 kilometers from Hoonah. This area owned by Huna Totem was historically used as hunting and fishing grounds and a place for gathering of subsistence resources, particularly berries and cedar bark used for baskets. With the tourism development at Icy Strait Point, the Spasski area was converted into a bear-viewing area including a 2-kilometer gravel pathway wandering through meadows and featuring several raised platforms over the creek. Several residents told me that they were no longer allowed to visit the area as a result of the tourism enterprise there. The loss of this area raised questions among shareholders who felt entitled to use the land. In reference to a non-Native PSDC executive, one resident asked, "Who is this guy from Florida to come and tell a shareholder that he can't walk on the land he owns?" Other residents were not deterred from visiting Spasski Creek, in spite of corporate policy. Corporate officials were not clear about their specific policy related to shareholder use of this special area. Nor was it known whether this prohibition of use was only during cruise ship season, or would be year-round. The implications of restricting access to this area depend on the parameters set by the corporation and their ability to communicate regulations clearly to Hoonah residents.

City infrastructure—

Tourism expansion at Point Sophia cannery also had an impact on city infrastructure, including roads, facilities, and public services. City officials talked about the frequent visitor requests for access to restrooms in city hall. The city secured funding for the use of portable toilets to accommodate cruise ship guests, but there was a sense that more permanent restroom facilities were needed. There was an acknowledged need for expanded telecommunications capacity for cruise ship guests and crew members. Hoonah city officials also sought a needs assessment of their existing medical and emergency services, given the presence of cruise ship passengers with

As visitor volumes rise in future years, it is likely that pressure on public resources will also intensify.

health needs. "So far there has been no problem, but we need to consider training for EMTs [emergency medical technicians]. Who will pay for this?" Finally, there was discussion about the need to extend the city water line to the cannery. Some residents objected to the use of public funds to support private tourism development, when other needs might be greater. As visitor volumes rise in future years, it is likely that pressure on public resources will also intensify. Other southeast Alaska cruise ports have devised ways to raise funds to support these services through sales taxes, docking fees, head taxes, and other means.

The development of Icy Strait Point was welcomed by a diversity of Hoonah residents. The economic benefits in the form of jobs and income helped to offset some losses from the loss of fishing and timber employment. The short-term and sporadic nature of the work meshed well with the subsistence lifestyle of many employees. At the close of the 2004 season, there was a shared sense of success and accomplishment among local officials and PSDC executives. Local residents grew accustomed to more frequent interactions with visitors. Youth and other residents involved in cultural performances for tourists gained new opportunities to learn about aspects of Tlingit culture. Still, the development raised many questions about the future relations between the community and Icy Strait Point. Residents desired greater access to the cannery grounds, which represent an important part of the community's history as well as a favorite place for recreation. Residents wanted visitors to know about their community, rather than be written off the tourist maps and brochures. The transfer of totem poles, a carved canoe, and other cultural materials to Icy Strait Point was a source of concern, particularly given limited local access to the tourist facility. Finally, residents desired greater opportunities for local firms to access the cannery site and benefit from the presence of cruise guests.

Conclusions

Tourism was slow to take hold in Hoonah prior to 2001, in comparison to other communities in southeast Alaska, as wary residents were concerned about the changes that tourism might introduce. Residents interviewed in 2001 were hopeful that tourism would generate local employment, but worried about being able to control the growth of tourism, in lieu of the perceived imbalances in power between communities and cruise lines witnessed in other southeast Alaska cruise ports. Residents also wondered about changes their community might experience. How might people react to the presence of strangers who bring different values and

worldviews? How would the city deal with large groups of people wandering around downtown? Would Tlingit cultural properties, both material and oral, be threatened by exposure to visitors? What would be the effect of tourism on subsistence resources? Hoonah residents were adamantly opposed to introducing changes in their rural values and lifestyles and practice of Tlingit culture.

Once initiated by Hoonah's native corporation (Huna Totem), tourism flourished, bringing tens of thousands of cruise visitors to Icy Strait Point. Hopes and concerns expressed in 2001 were being addressed by local civic and political institutions. The location of the tourist venue outside of town reduced the physical impact to the local community, although it also meant that downtown businesses and firms not endorsed by PSDC did not have ready access to visitors. Local jobs were generated by the project, both in the construction phase and in operation of the destination. The focus on Tlingit culture and the interpretation of both traditional and current cultural practice for the benefit of visitors enhanced a sense of cultural pride and cultivated interest in Tlingit language, stories, and songs. Icy Strait Point was deemed successful in its initial phases, yet residents shared ongoing concerns about access to natural areas used for recreation and subsistence.

Ownership of the destination by a corporation with local roots and a stake in the community helped residents feel that their interests would be considered in management decisions.

Ownership of the destination by a corporation with local roots and a stake in the community helped residents feel that their interests would be considered in management decisions. Meanwhile, the assets brought to the project by Huna Totem Corporation, in terms of land, labor, and capital, resulted in a strong company with greater negotiating power, compared to other cruise ports, where business owners, civic leaders, and local officials were less unified. This unique arrangement between Huna Totem and the cruise lines suggests the potential to exert greater influence over future tourism growth and the ability to protect and represent local needs and interests. The unequal distribution of power between cruise lines and local communities has been a common theme in cruise ports worldwide (Cerveny 2004, Pattullo 1999). The dual role of the Native corporation as both mediator and developer of tourism is a complex one. Over time, the corporation's ability to maintain control of tourism growth may be tested as the cruise lines exert pressure to expand guest capacity and frequency of ship stops.

Prevailing Themes

In contemplating the story of tourism in Hoonah, particularly in juxtaposition to the rise (and fall) of tourism in nearby Haines, Alaska, several themes rise to the surface.

Economic importance of tourism—

Tourism is often recognized as an important source of economic development for rural, resource-based regions (Perdue et. al. 1990). In the 1990s, Hoonah community leaders were investigating the community's tourism potential, but little momentum was in place to develop a tourism industry. The closure of the Whitestone Logging Camp in 2003 signified the end of the large-scale timber harvest and the need for a new source of economic growth, particularly given the ups and downs of the fishing industry. Hoonah residents interviewed in 2001 realized that a new source of employment was needed to sustain the local economy, and many acknowledged that tourism would be a likely alternative. The timely introduction of the cannery project in 2003 helped to offset some job losses from the closure of the camp and gave residents a sense of hope for the future. Residents rallied around the creation of Icy Strait Point and worked together to ensure its success. As a result, tourism has become the community's foremost industry and gained significant importance economically.

With little investment in fixed resources on land, cruise lines may quickly shift itineraries to accommodate new destinations or increased entries.

As visitor volume grows in coming years, the economic role of tourism is likely to increase further. Examples from Haines and other communities suggest that becoming overly dependent on the arrival of cruise ships can be dangerous. With little investment in fixed resources on land, cruise lines may quickly shift itineraries to accommodate new destinations or increased entries to Glacier Bay, for example. Thus, local officials may consider following the example of other port communities by exploring opportunities for diversifying into other tourism sectors, such as independent travelers and smaller cruise lines. In the meantime, local officials may consider alternative paths to development not related to tourism as a means to further diversify the local economy.

Cooperation among local organizations—

Cooperation among community institutions and stakeholders in tourism development is important for maintaining local control of tourism and promotes a sense of ownership and involvement (King and Stewart 1996). An important element of the story of tourism in Hoonah is the unique circumstances that promoted cooperation and support among local institutions, namely the cooperation of the native corporation, city, tribal government, and to a lesser extent the Tongass National Forest. In recent Hoonah history, these organizations have often worked in parallel fashion, or in other cases, at cross purposes. The development of Icy Strait Point found these institutions working toward a common goal—to create a tourism destination that emphasized Hoonah's cultural and natural heritage and proud fishing history. The

realization that this project would employ shareholders, tribal members, and Hoonah citizens focused the energies of these organizations, which possess different values and interests. The constellation of leadership of these organizations within a family group also facilitated these efforts. Over time, relations between local organizations became strained when Huna Totem assumed control over cultural programs at Icy Strait Point. The corporation must balance disparate goals of achieving a profit for shareholders, generating employment, and protecting community interests. The need for local organizations to work together to identify common interests and potential sources of tension has been shown in other communities. When community agencies work at cross-purposes, the potential for social conflict is great (Cerveny 2004). Although resentment persists among some residents, no organized opposition movement surfaced, as occurred in Haines in 2000.

The corporation must balance disparate goals of achieving a profit for shareholders, generating employment, and protecting community interests.

Protecting local interests—

Cruise lines have demonstrated an ability to exert leverage among rival ports within popular cruise destinations such as the Caribbean or Alaska (Garin 2005, Klein 2005). As Wood (2003) pointed out, cruise ships are "deterritorialized destinations" that provide for a full range of visitor services on board. For some passengers, the cruise ship itself is the source of entertainment, not the port, although this may be truer in the Caribbean than Alaska. What is obvious is that cruise lines have the ability to shift venues quickly to respond to changes in customer demand, prices of oil, incentives offered by other ports, or dissatisfaction with the port offerings. These shifts have occurred in Alaska, often with serious effects on the host community. Several cruise lines, including Holland America and Carnival, left the port of Valdez in 2001 and 2002, owing to a variety of factors, including the opening of entries to Glacier Bay, and dissatisfaction with the variety and quantity of shore excursions offered (Juneau Empire 2001, 2002). Royal Caribbean ships reduced arrivals to Haines after 2001 as a result of a variety of economic factors, and the perception among corporate officials that Haines residents did not welcome cruise ships (Juneau Empire 2000).

Evidence from Haines and Hoonah suggests that certain institutions may be more successful in negotiating with cruise lines. In Haines, no unified voice represented community interests, nor did any institution possess the capacity to exert influence on the cruise lines (Cerveny 2004). Local organizations were not unified in their tourism goals. Individual business owners competed for cruise ship contracts, which inhibited them from working together to protect common interests. City officials attempted to facilitate tourism planning; environmental organizations

With access to capital and resources, the corporation was in a stronger position to negotiate with the cruise lines on their terms.

pressed corporation and city leaders for solutions to address the social costs of tourism. As a result, the cruise lines were in a position of power, without a unified tourism organization to represent and translate community interests. Huna Totem invested in the redevelopment of the cannery site and created the destination. They also negotiated with the cruise lines to develop tourism at a pace that was in keeping with local concerns. The corporation thus played the dual role of investor/developer and protector of community and shareholder interests. With access to capital and resources, the corporation was in a stronger position to negotiate with the cruise lines on their terms. The dividends paid out to shareholders create a sense of local investment in the project. The effectiveness of the Hoonah model will be tested over time.

Native culture—

The wealth of cultural resources in Hoonah presents rich opportunities for sharing information with visitors. Cultural tourism represents a growing sector of the tourism industry with potential economic and social benefits for host communities. A study of Alaska visitors showed that 77 percent were potentially interested in visiting cultural centers or museums to learn about Native culture (Christiensen et al. 2003). Yet, cultural tourism poses unique challenges to host communities. Consumer demand for cultural and heritage experiences can result in greater resources and incentives to protect cultural resources. At the same time, visitor exposure and interaction with cultural and heritage resources also puts them at risk for exploitation, over-use, commodification, or worse, damage or destruction (McKercher and DuCros 2002). Moreover, the display of cultural heritage for the benefit of visitors may or may not enhance appreciation by local residents whose cultural traditions are being represented. Local leaders have recognized the need to consider ways to provide quality visitor experiences and increase visitor exposure to cultural heritage and at the same time protect and manage cultural resources.

Hoonah residents acknowledged the potential benefits and pitfalls of culturally based tourism on existing cultural resources. Tourism developers and tribal officials were working together to pursue strategies and design facilities to promote visitor enjoyment while protecting the integrity of cultural properties. A museum on the site of the Icy Strait Point facility provides a venue for visitors to appreciate Tlingit culture and provides a climate-controlled environment for storage of cultural properties. Local access to these cultural materials may become an important issue in the future if Icy Strait Point continues to restrict resident access to the cannery site.

Cultural tourism also involves sharing stories, histories, and interpreting cultural traditions for the benefit of visitors. Interpretation represents a powerful means for Hoonah residents to share their interpretation of history, culture, and the land. Opportunities to engage in interpretation on ships in Glacier Bay as well as in Hoonah represent an important step for the Huna people to regain control of their history. Yet, as anthropologists have learned, social conflict can emerge when one clan or ethnic group perceives that their stories have been muted, altered, or over-shadowed by another, or when there is a perception that the oral history of one group is being presented at another's expense (Adams 1997). Cultural interpretation requires ongoing involvement and feedback from many clans and ethnic groups that make up the broader community. The ultimate success of tourism in Hoonah may depend on managing clan relations and encouraging a sense of inclusion to the extent possible.

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Tourism landscapes—

The introduction of tourism into a host community can result in a change in cultural meanings attached to tourism places (Shaw and Williams 2004). They can also change the predominant use of these areas, disrupting traditional patterns of land tenure (Mansperger 1995). In Haines, the presence of a commercial tour in a favorite remote recreation site led to a shift in local use and attachment to that site (Cerveny 2004). Similarly, the creation of a cruise destination at Point Sophia also changed user patterns at cannery point, at least during cruise ship season. In addition, the development of a bear-viewing area at Spasski Creek altered the predominant use of that area from a subsistence hunting and gathering location to that of a trail designed for commercial tourism use. This change in definition of land use displaced subsistence and recreation users who appreciated having a site close to town for hunting, fishing, and gathering. The presence of the tourism industry in Spasski and at Point Sophia may add new layers of meaning to those places or challenge local relations with these socially and economically significant places. As visitor numbers increase, other areas in the Huna territory may see increased visitor use by commercial tour operators. More research is needed to understand the effects of these changes on local patterns of resource use and place attachments.

Regional aspects—

The emergence of a new cruise destination in Hoonah had repercussions for other ports throughout Alaska. Ships traveling to Alaska from Vancouver and Seattle typically have a 7-day itinerary. Glacier Bay National Park is the region's preeminent attraction, with many cruise lines spending a full day in Glacier Bay. Other

staple ports on the Alaska itinerary include Skagway, Juneau, and Ketchikan, where the major cruise lines have invested in onshore enterprises. This constricted schedule leaves finite opportunities for ships to visit secondary ports, such as Sitka, Haines, and Wrangell. When Icy Strait Point opened its doors in 2004, ship traffic shifted, and some secondary ports experienced declines. Local officials responded by striving to build relations with cruise executives and seeking strategies to regain market share. More information is needed to understand how the introduction of Icy Strait Point affects the regional patterns of cruise ship visitation and the implications for local communities.

An increase in tourist volume along with the expanding diversity of tourism products and services has resulted in more people sharing the same natural areas in increasingly diverse ways.

Implications for Resource Managers

Managing hot spots—

An increase in tourist volume along with the expanding diversity of tourism products and services has resulted in more people sharing the same natural areas in increasingly diverse ways. In some cases, this has resulted in "hot spots," places of tourist interest that attract a wide variety of recreational users in ever greater volumes. Hotspots can breed tension or conflict among user groups with different ethics, interests, modes of transportation, or recreational activities. The Tongass National Forest has identified several hotspots in the Hoonah area and is managing these through the allocation of permits to commercial recreation providers. Yet, many visitors to these areas are not required to obtain permits because they are not physically accessing the land. In the case of Point Adolphus, the majority of visitors, including sportfishers and whale-watching enthusiasts, do not leave their boats. The addition of tour boats from Icy Strait Point in 2004 further intensified use of these areas. Thus, management of land-based activities in these popular areas addresses one portion of the problem. To continue to ensure a quality visitor experience and to minimize undesirable impacts on natural resources, additional mechanisms for managing use may be considered.

One strategy employed successfully in other settings has been the use of area-specific planning groups, consisting of tourism stakeholders and public agencies. By bringing together multiple users, including fishing guides, tour operators, commercial fishermen, local subsistence users, and representatives of federal and state resource agencies, the values, interests, and needs of groups can be identified and addressed. Examples of multistakeholder, site-based planning has occurred in other parts of southeast Alaska, such as the Chilkoot River Corridor (Haines), and the Thorne Bay Watershed (Prince of Wales Island). Stakeholder groups can work

together to develop voluntary protocols, adjust schedules, and monitor effects in certain hotspots or across a broader area. Public resource managers often play a key role in facilitating these groups.

The use of mapping software and computer modeling may help to predict the emergence of hotspots. Although user patterns throughout the area tend to shift from year to year, potential hotspots may be predicted based on proximity to recreation infrastructure (e.g., anchorages, docks, trails), natural features (e.g., scenery, beach haul-out areas, known presence of wildlife and marine mammals), and proximity to communities or other sources of tourists (e.g., ships). Data gathered from existing outfitter guides and tour operators may help to establish a visual depiction of user patterns over time. This would allow managers to predict and plan for use of these areas.

Anticipating growing visitor use—

The creation of Icy Strait Point in 2004 brought 66,000 new visitors to Hoonah. By 2006, ship visits increased by 20, resulting in 115,000 guests at Icy Strait Point. With visitor growth, the array of tour opportunities generated directly by Icy Strait Point, as well as by local entrepreneurs is likely to result in increased visitation to public lands and resources. In Haines, the volume of visitors increased fourfold and the number of tour guides doubled within 5 years after the cruise ship dock was built. These changes resulted in expanded use of public lands and resources, which affected local user patterns and values. Moreover, Hoonah is likely to see growth in independent travelers as a result of increased exposure. These visitors are more likely to venture into the national forest and use existing recreation facilities. As visitor volumes rise, the tendency for visitor and local use to overlap is greater. All of this is compounded by restricted use of Huna Totem lands being developed for tourism. Thus, forest areas closest to Hoonah likely will experience an increase in visitor use, particularly those with recreation facilities or scenic qualities. Some displacement of local users may occur, as happened in Haines. Tongass National Forest officials may study the distribution of outfitter-guide use in Haines and other sites to predict patterns of road use.

A 2004 recreation plan completed for the Hoonah Ranger District outlined the need for additional capacity to engage in recreation planning and management to meet user demands. Without staff or an adequate budget to maintain existing recreation infrastructure or plan and implement new recreation programs, the district will inevitably be reacting to recreation problems caused by increased visitor use.

Forest officials would benefit from working proactively with Icy Strait Point officials to plan tourism growth and mitigate undesirable effects of tourism on resident resource use.

Growth of tourism in Hoonah has caused some residents to worry about restricted access to the forest in the future.

Restricted use of public lands—
The creation of Glacier Bay National Park and the gradual exclusion of Hoonah residents from their homeland resulted in a bitterness and distrust that has shaped attitudes of many local residents toward federal land management agencies. The Tongass National Forest is managed by different statues and regulations, enabling more open access to Huna Tlingit residents for hunting, fishing, and other subsistence uses. However, the growth of tourism in Hoonah has caused some residents to worry about restricted access to the forest in the future. Some equate the construction of recreation facilities geared to commercial recreation groups as steps toward a more visitor-focused management policy. The need to build trust and engage with Hoonah residents in planning future recreation facilities is apparent. Models of collaborative planning may provide useful examples for working with local stakeholders to integrate community values in future recreation decisions.

Future Research

This report has identified several trends associated with tourism development in rural, resource-based communities in southeast Alaska. Further study may help to provide greater detail to enable resource managers and community leaders to better predict and respond to changes associated with tourism development. Four areas of study are recommended: (1) An analysis of the relation between tourism and recreation trends in the Huna Territory and its effects on places of social, cultural, spiritual, and economic significance for local residents. This study could combine oral history accounts with mapping tools to understand how tourism affects local relations with significant spaces. (2) The development or implementation of models to determine and predict ideal recreation sites in coastline areas of the Huna territory. This study would combine an analysis of market trends in recreation and tourism with a methodological approach to determining geographic, topological, aesthetic, social, or other site features that encourage use by a variety of recreation groups. (3) Ethnographic study of the importance of Glacier Bay to the Huna people and its various clans, and the sociocultural implications of visitor use of this sacred territory. (4) Using sustainable livelihood approaches to explore the interaction between tourism employment and other income sources and livelihood strategies in everyday survival.

Acknowledgments

Many individuals and organizations contributed to this research in Hoonah. I am especially grateful to Paul Matter and the Hoonah Ranger District of the Tongass National Forest, who offered me accommodations and office space during my stay in Hoonah, as well as numerous other support services. I especially thank Donna Pratt, Winona Dick, Chuck Parsley, Gino Cisneros, Chris Budke, and John Baldwin.

I want to acknowledge the City of Hoonah staff, who graciously donated their city chambers for focus groups and who helped orient me to Hoonah, especially former mayor Albert Dick. I also thank Johanna Dybdahl and the staff at the Hoonah Indian Association, who were so generous with their time and helped me to identify key elders and community members for this research. Thanks are also extended to Johann Dybdahl and other representatives of Icy Strait Point, who shared with me aspects of the project at the cannery. And, I commend the staff at the Bromley Center whose work was tremendous.

Thanks are extended to Bob Schroeder for his mentorship throughout the process of field research and for familiarizing me with the study community. I also thank Peter Castro for providing helpful methodological insights and field work support from afar. I appreciate the reviews of Stephen Langdon of the University of Alaska, Anchorage, Mike Dunning at the University of Alaska, Southeast, and Mary Beth Moss of the Hoonah Indian Association. Dale Blahna and Richard Haynes also reviewed final drafts of this report.

English Equivalents

When you know	Multiply by:	To find:
Kilometers	0.6215	Miles
Centimeters	.394	Inches
Meters	3.28	Feet
Hectares	2.47	Acres
Celsius	1.8 + 32	Fahrenheit
Kilograms	2.205	Pounds
Square kilometers	.386	Square miles
Cubic meters (logs)	222	Board feet

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Appendix 1. Sample Characteristics

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

The following data comes from the USDC Bureau of the Census (2000):

Sex. In 2000, Hoonah residents were 53 percent male and 47 percent female, with a slightly lower percentage of female residents than the state of Alaska (48.3 percent).

Age. The median age of Hoonah residents has increased from 29.4 years in 1990 to 35.6 in 2000. State averages increased less dramatically, from 29.4 years to 32.4 years. The proportion of Hoonah residents over age 65 increased from 5 percent in 1990 to 8 percent in 2000, compared to the state average of 5.7 percent in 2000. Looking at the younger generation, 43 percent of Hoonah's population was under the age of 25 in 1990, compared to 38.6 percent in 2000, which is similar to the state average for 2000 (39.6 percent).

Veteran status. Roughly 14 percent of the population was made up of Veterans in 1990, slightly higher than the state average of 12 percent.

Education level. The levels of educational attainment in Hoonah in 1990 were slightly lower than state averages. In Hoonah, 80 percent of the population had at least a high school diploma, compared to 87 percent of Alaska residents. In 1990, 37 percent of Hoonah residents had some college experience or a college degree or higher, compared to 57 percent of Alaska residents.

Nativity. The percentage of Hoonah residents born in Alaska has declined over time. In 1990, 74.8 percent of Hoonah residents were born in Alaska, compared to 68.3 percent in 2000. These numbers still exceed state averages. Just 38 percent of Alaska residents in 2000 overall were born in Alaska.

Residency. In 2000, 15 percent of residents reported having lived in a different county in 1995, suggesting an influx of newcomers and returning residents.

Appendix 2. Interview Guides

General Interview Guide

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

I. Background Questions

A. Years in [Hoonah]/Years in Alaska

B. Previous residences (Where from originally/school/other places lived)

PROBE:

What brought you to Alaska?

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

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

II. Community Life

1. Why did you decide to move to [Hoonah]? [Why have you decided to remain in [Hoonah]?]

2. How would you describe [Hoonah] when you first moved here? (Or, how would you describe the [Hoonah] 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 [Hoonah] did you get together to socialize with your friends?

c. What kinds of activities did you do in your leisure time? Where?

d. What was [Hoonah] like during and after the War? The pipeline? Timber years?

3. What changes have you observed in the time you have lived here?

PROBE:

How would you explain the causes of these changes?

4. What do you value most about living in [Hoonah]? What do you value least about living in [Hoonah]?

5. What characteristics, if any, do you feel [Hoonah] residents share in common?
    a. What differences do you see among people living in [Hoonah]?
    b. How would you describe newcomers to [Hoonah]?
6. What would you hope for the community in the future?
    PROBES:
    a. What industries would you like to see grow in [Hoonah] in the future? Why?
    b. What are your biggest fears or concerns for the future of [Hoonah]?

III. Tourism

A. Background

1. When did you first notice that tourism was becoming an important part of life in [Hoonah]? [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 [Hoonah]?
    PROBES:
    a. What changes have you observed in the types of visitors who come to [Hoonah]?
    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 [Hoonah]?
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 [Hoonah]?
    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 [Hoonah] affected your life?
3. What aspects of the tourist season do you look forward to?
4. What aspects of tourism concern you?

C. Effects of Tourism

1. In your view, how does tourism benefit [Hoonah]?
2. In your view, what are the most significant negative effects of tourism for the community?
3. How has the growing presence of the tourism industry affected community life?

PROBES:

a. Friendships and social relationships among residents
b. Local decisionmaking in the city and borough
c. Local economy

4. How does the presence of tourism affect the way natural resources are used?

PROBES:

a. Access to recreation and quality recreation experiences
b. Commercial uses of lands and resources
c. Subsistence activities

5. How much tourism would you like to see in the future–say in 10 years?

What sectors of the tourism industry would you like to see grow, decline, stay the same?

6. What are your biggest fears or concerns for the future tourism of [Hoonah]?

Focus Group Interview Guide

I. Background

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

A. Context

This focus group is one part of a study being conducted by the Pacific Northwest Research Station in Juneau, Alaska, which is the research unit of the Forest Service. [I am working closely with Bob Schroeder, whom some of you may know through his work on subsistence with Fish & Game.] Our overall goal is to understand tourism and its role in three southeast Alaska communities, so that communities and the Forest Service can be better prepared for the future. We also are collecting information in Haines and Craig. My name is Lee Cerveny, and I am the primary researcher on this study. This research is also part of my dissertation at Syracuse University in upstate New York.

Each summer, nearly a million people visit southeast Alaska and this number is expected to double in about 7 years. Many communities enjoy the economic benefits that go along with tourism. And, communities catering to tourism often have undergone significant changes in their local economies, infrastructure, social relationships, and land uses. Community residents see both positive and negative impacts related to tourism development. Whether or not people in Hoonah decide to promote tourism, tourism is happening all around us. In addition to the 800,000 people touring Icy Strait on 2000-passenger cruise ships, there about a dozen small, 100-passenger cruise ships touring southeast Alaska. We also are seeing tremendous growth in whale watching, charter fishing, and adventure tourism, such as kayaking, hiking, and nature tours based in Juneau, Gustavus, and other communities. Fishing lodges are blossoming in places like Elfin Cove, bringing in hundreds of visitors a year to catch fish in southeast Alaska waters. Independent marine traffic is growing–benefiting ports such as Hoonah, where people stop for fuel and supplies.

I have been studying Alaska tourism for 3 years and have been talking to Hoonah residents about tourism since October. I have learned that tourism brings jobs and other economic benefits to local communities. It also creates changes in

community life–some welcome and some not, depending on one's perspective. Like any industry, tourism has benefits and costs. In thinking about tourism as an option for economic development, Hoonah faces tough choices that may affect the community's future. So far in my research, I have learned a couple of important things. First, as the tourism industry grows in a community, more nonlocal business owners get involved and influence community life. Second, planning is needed to minimize tourism's negative effects and maximize local benefits. The reality of tourism is that it is happening all around Hoonah. As today's more popular tourist places become crowded in the future, some visitors will turn toward areas like Hoonah for travel and adventure. Ready or not. Hoonah is now in a good position to start thinking about what its future relationship with tourism will be and where the community wants to go.

Today, our job is to talk about tourism in Hoonah now and in the future. I am not here in support of tourism or against it, but merely to learn about how people in the community feel about it. First, we will talk about community life and the local economy, then we will spend time talking about tourism. We'll go about 60 minutes, take a break and have something to eat, and then we'll finish up for another 30 minutes. We should be done by 7:00 p.m. when the planning meeting begins.

Before we start, I want to make a few comments about how this session will be run. I have a list of questions I want to ask. I will ask the whole group and whoever wants to speak first may do so. Everyone who wants to address the question will have an opportunity to speak before we move on. Because we have a number of topics to cover, I would like to encourage people to remain focused on the questions asked. I apologize in advance if I have to cut short an interesting discussion because of our time constraints. Geno here has the difficult job of keeping me on track with time.

Before we move on, are there any questions?

B. Geographic Scope

Please consider tourism and its effects on the city of Hoonah and the surrounding areas used by Hoonah residents for hunting, fishing, collecting, and recreation, including Native corporation lands, nearby Native claims and private holdings, and Forest Service land on Chichagof Island. We will not be talking directly about Glacier Bay, since it is part of the National Park Service. [SHOW MAP]

C. Ground Rules

Before we begin, I would like to propose a few ground rules. [Posted on flip chart.]

(1) Every idea is a valuable one. There is no such thing as a "wrong" answer. Everyone has an important perspective to contribute. I'm here to learn about your ideas, whether or not you're involved in tourism.
(2) We will listen to and respect the ideas people share.
(3) What we say will not leave the room.
(4) No comments will be attributed to individuals in the report. All comments will be lumped into the group report.
(5) You are free to leave at any time. However, if you leave early, you will miss the cookies and the bonus prizes.

Are there any other ground rules you would like to add to the list?

D. Other Housekeeping

I will pass around a sign-up sheet. Please feel free to write your name and check the box if you would like a copy of the final report about tourism in Hoonah.

For research purposes, I also am required through my University to have written consent that you are willing to participate in the study. If you could sign your name next to your printed name, this would imply your written consent.

Also, I have given everyone paper and pencil if you want to jot down any thoughts (or draw doodles) as we go along. If you draw a doodle of me, the only thing that I ask is that you make me look 20 pounds thinner and 10 years younger.

Finally, we would like to record this session so that we may better remember what the group said. We will destroy the tapes after the information has been typed. Is everyone okay with that?

E. Introductions

I realize that most of you know each other well, but could we go around the room and introduce ourselves. In addition to stating your name, I encourage you to talk about your background, clan, number of years in Hoonah, other places you've lived, and your experience with tourism.

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

A. Community (10 minutes)

1. First, let's do a little warm-up exercise. Let's go around the room. Using a few words or short phrases, how would you describe Hoonah to someone who had never visited? (3 minutes)

2. Hoonah has been affected by changes in the commercial fishing and timber industries. Many people feel that there need to be new sources of economic growth. What kinds of jobs would you like to see grow in Hoonah? (7 minutes)

PROBE: What is next for Hoonah?

B. Tourism: Part I (45 minutes)

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

CURRENT TOURISM LEVELS (15 minutes)

1. First, how do you know when you are looking at a tourist? (2 minutes)
2. When you see tourists in Hoonah and the surrounding area, what sort of things are they doing? [fishing, hunting, boating, ferry, etc…] (5 minutes)

PROBE: What activities are visitors involved in? LIST.

3. Are there places you often visit in the area of Icy Strait/Chichagof Island where you have seen an increase in visitors or tour operators? (8 minutes) LIST
3a. How (if at all) does it change the way you use these places?

FUTURE TOURISM (30 minutes)

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

4. What features does Hoonah offer that would attract visitors? (2 minutes)

PROBE: Why would someone want to visit Hoonah?

5. Given all the tourism activity happening close by, why don't we see more visitors in Hoonah today? (3 minutes)

6. Why would the tourism industry be good for Hoonah? (5 minutes)

7. When people think about tourists coming to Hoonah, what concerns might arise? (5 minutes)

8. How does tourism affect people's ability to hunt, fish, and gather items for customary and traditional use? (5 minutes)
One thing we want to do is establish whether Hoonah residents see tourism as an option for growing the economy and creating jobs. There are many kinds of visitors to attract and visitor activities to promote.

9. What sort of tourism activities, businesses and attractions do you think would be most desirable in Hoonah. Try to consider realistic options. BRAINSTORM LIST. (5 minutes)

b. Now, let's rank these based on desirability. Pick three top choices and write them down on some paper. How many people put "X" on their list of top three? (It doesn't matter what order.) Go down the list. (5 minutes)

BREAK: (15 minutes)

C. Tourism Part II (30 minutes)

FUTURE TOURISM LEVELS (cont.)
Using the list of ideas people generated, make a "top-five" list.

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

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

IF NOT ON THE "TOP 5" LIST, DO 10a, 10b, 10c
10a. In many areas of the world, visitors travel to learn about Native culture. Do you think it would be a good idea to promote something like this in Hoonah? Why? What are some ways Tlingit culture might be shared with visitors? (5 minutes)

10b. A number of southeast Alaska communities are bringing in cruise ships. What would be the benefit of having large cruise ships dock or anchor near Hoonah? What concerns would you have about this? (5 minutes)

10c. Smaller ships typically bring fewer people and stay longer in port. What are the benefits of small cruise ships? Drawbacks? (5 minutes)

LOCAL CAPACITY (10–15 minutes)

1. What things need to happen for tourism to grow in Hoonah?

2. What improvements need to be made in local infrastructure to accommodate future visitors in Hoonah?
3. What could be done to prevent any unwanted changes future tourism might bring to Hoonah?
4. What agencies should be involved in talking about tourism? What should they be doing? (PROBES: city, HIA, Huna Totem, ANB/ANS, etc.)
5. What should the Forest Service be doing with regard to recreation and tourism in the Hoonah Ranger District?

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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 S.W. First Avenue
P.O. Box 3890
Portland, OR 97208-3890