

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Emily F. Pomeranz for the degree of Master of Science in Forest Resources presented on December 8, 2011.

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Increasingly popular methods for managing impacts of tourism in nature-based settings include collaborative and voluntary codes of conduct. In southeast Alaska, for example, the Tourism Best Management Practices (TBMP) in Juneau and Wilderness Best Management Practices (WBMP) in Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness have been created to address shore and marine based tourism (e.g., cruise ships). This thesis contains three articles examining stakeholder: (a) definitions of wilderness and their influence on perceptions of the WBMP process, (b) motivations for collaboration in the WBMP and effects of this process on stakeholder relations, and (c) perceptions of indicators in the WBMP and motivations for compliance. Data were obtained from 28 interviews with tour operators, cruise industry representatives, US Forest Service personnel, and local residents. Findings in the first article showed that most respondents had some degree of purism in their definitions of wilderness (e.g., solitude, minimal impact), although cruise industry personnel had less purist definitions. With the exception of cruise representatives, most respondents felt that the wilderness character of this wilderness area was being threatened by vessel traffic,

especially cruise ships. Most interviewees supported the WBMP as an alternative to regulations because it allowed for personal freedom and input into rulemaking, but many felt that the WBMP may be unable to address some future effects of tourism in the area. Many of the smaller and more purist operators felt that if the pristine character of this area was threatened, they might support regulations. Most stakeholders, however, displayed a type of cognitive dissonance by expressing concern over threats to the wilderness character of this area, yet rejecting formal regulations that may be needed for protecting the wilderness experiences they value most. Results from the second article demonstrated that the WBMP has enhanced stakeholder relations by improving communication and dialogue, and instilling an ethic of compromise and sharing. Lack of trust, however, was a concern, especially between smaller tour operators and cruise lines due to a perception that cruise lines are not following all of the WBMP guidelines. There was concern regarding how inclusive the WBMP should be, as many cruise representatives felt that local residents should not participate. Respondents also stated some concerns with Juneau's TBMP that could be used as lessons for improving the WBMP (e.g., noncompliance, incentives, monitoring). Findings covered in the third article showed that stakeholders considered the most contentious guideline in the WBMP to be the preservation of solitude, but they felt that the most important guidelines involved environmental factors such as impacts of tourism on seals. Compliance with the WBMP guidelines was motivated by altruism, peer pressure, and self-interest. Noncompliance was attributed to a lack of awareness of the WBMP and effects of noncompliant behavior,

and perceptions that the WBMP was an example of government interference in private business operations. These findings may help agencies continue facilitating the WBMP and similar collaborative processes in other locales.

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Direct Stakeholder Perceptions of Collaboration, Indicators, and Compliance
Associated with the Wilderness Best Management Practices in Tracy Arm-Fords
Terror Wilderness, Alaska

by
Emily F. Pomeranz

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APPROVED:

Major Professor, representing Forest Resources

Head of the Department of Forest Engineering, Resources and Management

Dean of the Graduate School

I understand that my thesis will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my thesis to any reader upon request.

Emily F. Pomeranz, Author

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Direct Stakeholder Perceptions of Collaboration, Indicators, and Compliance
Associated with the Wilderness Best Management Practices in Tracy Arm-Fords
Terror Wilderness, Alaska

CHAPTER 1—INTRODUCTION

Since the United Nations (UN) and the Brundtland Commission issued their report *Our Common Future* in 1987, the term “sustainable development” has become a buzzword for organizations, governments, and industries. This report defined sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). The Brundtland Commission inspired many sustainability initiatives such as Agenda 21, which was adopted in 1992 by 182 governments at the UN Conference on the Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro (World Travel Organization, 1996). In response to Agenda 21, the tourism industry collaborated to develop a framework for sustainable tourism entitled “Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry,” which specified practices that tourism businesses may adopt to improve sustainability (World Travel Organization, 1996). This charter stimulated development of both formal and informal approaches to make tourism more sustainable, such as codes of conduct, benchmarking, best management practices, eco-labeling, and green certification (Weaver, 2001).

Most of these approaches for making tourism more sustainable by mitigating negative environmental, social, and economic impacts are voluntary as there is little existing regulation for all of the various and diverse aspects of this industry (e.g., tourists, hotels, suppliers, operators; Font, 2002). Since the 1990s, these voluntary

approaches for managing tourism have flourished to more than 250 different types of initiatives that are typically self-regulating and based on sets of ethics (Dubois, 2001; Honey, 2001). These methods may be formal, such as required ecolabelling and environmental management systems, or they may be informal, such as voluntary codes of conduct and best management practices (Ayuso, 2007). These approaches frequently involve a diverse array of participating stakeholders including government agencies, park managers, community organizations, environmental and conservation special interest groups, scientists, and tourism companies such as hotels, cruise lines, and commercial tour operators (Buckley, 2002; MacPherson, Wilson, & Foote, 2008).

Formal approaches such as ecolabels often involve certification by an independent third party, are subject to regular reviews, and are meant to provide market differentiation for businesses involved (Ayuso, 2007; Font, 2002; Kozak & Nield, 2004). One of the most recognizable ecolabels is Green Globe, which is one of the only global tourism certification schemes (Griffin & DeLacey, 2002). Ecolabels have been criticized for being for-profit and allowing businesses to use their label without being formally certified (Font, 2002). In addition, formal tools such as ecolabels are varied and prolific, so they often lack consumer or tourist recognition (Griffin & DeLacey, 2002). For example, in a recent study by Park and Boo (2010), only 5% of respondents recognized Green Globe, one of the most prevalent tourism certifiers.

The most common informal approaches include voluntary codes of conduct or

best management practices (Ayuso, 2007). Codes of conduct are general statements that companies sign on to and are expected to follow as one way of demonstrating commitment to environmental and social ethics. Best management practices are typically more specific behavioral directives to ensure fulfillment of these ethics (Ayuso, 2007). MacPherson et al. (2008) compared a voluntary standards endeavor in Mesoamerica that has been perceived as successful to an unsuccessful endeavor in Hawaii, both initiated by the same nongovernmental organization. Although both efforts employed similar methods, the Mesoamerican process resulted in broad stakeholder acceptance and the institutionalization of codes of conduct in tourism business manuals. In Hawaii, however, failure was attributed to preexisting antagonistic relationships among stakeholders, a process that was perceived to be less transparent, a highly regulated environment, a narrow group of stakeholders involved, and a lack of incentives for participation (MacPherson et al., 2008).

Criticisms of these informal practices include a lack of monitoring mechanisms and measurable performance standards, a tendency to be broad and generic, and a general lack of accountability (Ayuso, 2007; Malloy & Fennell, 1998; Quiros, 2007). Despite these potential shortcomings, studies have found that tourism stakeholders generally have positive opinions and strong approval of codes of conduct (e.g., Park & Boo, 2010). In addition, codes of conduct and best management practices often contain implicit extralegal sanctions for noncompliance, such as shame, guilt, and diminished reputations (Furger, 2002). Studies have also shown that smaller operators

are more likely to use codes of conduct, whereas in larger organizations and companies such as cruise lines, codes of conduct and ethics are less likely to permeate the entire operation (Fennell & Malloy, 1999). For marine recreation and tourism, the growing cruise industry may be the ultimate test of the long-term success of voluntary codes of conduct as a management method for mitigating social, environmental, and economic impacts (MacPherson et al., 2008).

In southeast Alaska, the cruise industry has expanded rapidly over the past half-century. In 1964, only 11,000 people arrived in this region by cruise ship, but approximately four or five ships, each carrying over 2,500 passengers, are now docked daily in the city of Juneau during the summer season (Hall, 2007). The number of cruise ship passengers to southeast Alaska has more than doubled since 1990 and cruise ship visitation to Juneau increased from approximately 85,000 visitors in 1980 to nearly one million per year between 2002 and 2007 (Zegre, Needham, Kruger, & Rosenberger, in press). Concerns about potential environmental, social, and cultural effects of this influx of tourism motivated officials to develop collaborative and voluntary codes of conduct for this industry in Juneau (Alaska Department of Labor, 2011). In 1997, the City and Borough of Juneau, tourism operators, the cruise industry, and transportation services developed a set of guidelines called the Tourism Best Management Practices (TBMP) in an effort to help address categories of concern including transportation and vehicles, flightseeing, walking, hiking, bicycling, zipline tours, docks, harbors, the airport, marine tours, sightseeing, and sportfishing (Tourism

Best Management Practices, 2009). Operators participating in and agreeing to the TBMP require their employees to sign a form indicating that they understand and will abide by the practices. They also agree to notify the TBMP telephone hotline if they witness other operators not following these guidelines (Tourism Best Management Practices, 2009).

Using the TBMP as inspiration, in 2007 the US Forest Service initiated separate codes of conduct for managing water-based tourism in the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness, a region approximately 50 miles south of Juneau that is characterized by two narrow, granite-walled fjords (Neary & Griffin, 2008). The US Forest Service (USFS) has no jurisdiction over the water and therefore little managerial recourse to address impacts associated with water-based tourism, especially from the increasing cruise ship traffic in this area (Neary & Griffin, 2008). The state of Alaska maintains jurisdiction over the waterways, although it has not exercised any regulatory action with respect to water vessel behavior. Some aspects of the environment are regulated by other agencies such as the National Atmospheric and Oceanic Administration, which oversees the protection of endangered wildlife and marine mammals, and Alaska's Department of Environmental Conservation, which oversees water quality standards. Some regulations concerning ships in Juneau have been partially supported by citizen action. The voluntary codes of conduct implemented by the USFS are called the Wilderness Best Management Practices (WBMP) and represent a collaborative effort between the cruise industry, the US

Forest Service, and commercial tour operators such as charter yachts, catamarans, sailboats, and kayak companies. The goal of the WBMP are to “minimize the impacts of tourism and vessel operations...in a manner that addresses both concerns for our natural resources and operators’ concerns for the safety and passenger service” (Wilderness Best Management Practices [WBMP], 2011).

Previous research on informal and voluntary methods of managing tourism, such as codes of conduct and best management practices, have typically focused on creating descriptive models of various formal and informal tourism policy instruments or assessing the effectiveness of the codes of conduct once implemented; fewer studies have examined the perceptions and values of stakeholders involved and the influence of these cognitions on these processes and their outcomes (Ayuso, 2007; MacPherson et al., 2008; Malloy & Fennell, 1998; Quiros, 2007). In addition, collaboration is an increasingly popular tool in natural resource management, so it is an important process to examine. Most studies of collaborative efforts have focused on developing new frameworks or theoretical models for assessing, characterizing, or organizing collaboration, but comparatively fewer have examined relationships among stakeholder values and perceptions of these processes, and their subsequent effects on outcomes of collaboration (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Lauber, Stedman, Decker, Knuth, & Simon, 2011; Lovelock & Boyd, 2006; Plummer, 2006). Given these knowledge gaps and using the WBMP as a case study example, this thesis seeks to understand stakeholder cognitions related to the WBMP and link them to specific

perceptions about the collaborative guidelines, process, and outcomes.

Thesis Purpose and Organization

The overall general objective of this thesis is to understand attitudes and opinions of commercial tour operators, government agency personnel, cruise industry representatives, and local residents regarding the WBMP. This thesis contains three separate standalone articles addressing this objective based on data from 28 semi-structured interviews with these stakeholders conducted in the Juneau-Douglas area during the summer of 2010. The first article (chapter two) explores the significance of stakeholders' values and perceptions associated with wilderness and the influence of these cognitions on their opinions about the WBMP. This article addresses two specific research questions. First, how do these stakeholders each define wilderness? Second, how do these definitions influence attitudes toward the WBMP and beliefs about managing tourism in the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness area?

The second article (chapter three) examines stakeholder perceptions of the WBMP as a collaborative process and addresses four research questions. First, what are stakeholders' general motivations for collaborating in this process? Second, to what extent has this process affected relationships among stakeholders, especially with respect to issues such as trust and communication? Third, how do commercial tourism operators perceive the role of agencies (e.g., US Forest Service) in mediating this process? Fourth, how do respondents perceive collaboration in Juneau's TBMP

process and what lessons based on perceptions of this process can be learned and applied to the WBMP?

The third article (chapter four) identifies the specific WBMP guidelines that are most important to stakeholders and their perceptions of compliance with these guidelines. This article addresses two research questions. First, what sociocultural, environmental, and economic indicators do various stakeholders prioritize for inclusion in the WBMP for the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness area? Second, what are their motivations for complying or not complying with the WBMP guidelines? These three standalone articles are followed by a conclusion (chapter five) that summarizes and synthesizes the significant findings and implications of this research.

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CHAPTER 2—STAKEHOLDER PERCEPTIONS OF WILDERNESS AND BEST MANAGEMENT PRACTICES IN TRACY ARM-FORDS TERROR WILDERNESS, ALASKA

Introduction

Tourism is one of the world's most profitable industries. In 2008, this industry generated almost US \$8 billion (9.9% of global GDP) and that number is expected to rise to almost US \$15 billion by 2018 (10.5% of GDP; World Travel and Tourism Council, 2009). This expansion of the tourism industry can be seen in Alaska, where tourism has been the only industry in the state with continuous growth over the past 50 years (Kruger 2005; Kruger & Mazza, 2006). Rapid tourism growth coupled with changing social and ecological conditions, however, has led many managers of natural resource settings to look for new and adaptable methods of management (Manning, 2010). One increasingly popular form of adaptable management is the reliance on stakeholder collaboration to help ameliorate social, economic, and environmental impacts of tourism and recreation in natural areas. Selin and Chavez (1995) defined collaboration as a process that “implies a joint decision-making approach to problem resolution where power is shared and stakeholders take collective responsibility for their actions and subsequent outcomes from those actions” (p. 190). Collaboration has been used in resource-management situations such as small game hunting (Sandström, 2009), river management (Plummer, 2006), local tourism policy (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999), and commercial tour operator behavior (Tourism Best Management Practices [TBMP], 2009).

Collaboration may be especially challenging when stakeholders involved share different values and ideas about the resources to be managed (Bryan, 2004). These different cognitions are particularly relevant and complicated in places labeled as “wilderness” because the idea of wilderness has both a legal definition, as well as competing, changing social definitions (Cronon, 1996; Shultis, 1999). Since the passage of the Wilderness Act in 1964, the National Wilderness Preservation System (NWPS) has been a significant resource for tourists and recreationists seeking a wilderness experience. When stakeholders disagree about what it means to have a wilderness experience, however, they may also disagree on the best approaches for managing that experience. Understanding differences in stakeholder definitions and perceptions of wilderness areas is important for collaborative processes associated with managing tourism in these areas since recognizing potential contradictions may help managers understand barriers to achieving successful collaboration and other long-term management goals.

Congress has designated millions of acres of federal land to be managed as wilderness areas in accordance with the Wilderness Act. The Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness in Alaska is one of these areas, and the impact of increasing tourism in this area prompted the US Forest Service in 2007 to create and implement collaborative and voluntary codes of conduct known as the Wilderness Best Management Practices (WBMP). This study examines the collaborative process by focusing on stakeholder

definitions and perceptions of wilderness, and how these cognitions influence their opinions of the WBMP as one approach for managing tourism in this area.

Conceptual Foundation

Collaboration

According to Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000), collaboration “involves individuals or groups moving in concert in a situation in which no party has the power to command the behavior of the others” (p. xiii). Collaboration is an emergent process where stakeholders are independent, solutions emerge by dealing constructively with differences, joint ownerships of decisions are involved, and stakeholders assume collective responsibility for future directions (Gray, 1989). In contrast to regulation, collaboration provides a decision-making process that offers opportunities to explore new sources of knowledge, empowers individuals normally excluded from external mandates, creates a sense of shared ownership over decisions, and is adaptable to change due to its evolving nature (Bryan, 2004; Lauber & Decker, 2011).

One potential barrier to collaboration may arise from differences in how various stakeholders and resource managers value the resource (Bryan 2004; Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). When these differences occur, individuals may be loath to cooperate due to a fear of compromising their values (Bryan, 2004). This can be problematic, as studies have shown that many successful collaborative endeavors are predicated on a willingness to compromise (e.g., Selin, Schuett, & Carr, 2000). Collaboration should help to develop a shared resource-identity among stakeholders

and encourage those with different values to recognize that “in spite of *our* differences, *we* are all in this together” (Bryan, 2004, p. 892). Creating common goals is an important step in collaboration and allows for institutionalization of collaboration that should foster smoother and more coordinated processes (Lauber, Stedman, Decker, Knuth, & Simon, 2011). Understanding stakeholder values and goals associated with wilderness may provide insight into conflicts faced by some collaborative projects. Mediators may then be better positioned to achieve compromise that builds on shared goals despite potentially divergent values.

Wilderness

Researchers have identified our understanding of the natural world not just as the result of ecological phenomena, but also as a consequence of social processes. According to Bell (2009), “nature is something we make as much as it makes us. How we see nature depends upon our perspective on social life” (p. 190). In other words, nature can be viewed as a social construction or “the process of collective definition by which humans create a social world that is perceived as ‘real,’ that is, as existing independent of human volition and of the original acts of definition that produced it” (Ritzer, 2007, p. 188). The process of socially constructing nature is the result of two processes – social selection and social reflection (Bell, 2009). According to Bell (2009), humans choose what aspects of the environment to use in constructing a definition of nature, and ignore aspects that may be in conflict with our understanding

of the world. Different groups, therefore, will apply different meanings and symbols to the environment. According to Greider and Garkovich (1994):

Our understanding of nature and of human relationships with the environment are really cultural expressions used to define who *we* were, who *we* are, and who *we* hope to be at this place and in this space. Landscapes are the reflection of these cultural identities, which are about *us*, rather than the natural environment (p. 2).

An individual's culturally and socially influenced self-concept and self-characterization are critical in defining their view of the natural world, resulting in a spectrum of definitions for all people (Greider & Garkovich, 1994). The idea of "wilderness" is one aspect of the natural world that has been socially constructed; its meaning has been defined and redefined many times. Once a place to be feared and conquered, by the end of the 19th century wilderness was constructed as a romanticized and pristine space in stark contrast to rising urbanization and ill effects of industrialization (Cronon, 1996; Hannigan, 1995). Despite the multitude of meanings that various individuals and groups may attribute to wilderness, Hendee and Dawson (2002) have classified four major themes under which wilderness has been defined: (a) experiential (i.e., immediate and personal benefits of experiencing wilderness); (b) scientific (i.e., significance of wilderness as a pharmacological resource, as habitat for threatened or endangered species, and as a place to research human behavior); (c) symbolic and / or spiritual; and (d) economic (i.e., bequest, existence, option values of wilderness).

Wilderness as a legal land designation was classified in the Wilderness Act (1964) as: “in contrast with those areas where man [*sic*] and his own works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and community of life are untrammelled by man [*sic*], where man [*sic*] himself is a visitor who does not remain.” This wilderness construct was tangibly defined as an area of “undeveloped federal land” with “outstanding opportunities for solitude or a primitive unconfined type of recreation,” “5000 acres of land,” and “ecological, geological, or other features of scientific, educational, scenic or historical value” (Wilderness Act, 1964). Despite this working definition and legal classification of wilderness, groups and individuals continue to define the term in a variety of ways (Hendee & Dawson, 2002). A study by Shultis (1999), for example, explored how closely the New Zealand public’s definition of wilderness aligned with the definition of the New Zealand Wilderness Policy (similar to the Wilderness Act in the US) and found significant differences, confirming a duality of wilderness perceptions where wilderness exists as both a political and popular concept.

Recognizing the variety or spectrum of wilderness definitions held by individuals, researchers have attempted to apply this spectrum to tourists and recreationists by developing classification systems based on these definitions. Stankey (1973) developed a wilderness purism scale, which is based on the notion that recreationists with high purist tendencies would value experiences more associated with the Wilderness Act, such as solitude and nonmotorized transportation. The

purism scale, which, according to Schafer and Hammitt (1995), describes an “attitudinal orientation toward an ideal,” consists of 14 resource characteristics derived from the Wilderness Act (p. 16). Users with distinct levels of purism may differ in their awareness and preferences of natural resource processes and impacts, and social conditions such as solitude (Shafer & Hammitt, 1995).

Stankey and Schreyer (1987) found that users of wilderness areas are becoming more purist and support use restrictions in favor of more preservationist experiences as opposed to consumptive ones. More recent studies, however, have challenged these findings. A study by Hall et al. (2010) of wilderness users in Oregon and Washington found that regardless of how purist a user was, restrictions were not overwhelmingly desired as people preferred individual freedom as opposed to the isolation that regulation might protect. This suggests an interesting paradox about some wilderness users: they desire experiences such as solitude, but do not endorse direct regulations that would be required to ensure these experiences (Hall et al., 2010). These contradictions may be understood better by exploring wilderness definitions of various users and the implications for managing natural spaces.

There are some reasons why managers may want to understand stakeholder perceptions of wilderness. Identifying the level of purism among users may be beneficial for monitoring the state of a wilderness resource, as “users with well-developed attitudes toward the resource (purists) can provide the level of specificity needed in the selection of resource indicators used to monitor the health of recreational

experiences in wilderness” (Shafter & Hammitt, 1995, p. 28). Managers’ perceptions and values toward wilderness are likely to be distinct from those of users and other stakeholders, as managers may tend to consider the objective qualities of wilderness (i.e., legally defined), as opposed to subjective values held by users (Shin & Jaakson, 1997). Subjective values are defined as “a type of social cognition that function to facilitate adaptation to one’s environment” (Homer & Kahle, 1988, p. 368). Over the course of a lifetime, values are shaped by an individual’s sociocultural and socioeconomic experiences and in concert with their beliefs, values influence attitudes and other evaluations of particular concepts or objects (Kneeshaw, 2001; Manfredo, Teel, & Bright, 2004). Understanding differences in stakeholder definitions and values of wilderness areas is important in the context of collaborative processes because recognizing any potential contradictions may help explain any difficulties in achieving compromise among participants regarding selecting and managing indicators and standards of quality in these processes.

This study builds on this previous research by using the collaborative WBMP process in southeast Alaska as a case study example to address two questions. First, how do commercial tour operators, local residents, and agency personnel define wilderness? Second, how do these stakeholder wilderness definitions influence their attitudes toward the WBMP and beliefs about managing tourism in the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness area?

Methods

Study Site and Context

The Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness is approximately 653,000 acres in area, located in southeast Alaska off Stephens Passage about 50 miles southeast of the city of Juneau (Figure 1). This upland area is managed by the US Forest Service as part of the Tongass National Forest, which is the nation's largest national forest stretching 500 miles from north to south and 120 miles wide at its widest point, accounting for 80% of the region's land. The Tongass has over 11,000 miles of shoreline and unique characteristics such as glaciers, fjords, wildlife, and mountains (US Forest Service, 2003). Over 30% of this national forest is congressionally-designated wilderness (US Forest Service, 2010).

Given this area's glaciers and wildlife, it is frequented by tourists arriving on full-day boat tours and cruise ships (Dugan, Fay & Colt, 2007). Independent travelers not associated with the cruise industry also visit via full-day boat tours. Cruise ship traffic in the area has increased over the past decade following a 2001 lawsuit restricting permits for visitation to nearby Glacier Bay National Park. Tracy and Endicott Arms (the fjords) provide convenient alternatives for visitors wishing to view glaciers, but are unable to see the national park (US Forest Service, 2003). The area is also popular for charter and private yachts, smaller vessel operators, kayakers, and sailboats (Dugan et al., 2007). Although this region is a congressionally-designated wilderness area, the majority of visitors do not physically enter the national forest and

instead only experience the fjords by boat. In contrast to Glacier Bay National Park where the Park Service has regulatory control over the waterways, the Forest Service has no regulatory control over the water, only the uplands of Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness. The state of Alaska maintains jurisdiction over the waterways, although it has not exercised any regulatory action with respect to water vessel behavior. Some aspects of the environment are regulated by other agencies such as the National Atmospheric and Oceanic Administration, which oversees the protection of endangered wildlife and marine mammals and Alaska's Department of Environmental Conservation, which oversees water quality standards. Some regulations concerning ships in Juneau have been partially supported by citizen action.

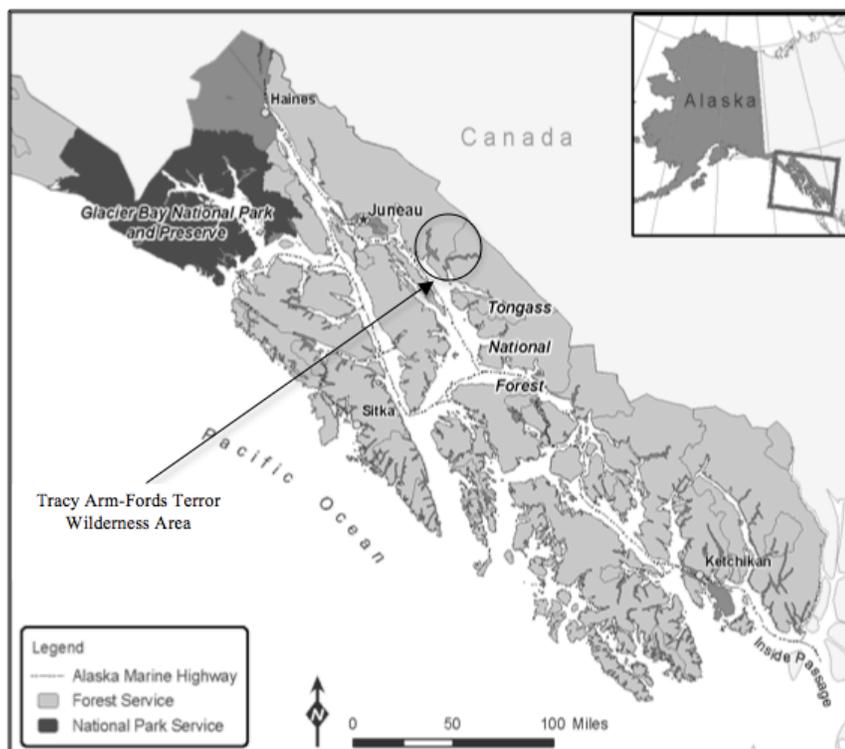


Figure 1. Southeast Alaska and Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness. Adapted from Zegre, Needham, Kruger, & Rosenberger (in press).

Despite not maintaining jurisdiction over the water and little managerial control over tour operator behavior in this area, the US Forest Service has been facilitating implementation of the collaborative and voluntary WBMP with the cruise industry and commercial tour operators as an alternative to regulation (Neary & Griffin, 2008). The WBMP were modeled on codes of conduct in Juneau called the Tourism Best Management Practices (TBMP). The TBMP were developed in 1997 by the City and Borough of Juneau, tourism operators, the cruise industry, and transportation services as an attempt to minimize environmental and social impacts of tourism in the Juneau area (TBMP, 2009). The goal of the more recent WBMP is “to minimize the impacts of tourism and vessel operations... in a manner that addresses both concerns for our natural resources and operators’ concerns for safety and passenger service” (Wilderness Best Management Practices [WBMP], 2011). Major categories of concern in the WBMP include: preserving quiet (e.g., limit announcements to five minutes), maintaining clean air (e.g., improve emissions monitoring), protecting wildlife (e.g., compliance with Marine Mammal Protection Act), preserving solitude (e.g., vessels with more than 250 passengers should try not to use Endicott Arm), communication (e.g., use WBMP blog to report ice conditions), and keeping it alive (e.g., use WBMP in employee-training procedures). Stakeholders meet annually in Seattle to discuss concerns and observations from the previous season, as well as to amend any current practices. In addition, operators are encouraged to express their opinions to wilderness rangers who frequent the area. The

WBMP is still in its formative years, with new stakeholders becoming involved as the process evolves.

Data Collection

This article uses a qualitative approach to address its research questions. Qualitative techniques are useful for examining and describing elements of a problem in detail, and particularly in situations with characteristics that may not be easily represented in numerical format (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010; Patton, 2002). This research is exploratory in nature and therefore does not lend itself well to quantitative methods such as questionnaires. Data were obtained using qualitative semi-structured interviewing or “conversations in which a researcher gently guides a conversational partner in an extended discussion” (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 4). Semi-structured interviewing uses a collection of questions and topics that the researcher wants to cover in the form of an interview schedule (Bernard, 2006). Three interview schedules were created for tour operators / cruise industry representatives (Appendix A), agency personnel (Appendix B), and local residents (Appendix C). The interview schedules were similar in content with questions addressing perceptions of wilderness, attitudes and opinions about the WBMP, and current social and environmental conditions in the study area (e.g., “what does wilderness mean to you,” “in what ways has implementation of WBMP positively or negatively affected the environment of the Tracy Arm area, policies and regulations, the local economy, and people in communities such as the Juneau area, if at all”). Semi-structured interviewing also

allowed the researcher to ask additional questions and let the interview progress organically; the interview schedule is not an explicit set of questions that each respondent is required to answer, but rather a guide (Bernard, 2006).

Purposive or judgment sampling techniques were used to select interviewees. Purposive sampling is a nonprobability method that is useful for identifying respondents who have specific attributes that the researcher is interested in studying (Bernard, 2006). In this study, respondents were selected based on their direct involvement in the WBMP, as well as other attributes such as outfitter type (e.g., cruise ship, marine charter) and whether the service was locally owned and operated. Respondents were identified from a WBMP mailing list, internet searches, and past research (e.g., Zegre et al., in press). US Forest Service personnel were also selected purposively and consisted of individuals who work or previously worked in the Tracy Arm area as wilderness rangers, managers, and / or have been involved in the WBMP process. Interviews with local residents and wilderness users not involved in the tourism industry were useful for gathering information on resident perspectives of the area and its management. Snowball or respondent-driven sampling was also used to locate additional operators, agency personnel, and residents not initially contacted. This approach involves asking respondents to list any other individuals in the population that the researcher should interview (Bernard, 2006). This technique yielded eight additional interviews and a more saturated sampling frame.

In total, 28 interviews were conducted during three weeks in August and September 2010 (Table 1). Interviews were digitally audio-recorded and then transcribed verbatim, and each interview ended when no new information was generated. Field notes were also taken in the event that relevant information was discussed after the recording device was turned off. Interviews lasted 20 to 90 minutes and averaged approximately 50 minutes in duration. Interviews were conducted in the Juneau area in respondent homes, aboard vessels, at local coffee shops or respondent offices, or over the telephone. To help preserve anonymity, all respondents were given pseudonyms (e.g., Andrew, Martin).

Table 1. Interview List

| # | Pseudonym | Interview Length | Respondent Attributes |
|----|-----------|--------------------|--|
| 1 | Ted | 34 min. 14s. | Catamaran manager |
| 2 | Martha | 29 min. 04s. | Juneau Bed & Breakfast proprietor |
| 3 | George | 53 min. 06s. | USFS wilderness field manager |
| 4 | Wilson | 34 min. 11s. | Naturalist and tour guide |
| 5 | Warren | 23 min. 13s. | Helicopter tour company employee |
| 6 | John | 48 min. 24s. | Captain; 24-passenger vessel |
| 7 | Ben | 43 min. 49s. | Director, local branch midsize cruise company |
| 8 | Abigail | 1 hr. 13m. 23s. | Juneau resident, former tour contractor |
| 9 | Grover | 38 min. 06s. | Former USFS ranger |
| 10 | Dolley | 18 min. 32s. | USFS intern |
| 11 | Chester | 48 min. 27s. | Cruise industry representative |
| 12 | Elizabeth | 47 min. 40s. | Owner, day boat tour |
| 13 | Thomas | 41 min. 17s. | 6-passenger sailboat captain, owner and operator |
| 14 | Hayes | 43 min. 12s. | Kayak tour guide |
| 15 | Louisa | 31 min. 36s. | Owner, kayak tour guide company |
| 16 | Andrew | 51 min. 13s. | 6-passenger yacht, captain, owner and operator |
| | Rachel | | 6-passenger yacht, owner and operator |
| 17 | James | 30 min. 46s. | 10-passenger yacht operator |
| 18 | Grant | 51 min. 02s. | Grassroots attorney for an environmental org. |
| 19 | Hannah | 52 min. 01s. | Juneau Visitors Bureau employee |
| 20 | Anna | 1 hr. 9 min. | USFS employee & whale tour boat naturalist |
| 21 | Martin | 1 hr. 3 min. 08s. | USFS wilderness ranger |
| 22 | Julia | 50 min. 15s. | Alaska native elder |
| 23 | William | 51 min. 47s. | 6-passenger yacht, captain, owner and operator |
| 24 | Abe | 1 hr. 18 min. 03s. | Cruise ship pilot |
| 25 | Zachary | 1 hr. 22 min. 22s. | 6-passenger sailboat captain, owner and operator |
| 26 | Herbert | 32 min. 45s. | Captain, 22-40 passenger cruise |
| | Calvin | | Crew, 22-40 passenger cruise |
| | Sarah | | Crew, 22-40 passenger cruise |
| 27 | Millard | 48 min. 03s. | Manager, local native tourism corporation |
| 28 | Franklin | 21 min. 17s. | 6-passenger vessel, captain, owner and operator |

Data Analysis

Data were examined using inductive coding after an immersive analysis of interview content. Inductive coding allows themes to arise from the data through close iterative readings of transcriptions (Bernard, 2006). Coding involves applying a label to a segment of text relating to an identified theme or category. Typically, analysis of qualitative data involves two stages – coding transcripts to identify themes or concepts, followed by comparing and linking emergent themes or concepts across respondents to describe a model or explanation of what has been learned (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). This also involved a close examination of concepts identified in published literature. An open coding process was used where coding occurred as interviews were systematically transcribed. This resulted in numerous codes, not all of which were relevant to this article's research questions. Subsequently, through an axial coding process, codes were refined, distilled and organized through identifying relationships between categories and subcategories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Both free (independent) and hierarchical codes (nested) were used to analyze interviews. Identified themes were represented by respondents' verbatim quotes.

Results

Definitions of Wilderness

Respondents' definitions of wilderness often involved some degree of purism, as interviewees frequently employed common words associated with wilderness such as

“pristine” and “solitude,” and citing attributes such as wildlife, quietude, and landscapes “untrammeled by man” as requisite for a wilderness experience. Distances from human construction and crowds were also commonly identified as a required characteristic of wilderness. For example, *Louisa*, a kayak tour operator, defined wilderness as “pristine and untouched, and just an area that we could get away from crowds of people that’s off the beaten path, and wild with animals.”

Many interviewees stated language from the Wilderness Act (1964). In fact, many agency personnel and some small operators directly (and possibly unconsciously) cited this Act as representative of their personal definition of wilderness. Wilderness is cited in this Act as a place “where man [*sic*] himself is a visitor who does not remain.” *George*, a USFS wilderness manager, echoed the “man as visitor” sentiment in his personal definition of wilderness:

It’s [wilderness] not just a place we go for our own selfish interest, but it’s a place we should go and think...I’m a visitor here and how should I be conducting myself in a way that really allows the animals and the soils and the waters and the air to function as if I weren’t here.

One of the most succinct definitions of wilderness was provided by *James*, a 10-passenger yacht captain, who directly stated that it is “the congressional statute.”

Some larger operators and cruise industry affiliates, however, were less rigid and purist in their definitions. For example, *Chester*, a cruise industry representative, stated that wilderness is “something that is quiet and somewhat solitude, somewhat nature-bound, somewhat calming, soothing.” While citing some of the same attributes as other respondents (e.g., solitude), he indicated that wilderness only needed to

“somewhat” embody these characteristics. Cruise ship pilot, *Abe*, expressed an opinion contrary to most respondents, explaining that he felt it was more than acceptable to have large numbers of people in a wilderness area at once because the most important characteristic of wilderness is that people get to experience these areas. He stated, “what’s the purpose of wilderness areas, but to make it available so people can see it, and where you get the biggest bang for your buck [is] 3000 people on a cruise ship that is run by professionals ...why would you not want vessels to go...see the wilderness?” This opinion is contrary to many who described solitude and distance from people as requisite for wilderness. Attitudes such as *Chester’s* and *Abe’s* differed from the majority of respondents.

Tracy Arm-Fords Terror as Wilderness

Although many respondents identified Tracy Arm or Endicott Arm as places where they can have wilderness experiences, many noted that opportunities to experience wilderness in the area are currently threatened. As *Hayes*, a kayak tour operator, stated: “compared to some of the other wilderness areas we go to, Endicott [Arm] is becoming less of an opportunity for us to have those wilderness solitude moments.”

For many respondents not affiliated with cruise lines, large cruise vessels and increasing vessel traffic in general were often identified as the major threat to the wilderness characteristics of the area. Although the increase in small vessel traffic to the region was often noted, many stakeholders cited the cruise ships as the more

significant threat to wilderness opportunities. According to *Franklin*, a 6-passenger vessel operator:

It's [Tracy Arm-Fords Terror] mostly a wilderness experience. It's...seriously interrupted when a cruise ship intrudes...there's a huge difference between a cruise ship that's hundreds of feet long and a couple hundred feet high, and is at times polluting the air in addition to the water to say a small yacht or a small cruising boat, the effect is totally different...simply put my preference would be that cruise ships never enter Endicott Arm.

A minority of respondents who had the most purist definitions of wilderness explained that the wilderness characteristics of the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness area are already lost. *John*, a 24-passenger vessel operator, stated:

I think it's unrealistic and really unfair to ask somebody who uses the main arms of Endicott and Tracy in accessing the Wilderness Area whether or not they are having a valid or a good wilderness experience. That's not a wilderness experience. It's not until you get off the boat, and hike up one of the side fjords...then you can talk about the wilderness experience.

Perceptions of crowding and vessel traffic in both Endicott and Tracy Arms have seriously debased the wilderness experience for *John*. Local Juneau resident, *Abigail*, explained further that a wilderness area such as Tracy Arm lures tourists precisely because it is accessible to cruise ships. Perceived crowding and use of this congressionally-designated wilderness by cruise ships has, for *Abigail*, destroyed the wilderness character to the point that non-designated settings may provide a more "pure" wilderness experience:

Tracy Arm Wilderness...by the very nature of the designation they [tourists] want to go, but the way in which they go destroys the value of the "W"...sometimes you can get better wilderness by being away from the capital "W," in a sense...the people who really want a really real nature experience are not on the cruise ships.

For *Abigail*, a “really real” wilderness experience is no longer achievable in this area.

A small number of respondents, however, felt that wilderness experiences are not necessarily threatened in Tracy or Endicott Arms. For example, cruise ship pilot, *Abe*, explained that he did not think that use of these fjords would increase substantially, and vessel usage is no longer a threat to the region: “the system is kind of self-limiting just by where you can put a ship every day, so I don’t see Tracy Arm or Endicott Arm, if there’s a graph that shows increase usage, I don’t see that thing continuing, there’s only so many ships that you can get into this pattern.” Similarly, day boat operator *Elizabeth* stated, “I don’t think the fjord is going to be overcrowded.” Director of regional operations for a midsize cruise company, *Ben*, felt that the WBMP has actually improved the wilderness experience in Tracy Arm:

I think it’s [the environment of Tracy Arm] better, I don’t think there’s anybody, well, I don’t believe there should be anybody around that table who would say that it’s worse...I guess I don’t have any major concerns because I think that we can continue to work progressively with the small operators and industry and Forest Service if they stay involved, which I hope they will, and come up with a general resolution...so from a wilderness environment...I think, it improves that experience.

Perceptions of the WBMP

Despite perceived current and future threats to the wilderness characteristics of Tracy and Endicott Arms, a majority of respondents were generally supportive of the WBMP as an approach to help preserve or improve characteristics of these areas, particularly in contrast to potential regulations. This perception was prevalent from the small, six-passenger vessel operators to large cruise ship operators. *Abe*, a cruise ship

pilot, explained that government regulations in other areas are often too restrictive compared to alternatives such as the WBMP: “we don’t want a bunch of hokey rules that jeopardize us...we don’t want to be restricted by saying “oh you can’t go here”...There really needs to be an alternative [WBMP].” *Zachary*, a small six-passenger sailboat charter operator, echoed these sentiments by explaining that operators who are familiar with the resource and social environments of this area may be better situated to formulate codes of conduct: “government does not always have the right answer, but the guys doing this every day, we can probably nail the right answer because the government will more often than not miss the mark.” *Zachary* also explained that “regulation would have to be written for probably the worst case scenario,” fearing that potentially larger and / or more irresponsible vessel operator behavior will force regulations that may limit operators such as himself, who may be behaving responsibly.

The voluntary WBMP provides an alternative to regulation and an opportunity for stakeholders to actively participate in a decision-making process, as opposed to passively receiving mandated rules, as explained by cruise industry representative

Chester:

In situations like this voluntary is probably better than regulation because...for all those that participate...there’s some ownership. It’s not just somebody saying ‘you have to do this’... at the end of the day there’s some pride taken in the fact that we’ve worked together to come up with these things and you’re doing your best to honor them...that’s why it’s probably better than regulation.

Hannah of the Juneau Convention and Visitors Bureau expressed a similar opinion by describing pride that comes from a voluntary as opposed to mandated endeavor:

I think the operators take a lot of pride in that program and it is self-regulated. So they're imposing good practices of their own, which I think is always better when you own it as opposed to somebody saying this is how you will operate. Now it becomes something that you want to be a part of.

Former US Forest Service ranger, *Grover*, explained that given the lack of jurisdiction by this agency in the area, he would only advocate for voluntary guidelines, describing the original conception of the WBMP:

I did not want to be put into a position enforcing something in an area where I really had no jurisdiction or authority, or very questionable jurisdiction or authority. There are some things that we could do...but some of the other things, they're voluntary guidelines [and] I don't, I would not have advocated for making them mandatory, regulation or law.

In contrast, local resident and attorney, *Grant*, felt that if voluntary guidelines are unable to protect wilderness, which legally the US Forest Service is supposed to protect, then this agency should advocate for regulation: "they [USFS] can't try to influence legislation, but policy, they can do it and they can identify the issue and they can create forums for addressing it." He also explained:

When congress defined "wilderness," they made it very clear what it was supposed to include and not include. And it wasn't to include mechanized transportation. Now we have unique situation here that in order to protect some of these uplands it makes sense to allow mechanized use of the water, boats...that's okay as long as the level of use is compatible with maintaining the area's value. And it's not at all clear that the best management practices are achieving that.

He also faulted this agency for not fighting for jurisdiction at the outset of the creation of this wilderness area: "given the lack of clarity in terms of jurisdiction, the Forest

Service gave it up. They gave it up. I think they had a reasonable claim that the tidelands and submerged lands, particularly in wilderness waters, were not going to be given up.”

Six-passenger vessel operator, *Thomas*, explained that noncompliant vessels in the voluntary WBMP-managed environment (as opposed to a regulatory environment) may take advantage of more responsible vessels: “we definitely feel that the effort and expense that we go through it definitely would be unfair for somebody else...to be taking advantage of it and not going through the same expenses and so on...it would be unfair for us to have to carry the burden on that.” Local resident, *Abigail*, expressed a desire for both regulation and voluntary codes of conduct: “I’m skeptical of them [WBMP]. I think that if people operate with integrity that they can be valuable, but I think that regulation is important as well.” Wilderness ranger, *Martin*, had a similar opinion and explained that “some things are better handled through regulations and other things could be better handled or at least adequately handled through volunteer efforts.”

For vessels and companies that may have been accused of irresponsible behavior in the past or suffer from a negative public image, involvement in the WBMP was frequently cited as an opportunity to ameliorate a damaged image. As kayak tour operator, *Hayes*, noted: “I think it’s [WBMP participation] a good first step and I think the publicity side of cruise ships that are coming in and out of there I think that’s a good angle if they’re getting really bad publicity...they’re going to change their

practices to benefit their public image.” Former USFS ranger, *Grover*, stated that the WBMP should be enticing for businesses due to the advertising benefits of joining: “part of the reward for these companies that are involved is that we publish in the paper that these companies subscribe to the WBMP, and they’re free to use that fact in their advertising.”

Limitations of the WBMP

Pervasive throughout interviewee responses was recognition that the WBMP alone would not be sufficient to address future effects and adequately ensure the wilderness character of this area. Some of the most fervent support for regulations only came from respondents with the highest degree of wilderness purism. As *James*, a small yacht charter operator stated: “some things are too precious, if ultimately...we as small boat operators, large boat operators, if we had adverse impact on the area overall, I’d rather see everybody get kicked out.” He impassionedly asked, “what’s going to be there for your kids? If we allow some of these places to literally go without regulation, what’s going to be there for you? For your children?” His support for a Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness area that is devoid of commercial operators, however, was not a common sentiment. *Grant*, an attorney for a local nonprofit environmental organization, gave one explanation why some stakeholders such as *James* feel that the WBMP are already insufficient: “they’re volunteer...let’s be goody-good neighbors; does it work? Maybe to some degree it has improved things.

Has it resolved the issues? No...because you've got some actors who will always put their dollar ahead of everybody else.”

Instead of the more direct support for regulations or skepticism toward the WBMP as voiced by *James* and *Grant*, support for heightened regulatory control was more frequently expressed on the condition that use of the area continues to increase substantially. This was not the preferred outcome for most respondents, but was seen as a potentially unavoidable result due to perceived limitations of the WBMP, such as its inability to address future growth of vessel tourism in the area. As six-passenger vessel operator, *William*, stated with some restrained optimism, “if there’s a substantial continued growth in usage I think it inevitably will become a permit area. If the growth stabilizes at what it is today, then I think a voluntary agreement just might work.”

Many respondents were concerned that future use might impede the wilderness character of this area since, for many, wilderness experiences in the area are already affected by increasing vessel traffic. Six-passenger sailboat captain, *Thomas*, illustrated the need for some regulatory intervention if his perception of wilderness is to be protected: “if we start seeing violations or we start losing some of the pristine character of the area then I would fully support active law enforcement.” *Franklin*, a small boat operator, echoed this statement by noting that despite his preference for a non-regulatory environment, he thinks regulation is what is needed: “I think it’s going to get worse. And it’s [regulations] not something that I would prefer, but it’s a special

place, and it's going to deteriorate seriously without someone having more control than they have now.”

Frequently, however, respondents' recognition of potential limitations of the WBMP in protecting the very wilderness qualities they valued was expressed as tensions and contradictions throughout the interview process. An example of these contradictions in attitudes toward the WBMP was evidenced by an interview with small yacht charter operator, *Andrew*. When initially asked what, if any, changes he would like to see in Tracy-Arm Fords Terror Wilderness, he stated: “I would like to see cruise ships not allowed in there [Tracy Arm]. Anything over some footage, maybe 200 feet, not allowed in there. That would be nice.” This seemed to imply the use of restrictions or regulations, as indicated by the phrase “not allowed.” Ten minutes later, however, his attitude toward regulation became more critical; he was then asked how cruise ships could be prohibited from the area without regulation. He responded, “I wouldn't say not allowed, I'd like to see them negotiate to where they don't go in. Through the best management practices...I think something like I guess where everybody decides well we're going to do this and okay I'll give you this, I can do that, would be a much better way to solve it.” At this point, *Andrew* believed that cruise ships would willingly ban themselves from the area. When asked if he was optimistic that this would be a successful tactic and the WBMP would work to achieve his goals, he replied: “They might, yeah. But not really.” *Andrew* seemed to hold

contradictory views where he did not support regulations, but without regulations his preferred scenario most likely could not exist.

Among operators, these types of contradictions in attitudes toward regulation versus voluntary codes of conduct seemed to reflect a tension between protecting personal freedom and protecting wilderness characteristics and values. With agency personnel, a different type of tension was evident between protecting wilderness values through greater agency power and protecting the community-building goals and outcomes of collaboration. Wilderness ranger, *Martin*, explained why he is reluctant to prefer regulatory measures over the voluntary WBMP or vice versa:

Why aren't I just saying, yes, of course I would want regulations? I suppose, certainly, that would be best, but this sure has been a lot of fun...one of the reasons I say that is because we've built such a strong sense of community...I would be surprised if you didn't come across that sentiment from the smaller and midsize operators, that they feel part of, they feel connected to the stewardship of the place.

He implied that, as agency personnel, it might be expected that he should support regulations that would ameliorate the jurisdictional incapacity of the US Forest Service. Regulatory action, however, may undo the fruits of collaboration. He continued, "I don't have a clear answer...to be honest with you, but it seems like regulation would achieve our goals...my only hesitation is that making regulations could alienate some of the allies that we've had." The wilderness values of interviewees of this agency were reflective of the Wilderness Act, but empowering themselves to fulfill the mandate of this Act through regulation is not necessarily their desired outcome. Even agency members such as *George*, who would impose

regulations if he could, recognized drawbacks to mandatory regulations: “If I had a wand I would wave it [and give US Forest Service jurisdictional control] certainly, because that would give me tools in my toolbox that don’t exist now. There are ramifications to that though. If we could make rules, we would be less collaborative in nature because we would have the authority to make those rule changes.”

Discussion

This article examined definitions of wilderness held by commercial tour operators, local residents, and agency personnel, and related these to their perceptions of the WBMP and tourism management in the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness area in Alaska. Most respondents’ definitions of wilderness contained some aspect of purism, a concept proposing that purist individuals should value wilderness experiences and managerial decisions aligned most closely with the tenets of the Wilderness Act. Language such as “solitude” and descriptions of land without crowds and motorized equipment frequently arose, closely mirroring the Wilderness Act. In fact, the Wilderness Act itself was at times quoted verbatim, particularly by extremely purist wilderness managers and small commercial operators. Given that wilderness managers are trained in the use of tools derived from this act (e.g., Wilderness Attribute Rating System), this finding is not unexpected. Managers have also been found to differ from wilderness users in various ways, including their perceptions of the quality of wilderness resources (Shin & Jaakson, 1997).

Larger tour operators and cruise industry personnel, however, tended to be less purist than agency personnel and small operators, which may be a reflection of the business models of these large operations whose scale may be seen as out of place in wilderness where solitude often implies distance from large groups of people. There may be a tension between the largely profit-driven goals of larger operators that “encourages a catering to customer comforts” versus what wilderness managers deem to be permissible in a “pure” wilderness setting (Hendee & Dawson, 2002, p. 358).

This article also examined whether the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness was a place where respondents felt that they could achieve a wilderness experience. Similar to findings of Shafer and Hammitt (1995) whose purist respondents were concerned about “human impacts,” “natural processes,” “solitude,” and “management confinement” of wilderness areas, respondents in this study were also concerned about the wilderness characteristics of this area (p. 26). Except for cruise industry representatives, many stakeholders interviewed felt that the wilderness character of the fjords was threatened by cruise ship use. For a minority of interviewees with more purist values, considering this designated wilderness area as “wilderness” was viewed as nearly akin to an oxymoron. These findings are comparable to Hall et al. (2010) who found that remoteness and solitude were the most desired characteristics of wilderness experiences by purist users, but also those that were the least frequently attained.

Overall, most stakeholders who were interviewed were generally supportive of the voluntary and collaborative WBMP as opposed to potential mandatory regulations. Larger operators and cruise ship personnel appreciated the freedom that the WBMP allows and the ownership they maintain over the process because they are able to negotiate rules of their behavior in a way that may not jeopardize their businesses. Small operators were also supportive of the WBMP and expressed negative attitudes toward the capability of the government to designate appropriate regulations. Some of this attitude may be derived from a fear of being “locked out” of places such as nearby Glacier Bay National Park where small operators are rarely able to obtain entry permits into the park. One of their only alternatives for viewing tidewater glaciers is in the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness. There was some disagreement among operators regarding whether or not the WBMP conferred more or less responsibility on operators engaging in depreciative behaviors, but there was general agreement that this process provided good publicity for companies accused of previous environmental infractions.

Despite this support for the WBMP, there was some recognition that these practices may be insufficient in curtailing major issues and future effects. Some of the extremely purist respondents even noted a self-sacrificing willingness to be prohibited from the area. More frequently, however, support for regulations was conditional; purist respondents stated that if the “pristine” character of this area significantly deteriorates in the future, they would support regulations such as prohibition even

though this is not their desired outcome. These individuals hold a sincere respect and love for the area, and were willing to compromise some of their own freedoms in the event that impacts become uncontrollable through voluntary codes of conduct. These attitudes toward regulations reflect the rationalization for regulation proposed by Nash (2001):

Wilderness recreation is...a game that cannot be played at any one time and place by more than a few people. Solitude is not easily shared. Respect for the quality of the wilderness experience argues for acceptance of regulation...inconvenience and frustration are inevitable. But the rules at least ensure that when one's turn arrives wilderness enthusiasts will find what they seek (p. 341).

Findings presented here are consistent with those of Hall et al. (2010) who found that wilderness users with values and perceptions most closely associated with the Wilderness Act, tended to be more in favor of regulations such as use limits. Support for regulations in the Hall et al. (2010) study, however, was relatively weak, suggesting “when forced to choose, wilderness visitors including the most purist segment... prioritiz[ed] freedom and control over solitude” (p. 121). Findings in the present study parallel these results and suggest that most stakeholders would not prefer regulations. Although many operators recognized threats to the wilderness character of the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness, there was tension between personal ideologies that reject government interference and recognition that the wilderness definition they maintain may not be able to be upheld without government interference. A reverse type of cognitive dissonance and discomfort arose in interviews with managers who recognized that as individuals tasked with managing

wilderness, jurisdictional and regulatory power might theoretically make their jobs easier. In a regulatory environment, however, these individuals would lose the fruits of collaboration and voluntary management, such as increased communication and understanding between distinct interest groups.

Understanding stakeholder perceptions and values associated with wilderness is a critical aspect of wilderness management (Hendee & Dawson, 2002). It should be encouraging to managers that many respondents demonstrated some aspects of wilderness purism that closely mirrored tenets of the Wilderness Act. In the process of developing indicators and standards for managing tourism through the WBMP, recognizing that smaller operators tended toward more purist definitions of wilderness than did larger operators and cruise industry representatives may provide insight into potential conflicts or contradictions that may arise as the WBMP are annually revised. If problems occur, it may be helpful to understand that they may derive from different values and expectations of experiences in this wilderness area. Differing values among stakeholders present a common barrier to successful collaboration because values are deeply held and shaped over the course of an individual's lifetime (Manfredo et al., 2004; Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). It is important for mediators of collaborative approaches such as the WBMP to foster frequent communication and deliberation to recognize shared goals for the resource beyond divergent values (Lauber et al., 2011).

As most respondents were supportive of the overall WBMP guidelines and process, the role of the US Forest Service as facilitator should be upheld. Monitoring

of the social and environmental conditions, however, must occur to test the efficacy of the WBMP since there is some recognition among respondents that it may not be able to curtail future effects, as the program is still in its infancy. Monitoring and evaluation are important parts of adaptable collaborative processes and allow those involved to amend their practices in response to changing conditions (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000).

Given that the methods in this research are qualitative and based on interviews with a sample chosen in a non-probability manner, results are not statistically generalizable to a particular population. These findings, however, may be analytically generalizable to other areas that are witnessing similar tourism development, particularly in areas where the managing agency has little direct managerial control (Yin, 2003). There may be commonalities in themes and findings that arose in this study with studies or situations in other locales that may suggest a general trend or theory with respect to voluntary codes of conduct and collaboration. In addition, results of this qualitative approach may aid in future development of survey instruments for quantitative studies that could be used to further inform and refine the WBMP agreement for the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness. Although purism studies have typically focused on visitors to wilderness areas, the sample in this study did not include visitors (e.g., tourists), but rather commercial operators, managers, and local residents. Future research, however, should include these visitors as well as other potential direct and indirect stakeholders not identified or addressed in this study (e.g.

Juneau businesses that benefit from cruise tourists) and compare them to other stakeholders to provide a more complete understanding of stakeholder perceptions of this wilderness area and its WBMP process.

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CHAPTER 3—COLLABORATION AND NATURE BASED TOURISM IN A COASTAL WILDERNESS AREA IN SOUTHEAST ALASKA

Introduction

Mass-marketed cruise tourism, popularized by cruise lines such as Carnival Cruise Lines in the 1970s, is one of the fastest growing forms of tourism globally (Kester, 2003; Weaver, 2005). Destinations such as southeast Alaska and the Caribbean, with natural amenities and tourism-centric port towns, have witnessed a substantial influx of visitors over the past three decades. In Juneau, Alaska, for example, the population of only 30,000 expands to as many as 45,000, as tourists disembark from cruise ships during the summer season, with the city's population often increasing by 50% in one afternoon ("Trash Overboard", 1999). A rising cruise tourism industry has caused significant positive and negative sociocultural and environmental impacts for local, dependent port communities, as well as significant impacts on marine ecosystems, as suggested by some studies (Cervený 2005; Davenport & Davenport, 2005; Johnson, 2002).

One way of understanding these sociocultural and environmental transformations is through the theory of the "treadmill of production." Schnaiberg described this treadmill, where through competition and amplified production, "profit...declines over time" resulting in "a process of mutual economic pinching that gets everyone running faster but advancing only a little...tending to increase production and to sideline the environment" (Bell, 2009, p. 62). Major cruise

corporations such as Royal Caribbean, Carnival Cruises (Princess, Holland America) and Disney Cruises compete for customers and access to tourist destinations. Cruise companies seek to capture the attention of tourists through the provision of extra amenities, company-owned stores in port, and by offering opportunities for shore-based excursions (Cervený, 2005). As a result of this competition, environmental and labor concerns can become neglected; natural destinations and port towns may become exploited and commodified for the purposes and values of tourists and corporations. Effects can be vast, particularly on the host community, which is a “group of people who share a common identity, such as geographical location and / or ethnic background” (Wearing, 2001, p. 395). As tourism intensifies, social, environmental, and economic effects can be increasingly felt by local hosts and the surrounding ecosystem (Wearing, 2001). For example, heavy marine traffic, wildlife feeding and breeding alterations, and air and water pollution from cruise ships are common occurrences. As described by Davenport and Davenport (2006), cruise ships are essentially “mobile villages” creating large amounts of waste that are sometimes dumped directly into the ocean (p. 282). In fact, Royal Caribbean was fined US \$6.5 million for ocean dumping in southeast Alaska in 1994 and 1995 (“Trash Overboard,” 1999). Waste and pollution may influence the health of humans and wildlife, as well as the fisheries on which many coastal communities depend.

The term “Tragedy of the Commons” was coined by Hardin (1968) and has been used to describe natural resource management scenarios where common pool

resources—resources characterized by difficulty of exclusion and subtractability (i.e., an individual's use of a resource limits another's use)—used by rational actors for short term gains, results in the depletion of the resource to everyone's detriment (Hardin 1968; Ostrom, Burger, Field, Norgaard, & Policansky, 1999). Tourism destinations often develop around common pool resources, and their unchecked management may result in degradation. Managing the impacts of tourism, therefore, requires understanding ecological, economic, and social components of the destination and potential effects on each component, which often become debased by the industry's continued development and expansion; the environment can slowly degrade, the economy can be subject to leakage, and the community structure can change (Manning, 1999). This process has been explained in a number of models, including Butler's (1980) tourist area cycle that describes the developmental stages of tourism (e.g., evolution, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, decline, rejuvenation).

One increasingly popular method for addressing these environmental, social, and economic impacts of natural resource-based tourism and its potential "tragedy of the commons" outcome is the use of collaboration as a managerial tool. According to Selin and Chavez (1995), collaboration "implies a joint decision-making approach to problem resolution where power is shared and stakeholders take collective responsibility for their actions and subsequent outcomes from those actions" (p. 190). An example of collaborative tourism management includes voluntary codes of conduct

such as the Tourism Best Management Practices (TBMP) developed in 1997 and adopted by the City and Borough of Juneau, Alaska. The goal of TBMP is for tourism operators, the cruise industry, and transportation services to work together to minimize environmental and social impacts of tourism in the region (Tourism Best Management Practices [TBMP], 2009). Categories of guidelines in the TBMP focus on transportation and vehicles, flightseeing, walking, hiking, bicycling and zipline tours, docks, harbors, airports, marine sightseeing, and fishing tour operators. Previous research has demonstrated that tourism operators in Juneau are generally supportive of these voluntary guidelines (Zegre, Needham, Kruger, & Rosenberger, in press). These operators most frequently discussed informal voluntary codes of conduct (e.g., TBMP) as more influential on their behavior than formal laws and regulations, and preferred informal regulations (Janson, 2008). Those operators “participating in these voluntary and informally enforced behaviors were more likely to engage in a higher frequency and diversity of behaviors to improve conditions” (Janson, 2008, p. 93). Use of voluntary codes of conduct in regulating the behavior of the tourism industry is one collaborative method for potentially mitigating negative impacts of this industry.

This article examines a collaborative model initiated by the US Forest Service in 2007 for mitigating and managing impacts of watercraft-based recreation and tourism in the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness area in Alaska. This model is known as the “Wilderness Best Management Practices” (WBMP) and it uses the Juneau TBMP as a template for addressing use of this wilderness area’s two narrow

fjords by kayak tour operators, cruise ships, yachts, and other commercial charter vessels.

Conceptual Foundation

Natural resource management is a challenging task, particularly when stakeholders have distinct and conflicting goals, or in situations reflecting the “Tragedy of the Commons.” Hardin (1968) argued that the solution to this issue is either coercion or privatization, but Ostrom et al. (1999) noted that these professed solutions have often been unsuccessful in natural resource management. Bryan (2004) argued that coercing compliance to a particular resource policy has created a compliance culture that fails to achieve a sense of shared ownership or acceptance of the problem that policies seek to address. He also explained that “while compliance may lead to rule adherence, it arguably falls short of meeting the goal of shared ownership. At its worst, it leads to defiance” (Bryan, 2004, p. 884). Bryan (2004) further proposed that regulation, while restraining behavior, reduces the ability of the public to participate in the decision-making processes of local and federal agencies. Given the limits of these approaches to solving problems, collaborative methods for managing natural resources that attempt to achieve stakeholder feelings of shared ownership and responsibility have gained popularity among natural resource managers and professionals (Bryan, 2004).

According to Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000), collaboration “involves individuals or groups moving in concert in a situation in which no party has the power to command the behavior of the others” (p. xiii). Gray (1989) presented three stages of

collaboration: problem setting (e.g., identifying stakeholders, defining the problem), direction setting (e.g., developing agendas and rules for interaction, achieving consensus), and implementation (e.g., monitoring and achieving compliance). Additionally, she outlined five characteristics defining the collaborative process: (a) stakeholders are independent, (b) solutions emerge by dealing constructively with differences, (c) joint ownerships of decisions is involved, (d) stakeholders assume collective responsibility for future directions, and (e) collaboration is an emergent process (Gray, 1989).

Collaboration is a challenging task due to the fact that these efforts often arise out of adversarial situations where divergent interests can be entrenched in their own camps, resulting in an ‘us versus them’ situation that is self-reinforcing (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). As Bryan (2004) explained, most common dilemmas facing natural resource managers involve individuals and groups who value the resource quite differently from each other. In these situations where individual values conflict, people become reluctant to accept another’s viewpoint or solution to the problem because they fear that they may be compromising their own individual viewpoints or values (Bryan, 2004). The goal of collaboration, therefore, is to develop and understand stakeholders’ shared resource-based identity; thus, collaboration is a result of the recognition that “in spite of *our* differences, *we* are all in this together” (Bryan, 2004, p. 892). When this adversarial setting is overcome, agency personnel, local users, businesses, non-profit groups, and others may succeed in building consensus

(Margerum, 2008), improving local capacity (Plummer & Fitzgibbon, 2004), establishing trust (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000), and ultimately finding creative solutions to complex resource management problems.

Collaboration, however, may not always be successful. Gray (1989), for example, listed a number of potential barriers to collaboration including institutional disincentives, historical and ideological barriers, societal dynamics and normative differences, differing perceptions of risk, technical complexity, and political and institutional cultures that are bureaucratic and uncompromising. Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) also outlined a number of institutional and attitudinal or perceptual barriers that may limit collaborative efforts. Examples of institutional barriers include limited opportunities or incentives, conflicting goals and missions, constrained resources, and inflexible policies and procedures. Attitude-based barriers include mistrust, group opinions of each other, organizational norms and culture, and limited support for collaboration. Other barriers may include prior failed attempts at collaboration, power differences among participants, and the perception among participants that others do not have a legitimate claim for involvement in the process (Selin & Chavez, 1995). Crucial to overcoming these barriers is the presence of an effective facilitator with strong interpersonal skills who can mediate among conflicting positions and troublesome personalities (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). When conflict is extremely high, it might be necessary to use objective and nonpartisan third-party facilitators who have expertise in handling uneven power

balances to ensure constructive meetings and negotiations (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000).

According to Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000), collaboration has four primary uses in natural resources: (a) building understanding through exchange of information and ideas, thereby providing a mechanism for resolving uncertainty; (b) providing a mechanism for effective decision making; (c) generating a method for getting work done by coordinating cross-boundary activities, fostering joint management activities, and mobilizing an expanded set of resources; and (d) developing capacity for agencies, organizations, and communities to address future challenges. Researchers have described many indicators of success for collaborative natural resource efforts. According to Bramwell and Sharman (1999), for example, important characteristics for evaluating successful collaboration include its scope and intensity, and the level of achieved consensus. Selin (1999) underscored the importance of mutually agreed-upon goals of collaboration, as well as subsequent joint monitoring to achieve success. Similarly, Bryan (2004) stressed the importance of group norms upheld by peer pressure, stating that the negotiated social contract results in an interdependence predicated on norms, rules, and sanctions governing how people act toward each other and the resource.

Collaboration may occur on various scales. Margerum (2008) identified three levels at which collaboration may occur – action, organization, and policy – that vary in types of stakeholders involved and how the process is managed and implemented.

Collaborative efforts at the action level usually include local community members and field employees of involved government agencies who can initiate change through direct action (Margerum, 2008). At this level, change occurs through diffusion of ideas and actions through personal networks and the direct influence of stakeholders involved (Margerum, 2008). Organizational efforts expand stakeholder participation to a regional level, including interest groups and governmental bodies and initiate change through organizations. Collaborative efforts at the policy level expand stakeholder participation to policy makers through which change is initiated (Margerum, 2008). Others have also developed ways of categorizing collaborative efforts, such as Selin and Chavez (1995) who organized these efforts according to motivating factors and expected outcomes. Selin (1999) developed a typology of sustainable tourism projects that organizes efforts according to their geographic scale, legal basis, locus of control, organizational diversity and size, and time frame. He explained that “at one end of the continuum are primarily grassroots partnerships...at the other end partnerships that are legally mandated, authorized, or compelled” (Selin, 1999, p. 264).

Collaboration has been studied in natural resource and tourism settings varying from small game hunting (Sandström, 2009) to marine planning (Gunton, Rutherford & Dickinson, 2010), river management (Plummer, 2006), local tourism policymaking (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999), cross-border tourism collaboration (Lovelock & Boyd, 2006), implementation of wildlife planning (Lauber, Stedman, Decker, Knuth & Simon, 2011) and community-based collaborative conservation and tourism (Jamal &

Stronza, 2008; Okazaki, 2008). Many of these studies focused on developing new frameworks or models for assessing or organizing collaboration (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Lauber et al., 2011; Lovelock & Boyd, 2006; Plummer, 2006). With respect to community-based tourism management, Okazaki's (2008) findings emphasized the need for agreement among stakeholders on defining the problem, without which critical development of mutual goals and consensus building cannot be achieved. Gunton et al. (2010) conducted a stakeholder analysis for marine planning in Canada and also concluded that success is likely only when stakeholders both understand and maintain common goals. They further emphasized the need for correct identification of relevant stakeholders who are willing to participate and trust each other, as well as the need for strong agency partners with the resources and capacity to implement goals of the collaborative effort. Lauber et al. (2011) found that strong social networks are critical for successful collaborative programs; Bramwell and Sharman's (1999) study of tourism planning in Great Britain found that power imbalances may threaten a collaborative partnership's success.

This study builds on this previous research by using the collaborative WBMP process in Alaska as a case study example for addressing four questions. First, what are stakeholders' general motivations for collaborating in this process? Second, to what extent has this process affected relationships among stakeholders, especially with respect to issues such as trust and communication? Third, how do commercial tourism operators perceive the role of agencies (e.g., US Forest Service) in mediating this

process? Fourth, how do respondents perceive collaboration in Juneau's TBMP process and what lessons based on perceptions of this process can be learned and applied to the WBMP?

Methods

Study Site

This study focused on water-based recreation and tourism in the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness area in Alaska, which is located off Stephens Passage about 50 miles southeast of the city of Juneau and is approximately 653,000 acres in area (Figure 1). This upland area is managed by the US Forest Service as part of the Tongass National Forest, and includes two narrow granite-walled fjords, Tracy and Endicott Arms, both of which contain tidewater glaciers, Sawyer Glacier and Dawes Glacier, respectively. Tracy and Endicott Arms are home to harbor seals and other animals such as grizzly bears, whales, and Dall's sheep (US Forest Service, 2003).

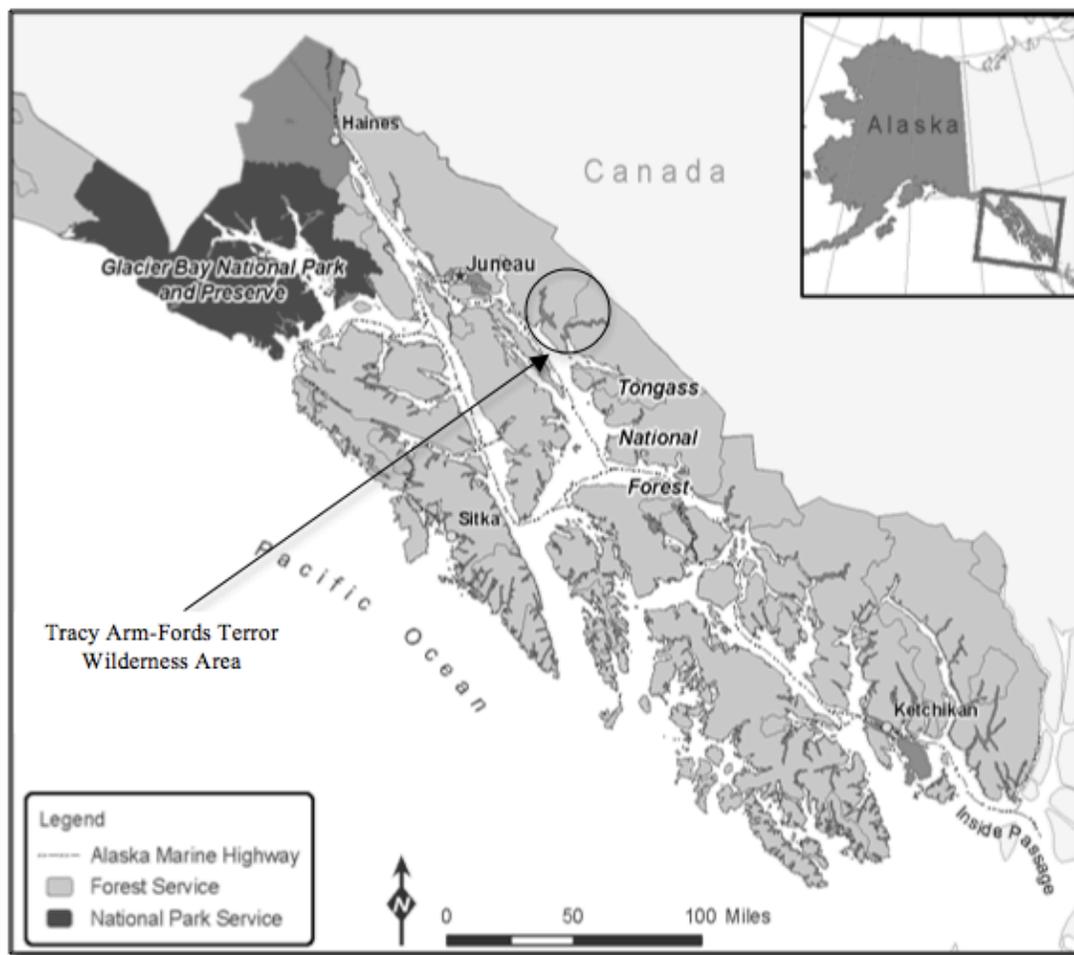


Figure 1. Southeast Alaska and Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness. Adapted from Zegre et al. (in press).

Given this area's wildlife viewing opportunities and tidewater glaciers, it is a popular destination for tourists arriving by cruise ship in Juneau, and tour boats offering full-day tours are common (Dugan, Fay & Colt, 2007). Tours operating in this area also accommodate many independent travelers who are not associated with the

cruise industry. To capture the cruise market, many tour operators have opted to pre-sell tours on board and collect clients directly from the cruise ships to allow the necessary travel time to both Tracy and Endicott Arms (Dugan et al., 2007). Following a 2001 lawsuit, restriction on visitation by cruise ships to nearby Glacier Bay National Park has increased the volume of large vessel traffic visiting these two fjords, as many cruise ships are now using this area as an alternative to Glacier Bay (US Forest Service, 2003). Other than cruise ships and large tour boats, the area is also popular for smaller boat operators, charter yachts, private yachts, kayakers, and other wilderness enthusiasts (Dugan et al., 2007).

Although the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness is a congressionally-designated wilderness area, the majority of visitors do not physically enter the national forest and instead remain on boats. In contrast to Glacier Bay National Park where the Park Service has regulatory control over the waterways, the Forest Service has no regulatory control over the water, only the uplands of Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness. The state of Alaska maintains jurisdiction over the waterways, although it has not exercised any regulatory action with respect to water vessel behavior. Some aspects of the environment are regulated by other agencies such as the National Atmospheric and Oceanic Administration, which oversees the protection of endangered wildlife and marine mammals and Alaska's Department of Environmental Conservation, which oversees water quality standards. Some regulations concerning ships in Juneau have been partially supported by citizen action. Since the US Forest

Service has no jurisdiction over the water, and it therefore has little managerial control over tour operator behavior (Neary & Griffin, 2008). Regardless, this agency has been attempting to facilitate implementation of collaborative and voluntary Wilderness Best Management Practices (WBMP) with the cruise industry and other commercial operators in this area since 2007 (Neary & Griffin, 2008). The WBMP were inspired by the Tourism Best Management Practices (TBMP), which were developed by the City and Borough of Juneau, Alaska, tourism operators, the cruise industry, and transportation services. The TBMP are codes of conduct developed in 1997 as an attempt to minimize environmental and social impacts of tourism in the Juneau area (Tourism Best Management Practices, 2009). Similarly, the WBMP are “intended to minimize the impacts of tourism and vessel operations...in a manner that addresses both concerns for our natural resources and operators’ concerns for safety and passenger service” (WBMP, 2011). The WBMP major categories of concern include: preserving quiet (e.g., limit announcements to five minutes), maintaining clean air (e.g., improve emissions monitoring), protecting wildlife (e.g., compliance with the Marine Mammal Protection Act), preserving solitude (e.g., vessels with more than 250 passengers should try not to use Endicott Arm), communication (e.g., use WBMP blog to report ice conditions), and keeping it alive (e.g., use WBMP in employee-training procedures; WBMP, 2011). Stakeholders who participate in the WBMP meet annually in Seattle, Washington to discuss issues and concerns from the previous season, as well as to revise current practices. In addition, operators are encouraged to provide

feedback to wilderness rangers who frequent the area. The WBMP is still in its infancy with new stakeholders recently becoming involved in this process, such as cruise ship pilots and environmental organizations.

Data Collection

This article uses a qualitative approach to address its research questions. Qualitative techniques are useful for exploring and describing elements of a problem in depth and detail, and examining situations with characteristics that may not be easily represented in numerical format (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010; Patton, 2002). This study is partially exploratory and does not, at this stage, lend itself well to quantitative methods such as questionnaires. Instead, the research was conducted through qualitative semi-structured interviewing, which are “conversations in which a researcher gently guides a conversational partner in an extended discussion” (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 4). Semi-structured interviewing uses an interview schedule, which is a collection of questions and topics that the researcher wants to cover in the form of a guide (Bernard, 2006). Three different schedules were created for tour operators / cruise industry representatives (Appendix A), agency personnel (Appendix B), and residents (Appendix C). These schedules were similar in content with questions addressing perceptions of the collaborative and voluntary nature of the WBMP and its effectiveness (e.g., “what is your overall opinion of how these WBMP were developed and implemented,” “how has development and implementation of these WBMP affected relationships between commercial tour guides and operators, the cruise

industry, government agencies such as the US Forest Service, and / or local community residents, if at all”). Semi-structured interviewing allowed the researcher to “follow leads,” ask additional probing questions, and let the interview take its course. The interview schedule is intended merely as a guide, not an explicit set of questions that each respondent must answer (Bernard, 2006). Each interview ended when no new information was generated. In other words, the goal was to interview respondents until the information was saturated (i.e., no new substantive information arose during interviews). Field notes were taken in the event that interesting and relevant information was discussed after the recording device was turned off.

A total of 28 interviews were conducted during a three-week period in August and September 2010 (Table 1). Interviews lasted between 20 minutes to 90 minutes, but averaged approximately 50 minutes. Interviews were conducted with direct stakeholders (those stakeholders most immediately involved in the WBMP) in the Juneau-Douglas area in respondents’ homes, aboard vessels, at local coffee shops or respondents’ offices, or over the telephone. The sampling technique used to select commercial operators was purposive, which is a nonprobability judgment sample that is useful for identifying respondents who have specific attributes that the researcher is interested in studying (Bernard, 2006). In this study, respondents were selected based on their involvement in the WBMP, as well as according to other attributes such as operator type (e.g., flightseeing, sport fishing, sightseeing, adventure, marine charter) and whether the service is locally owned and operated. Respondents were identified

from a WBMP mailing list, internet searches, and past research (Janson, 2008; Zegre et al., in press). US Forest Service personnel were also selected purposively and consisted of informants who work or previously worked in the Tracy Arm area as resource managers, wilderness rangers, and / or have been involved in the WBMP process. Interviews with local residents and users of this wilderness area were useful for gathering information on resident perspectives of the area and its management.

Snowball or respondent-driven sampling was used to locate other guides and outfitters, agency personnel, and residents not initially contacted. In snowball sampling, the researcher asks respondents to list any other individuals in the population and then recommend anyone who the researcher should interview (Bernard, 2006). This technique was relatively successful, yielding eight additional interviews and a more saturated sampling frame. Interviews were digitally audio-recorded and then transcribed verbatim. To preserve anonymity, all respondents were given pseudonyms (e.g. John, Rachel).

Table 1. Interview List

| # | Pseudonym | Interview Length | Respondent Attributes |
|----|-----------|--------------------|--|
| 1 | Ted | 34 min. 14s. | Catamaran manager |
| 2 | Martha | 29 min. 04s. | Juneau Bed & Breakfast proprietor |
| 3 | George | 53 min. 06s. | USFS wilderness field manager |
| 4 | Wilson | 34 min. 11s. | Naturalist and tour guide |
| 5 | Warren | 23 min. 13s. | Helicopter tour company employee |
| 6 | John | 48 min. 24s. | Captain; 24-passenger vessel |
| 7 | Ben | 43 min. 49s. | Director, local branch midsize cruise company |
| 8 | Abigail | 1 hr. 13m. 23s. | Juneau resident, former tour contractor |
| 9 | Grover | 38 min. 06s. | Former USFS ranger |
| 10 | Dolley | 18 min. 32s. | USFS intern |
| 11 | Chester | 48 min. 27s. | Cruise industry representative |
| 12 | Elizabeth | 47 min. 40s. | Owner, day boat tour |
| 13 | Thomas | 41 min. 17s. | 6-passenger sailboat captain, owner and operator |
| 14 | Hayes | 43 min. 12s. | Kayak tour guide |
| 15 | Louisa | 31 min. 36s. | Owner, kayak tour guide company |
| 16 | Andrew | 51 min. 13s. | 6-passenger yacht, captain, owner and operator |
| | Rachel | | 6-passenger yacht, owner and operator |
| 17 | James | 30 min. 46s. | 10-passenger yacht operator |
| 18 | Grant | 51 min. 02s. | Grassroots attorney for an environmental org. |
| 19 | Hannah | 52 min. 01s. | Juneau Visitors Bureau employee |
| 20 | Anna | 1 hr. 9 min. | USFS employee & whale tour boat naturalist |
| 21 | Martin | 1 hr. 3 min. 08s. | USFS wilderness ranger |
| 22 | Julia | 50 min. 15s. | Alaska native elder |
| 23 | William | 51 min. 47s. | 6-passenger yacht, captain, owner and operator |
| 24 | Abe | 1 hr. 18 min. 03s. | Cruise ship pilot |
| 25 | Zachary | 1 hr. 22 min. 22s. | 6-passenger sailboat captain, owner and operator |
| 26 | Herbert | 32 min. 45s. | Captain, 22-40 passenger cruise |
| | Calvin | | Crew, 22-40 passenger cruise |
| | Sarah | | Crew, 22-40 passenger cruise |
| 27 | Millard | 48 min. 03s. | Manager, local native tourism corporation |
| 28 | Franklin | 21 min. 17s. | 6-passenger vessel, captain, owner and operator |

Data Analysis

According to Rubin and Rubin (2005), the goal of qualitative data analysis is “to discover variation, portray shades of meaning, and examine complexity...by portraying it in the words of the interviewees” (p. 202). Through an immersive analysis of interview content, data were examined using inductive coding, which allows themes to arise from the data through iterative close readings of transcriptions (Bernard, 2006). Coding refers to applying a label to a segment of text relating to an identified theme or category. Typically, analysis of qualitative data involves two stages – coding transcripts to identify themes or analytic concepts, followed by comparing and linking emergent themes or concepts across respondents to identify a theory or model of what has been learned (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). This second step also involved examination of concepts identified in published literature. First, an open coding process was used where free, thematic coding occurred as interviews were systematically transcribed. This resulted in numerous codes, not all of which were relevant to the posed research questions. Subsequently, through an axial coding process, codes were refined, distilled and organized through identifying relationships between categories and subcategories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Both free (independent) and hierarchical codes (nested) were used to analyze interviews. Identified themes were represented by respondents’ verbatim quotes.

Results

Motivations for Collaborating

The first research question focused on identifying stakeholder motivations for collaborating in the WBMP. Motivations associated with aversion to regulation and support for collaborative self-regulation through the WBMP was often discussed with reference to recent restrictions on vessel entry into Glacier Bay, and enhanced regulation for both small and large ship operators. For most respondents, management of Glacier Bay National Park is an example of draconian agency overregulation. Small boat operators were often critical of management of the park, as *William*, a six-passenger yacht operator stated: “we were managed right out of there [Glacier Bay].” Another six-passenger operator, *Zachary*, echoed *William*’s words, but further questioned the logic of the restrictions: “it’s [Glacier Bay] virtually closed, I can’t go in there...I don’t know what that’s based on, why can’t I go there? Is there really too many boats?” For some, the perceived rationale for small commercial operator exclusion from Glacier Bay during the height of the tourism season is due to state and federal economic interest in the cruise industry. As *Andrew*, a six-passenger operator explained about the restrictions: “they [Park Service] feed off it [cruise permits]; it’s more money.” Agency representatives and small operators looked to the situation in Glacier Bay and drew parallels to a potentially similar future situation in the Tracy Arm area where small operators could be marginalized, as described by ten-passenger yacht operator, *James*:

Unless we can make some agreement stick, then it's [Tracy Arm] basically being turned over to large cruise ship industry at the expense of small operators, kayak groups, and other wilderness lovers who respect the needs of everyone to be able to see the area, but would like to partition the pie a little bit so that we don't all have to be at the lowest common denominator.

Former USFS ranger, *Grover*, detailed that his biggest fear for the future of Tracy Arm is that it will become an example of the "tragedy of the commons," where the area reaches a

Saturation point where it could become a place where the large tour ships go...and the small cruise ships are left to go to other places where the big ships can't go, and that would be sad...also the individual tourists, the destination tourists, the independent travelers down there that may not get that sense of isolation either.

Local resident and former Juneau tour contractor, *Abigail*, described the perceived power that the cruise industry maintains over government decision-making: "we've really sort of gone okay, tourism in Alaska is cruise tourism, cruise tourism is outside of our control, and so we're just going to let them do what they want and drive the industry." Cruise tourism employees, however, did not perceive their treatment in Glacier Bay as especially exclusive. As *Abe*, a cruise ship pilot lamented:

They've [Park Service] taken a pristine area [Glacier Bay] and they've just over-regulated it. If you make an announcement when you go into Glacier Bay, I had a ranger tell the captain last week, "we'll have to evaluate and see whether you can continue on up into the Bay because you made an announcement, you broke the rules." I mean that's just being totally aggressive and power-hungry.

Collaboration among users and US Forest Service managers in developing the WBMP provides an opportunity to manage the Tracy Arm area in contrast with the situation that many commercial operators must contend with in Glacier Bay. The

WBMP offers smaller operators a way to protect their access to glaciers in Tracy and Endicott Arms, given their limited access to Glacier Bay: “ship companies can go in and out of there [Glacier Bay] at will, [and] we’ve lost that opportunity. We can’t provide that opportunity...anywhere else. Endicott is the last chance for that,” explained six-passenger vessel operator, *Franklin*.

The WBMP are also perceived by operators as an opportunity to be equal participants in voluntary rule-making with agency officials, as opposed to passive recipients of mandatory regulation. Mid-size catamaran manager, *Ted*, exemplified this perception:

I think that these guidelines...are very smart, forward-thinking. This is a group of logical, ethical businesses getting together going, ‘of course we make mistakes, nobody’s perfect, but if we can get ahead of this and make ourselves better, then maybe we can be in charge of the rules.’

Small yacht operator, *William*, grouped both cruise ships and smaller commercial operators together when describing WBMP participation as motivated by a hope to avoid future permitting, although he attributed additional altruistic, environmental motives to smaller operators:

Same as the rest of us, they [cruise companies] want to avoid having a permit area...I suspect that there’s on some level this desire to keep the place pristine, but I think that’s more prevalent among the smaller boat operators, and among the big ones, they’re mostly operating as businesses and looking for the most advantage[s] from the business aspect.

Agency representatives recognized the manifestation of operator fear of exclusion and fear of potential future non-collaborative regulation as a driving force behind WBMP participation among operators. As former ranger, *Grover*, rationalized:

“If folks didn’t think it was worthwhile they would not show up. But then there’s the other side of it too, well ‘if I don’t show up are they going to make some decision that affects me?’” Wilderness ranger, *Martin*, suggested that operators may be attempting to demonstrate their use in the event that future mandated regulation occurs and they may then be grandfathered in: “if they don’t go [to the meetings], they probably perceive that as us checking it off a list, ‘oh so and so wasn’t here,’ that goes on their permanent record.”

Trust

The second research question focused on the extent that the WBMP have affected relationships among stakeholders, especially with respect to issues such as trust and communication. A potential barrier that has arisen since the first meeting of the WBMP signatories is the issue of establishing trust. As perceived by US Forest Service wilderness manager, *George*, the cruise industry made a promise at the first meeting that they failed to keep, which may have damaged other operators’ faith in the program:

It was only like a half hour into it [the first meeting], and the cruise company said, ‘you know, we can just not use Endicott Arm.’ Some of the operators looked at us and went, ‘the meeting’s over. Basically that’s all I really care about’...they were so optimistic after that first meeting, and so despondent when that didn’t happen... some of them really lost confidence in the whole process, and we really wondered if they were even going to come back to the table.

Six-passenger vessel operator, *Franklin*, echoed *George*’s assessment, noting how some companies particularly violate the agreement:

[The] main guideline that was abused and not observed was that they [cruise ships] would not go into Endicott unless they were forced to by ice conditions in Tracy Arm. Well we know for a fact that one or two of the companies totally ignored that guideline even while giving lip service to it.

Small operator *James* explained that this is a flaw of the voluntary agreement, but noted that the US Forest Service has been trying to monitor diversions through a new ice report blog:

It's a voluntary practice...and we do have a website that basically the cruise ships let us know that they've diverted into Endicott, but it is voluntary and unfortunately they don't always live up to the agreement, to the principle, and that's been the difficulty is that, you know last year I think we had 30% or so of the cruise ships diverted to Endicott Arm. So it was any excuse [to divert].

Use of this blog, implemented two years into the collaborative process, was at first abused, but has since become a better way of ensuring adherence to guidelines due to the US Forest Service taking a more "assertive role," as described by *Martin*:

But the problem was they [cruise ships] were copying and pasting each others' bad ice reports from weeks ago, or just ... announcing oh we're going into Endicott today, so one of the small operators he started calling it the 'hall pass,' ...so this year I took a much more assertive role...we started calling cruise ships directly and asking for an updated ice report and then saying, 'are you going to put that in the blog or would you like us to?'

According to wilderness ranger, *Martin*, this "removed a lot of the wiggle room... because some captains just simply wanted to travel Endicott Arm...So that enforcement...or fact-check or whatever, that's our version of doing that." Wilderness manager *George* explained that this type of fact checking helps to bolster voluntary compliance: "So voluntary compliance is really good when you know, you know

what, there might be a cop around the next corner so I probably ought to slow down right now when I'm speeding down the highway.”

George also explained that compliance is critical at the outset of a collaborative arrangement because when an agreement is made and ignored, it may be perceived as a lie and therefore jeopardize the entire effort: “What I've seen is that people will get burned out if they feel like they're continuing to say the same thing and nobody's listening, and they'll just stop complaining because they don't think that the deaf ear's worth it.” Kayak tour operator *Hayes* agreed with *George* by stating: “I don't think we're really heavily on their [the cruise industry] radar, I don't think we ever were...I don't think that now they really care a whole lot about us.” This perceived lack of caring on the cruise industry part has, in midsize operator *Herbert's* words, fostered “a feeling of ‘them’ and ‘us.’”

For many small operators, sentiments such as these have led to a feeling that the cruise industry's involvement in the WBMP is insincere. As small yacht owner *Rachel* stated: “I don't think they give a damn what they do, they're just making their money, that's it.” Many respondents perceived cruise ship involvement in the WBMP as a way to garner favorable publicity. As sailboat operator *Zachary* explained, “It's marketable from a business stance. Cruise ships are looking for anything to hang their hat on, and improve their public relations. They say ‘we don't need any bad press’ and can point to the WBMP and say ‘see we're good too.’” This perception was not limited to small operators; wilderness ranger *Martin* felt that cruise lines have been

motivated by outside pressure: “I don’t think [cruise ship involvement is] altruistic at all, I don’t think it’s for the care of the land at all, I think it’s solely because they’re being pressured into it.”

This perception of cruise line motivations for involvement in the WBMP was often coupled with the perception that these “less-than-altruistic” reasons lead to halfhearted efforts when adhering to guidelines. A small vessel operator, *Franklin*, explained: “Well my take on the meetings is that the cruise ship people were there for PR [public relations] purposes, but since nobody has any control over them... some companies have people who are really concerned about our needs and some are not.” Yacht operator *Andrew* explained his perception of the cruise industry’s rationale for joining the WBMP: “I might be doing something wrong, but if I sign this it makes me feel good and all the people feel good then I’ll do it.’ Whether they adhere to it or not is another thing.” Local resident and grassroots attorney *Grant* is an individual who is not in Tracy Arm as frequently as the small operators, but had a similar perception:

I think it’s all sort of good business sense. Nobody wants to be the bully, necessarily. Nobody wants to have the black eye...I think what you see is that a lot of splash about how we’re doing it [the WBMP] and the substance a little thinner. Is it better than it would have been without it? Probably. Is it enough? As a lover of wilderness, no.

Conversely, the cruise industry recognized the complaints of smaller operators and at the second meeting tried to explain their reasons for diverting to Endicott Arm (e.g., safety concerns), agreeing not to use a part of Endicott called Fords Terror when they must divert. According to cruise industry representative, *Chester*:

There were some smaller operators who said, ‘well you didn’t follow what you said you were going to do, there’s still more and more ships going to Endicott’ or ‘there were more than we thought’ and so we...tried to explain to them...some of the challenges and nuances we have, if we get down there and it’s foggy, or there’s ice, or the tide is running really fast over the bars.

Likewise, cruise ship pilot *Abe* further explained that if safety prohibits entrance into Tracy Arm, not going into Endicott as an alternative can have an economic impact for the company and be confusing for passengers:

If we agree that it’s not safe enough to go into Tracy Arm, then we’ll go do something else for the day. Let me tell you that’s a big decision, because they got 3000 people that are going to want a refund. They’ve sold the itinerary to go and do something and yes weather and certain other things permit them to deviate, but to not be able to go into Endicott Arm is like saying, we have this private little area that we don’t want you to see.

Chester, a cruise industry representative, perceived that for most users the explanation was sufficient clarification. He also recognized, however, that some operators will not be satisfied and simply feel that cruise ships should not even be in Tracy Arm: “again there’s probably still some operators that don’t believe we should be down there at all, and to those folks we just say ‘look, we’re putting our best foot forward, this is voluntary, this is something that if we didn’t believe in, we wouldn’t be participating.’”

Communication

The ability of the WBMP to get stakeholders with distinct and conflicting goals seated “at the table” was lauded by many interviewees, particularly agency representatives. As *Grover*, a former USFS ranger explained:

Just having folks being able to look in each other's eyes, across the table...I think it's really good for each one of the parties to hear what the other's concerns are, and get to know each other a little bit...it's a lot harder to be critical of someone if that person has sat across the table going 'I understand your concern, I didn't realize that' or 'I see what you mean.'

Wilderness ranger *Martin* echoed *Grover's* statement, stating that "sitting at the table face to face gave human faces to the cruise ship industry and vice versa...the meetings...address some contentious issues and not everyone agrees on everything, they have certainly improved the tone and they've improved all parties' understanding of their goals, where they're coming from, most definitely." Cruise industry representative *Chester* expressed agreement with these agency officials, stating "the fact that we're sitting around a table three years in a row is successful in my opinion."

From a non-operator perspective, grassroots attorney *Grant* explained why it is important for citizens who are not commercially invested in the area to also be involved:

People want to be at the table and part of a dialogue on how to solve problems. It doesn't mean that there aren't problems, it just means that people want to be involved, whether that's distrust that the government can do it right or distrust that corporations whose headquarters are who-knows-where are going to be making choices that are in your long-term interest. People want to be involved and finding effective ways for those dialogues [to] make a difference.

Grant's rationale for involving a broader array of stakeholders to enhance the effectiveness of the dialogue of collaboration has not been supported by many of the larger cruise operators. Legally, US Forest Service meetings must be open to the public, but as wilderness manager *George* explained, the cruise industry's attitude toward broad inclusion was one of skepticism: "[As said by cruise industry] 'Well

who are these people that we're going to invite? Shouldn't it just be the people that are signing the document? And isn't that document just an agreement among operators, and if so why are they in the room?" As cruise industry representative *Chester* stated: "the only people who should be involved in this agreement are the users." One cruise ship pilot, *Abe*, suggested that even the small operators may not be knowledgeable enough to be able to safely contribute to a functioning agreement such as the best management practices: "[On] one side, you got a bunch of professionals who have years and years and years and years of experience, and you got on the other side a couple guys who have a very little license."

Despite this cruise industry reluctance toward inclusiveness, coupled with issues of trust at meetings, most agreed that the WBMP has been a successful tool for improving communication among users who normally would not communicate. Participants have been able to develop a better understanding of each other's operations. As small operator *Thomas* stated "I think the most important thing about best management practices is communicating." *Ben*, director for a local branch of a midsize cruise company, further expanded on *Thomas*' sentiments, stating that it is not just communicating that is important, but communicating various expectations that each stakeholder maintains: "I think the most important thing about best management practices is communicating and the experience that people are anticipating is the one that they get, I think that is an important concept for everybody, if they know what everybody else is doing." The meetings have also allowed the cruise industry to

communicate directly to other operators about their reasons for diverting to Endicott Arm, the fjord designated by the WBMP for mostly small tour operator use, as described by cruise industry representative *Chester*:

I think over the course of the three years I think there has been more communication...between the ships and the small operators [about diversions]. And I think that's fostered a better relationship. I think that they generally believe that they can communicate with the ships when they're down there [Tracy/Endicott].

Even small yacht operator *James*, who is one of the most ardent supporters of regulation and wilderness, noted benefits of the WBMP in improving mutual respect through enhanced communication: "I think we are beginning to have cordial dialogue with the cruise ships...I think that every year we sit down and discuss things our dialogue improves. Our respect toward one another improves and they understand the issues I bring up at the meeting." From the US Forest Service's perspective, wilderness manager *George* described that as communication improves, this agency has become less necessary in serving as a link among operators. The meeting has become a place where operators are more comfortable airing grievances face-to-face:

They're [the operators] not just complaining to the Forest Service. They're now starting to complain to the proper people, who are the industry themselves, the cruise line industry themselves, and there's become a little more of a two-way conversation, I wouldn't say as well as I'd like to see it...they still hold onto their complaints and it all comes out at the meeting...the meetings have been helpful in that way, giving them a forum for it.

Compromise and Sharing

With the task of mediating meetings among stakeholders, agency officials recognized the need to encourage compromise among all operators in the WBMP;

both cruise ships and operators of smaller vessels must have been willing to make sacrifices. Wilderness ranger *Martin* explained his role in getting the smaller operators to cede flightseeing operations: “when I was getting people to come to the table for the first year...I told the small and midsize tour operators that they’re asking a lot of the cruise industry and it would be helpful if they came to the table with something.” In the beginning of the collaborative process, there were questions as to whether the cruise ships would be open to limiting their operations in both Tracy and Endicott Arms, as described by former ranger *Grover*: “are the large tour companies going to give something up...their economic interest, are they willing to forego some of that for better relationships with the small tour companies?” Cruise industry representative *Chester* expressed that even though they are not required to participate in the WBMP, he believed in the program: “we could just as easily say, ‘we’re going to go wherever we want to,’ but, that’s not at least, in my opinion and my history in dealing with this program, that’s not the way to go.” Encouraging cruise lines to change behavior was also a question of understanding the way they operate. With respect to decreasing public announcements over loudspeakers on cruise ships when in the fjords, for example, wilderness manager *George* explained that it was a matter of understanding each other’s attitudes:

This was something that they never really considered previously, that they would have an effect on others that would be negative, because in their view this was really just informing their clients of what the area was like, and of course they would want to do that and we would want them to do that, wouldn’t we? ... This was a cultural barrier that we continue to face, especially with the cruise lines.

Through the WBMP, operators have developed a mutual understanding of problems arising from differing business models; all are trying to use the same resource to achieve different goals. *James*, a ten-passenger yacht operator, articulated: “we have a job to do just as well as they [cruise ships] have a job to do.” The recognition that each business is dependent on Tracy Arm and / or Endicott Arm is a motivating factor for collaborating, communicating, and arriving at a mutually acceptable arrangement. *Ben*, director of regional operations for a mid-sized boat company, stated: “we’re very interested in working collaboratively with large ships and they have different perceptions, are presenting a different product. And that’s fine for them, but we need to try to look carefully at how we’re going into these areas and making sure we’re optimizing the experience for wilderness values.”

Zachary, a six-passenger sailboat operator, further explained the importance of achieving a compromise with other operators: “if we couldn’t go into Endicott Arm...it would probably be enough of an impact that we wouldn’t feel that we had a marketable product anymore...so there’s a huge incentive for us to come up with any solution other than that.” He further explained that it is also in his best interest to share Endicott Arm with smaller operators as well as the cruise lines: “I’m certainly inclined to sit at the table with these other charter guys and make deals and say, ‘look, Wednesdays, if that’s how you want to work it, [name withheld] and I will be there on Wednesdays. You got Mondays, you got Fridays, whatever.’ There’s huge incentive

for all of us to do that.” Midsize cruise company local director *Ben* explained that achieving compromise allows for everyone to have the “best experience” possible:

The idea behind it is that if we are conscious of each other’s operations we can accommodate and make adjustments that best suit everybody. Simple changes, the idea was collaborative, understanding that waterways really have, there’s no regulatory agency that can mandate, but I think all the operators were very interested in, small to large, making a best experience for everybody.

Chester, a large cruise industry representative, also expressed the idea that part of compromise involves understanding that at times they must agree to disagree: “we need to sit down and try to work out as many of the differences we can knowing that there are some we are never going to approach resolving. And that’s the way it is.”

Most respondents seemed to understand that the resource should be shared, despite what they might prefer. *Thomas*, a six-passenger sailboat operator noted, “what we offer is this intimate experience in Alaska...we’d like to see no other boats, but of course there’s a lot of us trying to do this so we realize we do have to share it.” Cruise industry representative *Chester* explained that the WBMP has improved mutual understanding of the need to share the resource: “I think we learned a lot about what the smaller operators were concerned about and I think they learned a lot about what our challenges are. We’re not there to harm anyone’s experience, we’re there to take advantage of the resource.”

Role of Agencies

The third research question focused on how the role of agencies (e.g., US Forest Service) is perceived in mediating the WBMP process. Agency employees’

understanding of the role of the US Forest Service as ombudsman and mediator for the collaborative process underscores the importance of individual personalities and ideologies in affecting agency behavior at the WBMP meetings. Former district ranger *Grover* defined his perceived role of this agency during his tenure: “I felt that our best role, and my role in particular was as a facilitator. And I think folks saw us as a fairly neutral party...in the meetings, folks like [wilderness ranger] would speak up...[and he] certainly fell into the advocate role. But I was there in uniform as a facilitator.”

Wilderness ranger *Martin* likened his role to that of a ranger, and recognized how this role is distinct from that defined by his superiors: “well how do I perceive what the agency should do? Oh yeah, the agency should advocate for wilderness character, most definitely. And the reason I pause is because that’s not what the agency thinks it should do.” Agency leaders such as *Grover* and his perception of the best role of the US Forest Service in collaborating with commercial operators had a significant effect on the inception of the WBMP, as described by wilderness manager *George*:

We had to convince our district ranger at the time that this would be a good idea...because there was some reluctance on his part to really even start this. It didn’t make a lot of sense for him to move forward on something where he really didn’t have any decision authority, it wasn’t even a role that made sense really.

When the US Forest Service leadership changed, however, the meaning of this agency’s place in the collaborative process also changed. As *George* explained:

We originally’ conceived of our role as a facilitator under the previous district ranger...who really felt that since the Forest Service has no authority to regulate these waters, therefore we have to...bring in the operators to agreement among themselves...The new ranger has a bit of a changed attitude, and feels that we

could have more voice in the process and try to advocate a little more for the Wilderness Act, because I think she understands a little bit more that what happens on the water directly affects what happens on the land.

Individual leaders' understanding of the US Forest Service's role in the Tracy Arm area in relationship to the Wilderness Act has changed over time; those in charge dictate what "mediator" means in the context of collaboration.

Further emphasizing the importance of individuals in driving the process is the commercial operator perceptions of the US Forest Service's task as the WBMP facilitator. Overall, large and small operators thought highly of this agency's performance. Six-passenger vessel operator *Franklin* encapsulated the feelings of most interviewees: "I really like what they've done there, especially the few people that have been directly involved in the process of going to meetings, just some really impressive people." Six-passenger sailboat operator *Thomas* described a particular ranger as personally supportive in the WBMP process: "I think he's been a pretty staunch ally, he definitely recognizes the impact that has occurred there." Similar to *Thomas*, kayak tour operator *Hayes* identified an individual ranger to be available and communicative:

We'll have a conversation with [a particular wilderness ranger] about the experiences we had in there and the other boats that we've seen and the impacts on the area due to the boats and the other people and basically, I don't know that he's necessarily taking that information from the point of view of being a Forest Service employee or that he's taking it into account as someone who's just personally working to maintain the wilderness aspect of that area. I think it's probably both.

This statement recognizes the duality of agency collaborators where rangers must be representative of the legal boundaries and ideological tenets of the US Forest Service, and yet they are also individuals with their own personal beliefs and values.

Although smaller operators tended to place more emphasis on individual agency employees as trustworthy, it was not just small vessel operators and kayak tour operators who have confidence in the US Forest Service. Cruise industry representative *Chester* highlighted the importance of this agency's presence, which is perceived by him as unbiased toward either small operators or cruise industry personnel:

I think they've done a good a job...I like the fact that they're there and do facilitate it so that it isn't a large ship against small boat industry meeting...because otherwise you know it could end up, you get into a rut where you're not going to solve anything you're just going to go back and forth about well 'oh you did this' and that's not productive. So they have leant kind of a balance to it that allows us to...come out of here with some improvements and a better understanding of each other's kind of operation.

The role of the US Forest Service, as perceived from within, has shifted according to individual leader ideology and understanding of what it means to organize a collaborative undertaking such as the WBMP. To those stakeholders involved, the agency employees and the agency as a singular entity have been crucial to continuation of the WBMP as a collaborative effort.

Comparisons to the Tourism Best Management Practices

The final research question focused on how respondents perceived collaboration in Juneau's TBMP process and what lessons based on perceptions of this

process could be learned from and applied to the WBMP. The WBMP used the TBMP as a template model. Many respondents were content with the TBMP as a successful tool for addressing tourism development in downtown Juneau. Local naturalist and guide *Wilson* stated that the TBMP are “actually [working] real good.” Former USFS ranger *Grover* also noted that the TBMP “had a good impact here in Juneau.” Visitor bureau employee *Hannah* attributed the TBMP’s success to the community’s acceptance of the program and its voluntary nature: “making it voluntary is really key and getting that sort of buy-in and consensus...some communities just aren’t there yet. Juneau...is unique, in the sense that we are a government town. We know process. We have process down to an art form.”

Warren, employee for a flightseeing operation, agreed that the TBMP are successful, citing a reduction in complaints: “if you were to take the [complaints] overall 12 years ago, or 15 years ago, whatever it’s been, and look at the complaints compared to what we are today, the reduction is overwhelming.” *Warren* was referring specifically to the TBMP’s complaint hotline that people can call if they have a concern. *Chester*, a cruise company representative, said the hotline has “really solved a lot of the issues in town.” Local tourism attraction manager *Millard* agreed: “it’s better just because I look at the statistics and see the [reduced] complaints.”

Some, however, disagreed with the evaluation of the TBMP as a success. Local resident *Abigail* said: “I don’t see it as a success...it’s a way to contain some of the most glaring, easy-to-fix issues that sort of piss off the most people the most quickly,

that you can sort of say ‘we’re doing this good.’” *Abigail* also explained that receiving fewer complaints is not a good measure of success since “basically if complaints aren’t resolved as a result of the complaint line, then people stop calling, and if it’s a systemic problem people stop calling because the complaints aren’t resolved, and therefore the people managing the complaint line report that fewer complaints have been received and therefore it’s a success.” Naturalist *Anna* also underscored the importance of measurable results from the hotline to avoid community complacency and apathy, explaining “[if] the public participate so many times without giving them any kind of response, and they say screw it...you learn to discreetly eliminate the things that bother you.” Day boat operator *Elizabeth* had a similar assessment: “I’ve talked to people who were in at the beginning of TBMP and they’re disappointed because they say you can call the TBMP hotline and it does nothing. So they’re not impressed.”

Local naturalist *Wilson* emphasized the importance that revisions have been in maintaining the TBMP, stating: “I think they’re [TBMP] working the way they are...they have been fine-tuned as the years have gone on.” However, catamaran division manager *Ted* cautioned against too many revisions and additions in the newer WBMP, which is something he witnessed with the TBMP:

Sometimes when you have a program...and you’re working on it, you make changes for changes’ sake, just so you can keep working on the project. I don’t know if that makes sense. But we have things that are in there [TBMP] that are part of the public domain, public knowledge, and it’s like, so why are we making this document bigger?”

With respect to noncompliance, *Wilson* felt that “there’s only a couple of offenders” who “may simply not know.” However, visitor bureau employee *Hannah* felt that “the Achilles heel of the program is the non-participating operators. And...that’s the part that makes the program challenged because if you have operators that don’t participate, and they do things that irritate the residents with their practices, then that reflects badly on the industry even though they’re not playing.”

An important difference in the TBMP and the WBMP noted by respondents is the wilderness conservation tone. As described by wilderness manager *George*, “I do credit to some degree the TBMP, whose concept we borrowed, the whole idea of best management practices is something that is usually laid on an industry as a way to give them a model of behavior, how they conduct their operations, and doing this in a wilderness context is not so prevalent.” Naturalist *Anna* similarly lauded the wilderness and solitude aspect of the WBMP, lamenting the fact that the TBMP does not seek to achieve this characteristic. She stated, “I think the WBMP are written...completely differently than [the TBMP],” and they are different because “you’re trying to preserve solitude and specialness. Which is something that’s a real shame that Juneau itself hasn’t done more of, because maybe 25 or 30 years ago, a cruise visitor could come to each one of these little southeast Alaska towns and find a different aura, a different feel.” Kayak tour operator *Louisa* expressed a similar sentiment: “the WBMP, how it differs...their whole mission is conservation, which I

like, as far as protecting the amount of people that go into specific areas, and the development out there as well.”

Discussion

This article examined stakeholder motivations for collaborating in the WBMP process in the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness in Alaska, effects on stakeholder relationships, perceptions of the role of the US Forest Service as mediators in this process, and how this process compares to the TBMP in nearby Juneau. Since this agency does not have jurisdiction over this area’s waterways beyond the shoreline’s mean high water mark, the fjords were an ideal location to start an action-level collaborative process such as the WBMP, where change occurs through the diffusion of ideas and actions through the influence of stakeholders involved. According to Margerum (2008), collaboration on an action level emerges to “address problems that the government has not effectively addressed, because of limited resources, difficulties with diffuse problems, unwillingness to regulate, or lack of authority” (p. 496). Respondents were typically in favor of the WBMP for managing behavior in contrast with externally imposed regulations, and were critical of management at Glacier Bay National Park, suggesting that support for collaboration may be a reaction to rules governing commercial operation in this nearby national park. Small operators felt that Glacier Bay has been allotted to cruise ships at the expense of small vessels, and fear that the same may happen in Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness. Cruise industry affiliates, however, perceived the management of Glacier Bay as restrictive to their

industry as well. For respondents, the WBMP is an opportunity to have some control over management, express concerns, and in the event of future regulation, feel that their input and involvement has been recorded.

Establishing trust among stakeholders has been a potential barrier to success of the WBMP process. According to Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000), establishing trust is crucial to collaboration, difficult to achieve, and can take time. Although a carefully structured and facilitated process such as the WBMP can enhance development of trust, the WBMP is still in its infancy and is still struggling to achieve this goal (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). For example, the mutually agreed-upon guideline of cruise ships refraining from using the Endicott Arm fjord and restricting themselves to Tracy Arm barring safety concerns was perceived by non-cruise operators and US Forest Service personnel as frequently violated. This was discouraging for non-cruise signatories and damaged trust among stakeholders. Operators perceived cruise line involvement as insincere and not fully dedicated to ameliorating effects of vessel-based tourism in this area that the WBMP seeks to address. In contrast, cruise industry respondents felt that they had sufficiently explained their safety-motivated reasons for diverting to Endicott Arm when it was crucial to do so, yet also recognized that their explanations would be objectionable to a few operators. Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) suggested that to overcome an “us versus them” mentality that is the outgrowth of trust issues, successful collaborators should try “not to focus on the individuals who are to blame but rather the problem at hand,” which seems to be an issue for small and

midsized operators who may be accustomed to seeing the cruise industry as an antagonist (p. 145). Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) also noted that most successful partnerships exceed the recognition of shared goals and move to the perception that interests are interconnected, which is developing within the WBMP.

Despite these trust issues, most respondents felt that dialogue, communication, and mutual understanding among stakeholders have been enhanced through meetings related to the WBMP. However, there was some level of disagreement between the US Forest Service as mediator and the cruise industry as to who constitutes a “stakeholder” and should be included in the WBMP discussions and meetings. Cruise representatives had a less inclusive vision of the process, perceiving it as a discussion for businesses, whereas the US Forest Service had a broader and more inclusive view. This raises questions about the role of ideology in influencing decision-making within collaborative processes; the challenge is to achieve a functioning process that can be satisfactory to many users despite divergent ideologies. In spite of this disagreement over inclusivity, operators have become more comfortable with each other and able to have discussions without needing the US Forest Service as a communicative link. In tandem with this improved communication, WBMP signatories have developed a capacity to compromise, a better understanding of needs and goals of other operators, and a recognition of the need to systematically share the resource. Fostering this type of mutual understanding is critical for ensuring the future success of collaboration. According to Bryan (2004), for example, successful collaborations provide linkages

between behavior and actions by creating new social arrangements that promote shared ownership and responsibility. Improving dialogue among stakeholders is one method for developing a feeling of community and ownership where “groups of people who can identify one another are more likely than groups of strangers to draw on trust, reciprocity, and reputation to develop norms that limit use” (Ostrum, 1999, p. 279).

Respondents had a generally positive view of the US Forest Service as mediator of the WBMP process. From the perspective of agency personnel, individual personalities have influenced the direction of this agency’s role from facilitator to advocate. From the perspective of the other WBMP stakeholders, individuals within this agency have been critical in developing a supportive atmosphere of openness. Individual opinions were responsible for directing the behavior of the US Forest Service, but it was the recognition that this institution’s representatives were communicating as individuals with sincere personal beliefs and values that left a strong impression on stakeholders. In mediating collaboration, the “right” agency individual can be critical in achieving successful dialogue, as found by Gunton et al. (2010) and Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000). As Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) noted, “a forward-looking agency official steps forward and captures everyone’s attention through actions that break adversarial dynamics” (p. 145). In addition, Gray (1989) argued that an important role of mediation is establishing a climate of trust where the parties can feel safe to explore their differences candidly and with civility. From the

US Forest Service's perspective, participants have improved their willingness and ability to address each other directly since the first meeting of the WBMP in 2007, and this is an example of successful mediation.

There are a number of lessons that participants and facilitators of the WBMP can learn from perceptions of the more established TBMP. Addressing noncompliance was still a concern that the TBMP is contending with, even after more than a decade of this program's existence. Those involved in the WBMP may want to look toward extralegal sanctions such as normative peer pressure to facilitate compliance, especially given that the WBMP is still in its formative stages (Piliavin & Charng, 1990). Alternatively, they may want to consider financial incentives for those involved (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). The WBMP participants should also be conscious of the uniqueness of the wilderness context of these practices and not seek to make changes or additions solely for the sake of doing so. Most importantly, stakeholders must agree on how to measure success, and must have successful tools for doing so. Respondents disagreed on using the number of complaints on the TBMP hotline as a barometer of success. Effective monitoring and evaluation of the process is critical to successful collaboration, as is developing a shared vision for how to monitor (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000).

Judging "success" of the WBMP is difficult because it has only been in existence since 2007. As Selin (1999) noted, "partnerships and collaborative arrangements are dynamic rather than static phenomena, evolving dynamically and in

response to a host of internal and external forces” (p. 262). Despite the dynamic nature of collaboration, Gray (1989) presented several criteria, most of which should be met for a collaboration to be deemed successful, such as whether the outcome satisfied the real disputed issues, if parties felt they affected and were willing and able to implement decisions, if the agreement produced joint gains for the parties, if communication increased and working relationships improved, whether the process was efficient and fair, and if the agreement holds up over time. It is too premature to assess some of these criteria for the WBMP, but those involved should continue addressing these issues as the agreement is discussed and revised at meetings of stakeholders. Given that trust and compliance were perceived as problems among stakeholders, the US Forest Service as mediators must find ways to enhance working relationships among stakeholders. Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) suggest instilling hope by demonstrating success and focusing on smaller and more manageable issues first to demonstrate that progress is possible. This could be difficult for those associated with the WBMP, as one guideline that was perceived to be violated (i.e., cruise entrance into Endicott Arm) was also the most important for participants. Focusing on other successes, such as decreased public address announcements on ships and enhancing communication, may help participants feel more optimistic about their ability to eventually achieve a solution to the Endicott Arm diversions. In addition, participants should recognize that, according to Gray (1989), maintaining a

“fair and lasting agreement should be judged a success, even if the process of achieving it was grueling and inefficient” (p. 257).

A common critique of collaboration in natural resource management is that efforts may lack accountability. Bryan (2004) explained that in an inclusive and accountable collaborative process, the government ultimately maintains its power and jurisdiction to adopt, alter, or reject solutions or decisions agreed on by collaborators. With respect to the WBMP, however, the US Forest Service does not maintain ultimate authority; they do not have jurisdictional control over waterways used by commercial operators. The WBMP, therefore, does not meet Bryan’s (2004) definition of accountable collaboration. Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000), however, described other approaches for maintaining accountability that may be relevant for managers involved in the WBMP. They suggested that to create a level of accountability beyond procedure, two process prerequisites must be met: affected groups need to be willing and able to participate, and norms of good process management need to be followed (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). Norms of good process management mean that collaboration must be as inclusive as possible, including involvement from all who care about the issues, not just those with formal authority or power (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). The WBMP is still evolving and each year has expanded its participation, including environmental organizations and the Southeast Alaska Pilots Association. Involving more local residents in the process, however, may be an

important next step for the WBMP, but also a potentially difficult one given the cruise industry's past reluctance to a more inclusive process.

Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) also suggested allowing for external review of decisions made through collaborative processes, setting achievable standards to strive for, and ensuring subsequent monitoring and evaluation. In 2010, the US Forest Service started better monitoring of the use of the ice report weblog, which allows users to comment on ice conditions in Tracy Arm. This monitoring ensures verification of cruise ship diversions to Endicott Arm (i.e., a "violation" of the WBMP agreement) for safety concerns. As the WBMP is still in its infancy, it has yet to be seen whether or not this attempt at enhancing accountability has been successful.

Given that the methods in this research are qualitative and based on interviews with a sample chosen in a non-probabilistic manner, results are not statistically generalizable to and representative of the entire target population. Findings, however, may be analytically generalizable or informative (Yin, 2003) for other areas that are witnessing similar water-based tourism development, particularly in areas where the managing agency has little managerial control. There may be commonalities in themes and findings that arose in this study with studies or situations in other locales that may suggest a general trend or theory with respect to voluntary codes of conduct and collaboration. In addition, the results may aid in future development of survey instruments for quantitative studies that could be used to further understand, inform, and refine the WBMP.

As resource managers look toward collaboration for managing issues such as tourism and avoiding potential “tragedies of the commons,” best management practices offer one potential collaborative tool. Future research on the WBMP may benefit from examining the process as it progresses. It may also be useful to understand how stakeholders perceive issues of trust, communication, inclusivity, and accountability as this process matures. It is difficult to judge the success of developing and changing collaborative processes by examining their effects at only one point in time, but longitudinal studies or panel designs may be most useful for understanding the components of a successful collaborative process.

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CHAPTER 4—STAKEHOLDER PERCEPTIONS OF VOLUNTARY CODES OF CONDUCT AND COMPLIANCE MOTIVATIONS IN A COASTAL WILDERNESS AREA IN SOUTHEAST ALASKA

Introduction

In 1987, the United Nations (UN) released their report, *Our Common Future*, defining sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). In 1992, 182 governments adopted Agenda 21 at the UN Conference on Environment and Development at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro with the goal of providing a sustainable future for the planet (World Travel Organization, 1996). In response, the tourism industry founded Agenda 21 for the travel and tourism industry through a collaborative effort between the World Tourism Organization, World Travel and Tourism Council, and Earth Council (World Travel Organization, 1996). This framework included non-binding practices that the industry should follow, such as sustainable production and consumption, support of local cultures and interests, and employment of local and indigenous people (World Travel Organization, 1996). This framework set a trend for other codes of conduct and regulatory practices in the industry (e.g., eco-labeling, green certification; Weaver, 2001).

Tourism is one of the world’s most profitable activities, as it generated US \$8 billion or 9.9% of global GDP in 2008 and is expected to generate US \$15 billion, 10.5% of GDP, and 300 million jobs worldwide by 2018 (World Travel and Tourism

Council, 2009). With this impact of tourism coupled with the rising popularity of ecotourism and nature-based tourism, the ethical behavior of this industry has become a concern (Fennell & Malloy, 1999). It could be argued that sustainable development and tourism that attempts to minimize negative impacts are best planned when they are predicated on collaborative processes that “integrate different perspectives” and allow “multiple views to be expressed and debated” (Robinson, 2004, p. 381). These processes include codes of conduct and regulatory standards that are designed to address economic, environmental, social, and sometimes institutional indicators and conditions that stakeholders care about protecting. Ensuring compliance with these codes or standards can be challenging and may not occur as frequently as managing agencies had hoped (Quiros, 2007; Wiley, Moller, Pace, & Carlson, 2008). Among for-profit operators, for example, a tension can exist between desires of their clientele and the environmental, social, or economic goals of these codes of conduct or best management practices (Hendee & Dawson, 2002).

This article examines a collaborative model for mitigating and managing impacts of watercraft-based tourism in the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness area in Alaska. This model, initiated by the United States (US) Forest Service in 2007, is known as the Wilderness Best Management Practices (WBMP) and addresses use of this area’s two narrow fjords by kayak tour operators, cruise ships, yachts, and other commercial charter vessels. Specifically, this article focuses on sociocultural, environmental, and economic indicators that various stakeholders prioritize for

inclusion in the WBMP for this area, and what their motivations are for complying or not complying with these practices.

Conceptual Foundation

Managing impacts of tourism requires understanding ecological, economic, and social components of the destination, which can become debased by this industry's continued development and expansion; the environment can slowly degrade, the economy can be subject to leakage, and local cultures can undergo major changes (Manning, 1999). This process has been explained in a number of models, including Butler's (1980) tourist area cycle that describes developmental stages of tourism in an area (e.g., evolution, development, stagnation, decline, rejuvenation). Doxey (1975) stated that resident attitudes towards tourism follow similar stages (e.g., euphoria, apathy, annoyance, antagonism). Given these potential impacts, Manning (1999) asked, "how can the industry protect itself from its own excesses, and act as a positive catalyst to sustain the values which are core to its future and that of the destinations which it targets" (p. 179)? One way to address this issue and create a sustainable tourism model may be to select indicators and standards for management that address potentially competing stakeholder values in a participatory manner. Indicators are social, environmental, economic, and institutional conditions that stakeholders feel need addressing (e.g., crowding), whereas standards are conditions that are considered to be acceptable or unacceptable for these indicators (e.g., no more than 30% of residents should feel crowded by tourists). Through monitoring of measurable

indicators, managers may need to take action when indicator conditions violate standards.

According to McCool and Stankey (2004), indicators should have three roles: (a) help depict existing conditions of complex, interdependent systems; (b) facilitate evaluation of the performance of management actions and policies implemented; and (c) alert about any impending changes in sociocultural, economic, and environmental systems. Indicators allow monitoring of a system by focusing on a few facets of that system. The prism of sustainability is a framework for the selection of indicators (Cottrell, Vaske, Shen, & Ritter, 2007; Figure 1).

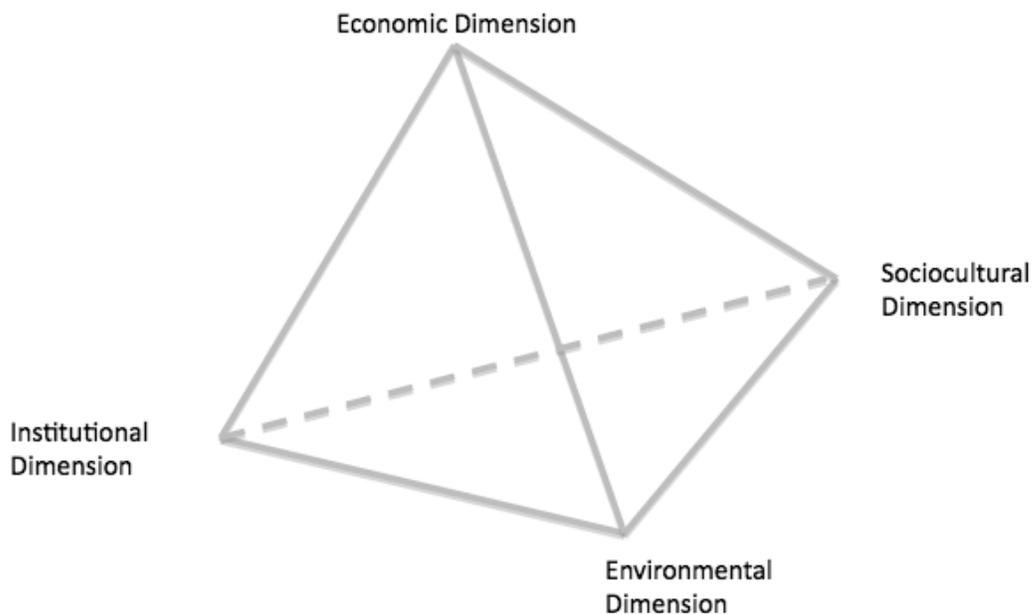


Figure 1. Prism of sustainability. Adapted from Spangenberg, n.d.

This prism has four dimensions: ecological, economic, sociological, and institutional. According to Cottrell et al. (2007), the economic dimension “satisfies the material needs of humans,” the ecological dimension recognizes the biological limits of the environment, and the sociological dimension concerns the “individual’s need to live a dignified and healthy life” (p. 512). Although the social, economic, and environmental dimensions have commonly been used as the “standard” dimensions of sustainability, the institutional dimension is less commonly used, but no less important and crucial for implementing goals defined in the other dimensions (Spangenberg, n.d.). In a study in Chongdugou China, the strongest indicators of local village residents’ satisfaction with tourism were items in the institutional dimension (Cottrell et al., 2007). This institutional dimension refers to “rules” guiding society such as government structure and capabilities, organizations, and mechanisms (Valentin & Spangenberg, 2000). The shape of the prism implies the importance of understanding and addressing linkages among the dimensions. Natural resource productivity, for example, might be an issue that links both the ecological and economic dimensions (Spangenberg, n.d.). The prism is one tool that can be useful for understanding impacts of a project or management initiative.

Many types of tourism and recreation indicators have been suggested and studied. Donnelly, Vaske, DeRuiter, and Loomis (1998), for example, studied economic impacts in US state parks and found that amount of visitation, facility development, and economic diversification were important economic indicators. A

commonly studied social indicator in tourism and recreation settings has been perceived crowding, which is a subjective negative evaluation that the number of people or objects encountered is too many (Vaske, Whittaker, Shelby, & Manfred, 2002). Researchers such as Belnap (1998) and Cole (2002) have shown that informal trails, soil compaction, vegetation trampling, and litter are important environmental indicators in tourism settings such as parks and wilderness areas. Institutional indicators have not been studied as frequently in tourism and related fields, but examples of institutional indicators might include communication among stakeholders and managers (i.e., local residents to industry or federal / state agencies) or public involvement in the decision-making process (Cottrell et al., 2007).

Indicators should be specific, responsive, measurable, and related to impacts and management goals that are important to stakeholders (Vaske et al., 2002). Indicators are typically quantitatively measured to specify appropriate levels or acceptable limits for conditions (Vaske et al., 2002). This quantitative focus, however, has been disputed in the context of development and management that is “bottom-up” or collaboratively driven, rather than “top-down” or agency driven. McCool and Stankey (2004), for example, argued that due to the numerous definitions of sustainability, qualitative indicators may be more useful in some circumstances and “can help describe tradeoffs between disparate areas, such as between limits on population growth and the reduction in personal liberties this might entail” (p. 301). In the context of tourism codes of conduct where behavior is often voluntary, regulated

informally, and not directly managed by an agency, it may be useful to consider indicators from a qualitative perspective, especially those that are more salient to individuals, companies, or organizations who are not managers or scientists.

Selection of indicators can be achieved through various methods. Vaske et al. (2002) suggested that laws and policy, professional judgment of managers, biological research, public involvement, and survey research can inform selection. McCool and Stankey (2004), however, stated that selection should ultimately be a collaborative process that “represents the best possibility for revealing diverse, often competing, public interests” (p. 304). Selecting indicators, therefore, is “as much political and value based as it is scientific, more iterative than linear, less private than public” (McCool & Stankey, 2004, p. 304). When developing best management practices for tourism, it is important to specify environmental, social, economic, and institutional indicators and as well as the impacts of greatest concern, how stakeholders prioritize these indicators for measurement and monitoring, and what the standards of quality are for these indicators. Behaviors aligned with these standards can then be specified in the form of best management practices.

One method for addressing environmental, social, and economic impacts of natural resource-based tourism as identified in the prism of sustainability is the use of collaboration as a managerial tool. According to Selin and Chavez (1995), collaboration “implies a joint decision-making approach to problem resolution where power is shared and stakeholders take collective responsibility for their actions and

subsequent outcomes from those actions” (p. 190). One form that collaboration can take is voluntary codes of conduct or best management practices. Effective collaborative and voluntary codes of conduct can obviate the need for externally imposed regulations. These codes are also beneficial because they can be less prone to lengthy and expensive litigation, less costly to implement and monitor, and allow flexibility in designing and implementing policies (Wiley et al., 2008). If codes are internalized by a company or organization, they can hopefully become part of its internal culture and socialization (Malloy & Fennell, 1998).

Given the voluntary and collaborative nature of many codes of conduct in tourism (Ayuso, 2007; Honey, 2001; Rivera, 2004), exploring whether or not participants such as tour operators are complying with the guidelines they helped create is critical for assessing the effectiveness of these types of programs. Stakeholders may express concern that voluntary guidelines are not being properly adhered to by commercial operators whose motives may compete with the goals of the guidelines (Sirakaya, 1997). Without compliance, voluntary guidelines become meaningless. Sirakaya (1997) listed two main categories of compliance motivation theory: (a) motivations based on economics, and (b) motivations not based on economics (e.g., social pressures, altruism, self-interest). Rational Actor Theory suggests that individuals make choices to maximize utility or maximize benefits (i.e., an individual’s needs or goals) and minimize costs (Ritzer, 2007). This theory underscores the importance of the goals of the actor, scarcity of resources, and

opportunity costs (costs of giving up the next best options; Ritzer, 2007). In contrast, social motivations for compliance may derive from issues such as personal attitudes and values, normative sanctions (e.g., peer pressure), and altruism (Dietz, Ostrom, & Stern, 2003; Sirakaya, 1997).

Studies on volunteerism, which may have similar motivations as the decision to abide by voluntary codes of conduct or best practices, have argued that it is undertaken to serve psychological functions such as to fulfill personal values, build knowledge, encourage psychological development, develop career experience, enhance social relationships, diminish negative feelings such as guilt, or build self-esteem (Clary & Snyder, 1999; De Young, 2000). In other words, motivation for engaging in voluntary behavior is not motivated solely by altruism (i.e., benefit the actor less than recipient) or self-interest, but some combination of the two (Clary & Snyder, 1999; Piliavin & Charng, 1990). Studies also suggest that self-interest, often considered the cause of environmental degradation, may actually help to promote environmentally responsible behavior (De Young, 2000; Hardin 1968). A study on ecotourism operator motivations and compliance with the International Ecotourism Society's Ecotourism Guidelines for Nature Based Tour Operators (TES) found that internal motivations such as personal morality were the most important reasons for complying with the TES (Sirakaya, 1997). Noncompliance was motivated by lack of awareness about negative effects of noncompliant behavior (Sirakaya, 1997). Studies such as this suggest that the rational actor theory of behavior is less explanatory than

noneconomic motivations, such as core values and subjective judgments (Lindstand & Solberg, 2010; Sirakaya 1997). Fennell and Malloy (1999) suggest that ecotourism operators have a high level of education, smaller organizational size, and are more inclined to behave ethically than larger operators such as cruise lines.

For larger corporations, some researchers have suggested that “enlightened self-interest rather than altruism” is what motivates accountability and adherence to ethical codes (Piliavin & Charng, 1990, p. 57). According to Piliavin and Charng (1990), normative pressures can increase social responsibility, largely because these pressures lead company officials to perceive that socially responsible behavior is in a corporation’s own best interest; ethical decisions are made because they help preserve the company’s wellbeing. With respect to corporations and voluntary codes of conduct that may lack legal punishments for noncompliance, extralegal sanctions such as diminished reputation, lower sales, guilt, or shame may further motivate corporations to abide by voluntary behavioral guidelines (Furger, 2002).

This study focuses on the collaborative and voluntary Wilderness Best Management Practices (WBMP) developed for managing water-based vessel tourism in the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness area in southeast Alaska. Since 2007, the US Forest Service has been facilitating implementation of these codes of conduct by engaging the cruise industry, other commercial tour operators, local residents, and other stakeholders in developing practices to help mitigate social, economic, and environmental impacts of tourism in this region. Using the WBMP as a case study,

this article addresses two research questions. First, what sociocultural, environmental, and economic indicators do these various stakeholders prioritize for inclusion in the WBMP for this area? Second, what are their motivations for complying or not complying with the WBMP guidelines?

Methods

Study Site and Context

This research focused on issues associated with water-based recreation and tourism in the 653,000 acre Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness, located approximately fifty miles southeast of Juneau, Alaska (Figure 2). Managed by the USDA Forest Service (USFS), Tracy Arm-Fords Terror is a part of the Tongass National Forest. It includes two narrow, granite-walled fjords, Tracy and Endicott Arms. The fjords contain two tidewater glaciers, Sawyer and Dawes glaciers, and are home to harbor seals, grizzly bears, Dall's sheep, and other wildlife (US Forest Service, 2003). Tracy and Endicott Arms' tidewater glaciers and charismatic megafauna draw many cruise ship tourists en route to and from Juneau, as well as independent travelers on commercial full-day boat tours, midsize cruise ships, catamarans, charter yachts, sailboats, kayaks (Dugan, Fay, & Colt, 2007). Cruise ship entries into Tracy and Endicott Arms has substantially risen over the past decade following a 2001 lawsuit that restricted cruise ship visitation to Glacier Bay National Park (US Forest Service, 2003). In order to provide a tidewater glacier experience for their passengers, many ships are now sailing

directly into the narrow fjords of Tracy Arm-Fords Terror in lieu of Glacier Bay (US Forest Service, 2003).

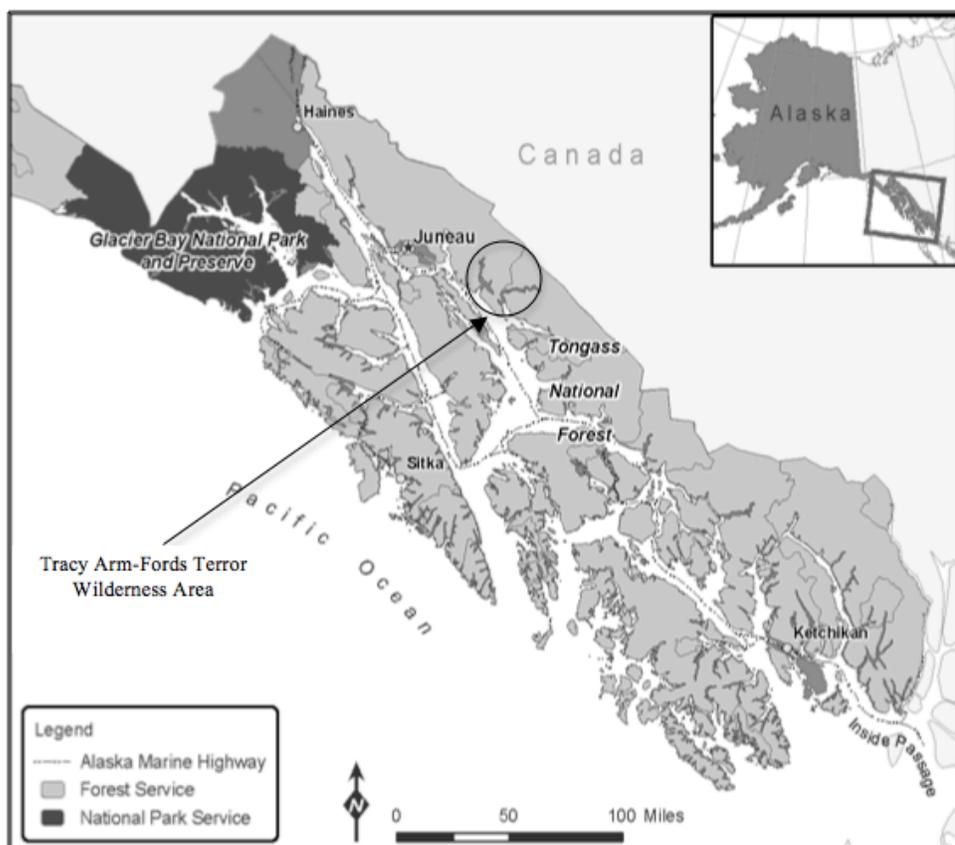


Figure 2. Southeast Alaska and Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness. Adapted from Zegre, Needham, Kruger, & Rosenberger (in press).

The majority of visitation to Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness occurs via water vessels, and very few visitors physically set foot on the land. This has been problematic for the US Forest Service, as it does not maintain jurisdiction over the waterway only the uplands, and therefore has little managerial control over the behavior of cruise ships and other commercial guides and outfitters (Neary & Griffin,

2008). This situation is in contrast to Glacier Bay National Park where the Park Service has regulatory control over the waterways. The state of Alaska maintains jurisdiction over the waterways, although it has not exercised any regulatory action with respect to water vessel behavior. Some aspects of the environment are regulated by other agencies such as the National Atmospheric and Oceanic Administration, which oversees the protection of endangered wildlife and marine mammals and Alaska's Department of Environmental Conservation, which oversees water quality standards. Some regulations concerning ships in Juneau have been partially supported by citizen action.

Given the lack of USFS legal jurisdiction over Tracy Arm, the agency has turned toward the implementation of collaborative, voluntary best management practices as an alternative to managing operator behavior. Since 2007, the USFS has facilitated the development and implementation of the Wilderness Best Management Practices in concert with cruise industry representatives, commercial guides and outfitters, cruise ship pilots, and environmental organizations (Neary & Griffin, 2008). The WBMP were inspired by, and are an addendum to, Juneau's Tourism Best Management Practice (TBMP), codes of conduct developed in 1997 as a collaborative effort between the City and Borough of Juneau, tourism operators, the cruise industry, and transportation companies as an attempt to minimize the environmental, social, and economic impacts of tourism in Juneau (TBMP, 2009). Similar to the TBMP the WBMP are designed to " minimize the impacts of tourism

and vessel operations...in a manner that addresses both concerns for our natural resources and operators' concerns for safety and passenger service" (Wilderness Best Management Practices [WBMP], 2011). Significant categories in the WBMP include "preserving quiet" (e.g., limiting announcements to five minutes), "maintaining clean air" (e.g., improving emissions monitoring), "protecting wildlife" (e.g., compliance with the Marine Mammal Protection Act), "preserving solitude" (e.g., vessels with more than 250 passengers should try not to use Endicott Arm), "communication" (e.g., use of WBMP blog to report ice conditions), and "keeping it alive" (e.g., use WBMP in employee-training procedures; WBMP, 2011). Stakeholder meetings are held annually in Seattle, Washington in order to discuss the previous season and make any necessary revisions to the WBMP guidelines.

Sample and Data Collection

This article uses a qualitative approach to address its research questions, which is useful in exploring a problem in depth and detail, particularly problems not easily represented numerically. (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010; Patton, 2002). Research was conducted through semi-structured interviewing, or "conversations in which a researcher gently guides a conversational partner in an extended discussion" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 4). An interview schedule, or guide consisting of questions and topics the research wants to address, was used and developed for each type of respondent: tour operators / cruise industry representatives (Appendix A), agency personnel (Appendix B), and residents (Appendix C) (Bernard, 2006). The interview schedules

were similar in content, with questions addressing stakeholder perceptions of indicators and standards included in the WBMP, and their compliance of these indicators and standards (e.g., “what types of issues are most critical for inclusion in the WBMP codes of conduct,” “what guidelines from these WBMP does your company follow when operating in the Tracy Arm area”). Semi-structured interviewing also allowed the researcher to ask probing questions and let the interview progress along its natural course; the interview schedule is only a guide, not a list of formal questions the respondents must answer (Bernard, 2006).

Each interview was digitally audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Field notes were taken in order to document any relevant information discussed after the interviews were no longer being recorded. Interviews ended when no new information was generated (i.e. the information was saturated). . Interviews lasted between 20 minutes to 90 minutes, averaging approximately 50 minutes, and were conducted in the Juneau-Douglas area in respondent homes, aboard their water vessels, at local coffee shops or offices, and on the telephone.

This study used a nonprobability sampling technique in order to select respondents, which ensured that respondents representing all relevant attributes were interviewed (Bernard, 2006). This study was interested in direct stakeholders (those stakeholders most immediately involved in the WBMP), and did not address other direct or indirect stakeholders that may be peripherally invested in the WBMP process. Specifically, operator respondents were selected based on their involvement or lack of

involvement in the WBMP and according to other attributes such as operator type (e.g., flightseeing, sport fishing, sightseeing, adventure, marine charter) and whether the service was locally owned and operated. Respondents were identified from a WBMP mailing list, internet searches, and past research (e.g., Zegre et al., in press).

Purposive sampling methods were also used to select US Forest Service informants who currently or formerly worked in Tracy Arm-Fords Terror as managers or rangers, or have been involved in the WBMP process. In addition, local Tracy Arm users and locals were interviewed in order to gain a resident perspective of the area, its management, and the WBMP.

This study also utilized snowball or respondent-driven sampling in order to identify additional residents, agency personnel, and operators not initially contacted. This involved asking initial respondents to list any other individuals in the population and subsequently recommend individuals they believed should be interviewed (Bernard, 2006). This technique yielded eight additional interviews and a more saturated and representative sampling frame. In total, 28 interviews were conducted in a three-week period during August and September 2010 (Table 1). Respondents were given pseudonyms in the results for the purposes of preserving anonymity (e.g., John, Rachel).

Table 1. Interview List

| # | Pseudonym | Interview Length | Respondent Attributes |
|----|-----------|--------------------|--|
| 1 | Ted | 34 min. 14s. | Catamaran manager |
| 2 | Martha | 29 min. 04s. | Juneau Bed & Breakfast proprietor |
| 3 | George | 53 min. 06s. | USFS wilderness field manager |
| 4 | Wilson | 34 min. 11s. | Naturalist and tour guide |
| 5 | Warren | 23 min. 13s. | Helicopter tour company employee |
| 6 | John | 48 min. 24s. | Captain; 24-passenger vessel |
| 7 | Ben | 43 min. 49s. | Director, local branch midsize cruise company |
| 8 | Abigail | 1 hr. 13m. 23s. | Juneau resident, former tour contractor |
| 9 | Grover | 38 min. 06s. | Former USFS ranger |
| 10 | Dolley | 18 min. 32s. | USFS intern |
| 11 | Chester | 48 min. 27s. | Cruise industry representative |
| 12 | Elizabeth | 47 min. 40s. | Owner, day boat tour |
| 13 | Thomas | 41 min. 17s. | 6-passenger sailboat captain, owner and operator |
| 14 | Hayes | 43 min. 12s. | Kayak tour guide |
| 15 | Louisa | 31 min. 36s. | Owner, kayak tour guide company |
| 16 | Andrew | 51 min. 13s. | 6-passenger yacht, captain, owner and operator |
| | Rachel | | 6-passenger yacht, owner and operator |
| 17 | James | 30 min. 46s. | 10-passenger yacht operator |
| 18 | Grant | 51 min. 02s. | Grassroots attorney for an environmental org. |
| 19 | Hannah | 52 min. 01s. | Juneau Visitors Bureau employee |
| 20 | Anna | 1 hr. 9 min. | USFS employee & whale tour boat naturalist |
| 21 | Martin | 1 hr. 3 min. 08s. | USFS wilderness ranger |
| 22 | Julia | 50 min. 15s. | Alaska native elder |
| 23 | William | 51 min. 47s. | 6-passenger yacht, captain, owner and operator |
| 24 | Abe | 1 hr. 18 min. 03s. | Cruise ship pilot |
| 25 | Zachary | 1 hr. 22 min. 22s. | 6-passenger sailboat captain, owner and operator |
| 26 | Herbert | 32 min. 45s. | Captain, 22-40 passenger cruise |
| | Calvin | | Crew, 22-40 passenger cruise |
| | Sarah | | Crew, 22-40 passenger cruise |
| 27 | Millard | 48 min. 03s. | Manager, local native tourism corporation |
| 28 | Franklin | 21 min. 17s. | 6-passenger vessel, captain, owner and operator |

Data Analysis

Through an immersive analysis of interview content, data was examined by using inductive coding, allowing themes to emerge from the data through repetitive close-readings of transcriptions (Bernard, 2006). Coding involves the application of a label to a segment of text relating to an identified theme or category. The goal is “to discover variation, portray shades of meaning, and examine complexity...by portraying it in the words of the interviewees” (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 202). Qualitative data analysis consists of two stages: (a) coding transcripts to identify themes or analytic concepts, followed by (b) comparing and linking emergent themes or concepts across respondents to identify a theory of what has been learned, frequently through examining concepts identified in published literature (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). In this study, an open coding process was used where coding occurred as interviews were systematically transcribed, resulting in a plethora of codes, only some of which were relevant to the research questions. Subsequently, through an axial coding process, codes were refined, distilled and organized through identifying relationships between categories and subcategories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Both free (independent) and hierarchical codes (nested) were used to analyze interviews. Identified themes were represented by respondents’ verbatim quotes.

Results

Social Indicators

Noise. The first research question focuses on sociocultural, environmental, and economic indicators that stakeholders prioritize for inclusion in the WBMP. Concern over noise in the fjords was commonly described by respondents as an important social indicator, with opinions mixed on whether or not it has improved with adoption of the WBMP. The type of noise most frequently discussed was the use of a loudspeaker that, according to former USFS ranger *Grover*, was not appropriate for a wilderness area: “It was our folks [USFS rangers] that were out there all the time saying ‘gosh, you know there are campers out here and the PAs are announcing breakfast on the F deck’ and it isn’t really in keeping with wilderness values.”

Wilderness ranger *Martin* explained how serious the noise problem can be by stating: “the ships have such a smaller impact on the area socially if they’re not running their PAs, the cruise ship PAs we’ve documented are audible up to five miles. And then smaller ships, maybe two or three miles.” The WBMP guideline established to “preserve the quiet” advises operators to limit the frequency, volume, and length of announcements to the minimum necessary and to avoid announcements prior to 8:00 a.m. (WBMP, 2011). Most respondents agreed that this guideline had a significant impact on the area. Wilderness manager *George* explained that noise reduction has

been one of the more tangible results of the WBMP: “they’re [operators] seeing some results, I think, they’re perhaps recognizing that the ships aren’t making these announcements as much.” Six-passenger sailboat operator *Zachary* expressed a similar opinion by stating “it seems to be working for everybody, the cruise line if they go in there won’t be doing their loudspeaker.” Cruise industry representative *Chester* did state that some cruise ship captains had informed him that “we went up to Tracy Arm today and there was this small, 20 passenger boat from Juneau with the outside PA system blaring away.” However, *Chester* said that in those cases, “we’re going to take the high road and maybe they just forgot...I think there’s room in all this for everybody to have a mishap.”

For some stakeholders, however, this guideline is not strict enough. According to local resident and grassroots attorney *Grant*, they should not just be limiting loudspeaker announcements, but banning them entirely:

You don’t need a PA, I don’t know why you would need a PA in Tracy Arm if the cruise company’s got to pay for a few more guides to hop on the boat and have somebody on every deck and give a little presentation as they’re going in and then be around to answer questions, do it, you don’t have to put it on, you know. And I can understand if there was some emergency or whatever, nobody’s saying that, but otherwise there’s absolutely no need.

Vessel Traffic. Another common observation reported by many operators was that vessel traffic has been increasing over the past few years, which has brought changes to their businesses. Many operators had an opinion similar to one expressed by six-passenger yacht operator *William*: “Obviously one of the more obvious [changes] is a substantial increase in cruise ship traffic...Moderate increase in overall

traffic, I think I haven't kept records, but anecdotally I'd say I'm more likely to see other small vessels up at the head of the fjord than I used to." Cruise ship pilot *Abe* also noted that now "there's probably more cruise ships scheduled per day. For the longest while it seemed like it was only one cruise ship, now you see two, sometimes three a day." For a number of smaller operators, the increase in vessel traffic in Tracy Arm influenced their decision to start using the other fjord, Endicott Arm, to experience more solitude. For example, six-passenger vessel operator *Franklin* stated:

We started going to Tracy Arm in the beginning, but there was so much traffic there, we specialize in wilderness experiences and ... even though it's a spectacularly beautiful place, more spectacular than Endicott Arm, you just can't have a wilderness experience with a lot of traffic. And so we started to use Endicott Arm.

Sailboat operator *Zachary* made a similar point by explaining "the reason we go to Endicott as opposed to Tracy Arm is because we generally don't see anybody down there. And we don't want to see anybody down there."

To address this perceived increase in traffic, the WBMP contain a guideline for preserving solitude by limiting "vessels with more than 250 passengers" in Endicott Arm with the caveat that "some visits to Endicott Arm may occur when ice, tidal conditions, vessel traffic, fog, or other vessel and passenger safety concerns limit operations elsewhere" (WBMP, 2011). The adherence, or lack thereof, to this guideline was the most frequently cited and contentious grievance by respondents. According to wilderness manager *George*, "entries into Endicott by the cruises" is "clearly the most critical [guideline]." Many small vessels operators agreed with

George, and viewed adherence to that guideline as negligible. As 24-passenger vessel operator *John* stated, “I think that the cruise ships have more or less abrogated their responsibilities in following it because they don’t observe their initial agreement to make every effort to stay out of Endicott Arm.” For many respondents, compliance with this guideline is the watermark for success of the WBMP program. As kayak operator *Hayes* explained, “the measure of success would be how many boats are actually following those practices and ultimately see fewer cruise ships coming into Endicott.” Based on his observations and conversations with operators, wilderness manager *George* expressed a similar view: “if only under extreme conditions would those ships use Endicott, I think we would see people really applauding this as a success.” Former ranger *Grover* thought that many operators already abandoned their confidence in the WBMP process and had turned toward litigation: “I think the midsize companies, at last I heard, are still trying to influence potential legislation to have one of the Arms or both of the Arms off limits to cruise ships. That’s the way life is. If you can’t get everything you want through negotiating, you try some other way.”

Not all respondents, however, agreed that the WBMP guideline has been ineffective. As six-passenger yacht operator *William* noted:

There were only a few times this season that we happened to be up there at the same time as the cruise ships, so it’s not very solid data, but it appears that the best management practices agreement is having an effect there, because that was certainly something that we had observed in earlier years.

Herbert, captain of a midsize yacht, also observed less cruise ship traffic: “I think this year is the first year, we’ll see what the stats show, but I’m guessing the stats are going

to show fewer cruise ships [in Endicott].” *Thomas*, a sailboat operator, even said he had not noticed any cruise ships during the previous season: “I definitely notice there’s no cruise ships this year. And I think that was a big part of the Tracy Arm best practices deal is that the cruise ships would try to stay in Tracy Arm, leaving Endicott for smaller vessels and kayakers and so people who might not want to see a cruise ship. So I definitely notice no cruise ships.” Wilderness ranger *Martin* was not as enthusiastic, but was optimistic that behaviors are changing: “I think we’re really having momentum away from cruise ships not using Endicott Arm...I think we’re coming over a hump, we’re not quite there yet.”

In contrast, some respondents were not only critical of the guideline allowing cruise ships into Endicott under certain circumstances (e.g., fog, ice elsewhere), but also believed that cruise ships should not be allowed in either fjord under any circumstances. Some operators, such as six-passenger yacht owner *Andrew*, stated: “They [cruise ships] shouldn’t be allowed in there at all.” Local resident *Abigail* expressed a similar opinion: “I just [feel] like there should be some places that we don’t exploit commercially.” *James*, a 10-passenger yacht operator, felt that large ships are inconsistent with the values of a wilderness area, stating that “cruise ships have no business in the area to begin with...it’s a wilderness area, and by congressional designation a wilderness area is limited to 12 people.” In response to these opinions, cruise ship pilot *Abe* countered:

I don’t know why you’d want to prohibit vessels from going to Endicott Arm, I don’t understand that. I mean it’s a wilderness area, what’s the purpose of

wilderness area but to make it available so people can see it, and where you get the biggest bang for your buck, 3000 people on a cruise ship... why would you not want that vessel to go into Endicott Arm to see the wilderness area?

Environmental Indicators

Pollution. One commonly mentioned environmental concern in the area is air pollution. The WBMP guideline to address this issue states that “all vessel operators agree to comply with the Marine Vessel Visible Emissions Standards (18 AAC 50-.070) and take all available and reasonable steps to minimize visible stack emissions while in Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness” (WBMP, 2011). As described by ten-passenger yacht operator *James*: “Well if you’ve ever been in there [Tracy Arm] when a cruise ship is in there you’ll see the smoke trail they leave...and it doesn’t dissipate because of the special geological conditions in Tracy Arm.” As with several other concerns, many operators cited the cruise ships as the largest offenders with respect to pollution, as exemplified by six-passenger vessel operator *Franklin*: “There’s a huge difference between a cruise ship that’s hundreds of feet long and a couple hundred feet high, and is at times polluting the air in addition to the water, to say a small yacht or a small cruising boat where the effect is totally different.” Wilderness ranger *Martin*’s concerns with emissions had less to do with visibility, but rather with melting ice:

I would like to see less cruise ship traffic in there unless cruise ships can demonstrate that they have a cleaner way to visit the area, their air emissions trapped in that inversion there are just terrible and putting 200 ships each with four diesel engines in close proximity to an ice field is not good...research shows that particulate matter from burning a diesel engine goes onto snowfields...you’re exacerbating our disappearing ice.

Six-passenger vessel operator *William* expressed that the cruise companies could do more to address pollution:

20 minutes after one of those cruise ships goes through you can still see the pall of blue hanging in the fjord and my understanding is most of those vessels are capable of doing a fuel shift like they do in the harbors...I realize it costs them, but I think they can do a lot more about smoke emissions.

Wilderness manager *George* also said that old technology and operator choices should change:

If we could actually affect the process such that ships were all running clean, not just most of them, but all of them...so even though a lot of days are not smoggy, there are a fair number that still are and that's because of a variety of factors, some of the ships have older engines, older technology, they spew out dirtier stuff, they do other things, maybe the fuel they're using or the way they're using their fuels or the way they're using three engines instead of just two, the way they're moving through the ice, all of this has an effect.

Wilderness ranger *Martin* remained pessimistic that the WBMP can actually mitigate emissions despite assurances by the cruise companies: "they [cruise companies] agreed to do what they can, engineered solutions and what not to minimize pollution, well, I think the WBMP has probably had little to no effect in that area." Cruise representative *Chester* suggested that the WBMP may not be the place for addressing emissions, as there are already regulations in place: "I've talked about the emissions thing and that's just the law, it's in here and there really doesn't need to be anything else which talks about [it]."

Vessel Speed / Wake. A less common concern was the speed and wake of ships, which was seen as hazardous to wildlife and other vessels. The WBMP ask that operators slow down when approaching wildlife. *William*, a six-passenger yacht

operator, felt that “a mandatory speed limit is certainly something that should occur ... going in there at high speed and creating huge wakes that both rocks the [ice]bergs, rocks the seals off the [ice]bergs, and can certainly be hazardous to other vessels particularly if you’re in tide ice.” *James*, operator of a ten-passenger yacht, had a similar view: “You know everybody should really have a leave no wake policy, which we don’t do, but we should ... for us small boats obviously a cruise ship wake doesn’t dissipate for a long time in the arm and it becomes kind of a navigational issue.” For some, the wake from cruise ships is the biggest concern, as stated by 24-passenger vessel operator *John*: “the cruise ships are not even bothering to slow down as they go by one of the only anchorages available to small vessels at the bottom end of Endicott Arm. That’s irresponsible.”

Wildlife. Concerns about wildlife were commonly raised by respondents, especially maintaining a minimum 100-yard distance from harbor seals as required by the WBMP and the Marine Mammal Protection Act. For example, when six-passenger sailboat operator *Zachary* was asked about what he considered to be the most important guideline in the WBMP, he responded: “Well definitely the one about just the distance from seals, that’s the biggie.” One yacht operator *William* noted that only the seal guideline in the WBMP has influenced behavior:

The only real way that the best management practices agreement has affected us is that we’re that much more careful about not approaching seals. We used to try never to disturb them, but if we happen to be floating close to them we kind of just ignored that. Now we deliberately will move off.

John, a 24-passenger vessel operator, also explained that he is most vigilant of the guideline regulating distance from marine mammals:

We are...voluntarily, enthusiastically, supporting the practices that are, the maximum closest approach to seals or sea lions or whales, all the marine mammal provisions. We do support those and we watch out for them, and when we see people violating them we, whether it's us or somebody else, we take note, and if it's us we certainly remind one another, it's a kind of a self-policing thing.

He continued by explaining that effects on wildlife are the most critical measures of success of the WBMP, explaining: "I think that's critical, if we start seeing population trends of the harbor seals declining then we know that this isn't working."

Despite holding a generally indifferent attitude toward the WBMP, cruise ship pilot *Abe* agreed that guidelines concerning the seals are agreeable: "not disturbing the seals, nothing wrong with any of that, no one wants to charge through the seals or scare the animals." Wilderness ranger *Martin*, however, thought that behaviors toward seals by operators could still be improved: "I would like to see just either a very heightened awareness or perhaps a regulation about seals, especially during pupping season." Some operators explained that maintaining appropriate distances from seals can be difficult and the guideline may be inadvertently violated. As catamaran operator *Ted* explained:

My problem with that [guideline] as an operator is, I don't know if you've visited icebergs with seals on them very often but when you do, they're sometimes really hard to see because the icebergs are on one side of it and you're going by on the other side of it, and you're not very far away, so I thought that that might be something that if you were actually honest, integrity, following the rules, you would feel bad because you're like 'I didn't knowingly know I was approaching the seals.'

Only one operator disapproved of the guideline. *Elizabeth*, a day boat tour owner, was critical of the belief that having vessels in close proximity to seals was a disturbance:

The seal people are always talking about how we impact the seals. I don't think we do. I think the seals are very, can't think of the word, adaptive I guess ... They're smart animals, they know, and sure they watch us go by, but you know what? They'll come over and they'll pop their little heads up like "look at us," they'll see us, they'll be laying on an iceberg, and they'll see our boat stop and it's floating, watching the ice, watching the glacier, and they'll slide off of the iceberg, come over and look at us, and then take off again. They're curious.

Elizabeth's attitude, however, was not shared by other respondents; the vast majority expressed concern over the wellbeing of the seal population and remained committed to avoiding behaviors that could negatively impact wildlife.

Economic and Institutional Indicators

Across all respondents, economic and institutional concerns were among the least cited as WBMP priorities. A minority of respondents, however, noted that it is not economically viable for some operators working on limited budgets or for local residents to travel to Seattle, Washington for the annual meeting of WBMP signatories, a guideline stated in the WBMP for improving communication among operators, communication being an example of an institutional indicator (Cottrell et al., 2007). According to *Ted*, a catamaran manager, this decision "seems a little illogical" given that "Tracy Arm's in Juneau." He added, "at least let me conference call in; in these tough economic times it's hard to travel down there and get your boss's approval." *Zachary*, a small sailboat operator, commented that their small size precludes their ability to travel to Seattle: "we couldn't afford that." Local resident and

grassroots attorney *Grant* lamented the inability of local residents to be involved in the meetings: “it would be more effective if they were right here. I mean I ain’t going down to Seattle. I mean those corporations [cruise industry], that’s a business expense for them to come up here. The agency’s up here and the people in the know are up here.” Respondents economic concerns, therefore, are an example of an interlinkage between the economic and institutional dimension of the prism of sustainability. When asked about the meetings in Seattle, wilderness ranger *Martin* was unaware that this was a concern: “it’s our [Forest Service] perception that having it in Seattle is most convenient for the most number of people. But we sure are open, we’ll do whatever is most convenient.” He further explained a plan to bring in a phone line for the meetings, as well as their reasoning for the Seattle meetings:

Cruise industry, often their high level executives are in the Miami office or L.A. office or whatever, but they meet annually a couple times a year in Seattle, so we get the whole group of them together... but, for local folks here it is hard, and I know of more than a handful of operators [who] would like to attend the meeting but can’t...so, I’m hoping to get a phone line in there so that people, these more local folks in Juneau, can just phone in, listen in, and participate.

Martin’s willingness to discuss this concern is important because although this remains a minor concern, it may feed an already existing perception among some stakeholders that the government caters to the cruise industry. As one local resident *Abigail* explained in a frustrated tone about the cruise companies’ power:

There’s so many games that the cruise industry is playing politically and it’s happening at a little level here in Juneau and it’s happening at a big global level and at a state level and...Basically, you have a completely mobile, uninvested in the local community, operation that can pull some cruise ships and make our governor go down and beg to them...why isn’t [cruise company executive]

[coming here] and asking if he can have a meeting with our governor? Why does our governor have to go to Florida and grovel with them? Because [of] who has the most power.

Small yacht operator *Andrew* made a similar assessment about the perceived power of the cruise industry with respect to the struggles that small commercial operators have in obtaining affordable permits for nearby Glacier Bay National Park. In his opinion and that of other smaller operators interviewed, Glacier Bay has become the domain of cruise ships: “We can’t get into Glacier Bay because we don’t have a permit. They can go, they can bring 50 more cruise ships in there and the Park Service loves it because they feed off it, it’s more money...I think it’s the agency wanting to appease the cruise ships.”

In addition, while not discussed in the context of being a critical guideline of the WBMP, many respondents noted that communication and operator involvement in the WBMP is a success of the program, an example of an institutional concern. As small operator, *Thomas*, stated “I think the most important thing about best management practices is communicating.” Cruise industry representative *Chester* explained that communication has improved, noting, “I think overall the program [WBMP] has worked well; I think in many cases there’s fostered...better communication between small operators and the cruise ships.” Similarly, wilderness ranger *Martin* explained:

I think that sitting at the table face to face gave human faces to the cruise ship industry and vice versa. The meetings, while they address some contentious issues and not everyone agrees on everything, they have certainly improved the

tone and they've improved all parties' understandings of their goals, where they're coming from, most definitely.

Even operators who don't always attend the meetings but do communicate WBMP concerns independently, such as sailboat operator *Zachary*, feel that their feedback is heard and considered: "The [USFS is] very good about accepting feedback."

In addition, the majority of operators' commitment to the WBMP as far as attending the meetings, communicating their concerns, and willingness to nurture the collaborative process addresses the institutional dimension of the prism of sustainability, regardless of the fact that many do not necessarily view the dimension as a WBMP goal.

Compliance Motivations

Stewardship. The second research question focuses on stakeholder motivations for complying or not complying with the WBMP guidelines. One motivation for compliance was a concern for stewardship. *Herbert*, a midsize yacht captain, explained his understanding of why the WBMP were established: "the push for this [WBMP] was small vessel operators who wanted to, who were feeling that the wilderness...was being trampled upon." *Thomas*, six-passenger sailboat operator, stated that he cared about stewardship, but highlighted the difficulty of using an area and protecting it:

[I] would like to keep it [Tracy and Endicott Arms] remote, keep it intimate, keep it unique as much as possible while being able to use it. And of course, that's the challenge, still being able to use it and yet keeping that uniqueness that it has because it's just incredibly beautiful.

James, a ten-passenger yacht operator, even expressed that if he is unable to achieve a balance between use and stewardship in this wilderness area, then he would rather deny himself access: “I’ve always had a ‘leave no trace’ [policy]...if we have an impact on what we observe then it’s not a true experience. So I’d rather forego being part of it than destroying it in the process.”

Wilderness ranger *Martin* perceived that the WBMP process has made many operators more aware of their impacts and “has very much heightened awareness of stewardship of this area...they are more careful about it.” Small yacht operator *James* agreed by stating that “I think [the cruise ships] recognize that they do have an adverse impact on the environment, so they attempt to minimize that, and they have attempted to minimize it wherever and whenever possible.” *Martin*’s goal, however, is to instill a sense of stewardship for places other than Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness, which in his mind has yet to be achieved:

When you talk about this [WBMP] you’re talking about one area on the map and you’re talking about trying to get the whole group to buy into that, so it’s like this evolution ...we learn from year to year so this whole thing is evolving, and like I said earlier where does it go? Where it actually goes is that when people leave Tracy Arm or Endicott Arm and then they travel over to Baranoff Island or some other hundreds of miles away...they take that [WBMP] and carry it with them, that’s why I hope that this evolves into an annual meeting on regional conservation issues and some kind of greater effect that way.

Awareness. Among larger companies interviewed, a commonly stated reason for noncompliance among their peers was a lack of awareness of the WBMP program or the program’s significance. *Ben*, director of regional operations for a midsize cruise company, explained his understanding of those who were not complying:

They don't realize that there's this whole system of operator principles that are in place they may be violating...I think that's more so than anybody intentionally trying to neglect operating in a conscionable way...I don't see anybody disregarding [the WBMP] consciously.

Chester, a cruise industry representative, had a similar opinion by stating that the major barrier to cruise ship adoption of the WBMP was their lack of "full awareness of the importance of the program on the community level."

An additional issue raised in the interviews was the structure of large corporations, which may inhibit communication of the WBMP to individuals at various levels within each company. After the first WBMP meeting, US Forest Service personnel realized a disconnect, especially between companies and their captains or pilots, as wilderness manager *George* explained:

We realized there's a disconnect between corporate headquarters in Miami and the captains of the ship; they're not communicating with each other even so that the captains when they show up in Tracy Arm say 'what? TBMP or WBMP? What's that? What does that have to do with me?'

This lack of awareness may extend beyond captains or pilots to crewmembers and educators who are required to sign an employee agreement recognizing the WBMP. Whale watching naturalist *Anna*, for example, was unaware of the WBMP: "I don't think I've ever had to sign the employee agreement. And I [think] this is a great idea; I don't remember this."

Wilderness manager *George* explained that the US Forest Service had to "really get to know what the cruise industry was structured like and how to incorporate all that," and despite involving the contracted cruise pilots in the meetings,

the WBMP has yet to have a significant effect on issues such as diversions to and from Endicott Arm. Cruise ship pilot *Abe* was not aware of the WBMP when first interviewed and provided an explanation as to why awareness may not be pervasive, stating that each pilot in control of ships in Tracy or Endicott Arms is independent and relegating responsibility for WBMP involvement to the pilot associations' elected representative:

You know, it's the mole that sticks his head up that gets shot at...I'm not an advocate one way or the other, I have a lot of years of experience or what have you, but I'm one of 50 guys, and we're all independent contractors, as I said. So, the other 49 guys might think that everything is just hunky-dory, and that's the way things should go. We have elected officials in the pilots association that speak for us and any involvement by the pilots per se really should come from them.

It could be argued that without operator awareness of the WBMP or involvement in the process, addressing compliance is likely to be futile.

Peer Pressure. A second, but less cited motivation for compliance was peer pressure. *Chester*, a cruise industry representative, used his position as a "spokesman for the industry" to address misconceptions of other cruise operators who felt that the government was unfairly influencing their business:

I say, well...they're asking you to consider this, voluntarily, trying to conform with this, with the caveats that are around safety types of things, you're never going to compromise safety with any of this, and everybody realized that. Yeah well, I guess I could say I'm a spokesman for the industry.

The cruise industry's peer pressure on each other was noticed by other operators, such as *Herbert*, the captain of a midsized yacht:

It took other cruise ships narcing on other cruise ships to get it to stop because had that not happened, had they not been able to say 'hey, ice is great in Tracy Arm,' I can guarantee you those certain captains and certain companies would have just kept running into Endicott.

He continued by saying that "I think this year was probably more than anything, it was the industry pressure from the other cruise ships that's been reducing the number."

The US Forest Service also felt they had a role in pressuring cruise ships to conform to the WBMP and make more correct use of the weblog. Previously, it was perceived that cruise ship operators had failed to accurately report ice conditions or copied other ship reports as a reason to divert into Endicott Arm. This agency began pressuring cruise companies to report more specifically, as explained by wilderness ranger *Martin*: "this year I took a much more assertive role in this ice report...we started calling cruise ships directly and asking for an updated ice report and then saying, 'are you going to put that in the blog or would you like us to?'" Although peer pressure was cited as a motivation for compliance, it was not as commonly cited as other more self-interested motivations such as public relations.

Self Interest. The most commonly cited motivations for compliance with the WBMP were associated with self-interested reasons. Wilderness manager *George* explained that trying to make the self-interested reasons for the WBMP resonate with the operators was part of the strategy of the US Forest Service in developing this process:

Just trying to get them out of a self-interest standpoint to say, 'wouldn't it make sense that your marketing a very wild Alaska product that you would try to keep it wild, so that the client does really have the experience that you try to picture

on your magazine article where they're sitting on the back deck with views of not other boats, but of wild land.'

This rationale did resonate with a number of operators, such as sailboat operator

Zachary, who stated that:

We have as much incentive as them [the US Forest Service] that Endicott stays, 10 years from now looking exactly as it does today, or better, less boats down there, or less frequent boats or whatever. We have at least the same incentive...Endicott is the gem of our trip.

He also explained that the WBMP provides a valid excuse for not engaging in environmentally irresponsible behaviors that their clientele might request, which simultaneously enhances the company's image:

The other benefit of the best management practices is that we get some guests who want us to drop them off on ice chunks...We can say then that we are signatories of the voluntary best management practices and then say, look we are going to get you as close as possible, but see the WBMP? It gives us a way to set a boundary, and takes part of the heat off us...and [is] part of a better story than just we don't want to or regulations. We're signatories to this voluntary user agreement. It turns people on too, like 'maybe I picked the right guys.'

Ben, director of regional operations for a midsize cruise company, similarly explained that keeping the region beautiful is critical to their business:

We're always trying to protect that value of wilderness, that perception of wilderness, and the mystery of it, the attributes that identify wilderness are important for us for marketing. It has a value to it, and it's arbitrary and it's hard to establish a value for that because it's not a commodity, but it does have value.

Since all interviewed operators across a range of vessel sizes and types shared this reason for protecting the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness, it seemed logical to most operators to abide by the WBMP, such as *Sarah*, a crew member on a midsize

yacht: “The more we help each other to do the right thing, the more good there is for everybody to enjoy.”

Many operators also cited a public relations motivation for complying with the WBMP, most frequently in relation to the cruises. Many interviewees perceived the cruise ships as the most vulnerable to bad press, as stated by wilderness ranger *Martin*: “the cruise ship industry, their weak underbelly is any kind of bad publicity.” For cruise companies who may have suffered bad publicity in the past, the WBMP provides the opportunity to be involved in an endeavor that could boost their public image, as explained by former USFS ranger *Grover*:

That’s part of the reward for these companies that are involved is that we publish in the paper that these companies subscribe to the wilderness best management practices, and they’re free to use that fact in their advertising.

This is important for other operators who need to coexist in the community with locals, as explained by *Ted*, catamaran manager: “we live here, we go to the same grocery store, so we want to make sure everybody likes us.”

This public relations motivation, however, has also been perceived as an insincere rationale leading to some degree of cynicism, as exemplified by local resident *Abigail*: “I think between the community and the tourism it’s [WBMP] a veneer. They publish their little ads and...say ‘oh aren’t we wonderful’ and ‘we’re doing such great things.’” Small yacht operator *Rachel* described her view of the mindset of the cruise companies by stating that “if it gives me what I want, I’ll do it.” Yacht operator *Andrew* echoed this characterization: “I might be doing something

wrong, but if I sign this it makes me feel good and all the people feel good then I'll do it."

Self-interest was also cited as a motivation for not adhering to the WBMP, although this was infrequently mentioned. A few operators felt that it was unfair and unwise to allow others to influence their business model. *Elizabeth*, for example, is an operator of a day tour boat who chooses not to subscribe to the WBMP: "I'm very much, 'you stay out of my business and I'll stay out of yours' type of person. And that's why I didn't join...because I thought that they were sticking their nose in my business and that's why I've never joined." Cruise industry representative *Chester* presented a similar rationale for why some cruise companies do not comply: "there's some operators who don't necessarily agree because they think that well, if there's no jurisdiction then the government shouldn't be telling us how to run our business." Cruise ship captain *Abe* explained why in some instances it not only does not make good business sense to abide by some guidelines, but may also be logistically impossible:

You could do millions of dollars of damage just by leaning the ship over, turning it too fast, all these chairs go one way and the old ladies slip and fall and break their hips, and all the glasses and all the food comes off, and all the china and then the trinkets down in the shop go crashing onto the deck, and people go flying. And you could do that just by turning too fast, trying to avoid a whale or something...that means that if all of the sudden something unexpected happens, a whale pops up in front of you, there's not a whole lot you can do.

Zachary, a six-passenger sailboat operator, presented a different explanation as to why some operators do not want the WBMP to influence their business. He stated

that the attitude may be part of a mindset of individuals in places such as rural Alaska that are perceived to be outside of the control of a central government, which may be part of the reason why some individuals move to Alaska in the first place:

Alaskans, in general, especially people that have been here a long time, they're probably going to be a little more leery of even a best management, because I think there is a big mentality that we shouldn't need it, it's Alaska, it's huge... I think that is a definitely a part of the formula in Alaska, there is kind of this mentality, "it's Alaska, we're different."

According to wilderness manager *George*, this attitude is a problem even if it is only a few individuals who choose not to comply:

If you have one person who doesn't agree, then they can really screw it up for everyone else, and then, everybody points fingers at that one business getting a little bit of an advantage over them by not complying, and then they're less likely to want to comply because that other business isn't doing it and they're getting an advantage for it.

Sailboat operator *Zachary* agreed with this view:

This is a great thing as long as enough people conform to it that it actually has the end result that you're looking for. If only half the operators in Endicott Arm sign this thing, and the other half shoot right up to the seals and knock them off the ice or blare with their microphones or whatever, then all of the sudden this becomes basically worthless, right? So that's the goal, that's the trick to it.

Perceptions of Safety. One caveat to the compromise that cruise ships will remain in Tracy Arm and the other commercial vessels will have access to Endicott Arm is that cruise ships are allowed to divert to Endicott Arm if there is a credible safety concern in Tracy Arm, such as one posed by ice or fog. This guideline, however, is causing some contention among operators because many feel that it is being disregarded. As wilderness manager *George* described:

[Small operators said] “if we could just get them to not go into Endicott, that’s the most important thing to us.” And at the first meeting, the cruise ship companies agreed not to go into Endicott. And they said it flat out, “Ok we won’t use Endicott,” and that is the way it was written. But, it didn’t happen that way.

This is an issue because many stakeholders agreed at the outset that this is a fair compromise. As *Chester*, a cruise industry representative explained: “if we get down there [Tracy Arm] and it’s foggy, or there’s ice, or the tide is running really fast over the bars, something like that. And then for safety concerns when they make a conscious decision to abort Tracy Arm, and...we can use Endicott.” *Ben*, director of regional operations for a midsize vessel operation expressed agreement:

The most important thing is safety and concern of the vessel. That has to override even the guest experience. We want to make sure that...we don’t have a disaster in Tracy Arm, we don’t want to have an Exxon Valdez type experience in Tracy Arm, so that’s got to be the number one consideration, and if they feel that it’s not safe to go into Tracy Arm, I think they should be allowed to do that.

Deciding when safety is an issue can be difficult, as explained by former USFS ranger *Grover*: “well we can’t substitute our own judgment for that of a pilot...I don’t imagine they like being second guessed...and judgment differs from pilot to pilot.” It is this difference in judgment that has become an issue and some operators and agency personnel believe that safety is sometimes used as an excuse to divert when it is not a legitimate concern; it has become, in *George*’s words, a large “loophole.” As explained by midsize yacht captain *Herbert*, “they have every right to be there [Endicott] if safety’s a concern in Tracy, we wouldn’t want them to go, we’d want them to come to Endicott rather than put anybody at risk. But, I think most of us

realize that's pretty rare." As wilderness ranger *Martin* explained, the ice report weblog has become, in the eyes of the small operators, "a hall pass, you know as long as you go onto the blog and got your hall pass you could go into Endicott." From the agency perspective, wilderness manager *George* described what the agency perceived as happening on the blog:

[Cruise ship A] might go in there [Tracy Arm] in the morning...and the blog report on the way out will be "oh there was a lot of ice and we weren't able to get quite as close as we want, but we still were able to make it in there" and then [Cruise ship B]...either reads the blog report or hears from that captain or pilot in some way and says "Oh too much ice I'll just go into Endicott." So they're making a pre-decision before they ever even [go]...because they want...to get right up to the glacier, close, and they want to do that without having to go through this slow navigation and potentially not get close enough."

Former USFS ranger *Grover* seemed in agreement with this assessment and explained that:

[The experience isn't] seeing icebergs it's seeing the glacier itself, and that isn't always possible due to ice conditions, so folks [cruise ships] would divert and not being able to see the glacier wasn't one of the original reasons that we had agreed upon and was a reason for diverting to Endicott Arm.

Statements by some midsize and large cruise operators suggested a similar explanation as that provided by agency personnel. As *Ted*, division manager for a catamaran explained,

We've started to use Endicott Arm a little bit more than Tracy Arm during a certain part of the season...[because] you can at least get passengers to within view of the glacier, which we feel is important for folks that this might be their one and only shot to visit Alaska, so to actually be able to view the glacier that they want to go see is important to us.

Cruise ship pilot *Abe* described the amount of pressure that companies are faced with if they fail to get their passengers close to the glacier:

There is a commercial pressure, exerted by the companies that they've sold these tours, they got to go show it to them now, you got to see ice, you got to get us as close to the glacier as you can, and you got to do all these things, and many times that pressure bumps up against good...practices.

The difference in interpreting when safety is a valid problem versus the lack of a singular definition of "safety" is resulting in different perceptions of compliance of arguably the most critical WBMP guideline.

To Whom Does the WBMP Apply? Many small and midsize operators tended to discuss the WBMP as if they apply mostly, if not entirely, to cruise ship operators. There were some stakeholders, however, who perceived impacts by smaller watercrafts, but many still maintained that the agreement is intended mostly for the cruise ships. As *Ted*, division manager for a catamaran company explained, "some of this stuff is required for the larger ships, and some is not required for the smaller ships." Kayak guide *Hayes* stated that "we have...a minimal impact on the area...[so] we're not doing anything really different because of the practices." Even local residents not involved in commercial operations emphasized the impact of the large cruise ships, as exemplified by local grassroots attorney *Grant*:

I don't want to say that small boats don't matter...depending on the practices they follow can have adverse effects. I don't know, maybe I'm a little prejudiced in my own way, but I think smaller operators, local operators, are going to be a little more sensitive. They're going to be wanting to sell an experience that a skiffer on a 3000-passenger cruise ship doesn't care about.

This perception that smaller boats are more likely to include locals than the large cruise ships was noted by some interviewees from the cruise industry. Cruise ship pilot *Abe* explained: “I think they look on this as a foreign ship in their area. Well, I live here too.” He emphasized: “don’t shut out Endicott Arm just because it’s for the locals because there’s a lot of locals that are also on these ships.” *Elizabeth*, a day boat operator who does not participate in the WBMP explained the sense of ownership that many small operators feel toward Endicott Arm which, in her opinion, results in a prejudicial banning of cruise ships from the fjord:

Some people don’t like having the cruise ships in Tracy Arm, I’m not sure why. Part of it is a snobbery thing. And I just don’t agree with that...I just think it’s just really bad to cut people off just to say “oh, we don’t want the cruise ships going in there,” why not? I think a lot of the pressure for that is people just not wanting every day guy to be able to go in there. They want it to be kept out. I mean, they’re having fits because there’s cruise ships going down Endicott Arm. They don’t own Endicott.

Addressing these attitudes toward cruise ships that are held by many stakeholders may be difficult because this attitude has become rooted and negative. As 10-passenger yacht captain *James* divulged, “cruise ships in general, I kind of despise them. I do. And, for a lot of reasons.” Local resident *Abigail*’s antipathy for the industry has spread to its patrons, as well. She explained her reasons for no longer visiting downtown Juneau:

If [a cruise tourist asked] “hey can you help me?” I would... simply say “no, you’re off the cruise ship. If you come back on your own I’d be happy to talk to you.”...I got to the point where I wasn’t going to let them [the cruise industry] sell my friendliness. I would not interact with cruise passengers, and I would not step aside in the sidewalk...and it was a really conscious decision that I made that, they are selling our hospitality.

Chester, a cruise industry representative, recognized the futility of attempting to change attitudes of some individuals who feel this strongly:

There are some small operators that are never going to be happy; they are never going to be happy with what we do, they're never going to totally understand the challenges that we're faced with, so there's always going to be those extremes.

It may be challenging to address some negative perceptions of the cruise tourism industry based on the perceived social, ecological, and environmental changes brought by this industry's growth in Juneau. For agency officials facilitating the development and implementation of the WBMP, however, the disagreement over to whom the WBMP applies is a significant concern that may be alterable. Wilderness ranger *Martin* explained that this process has "improved stewardship" to the region, but given the infancy of the WBMP, he believes that "[it has] longer to go because I think there's still a lot of companies involved or individuals involved who really think it's all about the cruise ships, and who aren't looking enough at themselves." Although he believed that "the bigger boats have the bigger impact," he described that the intention of the WBMP was "to engage the small and midsize folks in the stewardship of the area because I saw many shortcomings on their part as well." The initial strategy, however, was to use the cruise ships as a rallying point for small operators, which may have had the unintended consequence of abrogating responsibility of smaller operators. According to *Martin*:

You point at the dragon and say "okay let's all get together and stab this dragon" and it gets everybody together for perhaps other things...and that's the

interesting thing because the perception remains...that this is all about the cruise ships, but from the very beginning we've tried to show the cruise ship industry...and show the small folks, that this also pertains to them because we're talking about wilderness best management, we're not talking about cruise ship best management.

In addition, wilderness manager *George* explained that the WBMP was also intended to be a discussion beyond commercial operations even though the cruise industry, in his opinion, views the WBMP as “a gentleman’s agreement between commercial operators.” When the meetings were expanded, the cruise industry resisted:

What’s missing from that [the WBMP] is the voice of the Juneau resident...in addition... advocacy groups were mostly absent up until the meeting we had in January of 2010... and it was interesting the reaction of the cruise industry, they were very, very upset that they were at the table and that they were invited.

The question of to whom the WBMP apply has yet to be fully agreed upon among those involved in the process.

Discussion

This article examined stakeholder priorities for WBMP indicators and standards in the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness area in Alaska, as well as their motivations for complying or not complying with these practices. Stakeholders interviewed in this study most frequently discussed social and environmental indicators, as well as some concerns addressing both the economic and institutional dimensions. Concern over noise from loudspeakers was a commonly mentioned social indicator by respondents and many felt that this had improved since the WBMP began. A few respondents did feel that the guideline could be stricter, although this was not a common response. By

far the most contentious social concern and overall concern was the agreement to preserve solitude that instructs cruise ships to avoid Endicott Arm barring safety concerns in other areas such as Tracy Arm. Although this guideline was created to address rising vessel traffic in both fjords, most respondents felt that it has failed to achieve this goal. A few respondents perceived the opposite; this guideline has had a significant impact on diminishing cruise ship entries into Endicott Arm. This is important because controlling cruise ship entries into Endicott Arm is arguably the most crucial guideline, and many respondents felt that compliance with this issue is an indicator of the success of the entire WBMP process. Some of the disagreement and contention over this guideline may arise from the lack of a singular understanding of the language and intent of the WBMP. Respondents, for example, lacked a singular understanding of what constitutes a “valid safety concern” in Tracy Arm, which is designed to allow cruise ships to enter Endicott Arm only in certain circumstances. Cruise representatives felt that their ship diversions occurred when safety concerns were valid. Conversely, many smaller tour operators felt that decisions to divert cruise ships were not occurring when safety concerns were valid, but rather when visibility of the glaciers in Tracy Arm might be limited. Differences in perceptions of the frequency of legitimate safety concerns and a lack of a single understanding of “safety concern” are resulting in different perceptions of compliance regarding arguably the most critical WBMP guideline. At the outset of collaborative processes, it is the responsibility of a mediator to help build consensus, develop common definitions, be

aware of each group's interests, and find options satisfying most interests (Gray, 1989). One way to help overcome this barrier to collaboration and perceived compliance is to improve discussion on what constitutes a valid safety concern and determine more effective ways of monitoring when safety concerns are legitimate. This may involve encouraging more rigorous and consistent use of the ice report weblog, and encouraging smaller tour operators who may be without internet access while on the water to file reports when they are next in port. Weblog entries can then be compiled and discussed at the Seattle meetings.

Concern about pollution was a frequently cited environmental concern; many stakeholders perceived that cruise ships could be operating in a cleaner and more efficient way, behavior that they feel the WBMP has failed to inspire. A secondary environmental issue discussed by respondents was boat speed and wake. This concern crosses both the social (e.g., navigational issues for water vessels) and environmental dimensions (e.g., effecting seals on rocks) of the prism of sustainability. Operators were especially concerned about seals. Even though controlling vessel entries into Endicott Arm was the most contentious issue associated with the WBMP, many respondents deemed maintaining distance from seal populations the most important guideline. Since most respondents are concerned about their effects on seals, facilitators may want to discuss this fact and position it as a shared group goal, thereby instilling a sense of camaraderie (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). In addition, the current guidelines concerning boat wakes are rather vague; as the WBMP (2011)

states: “operators will do their utmost to minimize the impact of wakes on paddlers, smaller boats, and wildlife, including bears, nesting birds, and hauled-out seals.”

WBMP participants may want to discuss revising this guideline to make it more specific, possibly outlining some behavioral directives to ensure uniformity in the application of this guideline.

In terms of economic and institutional dimensions, a few respondents were concerned about their inability to afford to attend the annual WBMP meeting because it is in Seattle instead of Alaska. These nonlocal meetings limit conversation among stakeholders, as small operators and residents not involved in the tourism business are often unable to attend. This perpetuates the impression that these meetings cater to cruise companies with corporate offices in Seattle, which may inhibit the building of trust in the WBMP and institutions involved in this process. Perceptions of power differences can inhibit successful attempts at collaboration (Selin & Chavez, 1995) and if the current organization of WBMP perpetuates the impression that the cruise industry has more influence than other stakeholders, the WBMP may fail in achieving goals. Discussions about meeting locale should be included in the WBMP assemblies and correspondence. WBMP participants may want to consider holding an additional meeting in Juneau, which may allow both cruise industry personnel and small operators the opportunity to participate in a financially feasible way. Facilitators may also want to look to tools such as video conferencing for those who cannot be physically present at meetings.

Enhancing opportunities for stakeholders to participate in the WBMP process improves the institutional dimension of tourism management in Tracy Arm-Fords Terror. The addition of a second meeting, or making the Seattle meeting more inclusive, helps nurture the collaborative WBMP by enhancing communication and encouraging participatory processes (Cottrell et al., 2007). Furthermore, providing more opportunities for stakeholders to interact increases the likelihood that they will develop stronger relationships, thereby creating the shared norms and goals that generate a successful collaboration (Bryan, 2004).

Assessing priorities for indicators and guidelines is one step in the collaborative process, and implementing the codes of conduct and ensuring compliance is a critical next step and where many collaborative processes fail (Gray, 1989). One motivation for WBMP compliance cited by smaller operators in particular was an altruistic sense of stewardship for the area. This result is similar to what Fennell and Malloy (1999) found, where smaller operators tended to have a “more heightened sense of ethical conduct than do their peers” (p. 938). Respondents expressed a care for wilderness, and although this was not cited as a motivation by the cruise ship industry itself, some small operators and agency personnel felt that the WBMP had improved this industry’s awareness of its impacts and instilled a sense of stewardship in their companies. Similarly, Sirakaya (1997) found that the most important motivation for ecotour operator compliance with the International Ecotourism Society’s Ecotourism Guidelines was personal morality.

One reason for noncompliance, particularly among the larger companies, was a general lack of awareness of the WBMP and its perceived importance to the community. This finding is similar to Sirakaya's (1997) study of operator compliance with codes of conduct where a common reason for noncompliance was a lack of awareness of the negative impacts that noncompliance can incur. It may be helpful for WBMP officials and mediators to underscore the negative effects of noncompliance and educate operators about the rationale for each guideline. If operators "know the externalities they inflict upon other parties or environments, they may internalize these externalities by creating a self-imposed sanction in the form of guilt feelings" (Sirakaya, 1997, p. 942). In addition, some respondents felt that the structure of large cruise lines may inhibit communication of the best management practices to other levels within these companies. Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) argued that for collaboration to be successful, it must be institutionalized within an organization and transcend personalities. This may take some time in large corporations such as cruise lines, but may be enhanced by encouraging ethical behavior and adoption of the WBMP guidelines by senior managers and supervisors (Wiley, 1998).

A slightly less-frequently described motivation for compliance was peer pressure, especially among the cruise companies. Agency personnel also felt that their pressure on cruise lines for more accurate and honest use of the ice report blog for commenting on ice conditions and verifying cruise ship diversion to Endicott Arm had a significant positive effect. Research suggests that negative feedback from peers and

other informal social sanctions that trigger feelings of shame or guilt may be effective for encouraging compliance (Dietz et al., 2003; Furger, 2002). Bryan (2004), for example, stressed the importance of norms instilled through peer pressure and stated that the tacitly agreed-upon social contract should result in interdependence among involved parties.

The most frequently discussed operator motives for complying with the WBMP were associated with self-interested reasons. Agency officials also explained that it was part of their strategy to encourage operators to be involved with the WBMP because it may make good business sense to engage in behaviors that ensure a high quality product (i.e., the wilderness area). This resonated with many operators. Some operators also noted that the WBMP was useful because it provided a tangible document to reference to their clientele as a rationale for not engaging in behaviors that might violate the guidelines. According to Hendee and Dawson (2002), environmental or social needs in a place such as Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness might conflict with the desires of operator's clientele, so agreements such as the WBMP offer one way for reconciling this conflict.

Operators also recognized that involvement with the WBMP could improve their public image, especially for cruise lines whose image has suffered ("Trash Overboard", 1999). However, some local residents and small tour operators, recognizing the possible self-interested motives of the cruise industry, maintained a negative perception of those companies due to the perceived insincerity of their

compliance. Studies have suggested that self-interest, particularly for large corporate officers, is a common motivation for engaging in responsible behavior Piliavin and Charng (1990), for example, suggested that “normative pressures...lead corporate officers to perceive that socially responsible behavior is in the corporation’s best interest” (p. 57). Noncompliance may result in extralegal sanctions, such as negative complicity and diminished sales, the prospect of which may be an effective motivator for complying with codes of conduct such as the WBMP (Furger, 2002). Sirakaya (1997) found that operators were frequently motivated by bad publicity, and suggests that in the event of noncompliance, it may be beneficial to publicize the noncompliant behavior.

Self-interest was also a motivation for noncompliance. Some tour operators felt that it did not make sense to engage in the WBMP and this process was an example of government intervention in their personal lives. Although these issues were raised by a small minority of respondents, agency personnel expressed fear that even a small level of noncompliance may encourage noncompliance on a broader scale, as operators may perceive the situation to be unfair. Furger (2002) suggested that it is crucial to identify and address “recalcitrant members” because the credibility of the collaborative effort may be jeopardized by noncompliance (p. 290). Given that the WBMP is voluntary, however, coercive measures may be counterproductive and contrary to the goals of the process, and successful collaborations typically occur when participants are engaged on their own free will (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). Depending on resources at the

disposal of the US Forest Service, however, it may be helpful to offer incentives, such as cost reimbursement for meeting attendance or some other incentive for compliance (Dietz et al., 2003; Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). It may also be useful to continue publicizing the WBMP and its successes, which may entice those not currently involved to do so in the future.

Respondents had contrasting opinions on whether or not compliance with the WBMP is occurring based on understanding its intent. For example many respondents did not agree on what guidelines in the WBMP applied to which operators. Many small tour operators felt that the WBMP were geared mostly toward the cruise ships, whereas agency personnel felt that the guidelines applied equally to all participants and that discussions need to involve more stakeholders. Cruise industry representatives felt that the WBMP was only for operators and did not want other stakeholders, such as residents or environmental groups, in the process. Despite being involved in the WBMP, some respondents also had entrenched negative opinions of the cruise industry. It is the role of mediators (i.e., US Forest Service) to clarify the goals and direction of collaborative efforts, and to whom the guidelines apply (Gray, 1989). It is also important for mediators to establish ground rules such as not questioning or “impugn[ing] the motivation of adversaries” (Gray, 1989, p. 76). Collaborative efforts are particularly tenuous when implemented “on the ground,” but it is the responsibility of mediators to anticipate mistrust and antagonism among those

involved, and to foster meetings committed to a formal process that does not devolve into hostility (Gray, 1989).

Given that data in this article are qualitative and based on interviews with a sample of stakeholders chosen in a non-probabilistic manner, results are not statistically generalizable to and representative of the target population. Findings, however, may be analytically generalizable or informative (Yin, 2003) for other areas that are witnessing similar types of water-based tourism development or are instituting similar voluntary codes of conduct or best management practices. There may be commonalities in themes and findings that arose in this study with studies or situations in other locales that may suggest a general trend or theory with respect to voluntary codes of conduct and collaboration. Results may also aid in future development of survey instruments such as questionnaires for quantitative studies that could be used to further understand, inform, and refine the WBMP agreement.

As voluntary and collaborative codes of conduct and best management practices continue to become increasingly popular tools for addressing social, environmental, economic, and institutional effects of tourism, it is important to understand and ensure compliance with these measures (Honey, 2001). Future research on efforts such as the WBMP may benefit from longitudinal or panel design studies examining these processes as they progress. It is challenging to judge the success of developing and changing collaborative processes by examining their effects at only one point in time, especially early in the process, so long-term studies may be

most useful for understanding changing indicators and level of compliance in the context of these voluntary and collaborative processes.

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CHAPTER 5—CONCLUSION

The preceding three chapters examined stakeholder perceptions of the Wilderness Best Management Practices (WBMP) in a southeast Alaska wilderness area. Specifically, this thesis explored stakeholder: (a) definitions of wilderness and their influence on perceptions of the WBMP; (b) motivations for collaboration in the WBMP and effects of this collaborative process on stakeholder relations; and (c) perceptions of indicators in these codes of conduct and motivations for compliance. Data were obtained from semi-structured interviews with commercial tour operators, cruise industry representatives, federal agency personnel, and local residents. This chapter briefly summarizes the major findings of this thesis and their implications for management and research.

Summary of Findings

Although previous research on informal and voluntary tourism management tools, such as codes of conduct, have focused on effectiveness of these tools, few have studied the values and cognitions of stakeholders and the subsequent effects of these perceptions on the processes and outcomes of these tools (Ayuso, 2007; MacPherson et al., 2008; Malloy & Fennell, 1998; Quiros, 2007). Similarly, many studies of collaboration in natural resources have focused on organizing and systematically describing the processes, but comparatively fewer have explored relationships among

stakeholders, values and perceptions of these stakeholders, and the influence of these cognitions and relationships on collaboration (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Lauber, Stedman, Decker, Knuth, & Simon, 2011; Lovelock & Boyd, 2006; Plummer, 2006). Given these knowledge gaps and using the WBMP as a case study example, this thesis sought to understand stakeholder perceptions and values about the collaborative guidelines, process, and outcomes.

The second chapter of this thesis examined stakeholder definitions of wilderness and the influence of these cognitions on their evaluations of the WBMP process. Results indicated that most stakeholder conceptions of wilderness involved some degree of purism, which suggests that “purists” define wilderness in ways that are associated closely with principles of the 1964 Wilderness Act. Many interviewees provided descriptions that mirrored language of this Act such as distance from large groups of people and an emphasis on solitude. Cruise industry personnel and larger commercial tour operators tended to be somewhat less purist in their descriptions than smaller tour operators, residents, and agency personnel. Chapter two also examined if respondents felt that they could achieve a wilderness experience in Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness area. With the exception of cruise industry representatives, most interviewees felt that the wilderness character of this area was being threatened by increasing vessel traffic, especially the volume of cruise ships visiting this area. For the most purist respondents, the name Tracy Arm-Fords Terror “Wilderness” was analogous to an oxymoron.

In addition, chapter two also explored relationships between stakeholder definitions of wilderness and their perceptions of the WBMP. Most respondents were supportive of the voluntary and collaborative WBMP as an alternative to formal government regulation because this process allowed for personal freedom and input into rulemaking. Despite this support, however, many respondents felt that the WBMP may be unable to address some of the major issues and future effects of tourism in the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness area. Many of the small and more purist tour operators felt that if the pristine character of this area was significantly threatened, they might support future regulations. In many cases, however, respondents displayed a type of cognitive dissonance by expressing concern over threats to the wilderness character of this area, yet rejecting government rulemaking that might be necessary to best protect the wilderness experiences they most value. For managers, a reverse type of dissonance was displayed with agency personnel recognizing that if they maintained jurisdictional control over the waterways, their task of protecting wilderness would be easier, but this could result in a loss of the rewards of collaboration among multiple stakeholders.

Chapter three expanded on stakeholders' general perceptions of the WBMP that were presented in chapter two, and explored their specific opinions of the collaborative aspects of this process and its outcomes such as its effect on stakeholder relationships, trust, sharing, and communication. This chapter also examined stakeholder motivations for collaborating in the WBMP. Results showed that

respondents were supportive of collaborative management of tourism in the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness area, which was frequently discussed in contrast to the negatively perceived, highly regulatory management of nearby Glacier Bay National Park. For many respondents, the WBMP was viewed as an opportunity to have some control over management by voicing their concerns and providing input. Interviewees mentioned that establishing trust has been a potential barrier to success of the WBMP process, as many small operators felt that the mutually agreed upon guideline of restricting cruise ship use of Endicott Arm was frequently being violated. For non-cruise signatories of the WBMP, this issue was particularly damaging to building trust and influenced a perception of cruise line insincerity in the collaborative process. Despite these trust issues, respondents felt that dialogue, communication, sharing, and mutual understanding among all signatories had improved through the WBMP process. There was, however, some disagreement regarding how inclusive the process should be, as cruise representatives had a somewhat narrower concept of who should be included in the WBMP process in contrast with the goals of agency personnel who wanted this process to be more broad and inclusive.

In addition, findings in chapter three showed that the WBMP has improved communication and instilled an ethic of compromise, a mutual recognition of each other's goals, and recognition that users must share the resource. Tour operators, cruise representatives, and residents also had a positive view of US Forest Service personnel in their role as facilitators, with agency personnel's effectiveness seen as

deriving from personal beliefs and values instead of their association with the agency as an institution.

Chapter three also specified a number of lessons that can be learned from the TBMP process in Juneau and applied to the WBMP in the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness area. Respondents felt that addressing noncompliance is still a major concern with the TBMP, so participants in the WBMP may want to consider various sanctions and incentives for signatories. In addition, some interviewees felt that the TBMP was revised annually solely for the sake of revision; participants in the WBMP, therefore, should be cognizant of this issue when making changes to their guidelines. Respondents also disagreed over the effectiveness of the TBMP's telephone hotline for monitoring success, so those involved in the WBMP might consider developing a measurable, easily monitored, and mutually agreed upon tool for judging success of the WBMP guidelines.

Chapter four of this thesis further explored stakeholder perceptions of the WBMP by outlining specific environmental, social, economic, and institutional indicators and priorities for inclusion in the WBMP guidelines, as well as stakeholder motivations for complying or not complying with these guidelines. Stakeholders were most concerned with social and environmental indicators, as opposed to economic or institutional priorities. Issues such as noise, pollution, and boat speed and wake were most frequently discussed. The most contentious concern, which was discussed briefly in both chapters two and three, was over the agreement to preserve solitude. This

guideline instructs cruise ships to remain in Tracy Arm barring any safety concerns, but many operators felt that this guideline was often abused with cruise ships diverting into Endicott Arm more frequently than safety issues would dictate. A few respondents, however, perceived that this guideline was effective for reducing cruise ship diversions into Endicott Arm. Many respondents felt that the most important guideline in the WBMP was maintaining an appropriate distance from harbor seals on icebergs. Although economic and institutional indicators were less frequently discussed, some stakeholders were concerned that holding the annual meeting in Seattle was unfair for smaller operators who are unable to afford the travel expense. In addition, respondents seemed to be invested in the collaborative process and noting institutional successes such as improved communication.

Chapter four also explored stakeholder motivations for compliance with these WBMP guidelines and priorities. Some smaller tour operators cited an altruistic sense of stewardship as a motivation. Peer pressure was also cited as a perceived motivation for compliance by cruise ships. The most frequently discussed motivations for both small and large operator compliance were for self-interested reasons such as protecting their “product” (i.e., wilderness, enhancing public image). Noncompliance was attributed to a lack of awareness of either the WBMP or the effects of noncompliant behavior, or a perception that the WBMP was an example of government interference in their business operations. In addition, respondents held different opinions regarding whether or not operators are were complying with all of the WBMP. This sentiment

derived from a lack of a shared understanding of what constitutes a valid safety concern for diverting to Endicott Arm. Operators also did not agree on what WBMP guidelines applied to which operators and stated that this should have been discussed earlier in the development of the WBMP.

Managerial Implications

Taken together, these results have important implications for managers attempting to employ collaborative tools such as voluntary codes of conduct and best management practices in tourism. Results from chapter two emphasized that there may be distinct perceptions of wilderness among stakeholders, as smaller tour operators tended to be more purist in their definitions than cruise industry representatives. As different values among stakeholders present a common barrier to collaboration, it is important that US Forest Service facilitators focus on shared goals among stakeholders (e.g., concerns over wildlife, investment in protecting the area for the future; Lauber et al. 2011; Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). In addition, it is important to draw attention at the annual meetings to successes that the WBMP has already achieved, as outlined in chapter three's findings (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). Some of these successes include a decrease in public address announcements in this wilderness area, enhanced stakeholder dialogue, communication, compromise, and mutual understanding. By emphasizing successes and shared values, differences between stakeholders may become less salient than similarities. In addition, meeting facilitators should emphasize the fact that the meeting is happening at all and that participants have

chosen to be involved are among the most basic successes of collaboration (Gray, 1989).

As results in chapter three indicated, there is some unhappiness among smaller operators with the WBMP guideline concerning cruise ship entries into Endicott Arm. Perceived cruise ship noncompliance with this guideline has seriously affected the trust that smaller operators have toward the sincerity of cruise line involvement in the WBMP. In addition, smaller operators may be accustomed to viewing the cruise industry as their adversary, which may cause them to view the cruise industry negatively regardless of cruise ship behavior in the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness. One way to help overcome this barrier to collaboration is to improve discussion on what constitutes a valid safety concern and determine more effective ways of monitoring and notifying when safety concerns are legitimate. The US Forest Service has attempted to make changes to the ice report weblog to make cruise lines more accurate in their reporting, but it might be useful to encourage smaller tour operators to do the same. Although smaller operators may not have internet access to file reports when they are on the water, they could be encouraged to take note and report on the weblog when they are next in port. Weblog entries can then be compiled and discussed at annual meetings. As results from chapter three demonstrated, however, respondents disagreed over the hotline tool used for monitoring effectiveness of the more established TBMP in Juneau. Those involved in the WBMP must agree on

the best tool for measuring success of this process and they should discuss and accurately define an alternative if the weblog is not suitable.

Additional approaches for building trust among stakeholders include improving dialogue and communication, and fostering sincere social relationships. Collaborators sharing social bonds are more likely to develop shared norms, goals, and ownership over problems and processes (Bryan, 2004). To improve social relationships, facilitators might consider having an annual meeting about the WBMP in Juneau in addition to the regular meeting in Seattle. As results in chapter four indicated, some tour operators felt that the meetings in Seattle were economically impracticable and represented an agency preference for the cruise industry. Holding meetings in Juneau may make the process appear fairer and create the opportunity for more frequent interactions among all relevant stakeholders; this may ultimately improve their relationships and efforts at collaboration.

As indicated by the chapter three results, Juneau's TBMP is still having problems with noncompliant operators even after 13 years of its existence. Those involved in the more recent WBMP may want to consider incentives for compliance such as financial (e.g., cost reimbursement) or nonfinancial methods (e.g., publicizing the WBMP and its successes; Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). To achieve an accountable process, the WBMP should also be as inclusive as possible, involving local residents as a next step. Although the cruise industry voiced their reluctance to this inclusivity, results in chapter four showed that this industry is highly motivated by

maintaining their public image and it may be unlikely to withdraw from the WBMP if it broadens its participation. Facilitators should continue nurturing and growing the collaborative process and, as the WBMP states, “keep it alive” until collaboration is institutionalized as a part of the company cultures of those involved (WBMP, 2011).

Theoretical and Research Implications

Results from this thesis have theoretical significance and implications for future research. With the rising popularity of tourism in nature based settings such as wilderness areas, the ethical behavior of this industry has also become a growing concern (Fennell & Malloy, 1999). In 1992, 182 governments adopted Agenda 21 at the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro with the goal of providing a sustainable future for the planet (World Travel Organization, 1996). In response, a collaborative effort between the World Tourism Organization, World Travel and Tourism Council, and Earth Council, founded Agenda 21 for the travel and tourism industry. This framework provided non-binding guidelines specifying practices that the industry should follow to ensure more sustainable production and consumption, support of local cultures and interests, and employment of local and indigenous people (World Travel Organization, 1996). This framework set a trend for other codes of conduct and regulatory practices in the industry such as eco-labeling and “green” certification (Weaver, 2001). Although development of voluntary codes of conduct and best management practices such as the TBMP and WBMP in Alaska are local efforts, they are representative of a larger trend

toward attempts at creating and monitoring sustainable business practices in the tourism industry.

Research on these types of collaborative and voluntary methods for managing tourism have typically focused on either developing new frameworks for characterizing, assessing, or organizing collaboration, and determining the effectiveness of these methods once they have been implemented (e.g., Ayuso, 2007; Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Lauber, Stedman, Decker, Knuth, & Simon, 2011; Lovelock & Boyd, 2006; MacPherson et al., 2008; Malloy & Fennell, 1998; Plummer, 2006; Quiros, 2007). This thesis contributes to this literature on both tourism management and collaboration in natural resources by examining perceptions of stakeholders involved and the influence of these cognitions on the outcomes and process of collaborative codes of conduct and best management practices.

The second chapter of this thesis, for example, revealed a link between definitions and perceptions of wilderness, and how these influenced opinions of the WBMP collaborative codes of conduct. Most studies on perceptions of wilderness and wilderness purism have focused on individuals visiting wilderness areas, whereas this thesis examined these issues for commercial operators, managers, and local residents. Results showed that wilderness purism might correspond to the scale of the company, as small operators tended to be more purist than cruise industry representatives. Results were also similar to findings of Hall, Seekamp, and Cole (2010) who found that purist users do not always support use restrictions and other regulations that might

ensure the most “pure” wilderness experience. Interestingly, findings from chapter two showed that agency personnel were conflicted over the use of regulation, recognizing that if they had jurisdictional control they would not need collaboration, and therefore not enjoy the fruits of collaboration such as improved communication among stakeholders. Future studies should explore other situations where collaboration is happening in a locale without any true government authority and explore whether the dissonance found here and Hall et al. (2010) is also evident. Bryan (2004), however, claimed that successful collaboration can only occur when there is an ultimate source of authority that ensures accountability (e.g., government). The attitudes of agency personnel described in chapter two coupled with some of the positive outcomes of collaboration discussed in chapters three and four suggest that this may not necessarily be true in the context of the WBMP in Alaska.

Similar to Wondolleck and Yaffee’s (2000) recommendations for effective collaboration, results in chapters three and four underscore the importance of developing and defining shared goals, overcoming barriers to trust, proper monitoring, and having an effective facilitator for achieving successes of collaboration such as improved communication and enhanced stakeholder relationships. Results in chapter four also suggested that social indicators and guidelines were the most contentious for operators involved, but ecological guidelines were the most important. In addition, self-interest was the most frequently cited motivation for compliance with these guidelines. This is similar to findings of Piliavin and Charng (1990) who stated that

“enlightened self-interest” is often the motivating factor for good behavior among large corporations (p. 57). Results in chapter four, however, revealed that self-interest was also a common motivation for small operators. This has important implications for motivating companies such as commercial operators to collaborate and suggests that tangible incentives may be most effective for ensuring compliance.

Given that the methods in this research are qualitative and based on interviews with a sample chosen using non-probability techniques, results are not statistically generalizable to other stakeholders or locales. The scope of inference is limited to select commercial operators, agency personnel, and residents using the Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness area and involved in the WBMP process. These findings, however, may be analytically generalizable to other stakeholders and areas witnessing similar tourism development, particularly in areas where the managing agency has little direct jurisdictional control (Yin, 2003). There may be commonalities in themes and findings that arose in this study with studies or situations in other locales that may suggest a general trend or theory with respect to voluntary codes of conduct and collaboration. In addition, results presented in this thesis could aid in future development of instruments for quantitative studies such as survey research (e.g., questionnaires) that could be used to understand, inform, and refine further the WBMP agreement for Tracy Arm-Fords Terror Wilderness. Although this research may not be statistically generalizable, it is also possible that themes from the findings may be comparable to other areas witnessing similar types of tourism development. Given that

the eventual goal of the US Forest Service is to facilitate development and implementation of best management practices in other Alaska locales such as Misty Fjord, Prince William Sound, and Admiralty Island, results from this study may inform future research or policy in these locations. Although data would likely still need to be collected in these other areas, both the methodology used and themes arising from this research may be helpful in guiding future research and management.

As collaboration and voluntary codes of conduct or best management practices become increasingly popular tools for tourism and natural resource management, it is important to understand the perspectives and opinions of those involved to ensure effective cooperation and ensure compliance (Honey, 2001; Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). Future research on efforts such as the WBMP may benefit from longitudinal or panel design studies examining these processes as they progress. It is difficult to gauge the success of developing and changing collaborative processes by examining their effects at only one point in time, especially for nascent processes. Long-term studies, therefore, may be most useful for understanding the collaborative progression and outcomes in its entirety. In addition, it is important to recognize important populations and stakeholders not studied in this research, such as tourists, other potential direct stakeholders and indirect stakeholders that may benefit peripherally from the WBMP (such as Juneau businesses). Future research should consider exploring the views of these groups because they may represent important stakeholders in tourism

management and understanding their perceptions would provide a more complete understanding of the processes, needs, and goals of efforts such as the WBMP.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview Schedule for Tour Operators / Cruise Industry Personnel

A. Introduction

This study is being conducted jointly by the US Forest Service Pacific Northwest Research Station in Juneau and Oregon State University. The goal of this study is to understand commercial guides and outfitters', government agency personnel, and local residents' attitudes and opinions of industry codes of conduct and standards, such as the Wilderness Best Management Practices (WBMP) in the Tracy Arm area.

B. Business / Individual Background

1. Could you please tell me about your company (e.g., how many years operating, number of employees, where employees are from, type of clientele)?
2. What is your company's relationship with cruise lines (e.g., formal / contractual)?
3. Approximately what percentage of your business is pre-sold to cruise passengers, walk up cruise ship passengers, independent travelers, and locals?
4. Approximately how many visitors does your company serve in a typical season and how many of these visitors go to Tracy Arm?
5. Approximately how many trips to Tracy Arm will your company typically make in a week and what is the typical length and itinerary of these trips?
6. What season(s) (i.e., start, end dates) do you typically offer these trips to Tracy Arm?
7. Where do you operate other than Tracy Arm and what activities / products do you offer?

C. Tourism Effects in Tracy Arm

1. What changes have you noticed in Tracy Arm and how has tourism positively and negatively affected the environment of the area, policies and regulations, and the local economy and people in communities such as the Juneau area?
2. If you could change anything about the way that tourism is operating in Tracy Arm what would you change, why, and how would you change it?

D. Participation in Tracy Arm WBMP

1. Is your company following any industry codes of conduct or standards for your operations in any area?
(If yes) What are these standards?

(If yes) Are / how were you and your employees introduced to these codes of conduct?

2. In general, do you and your company feel that industry codes of conduct or standards are good or bad for tourism operators?
3. Are you and your company aware of the Wilderness Best Management Practices (WBMP) that have been developed specifically for operators in Tracy Arm?
4. Do you and your company favor or disfavor these WBMP and its specific guidelines for Tracy Arm? Why?
5. To what extent were you or your company involved in the process of developing and implementing these WBMP for the Tracy Arm area?
6. What guidelines from these WBMP does your company follow when operating in the Tracy Arm area?
7. Are there any guidelines in these WBMP that your company does not follow? If so, what are these guidelines, why does your company not follow them, would your company follow them in the future, and what could be done to encourage your company to follow these guidelines?
8. Do (did) family / friends encourage you or your company to take part in and follow WBMP?
9. Do (did) your clientele encourage you or your company to take part in and follow WBMP?
10. Do (did) other tour guides and operators encourage you or your company to take part in and follow WBMP?

E. Tracy Arm WBMP Implementation

1. What is your overall opinion of how these WBMP were developed and implemented?
2. Who, if anybody, should have been involved in the development and implementation of WBMP that was left out and not represented in the process?
3. In your opinion, what should be the role for agencies such as the US Forest Service in developing and managing tourism issues such as WBMP?
4. How has development and implementation of these WBMP affected relationships between commercial tour guides and operators, the cruise industry, government agencies such as the US Forest Service, and / or local community residents, if at all?
5. Is it important to you and your company that other tour companies follow WBMP? Why?
6. What barriers, if any, do you think might make your company or other companies refrain from following these WBMP and how could these barriers be overcome?

7. What types of issues are most critical for inclusion in the WBMP codes of conduct?
8. Is there anything missing from these WBMP that should be included?
9. Is there anything in these WBMP that should be changed or deleted?
10. In what ways has implementation of these WBMP positively and negatively affected the environment of the Tracy Arm area, policies and regulations, and the local economy and people in communities such as the Juneau area, if at all?
11. How do you or your company feel that these WBMP should be enforced (e.g., not enforced, voluntary, mandatory with monitoring and enforcement)?
12. In your opinion, what would be most critical for successful implementation of WBMP (i.e., what constitutes “success”)?
13. To the best of your knowledge, how does the WBMP for Tracy Arm differ in content, process, development, and implementation from Juneau's TBMP?

F. Juneau TBMP (ask everybody)

1. Are you and your company aware of the Tourism Best Management Practices (TBMP) in Juneau?
2. To what extent were you and your company involved in the process of developing and implementing Juneau's TBMP?
3. What is your overall opinion of how Juneau's TBMP was developed and implemented?
4. Who, if anybody, should have been involved in the development and implementation of Juneau's TBMP that was left out and not represented in the process?
5. Do you and your company favor or disfavor Juneau's TBMP and its specific guidelines? Why?
6. Is it important to you and your company that other tour companies follow TBMP? Why?
7. What guidelines from Juneau's TBMP does your company follow when operating?
8. Are there any guidelines in Juneau's TBMP that your company does not follow?
If so, what are these guidelines, why does your company not follow them, would your company follow them in the future, and what could be done to encourage your company to follow these guidelines?
9. What types of issues are most critical for inclusion in Juneau's TBMP codes of conduct?
10. Is there anything missing from Juneau's TBMP that should be included?
11. Is there anything in Juneau's TBMP that should be changed or deleted?
12. Do you feel that compliance with Juneau's TBMP guidelines has increased or decreased?

13. Are there any barriers that make your company or other companies refrain from following Juneau's TBMP and how could these barriers be overcome?
14. How has development and implementation of Juneau's TBMP affected relationships between commercial tour guides and operators, the cruise industry, government agencies such as the US Forest Service, and / or local community residents, if at all?
15. In what ways has implementation of Juneau's TBMP positively and negatively affected the environment, policies and regulations, and the local economy and people in communities such as the Juneau area, if at all?
16. How do you or your company feel that these Juneau's TBMP should be enforced (e.g., not enforced, voluntary, mandatory with monitoring and enforcement)?

G. Meanings of Wilderness

1. What does wilderness mean to you and / or your company?
2. To the best of your knowledge, to what extent do these meanings differ from those of your company's clientele, agencies such as the US Forest Service, other tour guides and operators in the area, and cruise industry representatives?

H. Concluding Questions

1. What are your concerns for the future of tourism in both Tracy Arm and Juneau?
2. Is there anything that I have not asked you that you would like to share with me?
3. Who else could you suggest that I might contact?

Appendix B: Interview Schedule for Agency Personnel

A. Introduction

This study is being conducted jointly by the US Forest Service Pacific Northwest Research Station in Juneau and Oregon State University. The goal of this study is to understand commercial guides and outfitters', government agency personnel, and local residents' attitudes and opinions of industry codes of conduct and standards such as the Wilderness Best Management Practices (WBMP) in the Tracy Arm area.

B. Personal Background

8. Please describe your general duties associated with your agency job.
9. Please describe specific aspects of your job that relate to the Tracy Arm area.

C. Tourism Effects in Tracy Arm

3. What changes have you noticed in Tracy Arm and how has tourism positively and negatively affected the environment of the area, policies and regulations, and the local economy and people in communities such as the Juneau area?
4. If you could change anything about the way that tourism is operating in Tracy Arm what would you change, why, and how would you change it?

D. Tracy Arm WBMP

1. Are you aware of the Wilderness Best Management Practices (WBMP) that have been developed specifically for operators in Tracy Arm?
2. In general, do you feel that industry codes of conduct or standards such as these are good or bad for tourism?
3. Do you favor or disfavor these WBMP and its specific guidelines for Tracy Arm? Why?
4. To what extent were you involved in the process of developing and implementing these WBMP for the Tracy Arm area?
5. What is your overall opinion of how these WBMP were developed and implemented?
6. Who, if anybody, should have been involved in the development and implementation of WBMP that was left out and not represented in the process?
7. In your opinion, what should be the role for agencies such as the US Forest Service in developing and managing tourism issues such as WBMP?
8. How has development and implementation of these WBMP affected relationships between commercial tour guides and operators, the cruise

- industry, government agencies such as the US Forest Service, and / or local community residents, if at all?
9. Do you think that commercial tour guides and outfitters and cruise ships will follow the WBMP guidelines? Why?
 10. Is it important to you that tour companies follow WBMP? Why?
 11. What barriers, if any, do you think might make companies refrain from following these WBMP and how could these barriers be overcome?
 12. What types of issues are most critical for inclusion in the WBMP codes of conduct?
 13. Is there anything missing from these WBMP that should be included?
 14. Is there anything in these WBMP that should be changed or deleted?
 15. In what ways has implementation of these WBMP positively and negatively affected the environment of the Tracy Arm area, policies and regulations, and the local economy and people in communities such as the Juneau area, if at all?
 16. How do you feel that these WBMP should be enforced (e.g., not enforced, voluntary, mandatory with monitoring and enforcement)?
 17. In your opinion, what would be most critical for successful implementation of WBMP (i.e., what constitutes “success”)?
 18. To the best of your knowledge, how does the WBMP for Tracy Arm differ in content, process, development, and implementation from Juneau's TBMP?

E. Juneau TBMP

17. Are you aware of the Tourism Best Management Practices (TBMP) in Juneau?
18. To what extent were you involved in the process of developing and implementing Juneau's TBMP?
19. What is your overall opinion of how Juneau's TBMP was developed and implemented?
20. Who, if anybody, should have been involved in the development and implementation of Juneau's TBMP that was left out and not represented in the process?
21. Do you favor or disfavor Juneau's TBMP and its specific guidelines? Why?
22. Is it important to you that companies follow TBMP? Why?
23. What types of issues are most critical for inclusion in Juneau's TBMP codes of conduct?
24. Is there anything missing from Juneau's TBMP that should be included?
25. Is there anything in Juneau's TBMP that should be changed or deleted?
26. Do you feel that compliance with Juneau's TBMP guidelines has increased or decreased?
27. Are there any barriers that make companies refrain from following Juneau's TBMP and how could these barriers be overcome?

28. How has development and implementation of Juneau's TBMP affected relationships between commercial tour guides and operators, the cruise industry, government agencies such as the US Forest Service, and / or local community residents, if at all?
29. In what ways has implementation of Juneau's TBMP positively and negatively affected the environment, policies and regulations, and the local economy and people in communities such as the Juneau area, if at all?
30. How do you feel that these Juneau's TBMP should be enforced (e.g., not enforced, voluntary, mandatory with monitoring and enforcement)?

F. Meanings of Wilderness

3. What does wilderness mean to you?
4. To the best of your knowledge, to what extent do these meanings differ from those of tourists, other personnel in agencies such as the US Forest Service, tour guides and operators in the area, and cruise industry representatives?

G. Concluding Questions

4. What are your concerns for the future of tourism in both Tracy Arm and Juneau?
5. Is there anything that I have not asked you that you would like to share with me?
6. Who else could you suggest that I might contact?

Appendix C: Interview Schedule for Key Informant Residents

A. Introduction

This study is being conducted jointly by the US Forest Service Pacific Northwest Research Station in Juneau and Oregon State University. The goal of this study is to understand commercial guides and outfitters', government agency personnel, and local residents' attitudes and opinions of industry codes of conduct and standards such as the Wilderness Best Management Practices (WBMP) in the Tracy Arm area.

B. Personal Background

10. How long have you lived in Alaska?
11. Are you an Alaskan resident? If not, where are you from?
12. How often do you visit the Tracy Arm area and for what reasons?
13. When you visit the Tracy Arm area, how do you typically access this area?

C. Tourism Effects in Tracy Arm

5. What changes have you noticed in Tracy Arm and how has tourism positively and negatively affected the environment of the area, policies and regulations, and the local economy and people in communities such as the Juneau area?
6. If you could change anything about the way that tourism is operating in Tracy Arm what would you change, why, and how would you change it?

D. Tracy Arm WBMP

1. Are you aware of the Wilderness Best Management Practices (WBMP) that have been developed specifically for operators in Tracy Arm?
19. In general, do you feel that industry codes of conduct or standards such as these are good or bad for tourism?
20. Do you favor or disfavor these WBMP and its specific guidelines for Tracy Arm? Why?
21. To what extent were you involved in the process of developing and implementing these WBMP for the Tracy Arm area?
22. What is your overall opinion of how these WBMP were developed and implemented?
23. Who, if anybody, should have been involved in the development and implementation of WBMP that was left out and not represented in the process?
24. In your opinion, what should be the role for agencies such as the US Forest Service in developing and managing tourism issues such as WBMP?

25. How has development and implementation of these WBMP affected relationships between commercial tour guides and operators, the cruise industry, government agencies such as the US Forest Service, and / or local community residents, if at all?
26. Do you think that commercial tour guides and outfitters and cruise ships will follow the WBMP guidelines? Why?
27. Is it important to you that tour companies follow WBMP? Why?
28. What barriers, if any, do you think might make companies refrain from following these WBMP and how could these barriers be overcome?
29. What types of issues are most critical for inclusion in the WBMP codes of conduct?
30. Is there anything missing from these WBMP that should be included?
31. Is there anything in these WBMP that should be changed or deleted?
32. In what ways has implementation of these WBMP positively and negatively affected the environment of the Tracy Arm area, policies and regulations, and the local economy and people in communities such as the Juneau area, if at all?
33. How do you feel that these WBMP should be enforced (e.g., not enforced, voluntary, mandatory with monitoring and enforcement)?
34. In your opinion, what would be most critical for successful implementation of WBMP (i.e., what constitutes “success”)?
35. To the best of your knowledge, how does the WBMP for Tracy Arm differ in content, process, development, and implementation from Juneau's TBMP?

E. Juneau TBMP

31. Are you aware of the Tourism Best Management Practices (TBMP) in Juneau?
32. To what extent were you involved in the process of developing and implementing Juneau's TBMP?
33. What is your overall opinion of how Juneau's TBMP was developed and implemented?
34. Who, if anybody, should have been involved in the development and implementation of Juneau's TBMP that was left out and not represented in the process?
35. Do you favor or disfavor Juneau's TBMP and its specific guidelines? Why?
36. Is it important to you that companies follow TBMP? Why?
37. What types of issues are most critical for inclusion in Juneau's TBMP codes of conduct?
38. Is there anything missing from Juneau's TBMP that should be included?
39. Is there anything in Juneau's TBMP that should be changed or deleted?
40. Do you feel that compliance with Juneau's TBMP guidelines has increased or decreased?

41. Are there any barriers that make companies refrain from following Juneau's TBMP and how could these barriers be overcome?
42. How has development and implementation of Juneau's TBMP affected relationships between commercial tour guides and operators, the cruise industry, government agencies such as the US Forest Service, and / or local community residents, if at all?
43. In what ways has implementation of Juneau's TBMP positively and negatively affected the environment, policies and regulations, and the local economy and people in communities such as the Juneau area, if at all?
44. How do you feel that these Juneau's TBMP should be enforced (e.g., not enforced, voluntary, mandatory with monitoring and enforcement)?

F. Meanings of Wilderness

5. What does wilderness mean to you?
6. To the best of your knowledge, to what extent do these meanings differ from those of tourists, agencies such as the US Forest Service, tour guides and operators in the area, and cruise industry representatives?

G. Concluding Questions

7. What are your concerns for the future of tourism in both Tracy Arm and Juneau?
8. Is there anything that I have not asked you that you would like to share with me?
9. Who else could you suggest that I might contact?

