

Abstract

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FEDERAL PROCESS: STAKEHOLDER
NEGOTIATION PROCESS IN THE CANYON
FOREST VILLAGE LAND EXCHANGE
PROCESS 1992-2002

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This is a study of the National Forest Land Exchange process as it relates to the development of gateway communities. The study area is outside the Kaibab National Forest in Northern Arizona. This land exchange represented a collaborative partnership between the National Park Service, the Forest Service meant to consolidate private inholdings within the forest and to provide services for the Grand Canyon National Park outside park borders. The stakeholders involved in the land exchange discourse included the Forest Service, the developer, the National Park Service, the gateway communities of Tusayan, Williams, and Flagstaff, the Havasupai tribe, and environmental organizations. This study demonstrates that the public interest is dependent on scale. Using a mixed methodological approach, this study examined the impact stakeholders had on the land exchange process. A content analysis of articles and editorials written in local and regional newspapers, of public comments on the Environmental Impact Statement, and of semi-structured interviews

of key participants in the land exchange debate helped to elucidate the most prominent concerns resonating with each category of stakeholder. A survey of the city of Williams, Arizona, was also conducted. Though it never came to fruition, the Canyon Forest Village land exchange demonstrated the economic issues facing gateway communities and their vulnerability to the actions and policies of public land agencies. By voicing their concerns and conducting a media campaign against the development plan, the gateway communities took control of both the land exchange process and their own economic development.

EXERTING LOCAL POWER OVER FEDERAL PROCESS: STAKEHOLDER
NEGOTIATION PROCESS IN THE CANYON FOREST VILLAGE LAND
EXCHANGE PROCESS 1992-2002

By

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to
my supporting family without which this would never have been possible.

Acknowledgements

In the process of completing this dissertation, I have received help from many individuals. I would like to thank my committee members, Dr. Martha Geores, Dr. Joseph Cirrincione, Dr. Michael Kearney of the Department of Geography at the University of Maryland, and Dr. Lisa Benton-Short of the Geography Department at George Washington University, and Dr. William De Lorenzo Professor emeritus at the University of Maryland for their support, guidance, and assistance throughout this research.

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Acronyms

ADS	Arizona Daily Sun
ADStar	Arizona Daily Star
AZR	Arizona Republic
BBC	Bureau of Business, Economic Research & Consulting
CC	Coconino County
CCF	Coalition for the Canyon's Future
CFV	Canyon Forest Village
DEIS	Draft Environmental Impact Statement
DOA	Department of Agriculture
DOI	Department of the Interior
EIS	Environmental Impact Statement
FEIS	Final Environmental Impact Statement
FLPMA	Federal Land Policy and Management Act
GCIA	Grand Canyon Improvement Association
GCNP	Grand Canyon National Park
GCT	Grand Canyon Trust
GEA	General Exchange Act
HCN	High Country News
KNF	Kaibab National Forest
MNA	Museum of Northern Arizona
NACOG	Northern Arizona Council of Governments
NAU	Northern Arizona University
NEPA	National Environmental Policy Act
NPCA	National Parks & Conservation Association
NPS	National Park Service
NRC	National Research Council
USFS	United States Forest Service
ROD	Record of Decision
ST	Seattle Times
WGCN	Williams Grand Canyon News

Chapter 1: Power and Public Lands:

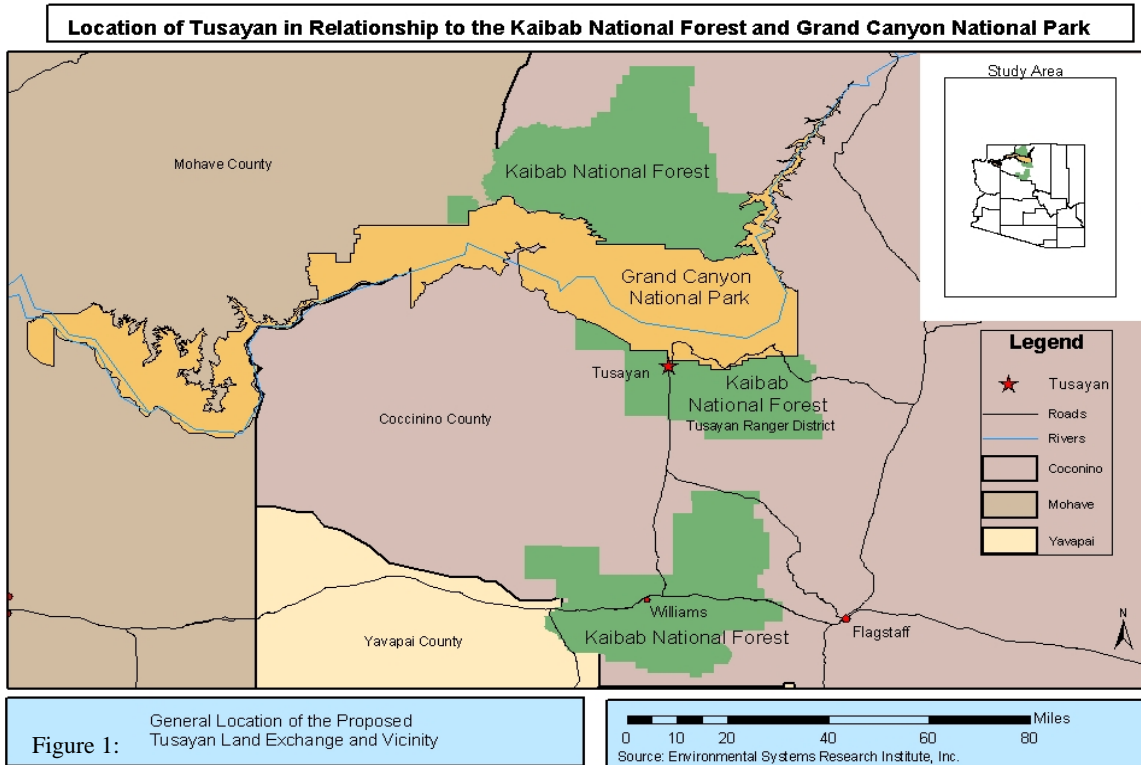
Stakeholder Negotiations in the Tusayan Land Exchange Discourse

Introduction

This is a study of the failed attempt to use a federal land exchange to create a private land base for commercial development near the Grand Canyon National Park in Arizona. The purpose of the land exchange was to consolidate land within the National Forest border by trading federal land for private lands, known as inholdings, within the Kaibab National Forest. The federal land offered in the exchange was 272 acres of federal land situated on Route 64, eight miles from the entrance to the Grand Canyon National Park and adjacent to the community of Tusayan, for 2,118 acres of privately owned inholdings within the Tusayan Ranger District of the Kaibab National Forest (See Figure 1). This land exchange changed the public/private land use patterns outside the Grand Canyon National Park. Through the land exchange process the proponent's development proposal was transformed from one that would have used the traded forestland for purely commercial purposes to one that would have utilized this land to create a premier gateway community offering services and facilities beneficial to the Grand Canyon National Park.

As a condition of the land exchange, the development incorporated items addressed in the Grand Canyon National Park's General Management Plan, including a mass transit staging area, a school, post office, interpretive center, and affordable federal employee housing. The major parties involved in the land exchange were the Forest Service, the developer (Thomas DePaolo), the Park Service, the community of Tusayan,

the cities of Williams and Flagstaff, the Havasupai Native American tribe, and the environmental community.



The land exchange process is governed by federal regulations. However, there is a good deal of discretion given to the Forest Service in pursuing land exchanges. The Forest Service has congressional authority under the General Exchange Act of 1922 (42 Stat. 465) and the Federal Land Exchange Facilitation Act of 1988 (102 Stat.1086) to undergo federal land exchanges with private landowners if the exchange is in the *public's interest* and the lands exchanged are of *equal value* (Ragsdale 1999). Thus, an understanding of who constitutes the public and what is in their best interest becomes a necessary component in examining the land exchange process. This research demonstrates the complexity of determining what is in the public's best interest and who

represents the “public” in the land exchange process while answering the following questions:

1. What is the public interest the Forest Service provides through the land exchange process?
2. At what scales and in what ways do stakeholders influence the outcomes of the National Forest land exchange discourse?
3. What are the processes and politics that drive stakeholders involved in the Canyon Forest Village land exchange?

Framework

Common property is the overriding framework for the study: it gives the researcher a way to understand the dynamics of stakeholder involvement in the process. Using common property, one can analyze the relationships between all the parties to the resource (National Forest, National Park, local communities, etc.) and their patterns of interaction. A common property resource (CPR) is one where the resource is defined, a group of people have a recognized right to use the resource and the ability to exclude others, and there exists a management plan aimed at the sustainable use of the resource (McCay and Acheson 1987; Ostrom 1990; Geores 1996). Ownership in a CPR does not require a legal title. In the case of a CPR, ownership denotes the right to the stream of benefits originating from those resources.

The common property framework demonstrates the importance and interaction of individual stakeholders, their interconnectedness, and the impact of these connections on the resource itself. Each stakeholder has a distinctive definition of the resource and a strategy to maximize its benefit stream and exclude others from diminishing it. Individuals’ actions, goals, and interactions determine the utilization of public land resources. To help elucidate the discourse of the multiple stakeholders involved in the land exchange process and their relationship to the resource, a variety of data was collected. This research relied on the

historical written record as presented in the news media; in federal, state, and local government documents; and in the personal archives of interested parties. Local and regional newspapers offered the greatest insight into the land exchange process as it unfolded. To gain a retrospective of the events, the researcher interviewed individuals who were particularly involved throughout the discourse. Finally, a survey of local residents was utilized to gain the perspective of community members who were aware of the land exchange process but may not have been as involved in the discourse.

Organization of this Dissertation

Chapter Two establishes the ideological background for this study. In addition, Chapter Two outlines the historical geography of public land management of the Forest Service and the National Park Service and examines the confusion surrounding the definition of the public interest. In addition, the second chapter reviews the literature dealing with gateway community development and the importance of tourism outside of National Parks. Chapter Three describes the common property framework, research design, and methodology utilized in this study. Chapter Four examines how the history of public lands has influenced the relationship between the Kaibab National Forest and the Grand Canyon National Park and consequently led to the Canyon Forest Village land exchange debate. The data covers the public participation process during the Canyon Forest Village land exchange throughout the 1990s. Chapter Five analyzes the degree of public inclusion and incorporation into the federal land exchange process, and the power structure of stakeholders. Chapter Five relates the Canyon Forest Village land exchange process to the literature and to the research questions. The sixth chapter concludes with

the contributions of this research to the field of public land management, policy implications, and avenues for future research.

Chapter 2: Theoretical and Historical Background of Public Land Management

This chapter presents the theoretical underpinnings of this research. It begins by presenting the historical context of the development of our National Park and National Forest systems, including a discussion of their differing management styles. The role of gateway communities and their interactions with National Parks are examined. An explanation of federal land exchanges and their legislative requirements leads to a discussion of what is the public interest and how the Forest Service and National Park Service collaborate to promote that interest. The chapter concludes with an introduction to the concept of common property, the framework used for this study, and an explanation of how public lands function as common property resources.

Public Lands

The public land holdings in America are extensive, consisting of 655 million acres, which equals 29% of the country's total land area. The majority of these holdings are located in the western United States. The Forest Service and the National Park Service administer some of the largest areas, 192 million acres and 78 million acres, respectively (USDA 2000).

American public lands and the policies that govern their use represent the culmination of a long history of changing perceptions regarding public lands and natural

resources. To the first colonists, the American frontier represented land in need of conquering and taming. Settlers quickly felled the forests to make way for the growing country (Williams 1989). A policy of land disposal became a priority for the newly created United States. The government encouraged expansion into the frontiers, creating an “expanding wave of forest exploitation that swept across the United States” (Williams 1989, 238). The abundance of forestland seemed limitless, and consequently forests became undervalued and abused. To promote westward expansion the federal government passed land disposal legislation including the Timber and Stone Acts of 1878 (20 US Stat. 88-90) and the Homestead Act of 1862 (12 US Stat. 392-394), which encouraged the felling of forests and the creation of farms (Steen 1976; Williams 1989). By 1870, the idea of untapped forests had disappeared. Continued forest exploitation eventually led to a change in sentiment towards the land and the country’s forest resources (Williams 1989). No longer could settlers operate with the assumption that there would always be a limitless source of resources.

In the 1870s, the United States Public Lands Commission inventoried the country’s natural resources and highlighted the degraded condition of western lands while heavily criticizing the current land laws in their report, “Use and Abuse of America’s Natural Resources” (Steen 1972; Williams 1989). It became apparent that to ensure a continual supply of timber, forests required sustainable management. This report and the support of trained foresters, most notably Gifford Pinchot, became an impetus for the establishment in 1891 of the first federal forest reserves, later renamed National Forests, and the creation of the Forest Service under the Organic Act of 1897 (Frome 1962; Steen 1976).

The debate over whether to protect and preserve public lands or to manage them for sustained use became mired in the conflict between two embattled positions, ultimately cohering around the concerns of conservation and preservation. Conservationists advocated management of natural resources to ensure sustained use, while preservationists preferred setting aside National Parks to preserve unimpaired areas of natural or cultural significance.

Among the most influential conservationists were George Perkins Marsh, Theodore Roosevelt, and Gifford Pinchot. Marsh's seminal works "Man and Nature," and "Earth as Modified by Human Action" drew public awareness to the consequences of human activity on natural resources (Lowenthal 2000). At the same time, the European-educated forester Gifford Pinchot advocated for active government management of forests. Pinchot believed the government had the right, even the responsibility, to manage forests and thus ensure the economic welfare of the country. Industry, lumbermen, and even farmers relied on the forests for their livelihoods (Williams 1989). Managing the forests for these uses would ensure the economic stability of the country.

The most important aspect of conservation was managing resources for sustained use. However, the growing movement to preserve scenic landscapes had also taken hold. A romanticized view of wild, untamed nature began to grow, due in part to the work of landscape artists, photographers, and writers such as Ansel Adams, John Muir and Edward Abbey (Rettie 1995). Preservationists recognized that vast open spaces and amazing landscapes were uniquely American. Europe's culture and history could not compete with the grandeur of America's Yosemite Valley (Rettie 1995). The American landscape invoked a sense of pride in the fledgling country (Muir 1901).

The physical landscape of the new country helped lay the foundation for a philosophical change in property ownership. In Europe, land ownership was associated with power, wealth, and prestige, and the settlement of North America diverged from this example. Individual land ownership became an expectation, something any man regardless of class could attain (Williams 1989). However, the disposal of the public domain to promote westward expansion and the perceived limitlessness of forestlands became associated with fraud, waste, and environmental degradation. The experiences of easterners with environmental degradation and forest destruction as well as a growing environmental awareness prompted the emergence of policies to reserve and manage the remaining public domain in the west (Jackson 1995).

National Parks

Throughout the late 1800s, all along the east coast, exploitation had taken its toll. The Niagara Falls area of New York, known for its scenic beauty, suffered from over-commercialization (Pitcaithley 2001). Like most of the East, private ownership predominated and as such became a money-generating venture for landowners who focused their resources on promoting economic development based on tourism. Many preservationists feared that other scenic wonders in the West, if left unprotected, would follow the same pattern of development as Niagara Falls (Pitcaithley 2001).

In 1864, preservationists persuaded Congress to grant Yosemite Valley to the state of California for the purposes of public use and resource protection. Yosemite was not immediately made a National Park, but its dual mission became the foundation for the future management direction of the National Parks (Freemuth 1991). In 1872,

Yellowstone became the country's first National Park, and its enabling legislation followed Yosemite's example:

“Dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people...regulations shall provide for the preservation, from injury or spoliation, of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities or wonders within said park, and their retention in their natural condition” 16 U.S.C. 17 Stat. 32, sec.22 (1872).

Yellowstone, Yosemite, and all subsequent National Parks have mirrored this dual mandate to manage for both resource protection and visitor accessibility.

Preservationists, most notably the Sierra Club founded in 1892, worked to transform some of the most scenic areas into State Parks and later, National Parks. The Sierra Club continued to play a pivotal role in persuading Congress to enact the Park Service's "Organic Act" in 1916 (Sellars 1997). With the creation of the National Park Service, the parks came under unified management within a single department, the Department of the Interior (Runte 1987). This action was a major step in the development of a national system of parks. The Organic Act gives the National Park Service the authority to promote and regulate the use of National Parks, monuments, and reservations and the responsibility to

“conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations” 16 U.S.C. 39 Stat. 535 (1916).

Park functions aimed at providing visitors enjoyment of the resource included: development of visitor accommodations, construction of roads and trails, removal of trespassers (mostly poachers) from the park, and protection of wildlife (Ise 1961; Sellars 1997). The concept now firmly established as the National Park System embraced a diversity of natural and cultural resources nationwide and evolved slowly over the years.

A debate over the definition and use of the National Parks raged from their inception (Ise 1961; Lowry 1997; Sellars 1997). The debate centered on determining which areas to incorporate into the Park system: just wilderness, or areas of historical or cultural significance? Yet, park utility and accessibility for public enjoyment was never in question (Benton 1998). “This concept of use evolved to include activities such as inspiration, education, and recreation. From the beginning, then, public use was an important element of park philosophy” (Benton 1998, 153).

Organizations including the Sierra Club and the National Parks and Conservation Association (NPCA), founded in 1919, have helped shape the parks by advocating for and offering constructive criticism of the National Park System. While the NPCA plays an important role in advocacy through the education of decision-makers, the Sierra Club also has helped in the creation and securing of many National Parks (Miller 2001). One such effort protected the Grand Canyon National Park from damming and catapulted the organization out of obscurity into its current position as a leader in the environmental movement (Pearson 2002). By gaining national attention in the fight over the Grand Canyon and later the campaign to save Utah’s Dinosaur National Monument from the damming of Echo Park, the Sierra Club, along with other environmental organizations, gained political power and access to the legislative process (Miller 2001).

Throughout its history the National Park Service has embraced a contradictory mission of facilitating access and serving visitors while also protecting and preserving the natural, historic, and cultural value of the lands and resources it manages. The agency that evolved is one in which enhancing visitor services takes precedence over resource protection (Dilsaver and Wyckoff 1999). The emphasis on this aspect of its mission

statement results from the beliefs that visitors have a democratic right to full access to the parks and that the NPS must provide education and interpretation of park resources.

The Park Service's emphasis on visitor access dates back to its early difficulty in acquiring funding. Originally, the National Parks were under-utilized. They did not have a large constituency since they were mainly located in remote areas; consequently they suffered from under-funding (Sellars 1997). To provide for the management and maintenance of the parks, the early Park Service took the role of Park Advocate and essentially became a promotional agency aided by preservationist organizations. Park Service promotion took the form of public picture books, films, automobile maps by civic associations, railroad boosters, and auto guidebooks (Rettie 1995). The Park Service linked itself and its future viability to promotion of visitation and the development of the National Parks' recreational potential (Freemuth 1991; Corkran 1996; Culbertson 1997; Culbertson and Snyder 1995). Thus, for its own survival the National Park Service placed an emphasis on visitation as opposed to resource protection.

In 1956 the National Park Service's promotion of visitor use manifested itself in Mission 66, a program that represented a massive system-wide response to inadequate visitor services. Mission 66 was meant to improve the National Parks in preparation for their 50th anniversary in 1966. As part of Mission 66, the Park Service enhanced visitor services, built interpretive centers, and increased accessibility (Runte 1987; Dilsaver and Wyckoff 1999; Rettie 1995; Ise 1961). The program also prepared the Park Service to cope with an expected 100% increase in visitor numbers (Runte 1987). Yet, the result of Mission 66 was an acceleration of negative visitor impacts on park infrastructure. As

services improved, greater numbers of visitors flocked to the parks, creating a further drain on the parks' resources. Mission 66 thus epitomized the consequences of a National Park Service that promoted development (Sellars 1997; Dilsaver and Wyckoff 1999). Public use and visitor access became the most contested aspects of the Park Service's mission (Dilsaver 2004). In addition, the National Park Service's budget did not rise enough to accommodate this growing number of visitors. Management pressures were further exacerbated as the creation of new National Parks placed greater management responsibilities on the under-funded Park Service.

Gateway Communities

The creation of National Parks in some cases helped build new communities. In other cases, it transformed existing communities into areas whose whole livelihood and identity were linked to the presence of the park. A unique relationship thus exists between the National Parks and adjacent communities, known as *gateway communities*. National Parks historically offer much-needed employment and revenue to adjacent communities. They enable communities to shift from extractive industries to a diversified, service-oriented economy (Machlis and Field 2000). Gateway communities assist in defining the park experience for many visitors through the provision of food and lodging for tourists visiting National Parks and other public lands (Schelhas, Sherman et al 2002). Howe and McMahon (1997) describe a gateway community as "ground zero" in the struggle between haphazard development and planned growth. The rapid explosion of tourism associated with the National Parks generates a metamorphosis, changing these small, nondescript areas into gateway communities. Their proximity to National Parks

allows the potential for economic growth and the costs and benefits associated with that growth (Lorah 2000; Tooman 1997; Stynes and Sun 2003).

Although economic development in gateway communities creates an inflow of revenue, there are drawbacks. The change to a service-based economy creates the challenge of dealing with rapid population growth and cultural change (Rothman 1988; Lorah 2000). The tourism-based economy brings with it less economic diversity and social mobility since the area becomes dominated by low wage, seasonal industries that do not have to compete with firms offering higher wages (Tooman 1997; Lorah 2000). Costs associated with the gateway community boom include the loss of community heritage in the forms of traditional industries and small town shops, and an outflow of long-time permanent residents due to higher property values and the associated higher taxes (Howe, McMahon et al. 1997). Increases in traffic associated with increased tourism development create controversy among residents, businesses, and even tourists themselves (Doxey 1975; Wie and Choy 1993; Puijk 2000). Higher visitor numbers are associated with increased traffic and greater economic benefits for local businesses catering to tourists. At the same time, increased traffic degrades the visitor experience and the physical condition of the park resource through erosion and greater human/wildlife interactions (Manning 2002).

At times, conversion from residential neighborhoods to rental and second-home communities increases land value and taxes. But such conversions also take a large toll on community outlook, cohesion, and economy. Shumway and Otterstrom (2001) found that amenities such as public lands draw people to western counties. This influx of new residents changes the population characteristics and creates conflicts over shaping the

future of community identity. This conversion exerts an influence on community direction, including the type of facilities and services offered, and the socio-cultural aspects of the community (Girard and Gartner 1993).

Local governments take a proactive approach to community planning by initiating citizens' involvement in the planning process as an attempt to mitigate negative impacts. Effective demonstrations of this exist in Canada (Ritchie 1993), New Zealand (Thorn 1994), and Hawaii (Van Fossen and Lafferty 2001). In each case, through a participatory process, the community retained control of the direction in which tourism proceeded and diminished the potential for negative aspects of tourism. The key to creating legitimate policy is the inclusion of stakeholders in the process and incorporation of their interests and concerns in the decision-making process (Jamal and Getz 1999).

Batiste's (1977) study of protected areas found that local interaction in decision-making processes, including community planning and development of protected areas, is essential for effective conservation and community acceptance, which are both necessary for sustainability. Through strong local participation and political mobilization within gateway communities, residents strive to avoid the pitfalls of tourism development in the hopes of maintaining their community heritage and identity while still obtaining benefit from the creation of and proximity to National Parks. Local acceptance and partnerships between the Park Service and stakeholders have proved essential to the creation and management of other National Park units including the Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Cumberland Island National Seashore (Rothman 2004; Dilsaver 2004). Without such participation, the community feels disenfranchised, and the viability of the protected area comes into question. Planning and policies that incorporate community interests are

imperative to achieving long-term, sustainable tourism development that curtails both social and environmental tourism impacts (Van Fossen and Lafferty 2001).

Communities gain benefits and have influence on the National Parks due to their proximity. The conditions and activities taking place outside the National Parks affect the resources within the park. “Examples of negative effects include the loss of habitat due to human population growth and development pressures, an increase in air, water and noise pollution, and the decrease in the quality of the visitor experience” (Steer and Chambers 1998, 3).

In 2002, the relationship between gateway communities and their federal land neighbors developed into a legislative issue. A bill introduced in the House of Representatives, the Gateway Communities Cooperation Act of 2000 (H.R. 5493), required federal land agencies to cooperate with and support gateway communities. The stated goal of this legislation was to

“Improve the ability of gateway communities to participate in Federal land management planning conducted by the Forest Service and agencies of the Department of the Interior, and to respond to the impacts of the public use of the Federal lands administered by these agencies.” (H.R. 5493 Section 2)

While the legislation did not progress in the House, the 109th Congress reintroduced it in 2005 as H.R. 585. The introduction of this legislation demonstrates the desire of local communities to exert greater power over public land decisions that directly influence their economies. This legislation required public land agencies to give greater weight to the concerns and needs of local communities than those of interested parties based further away from the land in question.

National Forests

As the preservation movement gained support for National Parks in many of the more remote areas, the conservation movement directed its efforts at ensuring continual utility and sustained use of forested land. Congress passed the Forest Reserve Act in 1891, giving the President the authority to establish forest reservations with public domain land. However, it was not until the passing of the Forest Service Organic Act in 1897 that the federal government provided funding for forest administration. This act identified the purpose of the reserves: to serve as forest protection, watershed protection, and a source of timber supply for the nation (Clawson 1976). In 1905, Gifford Pinchot became the first chief of the newly created Forest Service under the Department of Agriculture and further institutionalized the agency's mission.

The Forest Service emphasizes cooperation and inclusion among timber companies, communities, and the Forest Service (Carr and Selin 1998; Clawson 1976). The Forest Service offers local communities advice and expertise in exchange for their cooperation in fire prevention and aid in forest management and maintenance (Steen 1976; Geores 1996, 1998). To gain the cooperation of the local community, different uses permitted on the reserves include prospecting, mining, grazing, and construction of roads, churches, and schools (Clawson 1975; Steen 1976; Hirt 1996, 1999).

Though all National Forests are multiple-use resources, the range of uses is different for each forest, including logging, mining, wilderness, recreation, etc. The range of uses allowed in the forest depends on local factors such as the presence of mineral deposits, or endangered species, as well as the social environment in which the resource is defined (Geores 1996). The social environment associated with the National

Forests depends on the interactions and power asserted by local resource users, extractive industries, government agencies, and environmental and conservation organizations. Increasing public pressure and changes in resource values led to a backlash against certain logging methods, primarily old growth harvesting and clear-cutting, and helped shape future Forest Service policies.

The Forest Service lost a lawsuit filed by the Isaak Walton League (*Izaak Walton v. Butz*) over the legality of clear-cutting in the National Forests under the Organic Act of 1897 (6 U.S.C. §§ 473-478, 479-482). In response, Congress passed the National Forest Management Act of 1976 (NFMA) mandating the Forest Service to evaluate and develop Forest Plans that incorporated management programs based on multiple-use, sustained-yield principles for each National Forest (43 U.S.C. §§ 1701-1782). The NFMA increases the complexity of the stakeholder negotiation process and challenges Forest Service decision-making, since forest planning now requires increased public participation and community input regarding the resource definition process and the direction of forest management into the next decade (Cawley and Freemuth 1997).

The media creates a considerable public interest in public lands and increases the size of the non-local constituency participating in the forest planning and management process (Xu and Bengston 1997). Over time, environmental organizations gain members and a greater ability to communicate with and motivate them. The NFMA's requirement of public inclusion creates a greater constituent base for the Forest Service to incorporate in the forest planning process (Manning and Valliere 1999). The passing of NEPA heightened the number of lawsuits and appeals filed by unsatisfied stakeholders of Forest Service administrative plans, land exchanges, timber sales, and mineral leases

(Malmsheier, Keele et al. 2004; Manring 1998). The increase in administrative time and money dealing with lawsuits and planning has affected the agency's ability to carry out forest planning (Hirt 1999).

Another conflict arises between the Forest Service and environmentalists due to their different views regarding resource use. Some environmentalists promote preservationist goals, which aim to keep the resource "pristine" and undeveloped, while the Forest Service embraces conservation goals and advocates for resource management (Xu and Bengston 1997; Vaske, Donnelly et al. 2001). These competing paradigms pit preservationist organizations, such as the Sierra Club, against many Forest Service management policies.

Due to lawsuits and legislation, the mandate of the Forest Service changed to incorporate greater environmental concerns. This change includes ecosystem management rather than pure resource management (Aber 2000; Hirt 1999; Manring 1998), management that takes into account the Endangered Species Act (Draffan and Blaeloch 2000), and management that allows more public access to the forest planning process (Gericke and Sullivan 1994). This greater public inclusion results in more conflict, dissatisfaction, and, to some degree, inertia on the part of the Forest Service (Floyd 1999). How a given National Forest's user base defines a resource affects that forest's management (Geores 1996; Geores 2001). Preservationists and conservationists differ in how they define forest resources. The Sierra Club considers the resource a recreational area, meant to be unencumbered by extractive uses and even development. In contrast, conservationist organizations such as the Isaac Walton League and Trout Unlimited define forest resources based on the resource's ability to support multiple uses.

These multiple uses range from habitat for hunting and fishing, logging, recreation and activities that support local and national economic development. Thus, the debate between conservationists and preservationists is more complex when dealing with National Forests since the Forest Service manages for a greater range of stakeholder interests (Bengston and Fan 1999).

Despite conflict with environmentalists over management practices, the Forest Service generally forges positive relationships with its neighbors. It incorporates suggestions, provides training, and assists and collaborates with local communities (Steen 1976; Frenz, Voth et al. 2000). National Forests management originally provided benefits to local and regional residents and private extractive enterprises. The direction of resource management has since changed and “recognizes that importance of the region’s federal lands to the well-being of not only the local residents but the entire nation as well” (Jackson 1995, 265).

National Forest Land Exchanges

The National Forests formed a boundary over public domain lands as well as tracts of private lands. These privately owned lands, known as inholdings, are within the borders of the National Forests and pose difficulties for Forest Service land management since it does not generally regulate the use or development of private lands (Lynch and Larrabee 1992). The uses of inholdings are often incompatible with desired management of federal lands and may limit the accessibility of some federal lands (Ragsdale 1999). For these reasons, the Forest Service attempts to acquire inholdings through exchange or outright purchase.

The Weeks Act of 1911 (36 Stat. 961, as amended) authorized the federal government to purchase private lands in the Eastern United States for stream-flow protection and to maintain these lands as National Forests. Acquisition of these private lands allows the Forest Service to enhance its ability to manage timber and protect watersheds. The Forest Service was given even greater ability to acquire lands through the General Exchange Act of 1922 [as amended], an act that enhances the Forest Service's ability to acquire private lands by exchanging them for public land rather than buying them outright. Thus, the Weeks Act and the General Exchange Act create fluid spatial boundaries for the National Forest.

Land exchanges are not the only method for the Forest Service to acquire private lands. In 1965, Congress enacted the Land and Water Conservation Act to create another method of acquiring private land holdings that would help facilitate the mission of the Forest Service (Mattson, Lorenz et al. 1993). Financing for the Land and Water Conservation Fund originates from outer-continental shelf mineral leases, taxes on motorboat fuels, and the selling of surplus federal lands (Draffan and Blaeloch 2000). Though this money is available, it is rarely used to purchase lands outright. Consequently, land exchanges are the primary mechanism for acquiring key land holdings (Margolis 1998).

Land Values

The General Exchange Act of 1922 addresses the rules governing land exchanges. In addition, Section 2 of Pub. L. 100-409 (90 Stat. 2743) of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act (FLPMA) of 1976 requires that all exchanges with the federal government must be equal in value. This "equal value" represents an estimate of market

value of the appraised land determined by its location, size, use, and physical characteristics. The value of land is dependent on many factors: its current use, its potential use, ecological systems, and the availability of resources. Depending on the factor analyzed, the value of the land exchanged can vary greatly. It is this ambiguity concerning the real value of the land that creates a highly contested issue (Brown 2001; Dadswell and Stewart 1999).

Public Interest

A second element considered by the Forest Service in order for a land exchange to occur is the determination of whether or not the exchange serves the public interest. Land management in the public interest includes consolidation of existing public lands to yield greater management efficiency, economic stimulus for state and local residents, community expansion, and increased opportunities for recreation (Brown 2001; Dadswell and Stewart 1999). There are multiple terms used to define the public's interest: national, regional, local, economic, ecological, recreational, and even intrinsic. The public's interest is thus an amorphous concept for the Forest Service to use as a guide for management. The definition of public interest becomes a highly contested issue in the forest management debate (Brown 2001).

The main legislative purpose of land exchanges is to facilitate the acquisition of land in the public interest. Though land exchanges allow acquisition of National Forest inholdings and consolidate public lands under uniform management plans, various abuses of the process exist, including the under-valuation of public land and the over-valuation of private lands (Brown 2001). There have been issues raised by the public and lawsuits filed to block land exchanges due to equal valuation issues and complaints about the

timing of when the public is allowed to view the appraisal value of the land (GAO 2000; Draffan and Blaeloch 2000).

Defining the Public Interest

Public land agencies manage these resources in the public's interest. Thus, to understand public land management the "public interest" requires further analysis. This phrase, which is used liberally in public discourse, is complex in its simplicity. In an online search of the *New York Times* archives from 1996 to 2005, the expression was used in over 73,000 articles. In addition, the "public interest" received over 47 million hits, using Google, a popular search engine on the internet. Yet, Dennis (1981) of the libertarian *Cato Journal* finds that the term "public interest" becomes ambiguous when partisans advocate their vision of the public interest while they simultaneously paint opponents as self-serving.

An elected Congress created the nation's public lands to promote the public interest (Grumbine 1991). The legislative statutes that created these public lands represent the national interest, and public land agencies must take them as expressing public desires (Lemons 1987). The wise-use and preservationist values advocated by Gifford Pinchot and John Muir, respectively, guide the management of the Forest Service and the National Park Service respectively (Clawson 1975; Rettie 1995).

In public land management, the Park Service, the Forest Service, special interest groups, and the public each have a core set of goals. Environmentalists view natural resources in terms of broader public goals, and they often utilize their grassroots base and membership support to gain policy objectives (Steel, List et al. 1997). The public, on the other hand, participate on multiple scales locally, regionally, and nationally, through

organizations or individually. For example, a person in New York may feel a connection to Yosemite and through his or her affiliation with the National Parks and Conservation Association (NPCA) or the Sierra Club gains some influence in park policy. According to Steel and List (1994), the greater distance, physically or emotionally, between oneself and the resource, the greater emphasis there is on biocentrism. Thus, while those closer to the resource have more of an anthropocentric orientation, those further away have a more biocentric orientation. This greater degree of anthropocentrism at the local scale is a consequence of the closer ties that exist between the resource and its users. In gateway communities, the proximity of public land presents a large economic stimulus. This relationship is the impetus for the local constituency to play a role in shaping public land management.

“There is often also a much larger group of users or interested persons whose interest is by no means so direct. The latter may be more or less synonymous with the general public. For instance, grazing use of an area is likely to be made by relatively few ranchers. Recreational, sightseeing, and hunting use on the same area may be made by a far larger number. However, use of this area by the ranchers may mean literally the difference between successful livestock operations and none at all while the hunting or recreational use may be important to the larger number of persons who are interested” (Clawson 1951, 449).

Clawson defines the “general public” based on the nature and intensity of their interest in the resource. Those with a direct economic connection to the land are considered “special users,” whereas others are the general public. The non-local public is generally less informed and less aggressive about influencing public land policy than local individuals. However, the non-local public, through their memberships in organizations, such as the Sierra Club or the Wilderness Society, are kept informed and mobilized in order to affect policy.

Many environmental organizations function through a hierarchical organizational structure with local, regional, and national chapters. They work most effectively on a local and regional level due to their ability to organize and take their concerns to a larger audience (Steel and Pierce 1997). Through their members, these organizations gain political influence and financial resources to lobby government officials. Nevertheless, Clawson (1951) warns that land managers cannot base their management decisions purely on the numbers of people interested but must also take into account the reasons for their interest. The special interest should not outweigh the voice of the “general public,” which is often unrepresented, but they often have advantages in the public participation process. Clawson (1951) recognizes the significant difference among public land management practices when dealing with special interest resource users and local users, as compared with the general public use of the resource.

Interagency Cooperation and the Public’s Interest

The relationship between the Forest Service and the Park Service is important in public land management due to the geographic proximity of forestlands to parklands throughout the country and most notably in the western states. However, “Despite their proximity, forests and parks traditionally have been managed independently (with notable exceptions such as cooperative law enforcement or fire management)” (Sax and Keiter 1987; 215). A long-standing rivalry between the National Park Service and the Forest Service exists. This rivalry and its accompanying resentment stem from the competing ideologies of the two agencies, preservation and conservation, respectively, and date back to the creation of the National Parks and the National Park Service. The conflict is not over anthropocentrism but multiple use vs. preservation-oriented resource management

practices (Grumbine 1991). For example, Congress set aside some of the most spectacular forestlands as parks to save them from being felled by the forester (Sax and Keiter 1987). In 1934, Executive Order 6166 transferred the administration of fifteen national monuments from the Forest Service to the Park Service (Unrau & Williss 1983). “The Department of the Interior attempted to absorb the Forest Service no less than four times, most recently during the Nixon administration” (Grumbine 1991; 29). In his book, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, Sellars (1997) describes a history of contention between the Forest Service and the Park Service arising from these early interactions. Despite this history of interagency rivalry and conflict, the fact remains that the proximity of the National Parks and Forests yields great potential for cooperative management that goes far beyond law enforcement, fire management, and ecosystem management such as that occurring in the Greater Yellowstone Area (Clark, Amato et al. 1991; Dustin and Schneider 2004). This research expands the literature concerning interagency cooperation to create external relationships and mitigate external threats, through an analysis of a Forest Service land exchange outside the Grand Canyon National Park.

Common Property and Resource Management

Most people in today’s society are familiar with the idea of private property, in which an individual has ownership of a resource and the rights and responsibilities associated with that ownership. Public property is also a concept with which most are familiar, wherein the state owns a resource and may allow the public certain rights of use. Less familiar is the concept of common property, or shared ownership. A common property resource is one which a group owns collectively. In essence, common property resources are shared private property (McKean and Ostrom 1995). With a common

property resource (CPR) there is a recognizable group of users with rights to the benefit stream. Geores (1996) identifies three elements of a common property resource:

1. A defined resource
2. A group of people with the recognized right to use the resource and the ability to exclude others (McCay and Acheson 1987; Ostrom 1990)
3. A management plan aimed at the sustainable use of the resource (Geores 1996).

CPR resources exist within an integrated physical and social context. Thus, a CPR study requires a thorough identification of the resource's physical, socioeconomic, cultural, and political context. The process of defining a resource can be quite complex, especially regarding multiple use resources such as National Forests (Geores 2003; Price 1990). In some cases, the most effective way of defining a resource is determining its use and therefore creating an operationalized definition for each CPR.

Ownership in a CPR does not require a legal title. In the case of a CPR, ownership denotes the right to the stream of benefits originating from those resources. The security of this benefit stream is dependent on others respecting it. (Bromley and Cernea 1989). Individuals in the group receive full benefits of the resource use, while the group in its entirety assumes the full cost of this use. To prevent individual greed from taking over the collective good, common institutions govern individual behavior and allow for the exclusion of others, a critical element of ownership. Such rules and regulations are particularly important since CPRs are subtractable, meaning one person's use of the resource subtracts from others' ability to use the resource.

Sustainability of a resource requires management focused on the long-term viability of the resource. Confusion over CPRs and questions regarding their sustainability stem from Garrett Hardin's seminal 1968 *Science* article, "The Tragedy of

the Commons.” Hardin’s “Tragedy” became a well-known parable throughout environmental and resource management literature. The example he used to describe depletion and degradation of CPRs was the unhindered use of a public grazing area where residents exploited the resource to maximize profits by adding more sheep to the pasture, eventually resulting in the degradation of the resources.

Hardin’s “Tragedy of the Commons” predicted that common property ownership would fail due to the greed and self-interest of resource users who are frequently tempted to free-ride. Undeniably, greed and self-interest aided in the degradation of Hardin’s pasture, but this resource was not managed as a CPR is, with members and regulations capable of excluding others. Hardin’s “Tragedy” was not specific to common property per se, but was the result of the inability to exclude people. Resources that have this inability to exclude others are otherwise known as open access resources. Essentially, an open access resource is one in which property rights and use of the resource are not defined (NRC 2002). Hardin has acknowledged that the tragedy he described was one of an unmanaged resource (Hardin 1998). Since the publication of Hardin’s article, the debate has moved from promotion of privatization and government control of resources to a greater understanding of how CPRs function and the institutions that determine their failure or success.

The case study approach to commons research has helped to identify many of the conditions that lead either to the success or failure of CPR regimes. This research largely deals with local fisheries, forests, agricultural areas, and irrigation (Acheson 1988; Price 1990; Geores 1998; Hanna 2003; Fernandez-Gimenez 2002; Potkanski and Adams 1998). More recent commons research has expanded into global scale commons that help answer

the questions dealing with increased world population and technological advances where physical and biological process have major effects both spatially and temporally (Berkes 2002; Young 2002). These studies cross spatial scales when looking at global consequences of local action, including such pervasive issues as that of global climate change associated with greenhouse gas emission (Farrell and Morgan 2003; Harrison and Matson 2001; Tietenberg 2002).

As the spatial and temporal scales of common property research have expanded, so have the ideas of what constitutes a community. A greater number of people are well-informed and interested in resource use and management. These stakeholders cross political borders, bringing the attention and participation of the global community into local governance (Burger 2001; Ostrom 1996; 2001). The impact of the mass media and the requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA) in the United States has also increased the number of stakeholders interested in public land management as well as their ability to participate. NEPA (42 USC § 4332, Sec. 102) requires a detailed statement that includes:

- i. The environmental impact of major federal actions that significantly affect the quality of the human environment,
- ii. Identification of adverse environmental effects which cannot be avoided should the proposal be implemented,
- iii. Alternatives to the proposed action.

In addition, NEPA requires public notification and a public comment period for major federal actions. Any interested party may participate in these comment periods whether they are local, regional, national, or even international. In the creation of management plans for public land resources, all have the same legal right to have their

issues and concerns heard and addressed by the public land agency whether or not these opinions are incorporated into the management plan.

More vocal and well-organized users exert power over management policies through their manipulation of the media to gain broader public awareness for their plight. This was the case when the local traditions of a group of Canadian Inuit were interrupted through the power of the media to draw public outcry against their harvesting of seals. Here the international communities were able to exert greater control over local Inuit practices than the local community (Decker and Goff 1987). Yet, power is not always concentrated at this broader scale. Rather, this concentration of power is dependent on the spatial scale of the jurisdictions able to make governing and managing decisions (NRC 1996). Laws governing resource use occur at many scales, but local and regional laws determine factors such as zoning that greatly influence resource use.

The community may change across spatial scales even though the resource itself is fixed in space. Research demonstrates that the user community in CPRs is dynamic rather than fixed (Price 1990; Geores 1998; 1996). Local interests and broader public interests of the community often conflict and create a recursive relationship in which agents as individuals modify social structures such as public land agencies. This relationship between structures and agents, called structuration, was developed by Anthony Giddens and has helped elucidate the relationship between individual and social structures that influence the actions of public land agencies and local governance and that at the same time are affected by these interactions (Geores 1996, Giddens 1986; Giddens 1984).

Public Lands and Common Property

Public lands, though publicly owned, function as CPRs with a user group consisting of stakeholders who have interest in public lands. Citizens are not private owners, but they have the right to use the resource and have membership in the public land community of owners (Geores 1996). Stakeholders include direct resource users in National Forests, such as those with logging contracts or mineral leases; recreationists in both the National Forests and Parks; environmental organizations on multiple scales; gateway communities; local businesses; concessionaires; and tourists of the past, present, and future, among others. The government owns and manages the National Forests and National Parks that it holds in trust for the American public. National Forests and National Parks are also a common property resource when those who use and manage them are community members with a common definition of the resources (Geores 1996). In both cases, the general “public” has expectations of access and use. In the parks, this access is limited to recreational purposes, whereas the public has greater accessibility for recreational and extractive uses in the National Forests. Yet, in both cases, these public lands are CPRs having defined resources and a group of people with recognizable rights of use. The third element identified by Geores (1996) as part of a CPR is a management plan aimed at the sustainable use of the resource. Sustainability is an assumed goal of a CPR, and though it is required for American public lands, a management plan is not a requirement for other forms of CPRs

The confusion created by Hardin over common property resources originally limited the scope of research concerning public lands. The majority of research focused on the government management of National Forests and National Parks, including public

land resources in developing countries (Geores 1996; Johnson and Nelson 2004). Geores' (1996) research bridged the gap between CPR research and public lands by studying how the forest user community plays an essential role in defining the nature of the resource. The government owns the forest but gives the community a range of rights, including the right to access, the right to the withdrawal of products or benefit stream, and the right to exclude others (Ostrom 1990, 2001; McCay and Acheson 1987).

The community of National Forest users participates in a CPR management scheme. They have the right to the benefit stream originating from the resource. These rights include the withdrawal of timber and minerals with a permit and participation in the creation and formulation of the forest plan (Mohai 1995; Malmshemer, Keele et al. 2004; Coulombe 2004). In addition, with National Forests there is the ability to exclude some people from direct withdrawal of resources by the selective issuance of permits (Coulombe 2004).

The federal government manages the National Parks with a focus on recreation as the primary use of the resource. Generally, there is a very wide constituency of resource users. Everyone has access to the resource for recreational purposes, constrained by time limits set by the National Park Service and the ability to pay increasing entrance fees. The benefit stream associated with the parks is less tangible than that of the National Forests since park products consist of recreational rather than strictly physical resources. An individual's use of the resource does not take away the ability of others to use the park *en masse*; however, it does detract from the park experience for all users (Lowry 1997). This is the case with traffic, air quality, and noise pollution in the parks (Lowry 1994; Holding and Kreutner 1998; Peini and Randolph 1995; Miller 1999).

National Parks can limit access and have experimented with these methods in recent years through user fees and implementation of mass transit in California's Yosemite National Park (Raley and Wilcox 1998). Public lands can be complex common property resources having both multiple uses and multiple definitions. For all their differences, since the passing of NEPA, the National Parks have a responsibility to the public like that of the National Forests: to actively seek and consider public comments and to incorporate the views of stakeholders in decision-making (Hibbard and Madsen 2003). This responsibility to include the public expands the number of stakeholders and thus the number of resource users since a defined user group is one of the cornerstones of an effective CPR. In this way, the public inclusion requirements of NEPA create a large constituency or membership in the CPR.

This research explores the partnerships between the National Park Service and the Forest Service, and the link that the public land agencies forge with local and regional institutions and interest groups in promoting the public interest in a Forest Service land exchange. Essential to this study is the identification of the locus of control of the resource, the definition of the community, and the broader institutional interference and support of local institutions. This study utilizes a resource management framework developed by Ronald Oakerson to demonstrate the interactions between stakeholders and land managers in a National Forest land exchange between the Kaibab National Forest in Northern Arizona and a private land developer (Oakerson 1992). This framework is explained further in Chapter Three. The proximity of the Kaibab National Forest to the Grand Canyon National Park increases the number of stakeholders and the complexity of the land exchanges.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter describes the research design used in this study. In the first section, the conceptual framework is presented. Then the mixed methodological approach is outlined. Finally, the multiple data sources utilized and their collection techniques are described.

Conceptual Framework

The Canyon Forest Village land exchange presents an interesting case study of public participation in the land exchange process. The public process spanned a decade, culminating in Forest Service approval and county approval of a zoning change before defeat by a referendum. The Grand Canyon National Park's management objectives became an integral part of the proposed development, as did the involvement of environmental organizations. In the end, a referendum empowered the local communities of Flagstaff, Williams, and Tusayan to prevent the land exchange.

To perform this study, it was essential to understand the sociopolitical and economic context of the area in which the land exchange would take place. This analysis required an exploration of the meanings and identity associated with place (Tuan 1977; Morehouse 1996), the dynamics involved between stakeholders (Marcouiller 1997), the use management, and the interactions between the Grand Canyon National Park and the adjacent Kaibab National Forest. The extent of community participation as stakeholders also required exploration (Young 1996). Living within the community acted to enhance the researcher's understanding of the full context of the social discourse. This

phenomenological perspective allowed the researcher to discover naturally arising meanings using the context of experience (Berg 2001; Relph 1981).

The situation presented by the proposed land exchange offered an opportunity to explore the interactions and relationships of various stakeholders utilizing public land. The conceptual framework used to analyze these complex relationships and interactions was an adapted version of the Oakerson Framework (Oakerson 1992).

Ronald Oakerson developed this framework to analyze common property resources. Common property ownership differs from ownership that is purely public or purely private in that there is a limited group of users who both have access to the benefit stream from the resource and participate in the management of it. Though National Forests are publicly owned, “ownership is entirely different from having legal title to a piece of land over which you have a great deal of control” (Geores 1996, 12). For consideration as a common property resource the boundaries of the resource must be defined, and the group using the resource must be recognized internally and also have the ability to exclude others. Geores (1996; 1998) demonstrated the applicability of the framework in focusing attention on the multiple-use nature of National Forest management, integrating the physical and social contexts.

The resources in this study include the public lands owned and managed by the National Park Service and the National Forest Service in the Greater Grand Canyon Area. Though the resources are publicly owned, the National Environmental Policy Act and the Multiple Use Sustained Yield Act require inclusion of the public in the planning process. This legislation allows groups to exercise control over public land decisions.

“The process of formulating a conceptual framework forces the researcher

to be selective—to decide which variables are most important, which relationships are likely to be most meaningful, and, as a consequence, what information should be analyzed—at least at the outset” (Miles and Huberman 1994).

The Oakerson framework was used to collect information and analyze it. Its applicability arises from its specificity (Figure 2). This specificity offers “a systematic approach to the study of phenomena that has great variation” and enough built-in generality to make it applicable to a broad range of situations (Oakerson 1992, 42). The four variables Oakerson (1981, 1992) uses to describe common property include the physical resource, the decision-making arrangement of the stakeholders, the patterns of interaction between them, and the outcomes of that interaction. The relationships between these variables elucidate why particular outcomes occurred and aid in drawing wider conclusions.

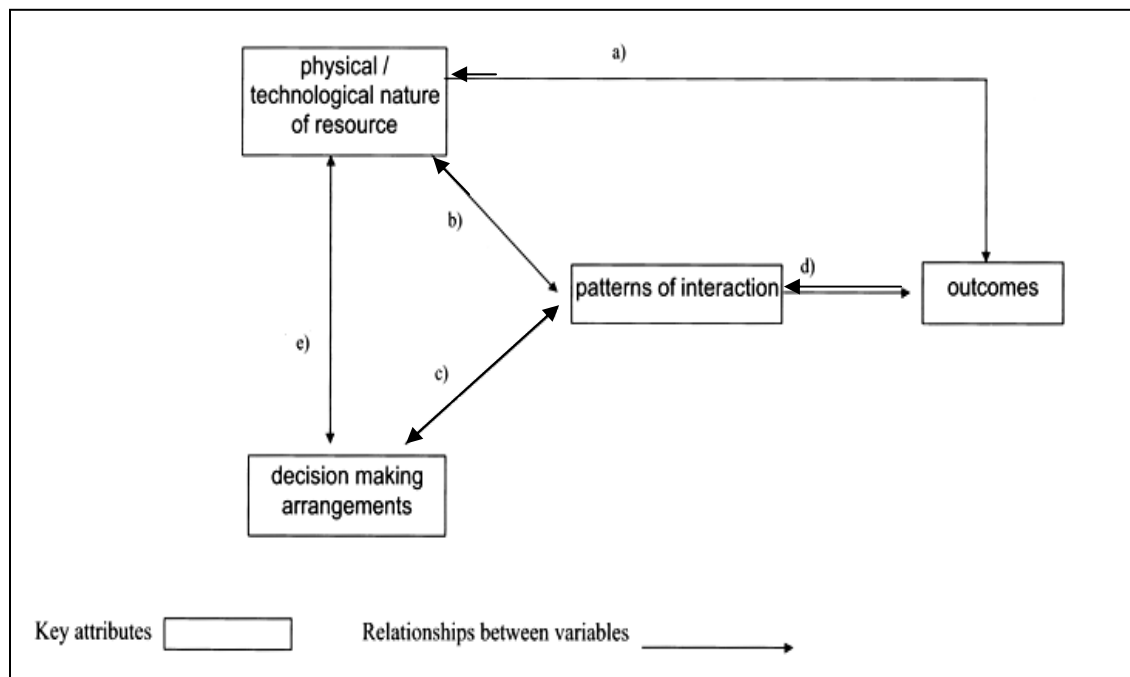


Figure 2: Framework for Analyzing Stakeholder Negotiations in Public Land Management Decisions
 Source: Oakerson 1992

This resource allocation framework demonstrates the importance of each individual stakeholder’s interaction as well as the impact of these connections on the resource itself.

Each stakeholder had a distinctive objective and a strategy to meet those aims. A combination of factors determined by the interactions, goals, and objectives of individual actors affects the natural resources of both the National Forest and the National Park. Furthermore, recursive and multidirectional relationships between stakeholders are the essence of negotiating power. Relationships between stakeholders are seldom unidirectional, especially in public land management decisions where resources have multiple uses and a variety of stakeholders operating on multiple scales are involved (Price 1990). Negotiating divergent viewpoints requires a recursive dialogue. Therefore, it was necessary to analyze interactions between stakeholders in isolation from and in conjunction with each other.

According to Anthony Giddens (1984), all resources have authoritative and allocative aspects. Authoritative aspects are “power attributes,” while allocative aspects are referred to as “material attributes” (Geores 1998). While examining the relationship among stakeholders, the researcher explored how effectively stakeholders manipulated or utilized power to achieve their goals. Scale becomes an important consideration when looking at the authoritative characteristics of the land exchange. Operational scale, or “the scale at which phenomena being studied is observed,” is of greatest concern to the researcher (Geores 2003, 81). When choosing the scale for a study, one must identify and consider events “in the context of events and phenomena not visible, but still occurring at coarser and finer scales” (Geores 2003, 81).

Political ecology provides a foundation for the overall structure underlying the resource allocation framework used in this research. Political ecology seeks to understand how political and environmental interactions influence stakeholders at differing scales (Blaikie and Brookfield 1987). The relationship between stakeholders and the

environmental and political situation from which the land exchange proposal arose were pivotal to understanding the land exchange process in this context. Stonich (1998) writes that the focus of political ecology is on the power held by stakeholders at multiple scales. Policy is not created in a vacuum: it is dependent on both internal and external factors of the locality. The researcher examined such factors through local literature, newspapers, government documents, and interviews and used a resident survey to isolate the power relationships between stakeholders who negotiated and compromised at local, regional, and national levels. The researcher examined the relationships and power assumed by individuals, agencies, and other organizations with a variety of interests.

Utilization of a mixed methodology approach allowed for a deeper exploration of natural resource use according to the principles of power structure between agents and the interactions among stakeholders. The term “mixed methodology” refers to the integration and synthesis of a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods (Winchester 1999; Winchester 2000; Creswell 2003). The mixed method approach permits confirmation and validation of multiple data sources through triangulation (Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998; Creswell 2003). The complexity of this approach arises from the collection of a significant amount of data from varying sources and the extensive time spent analyzing this material (Creswell 2003). The methodology used here was a mixture of direct participant observation, analysis of the written record, a series of semi-structured open-ended interviews of stakeholders with direct involvement, and a survey of residents living in the city of Williams, Arizona. The combined use of these methods “is based firmly within the hegemonic analytical framework of human geography” (Winchester 1999, 60).

To be able to interpret the findings it was necessary to gather enough knowledge of the locality, relationships, and interactions to “frame an understanding of particular events” (Ley and Mountz 2001). The researcher accomplished this through intensive fieldwork in 2004, after which the collected data were placed into the full spatial and temporal context of the locality that is the Greater Grand Canyon Area (Harris 1978). Use of these qualitative methods empowered the researcher “to understand the subjective meaning of social actions rather than to merely recount its superficial characteristics” (Winchester 1999, 61). Content analysis of the land exchange discourse and interviews were the essential links in exploring structures and meanings to derive causal explanations of the social phenomena that occurred (Winchester 1999; Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998). At the same time, the use and analysis of survey data complements and supplements other data sources and aids in triangulation. Triangulation allows for the crosschecking of results from various sources of data (Burgess 1982; Winchester 1999; Berg 2001).

The research began with a search of the public discourse concerning the proposed land exchange (Appendix A). Through the course of this research, the meanings of the information gathered became apparent. Usually these meanings do not stand out at first. A wide scope of data gathering was performed. Data were relevant if they had a connection to any of the following:

- National Forests
- National Parks
- federal land exchanges
- Grand Canyon National Park
- Northern Arizona economy
- Canyon Forest Village
- special use permits
- tourism
- gateway communities
- western water resources

- federal spending on public lands

The Library of Congress archive of the *Arizona Daily Sun* (ADS), a Flagstaff based newspaper, and the *Arizona Republic* (AZR), a Phoenix based newspaper, provided a great deal of information concerning the regional and local context of the process. The National Agricultural Library was a source for the published records of the actions of the Kaibab National Forest administrators concerning the Forest Plan and the land exchange. The collection plan was to gather as much of the written record as possible from these initial sources and then supplement this material with a resident survey and interviews of key informants. Additional sources of data included the planning office in Coconino County, Northern Arizona University's Cline Library, the Kaibab National Forest offices in Williams, and the library of the Grand Canyon National Park.

Some of the subjects interviewed had their own collections of information on CFV and were willing to share their archives and reports. These sources included an independent analysis of the economic forecasts used by the Forest Service to create the supplement to the Draft EIS for Tusayan Growth (BBC 1998) and surveys of visitor use of the Kaibab National Forest performed by Northern Arizona University's School of Forestry.

The completeness of different collections of information regarding the land exchange depended on the value given by the party collecting it. No records were comprehensive. The Forest Service offices in Williams, Arizona, had purged its files of inconsequential information the previous year. Coconino County's Community Development office had an extensive collection of information from its deals with the developer and the County's Board of Supervisors. The County stored their information in

two large boxes. Therefore, the information from the Forest Service and County archives became very valuable in elucidating the internal workings and decision-making criteria of the members working on the CFV project and their feelings about its feasibility.

Collection of much of the primary data originated from an examination of ten years of the *Williams Grand Canyon News* (WGCN). The WGCN publishes stories of local and regional interest in Northern Arizona, specifically Williams, Tusayan, Grand Canyon, Paige, and Vale, and was thus able to present a local point of view about the Canyon Forest Village Project. The letters to the editor were of particular value, originating from some of the stakeholders mentioned by subjects interviewed as well as the subjects themselves. Thus, these editorials gave a voice to those individuals not interviewed. The types of articles found in the newspaper were generally about resource use in the Kaibab National Forest and the Grand Canyon National Park. Many other articles dealt with visitor numbers to the National Park, employment statistics, and hotel occupancy rates. In addition, public meetings concerning a host of National Forest initiatives were announced in advance, and changes of dates concerning these meetings were also reported far in advance. The newspapers also reported the results of these public meetings.

Interviewing and Surveying

The researcher identified key stakeholders and participants in the land exchange process through exploratory research concerning the written discourse. For interviews, the researcher targeted an initial list of important stakeholders and divided them into groups representing their interests (see Table 1). These groups included the Forest Service, the Park Service, Coconino County, the Sierra Club, pro-CFV environmental

groups, the Grand Canyon Trust, the gateway communities, and the developer (Appendix B). It was anticipated that a given subject would identify co-participants for further interviews. This opportunistic sampling, called “snowballing,” allowed the researcher to “take advantage of the unexpected” (Bradshaw and Stratford 2000, 44). In concluding each interview, the researcher asked the subject to identify others involved in the land exchange process.

Table 1: List of Initial Interview Subjects

<p>Public Officials</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arizona Congresswomen • Flagstaff Mayor • Flagstaff City councilman • Williams Mayor • Grand Canyon National Park official • Kaibab National Forest official • Representative from the Havasupai Tribe <p>Canyon Forest Village</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Canyon Forest Village developer <p>Grand Canyon Associations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grand Canyon Trust • Museum of Northern Arizona <p>Nonprofit Organizations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sierra Club, Grand Canyon Chapter • National Parks and Conservation Association • Kaibab Institute – CFV watchdog citizens group <p>Political Action Committee</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spokesperson for “No on CFV”

Eventually each of the individuals interviewed began to repeat the views of those whom he/she selected as key stakeholders. This sampling allowed the researcher to be

confident that the interviewing process was thorough and complete. Semi-structured in-depth interviews shed light on the complex issues involved and aid in identification of significant issues (Bradshaw and Stratford 2000). The purpose of sampling in qualitative research is not to be representative, but rather to allow for reflexivity (Bradshaw and Stratford 2000; Winchester 2000).

News accounts from local papers aided the process of selecting interview subjects and yielded a first look at the parties involved. The selection process began with those who repeatedly gave statements to the press or who wrote letters to the editor. The interviews delved deeper into the hidden meanings, emotions, and agendas of the representative groups. News accounts alone do not have the power to capture the intricacies of the public's feelings during the land exchange process. In addition, having people view the process in retrospect presents an effective method of capturing important details and innuendo absent during the process. Viewing a situation in hindsight also frees subjects from defensively guarding their own views and may give people the ability to see more clearly the pros and cons of each position.

Interviewing of stakeholders elucidated the major issues revolving around the land exchange process. Surveying was used as a method of augmenting and verifying some of the information gathered through the interviews. The survey gave a voice both to those residents active in the land exchange process and to those who were not. This was especially important since the majority of the community did not necessarily play an active role in public discourse. These individuals still had strong opinions regarding the topic discussed. In order to explore community and stakeholder participation, the perspective of the community as a whole required sampling. Based on community

characteristics, the researcher made the decision to survey the city of Williams, as opposed to Flagstaff or Tusayan, which she deemed unacceptable choices for surveying about the land exchange.

Tusayan, a small community of 562, presented a unique barrier to collecting unbiased survey data. The researcher targeted Tusayan originally due to its proximity to the National Park, its size, and the fact the land exchange would enable the development of a competing gateway community in close proximity to the existing city of Tusayan. The researcher disproved the supposition of no bias after numerous interviews subjects described the residents of Tusayan as temporary seasonal workers. These employees have a dependent relationship on those who own 80% of the land area. Real estate in Tusayan is predominantly renter-occupied with only 11% of the housing owner-occupied. In addition, according to the 2000 Census, 67% of the population over the age of five did not live within Coconino County prior to 1995. Due to the strong ties between the residents and their employers, as well as the high degree of resident turnover, the researcher felt a bias existed in Tusayan.

Flagstaff suffers from a lack of employment opportunities for its citizens and consequently lacks the population stability necessary to gauge the community's perception of a ten-year land exchange process. Since 1999, the turnover rate of the population of Flagstaff is 37% (Census 2000). The presence of Northern Arizona State University and a host of seasonal jobs associated with tourism make individuals in Flagstaff transient relative to those in Williams. As such, it would be difficult to find a sample in Flagstaff that included enough individuals present throughout the land exchange discourse.

Williams is 57 miles away from the entrance to the Grand Canyon National Park. It is not as large a city as Flagstaff, nor as close to the park as Tusayan. Nonetheless, Williams became the focal point for surveying due to its low rate of resident turnover and strong sense of community. Since the land exchange process continued throughout the 1990s, it was important to find a relatively stable community to sample. Compared to its neighboring communities, Williams presented an ideal locality to sample resident's views of the land exchange process.

To determine the sample size used, the researcher obtained a list of residents from the local tax roles from the Coconino County tax assessor's office. The researcher purged all multiple name listings, hotels, businesses, government offices, corporations, churches, and owners whose addresses were outside of the city of Williams proper from the survey list. According to Census 2000 statistics, Williams has a population of 2,842, and after cleaning the address list, 829 names remained. In Williams, there are 639 owner-occupied housing units according to the 2000 census. The different periods of data collection account for this discrepancy. The tax assessor's office collected data in 2003, three years after compilation of census data. One can speculate that not all owners occupy their homes, or that some individuals own multiple houses under family names. Additionally, the survey overlooked the seasonal population due to the fall administration of the survey.

The researcher assumed that the Williams residents recalled the Canyon Forest Village land exchange and still had strong opinions on the issue. This assumption led to the use of an 80/20 split using the 95th percent confidence level with a 10% sampling error. The researcher used a 10% sampling error due to the economic constraints of the

study. Using this sampling error, it was determined that 58 surveys needed to be collected. A ten percent response rate of deliverable surveys was expected. To determine the survey sample, a random number table generated 359 names from the original 829 names. Residents received the survey and a self-addressed stamped envelope.

Thirty-two people responded to the semi-structured questions in the survey, while 14 were returned as undeliverable (Appendix C). After collecting the surveys, the researcher coded and analyzed responses. Since the survey did not receive a ten percent response rate, it was not statistically significant in itself. Yet, used in conjunction with interviews and content analysis of the written record, the survey illuminates key points of contention over the land exchange process. In addition, many of the comments written by respondents yielded greater insight than the formal questions could have.

Chapter 4: Canyon Forest Village and the Tusayan Land Exchange Process

This chapter is an introduction to the history and planning processes involved in the management of the Kaibab National Forest and the Grand Canyon National Park in order to give a context to the Canyon Forest Village land exchange. The chapter introduces the key stakeholders involved in the discourse and explores their role in shaping the process. Using data collected from local news, interviews, and the Environmental Impact Statement, the land exchange discourse and major concerns of stakeholders are presented and explored. Finally, the results of the land exchange are reflected on and discussed.

The Greater Grand Canyon Area has a long history of economic development. In the 18th century, settlement was sparse and dominated by miners who were permitted to stake claims under the Mining Act of 1866 (See Table 2). Yet it was not until the development of the national railroad that the rate of settlement increased and resulted in the realization of the area's true economic potential. The railroad laid the foundation for the timber and ranching industries and also for a tourist economy. Tourism development became an early business venture for miners (Anderson 2000). Rather than prospect for land rich in minerals, early capitalists specifically staked out mining claims that offered the best views and easiest access to the canyon. The Mining Act was quite liberal in that it allowed settlers to stake numerous claims and therefore became a favorite of ranchers and mineral and tourism prospectors (Anderson 2000). Individuals continued to stake

mining claims in mineral-poor areas with strategic access to the canyon. They built cabins, hotels, campgrounds, trails, and roads connecting gateway communities.

Consequently, development occurred in a haphazard fashion with no true infrastructure (Howe and McMahon 1997). Area accessibility increased with the opening of a rail line, the Grand Canyon Railway, which included a transfer station in Williams and led straight to the Canyon, providing much easier access (Anderson 2000). Previously, visitors had to endure a two-day trip by wagon from the rail junctions in Flagstaff, Williams, or Ash Fork. Accessibility ceased to be a hindrance in 1930 with completion of U.S. Route 66 (KNF 2002) (see Figure 3).

Table 2: History of Public Land Legislation

1862	Homestead Act
1866	Mining Act
1891	Forest Reserve Act passed by Congress, administered by Department of the Interior
1897	Organic Act, created the Forest Service
1905	Forest Service established; Forest Reserves transferred to the Department of Agriculture
1906	American Antiquities Act, authorizing the President to create National Monuments.
1911	Weeks Act
1916	National Park Service created
1960	Multiple Use Sustained Yield Act
1965	Land and Water Conservation Fund established
1969	National Environmental Policy Act, requires federal agencies to undergo an Environmental Impact Assessment
1976	National Forest Management Act
1988	Federal Land Exchange Facilitation Act, uniform rules for land exchanges

As the Grand Canyon area developed, a national conservation movement began growing out of a desire to protect resources from exploitation (Anderson 2002; Nash 1967). The conservation movement set the stage for the Forest Reserve Act of 1891, giving the President authority to establish forest reserves from public domain lands. This legislation helped change the ownership patterns of the land now known as the Grand

Canyon National Park and the Kaibab National Forest (Cameron 1972; Steen 1976) (see Table 3). President Harrison created the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve in 1893. The remaining portion of the reserve was transferred from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture in 1905 and was renamed the Grand Canyon Forest in 1907 (Anderson 2002). Private development did not end until 1908, when Roosevelt designated a part of the Reserve as a National Monument. Some individuals retained private ownership within the present-day National Forest, as private inholdings, and



Figure 3: Highway 66 across the Kaibab National Forest. *Source: USFS, Southwestern Regional Office files in Albuquerque; Kaibab National Forest Historic Photographs, photograph by King 1937.*

within the National Park in an area known as Grand Canyon Village. In 1910, part of the original Forest Reserve was combined with other forest lands and called the Tusayan National Forest, later renamed the Kaibab National Forest. Through all these changes in land designations, locals were an integral part of the public land community and provided many of the tourism facilities for visitors, since budget shortfalls were pervasive for both

the National Parks and the National Forests. The budget did not allow for extensive infrastructure and facility development. However, the forest rangers saw a way to get around this in the 1920s: they began to work more closely with corporate entities, as these entities were “willing to work with forest supervisors, to accept long-term leases, rather than property ownership, and to spend liberally to develop quality tourism infrastructure” (Anderson 2002, 8).

The Kaibab National Forest

Much of the Kaibab National Forest is intertwined with that of the Grand Canyon National Park, both having been carved out of the original Grand Canyon National Forest and Grand Canyon Game Reserve. The Grand Canyon Forest Reserve became part of the Tusayan National Forest in 1910. In 1934, this area became the Tusayan District of the Kaibab National Forest (KNF 2002). Today, the Kaibab National Forest administers 1,394,656 acres of land in Northern Arizona adjacent to the Grand Canyon National Park (KNF 1986) (Figure 1, page 2). With the passing of the National Forest Management Act in 1976, the Forest Service is required to create and implement a resource management plan for each unit of the National Forest System based on multiple-use, sustained-yield principles. To develop this plan the Forest Service must coordinate with other federal agencies and state and local governments to manage its land in an economically efficient manner that is responsive to the changing social and economic climate of the country as well as the changing conditions of the land itself (KNF 1986).

Accordingly, the Forest Plan must also consider immediate and long-term effects on the local economy (KNF 1986). There was great concern over the allocation of 479,132 acres of the total 490,368 acres of timberland for timber harvest in the Kaibab

National Forest’s 1987 plan (KNF 1988). Other issues of public concern included grazing rights and range allocation, particularly the impact of forest uses on the adjacent Grand Canyon National Park (KNF 1988). Different parties with a variety of special interests took advantage of the opportunity to comment on forest management goals, each vying for the use of their own interpretations of and interests in the forest plan (KNF 1988). These interests included the Sierra Club that pressured for preservation of the forest to the extent of protecting it from grazing, timber, and mining uses, and local logging companies asking that timber harvesting rates be maintained at the status quo (KNF 1988). The Forest Service manages the National Forests for multiple uses, and these uses are not always exclusive. Many of the uses overlap, and such is the case when land provides habitat while also providing recreational opportunities, or a hunting ground.

Table 3: Development of the Grand Canyon National Park and the Kaibab National Forest

<p>1893 Benjamin Harrison created the Grand Canyon National Forest and Game Reserve 1906 Grand Canyon Game Reserve created by Roosevelt 1907 The Grand Canyon Game Reserve is transferred to the Department of Agriculture and renamed Grand Canyon Forest 1908 President Theodore Roosevelt designated the Grand Canyon a National Monument 1910 The Grand Canyon Forest Reserve became part of the Tusayan National Forest. 1919 Grand Canyon became National Park 1934 Tusayan National Forest combined with National Forest land north of the Grand Canyon creating the Kaibab National Forest 1956 Construction approved by Congress for the Glen Canyon Dam 1964 The Glen Canyon Dam completed 1987 Kaibab National Forest Plan adopted 1995 Grand Canyon National Park Management Plan adopted</p>

The Forest Service is required to balance multiple uses and to manage resources in conjunction with other federal and state agencies. Having the Grand Canyon National Park as a neighbor places a great responsibility on the Forest Service and necessitates

cooperation between the two entities (Gericke and Sullivan 1994). The National Park, surrounded by the Kaibab National Forest, is impacted by forest usages including mining's effect on air quality and the effects of cattle grazing on visitor perception (KNF 1988).

To address many of the problems the National Park has with visitor pressures, the Forest Service has the ability to issue special-use permits that allow use of its lands for other purposes, provided the use of the areas serves the public interest, promotes public health and safety, and protects the environment (USFS 1999). Special-use permits cover a wide range of purposes, from recreation to the building of schools when the land base is not adequate in the community (USFS 1999). In 1947, the Kaibab Lodge was built on forestland with a special-use permit. More recently, a golf course in the Kaibab exists due to a special-use permit (Figure 4). The Forest Service's interpretation of the public interest, public health and safety, and environmental protection is broad, as are the uses for which the Forest Service issues permits. In the 1987 plan, the Forest Service expressed its willingness, if necessary, to grant special-use permit authority to allow development of a railhead, parking lot, and transportation facilities for the Grand Canyon National Park (KNF 1988).

Besides allowing the use of forestland through permits, the Forest Service has the authority to exchange federal lands for private lands if such exchanges are in the public's interest and the lands are of equal value. The Forest Service uses these land exchanges to acquire private inholdings within the forest boundary without having to buy the land outright. The agency exchanges these peripheral lands for inholdings in order to consolidate federal land holdings and simplify management (Draffan and Blaeloch 2000).

Often, the forestlands that are traded are used for resource extraction or development (Draffan and Blaeloch 2000). In recent years, the Forest Service has experimented with utilizing the land exchanges to steer development outside its boundaries by placing



Figure 4: 1947—Kaibab Lodge, a special use resort. *Source: USFS, Southwestern Regional Office files in Albuquerque; Kaibab National Forest Historic Photographs, photograph L. J. Prater 1947.*

covenants and conditions on the federal lands it trades (Ragsdale1999). Federal land surrounds many towns and communities, and the land exchange mechanism offers an attractive method for expanding the private land base. This has the potential to benefit public lands, especially National Parks bordering forestlands. Throughout the 1990s, the Kaibab National Forest experimented with using a land exchange to steer development in a manner beneficial to the adjacent Grand Canyon National Park.

Although the Grand Canyon National Park and Kaibab National Forest share similar roots, the management practices of their respective agencies diverge. The National Park System under its early park managers was purely interested in preserving

scenic wonders for the American public (Runte 1987). In 1919, Congress designated the Grand Canyon National Park for the “benefit and enjoyment of the public” (Runte 1987). The National Parks mission diverged from that of the Forest Service in that it substitutes the nontraditional economy of tourism for extractive multiple uses permitted in the National Forests (Anderson 2002).

Early prospectors who staked mineral claims in the Grand Canyon Village understood that the lure of the canyon would bring economic stimulus to the area in the form of tourism. Therefore, when President Woodrow Wilson carved the Grand Canyon National Park out of the Forest Reserve in 1919, the Park Service built the infrastructure necessary to accommodate increasing numbers of tourists. The growing population, the introduction of the automobile, and increased affluence and leisure after World War II all increased park usage. This necessitated the continual upgrading and expansion of services to provide for the needs of the public and its increased desire for accessibility (Anderson 2000). Eventually tourists exceeded the capacity of the new structural improvements and the parks themselves suffered.

In 1955, the Park Service’s desire for increased accessibility to the public manifested itself in a new program, known as Mission 66. This represented a ten-year plan to rehabilitate the National Parks for their fiftieth anniversary and reverse the widespread neglect of the parks during the Depression Era (Anderson 2000; Sellars 1997; Ise 1961; Rettie 1995). Throughout the National Parks, the Park Service built visitor centers and improved roads and facilities. However, Mission 66 proved too successful and led to a situation of induced demand. Essentially, this program made the parks even more popular and accessible, resulting in continual overcrowding and resource

degradation. Mission 66 was the most extensive and comprehensive management plan the Park Service had ever developed, yet the parks promptly required even more visitor facilities. The Park Service recognized it would need to move services outside its borders to accommodate future increases in visitation (Ise 1961). Among the many criticisms of Mission 66 was the initiative's scale. It opened parks up to even further development and increased visitor numbers substantially (Sellars 1997; Flint 1998).

However, the Park Service has historically worked to accommodate growing tourist numbers rather than limit (Lowry 1994). Since 1996, Congress has authorized the Park Service, as well as other federal land management agencies, to experiment with user fees and permits at many of the most popular and sensitive parks through the Recreation Fee Demonstration Program (Absher, McCollum, et.al 1999). The Grand Canyon National Park embraces tourism growth. Unfortunately, today the park suffers from a degraded visitor experience and "unacceptable impacts on the park's natural and cultural resources" due to increased traffic congestion and diminished visibility within the park (GCNP 1995, 9).

In its 1995 General Management Plan, the Grand Canyon National Park identified a desire for further development in order to provide for increased visitation. The Management Plan called for compatible development that gives a context to the historic setting and architecture of the area, in addition to providing energy efficiency (GCNP 1995). The Grand Canyon National Park encourages cooperation with surrounding communities to promote planning that is compatible with the park's presence. Placing visitor services outside the park prevents further degradation to the resources inside the park. The plan looks to the gateway community of Tusayan and to the Kaibab National

Forest to alleviate this pressure, eliminate conflicts, and minimize crowding and resource impacts (GCNP 1995).

Throughout the 1990s, the gateway communities of the Grand Canyon National Park and the Kaibab National Forest were enmeshed in a fight to preserve their identities and economies from plans to increase the size and scope of tourism development in Tusayan, the closest gateway community to the Grand Canyon National Park. This battle resulted from the ever-increasing pressure within the Grand Canyon National Park to alleviate overcrowding and the demands on the park's resources that such a large number of tourists generate. Since the 1950s, the parking lot at the park's premier hotel, El Tovar, has remained filled to capacity (Robbins 1999). The Grand Canyon's Management Plan of 1995 called for the development of a privately funded light rail system to alleviate some of the pressure on the park by 2002 (GCNP 1995). In addition, the Park Service sought to upgrade employee housing, since many employees at the time lived in trailers left over from the development of the Glen Canyon Dam in the 1960s, and these accommodations were considered among the "most deplorable in housing found in the entire National Park System" (Robbins 1999). Currently, limited avenues exist through which the parks may address the issues of transportation and employee housing. These options include development inside the park, use of the National Forest via special-use permits, and working with private landowners outside the National Park.

In the late 1980s, a developer from Scottsdale, Arizona, approached the Forest Service about possibly developing forest inholdings to create an outlet shopping center near the community of Tusayan. The developer's proposal was immediately rejected by the Forest Service, and it was suggested that he speak with the Grand Canyon National

Park administrators who were at the time writing the General Management Plan (Interview with CFV developer 2004). The developer could then work in conjunction with the Park to create a development plan that would address the needs that they identified in the Grand Canyon National Park’s General Management Plan (Interview with CFV developer 2004). Years of discussion resulted in Canyon Forest Village, a planned gateway community for the Grand Canyon area, which includes hotels, retail space, government employee housing, and a community infrastructure consisting of churches and schools (Robbins 1999; Leones and Frisvold 2000). Environmental organizations felt CFV provided a demonstration of what a gateway community should be (Interview with GCT conservation director 2004) (See Table 4).

Table 4: Stakeholder Issues and Promises Made by CFV

Kaibab National Forest	Consolidate inholdings, meet GCNP needs without special use permits.
Grand Canyon National Park	Employee housing, mass transit staging area
Grand Canyon Trust	Develop a premier gateway community, part of the Board of Trustees to oversee CFV
Sierra Club	Use of groundwater and development outside the GCNP
Native American Tribes (Havasupai and Hopi)	Protect the seeps and springs of the Grand Canyon, and Havasui Falls, given a Native American market place within CFV
Tusayan, Williams, and Flagstaff	Economic competition with CFV, use of groundwater, and the land exchange value
Museum of Northern California	Administration of INSIGHT interpretive museum within CFV

The community of Tusayan, complete with hotels, restaurants, and souvenir shops, serves as the home of 562 residents. People traveling to the Grand Canyon National Park must drive past Tusayan, located seven miles south of the park. This prime

location permits Tusayan to serve a large percentage of tourists visiting the Canyon. The cities of Williams and Flagstaff also consider themselves gateways to the Grand Canyon. The city of Williams went so far as to copyright the phrase “Gateway to the Grand Canyon.” Each of these communities, located in Coconino County, Arizona, had a stake in the negotiation process prior to the creation of Canyon Forest Village.

Coconino County determines land use decisions for the community of Tusayan, which spans 28.6 acres, since it is not an incorporated city. Its economy relies primarily on tourism, specifically lodging and shopping. The administrative offices of the Kaibab National Forest are located in Williams, 60 miles from the national park. Williams has its own golf course, skiing area, museum, and is home of the Grand Canyon Railroad. The railroad created the impetus behind the formation of settlements and towns such as Williams. The Grand Canyon Railroad opened in 1901 this increased access to mining claims and soon made the Grand Canyon a tourist Mecca since it ran between Williams and the Grand Canyon (see Figure 5). Flagstaff, in comparison, sits 80 miles from the Grand Canyon and represents a greater economic diversity. It is the center of government activity for Northern Arizona, and is home to Northern Arizona University and the Flagstaff Medical Center, the largest medical center in Northern Arizona. In addition, the medical products division of Gore, the leading manufacturer advanced technology, employs the largest percentage of Flagstaff workers (Interview with former mayor of Flagstaff 2004). Even with this diversification, one third of Flagstaff’s economy relies on tourism, therefore creating competition with Canyon Forest Village.

Atmosphere of Change

Throughout the late 1980s and 1990s, there was a swarm of activity in Northern Arizona (see Table 5). In 1987, the Forest Service revised its Forest Plan; in 1991, the Park Service began writing its General Management Plan; and in 1994, Coconino County adopted the Tusayan Area Plan that gave direction to the Canyon’s gateway community. The plans written by the Forest Service and Coconino County acknowledged the Grand Canyon National Park’s pressing resource management issues that materialized as a result of record visitation numbers.



Figure 5: The Grand Canyon Railway. *Source: Author, January 2004.*

During the peak summer tourist season “6,500 cars a day compete for 2,400 parking spaces” (HCN 1997). Visitor parking and traffic congestion became such a problem at one point that the press humorously referred to the situation as the “Grand Parking Lot” or the Canyon’s “Grand Traffic Problems” (HCN 1994a; Whitman 1999). Accordingly, the General Management Plan’s purpose was to guide the Park Service in managing resources for the next decade (GCNP 1995). Addressing the traffic problems and the

inadequate infrastructure to accommodate a growing number of visitors was of key importance to the Park. To alleviate visitor pressure on the Grand Canyon National Park, the Park Service realized they needed to work in conjunction with their neighbors. In this way, the Forest Service could encourage compatible growth outside park boundaries to minimize impacts on the park (GCNP 1995). Within the Management Plan the Park Service stated that the

“South Rim should be a model of excellence in planning and management. Alternative means of transportation—walking, biking, or using convenient public transit—should be encouraged. To minimize new disturbance, necessary services and facilities should be provided in existing disturbed areas wherever possible, or *outside the park*. Any new development should be *cost-effective, water-conserving, and energy-efficient, thus reflecting sustainable design concepts*. The park should work cooperatively with the community of Tusayan, Kaibab National Forest, and all the other affected entities near the park to *encourage compatible, aesthetic, and well-planned development* and recreational opportunities and to provide high-quality visitor information and service” (GCNP 1995, emphasis added).

The Secretary of the Interior under the Clinton Administration, Northern Arizona native Bruce Babbitt, advocated a ban on automobile traffic into the Grand Canyon’s South Rim (Yozwiak 1995). He and the Department of the Interior (DOI) took the stance that “roads are the enemies of national parks: they disrupt, divide, and fragment” (HCN 1994b). An alternative was necessary to facilitate a ban on vehicular use and solve the growing traffic problem in the park (HCN 1998). The GCNP decided to utilize a light rail transit system to deliver tourists to the Canyon (Plestina 1993). This light-rail transit system was Bruce Babbitt’s legacy.

Table 5: Land Exchange Development Timeline

1987	Kaibab National Forest Plan calls for acquisition of private inholdings and the use of Forest Service land in the Tusayan Area for community expansion.
1993	Tusayan Growth Environmental Impact Statement process begins.
1994	Tusayan attempts to incorporate; Incorporation is blocked by a lawsuit filed by CFV's developer.
1994	Land exchange proposal submitted for Canyon Forest Village; Forest Service holds public meetings in Arizona on the land exchange proposal in the Tusayan Growth Environmental Impact Statement.
1995	National Park Service Management Plan identified that employee housing, community facilities, and new visitor services can be met outside the park.
1997	Draft Environmental Impact Statement for Tusayan Growth released to the public, includes CFV and seven other development proposals.
1998	Public commented on the Environmental Impact Statement.
1999	August: After the Final Environmental Impact Statement considered and compared a range of alternatives, as required under NEPA and also determined the alternative's compatibility with the Kaibab National Forest's Forest Plan, under the NFMA. The Regional Forester chose "Alternative H", Canyon Forest Village.
1999	September: the city of Flagstaff and the Sierra Club appealed the Regional Forester's decision to the Forest Service's Chief Dombeck.
1999	November: Forest Service's Chief Dombeck affirmed the Regional Forester's decision and rejected appeals; Rezoning hearings heard before Coconino County's Planning Commission.
2000	Referendum held on Proposition 400 that allowed rezoning for CFV; The public voted down CFV's rezoning.
2001	Sierra Club and city of Williams file suit in district and federal court.

Source: *Tusayan Development Timeline*. *Arizona Daily Sun*. November 13, 1999.

In 1995, the Park Service completed the Management Plan. The objectives stated in the Management Plan presented opportunities for collaboration between the park and the Kaibab National Forest which had begun working on the Draft EIS for Tusayan Growth. A great deal of change was on the horizon, and the park initiated and

incorporated much of the innovation discussed into its own vision of the future of the Grand Canyon.

Looking Outside Park Borders

Traffic congestion, though a major problem for the Grand Canyon National Park, was only one of the issues addressed by the Park's Management Plan. Employee housing and relocation of the local school outside the park were other important concerns. The housing situation was dismal, and the trailers that employees lived in were dubbed "dumpsters" (Robbins 1999). This situation was an embarrassment to the GCNP and a personal embarrassment to the Park's Superintendent, Robert Arnsberger (Robbins 1999). In addition, the Grand Canyon School located within the park needed to expand. Rather than continue to use parkland for these purposes, the park expressed interest in meeting these needs through collaboration with its neighbors the Forest Service and Tusayan.

The community of Tusayan, located just eight miles outside of the Grand Canyon's South Rim entrance, used many of the local services located within the GCNP, such as the school, the post office, a church, and a medical clinic. Tusayan residents live on a 140-acre former forest inholding. Nowadays, Tusayan provides lodging, shopping (Figure 6), dining, and some attractions geared towards tourists (see Figures 7-8)



Figure 6: Tourist shops in Tusayan. *Source: Author. January 2004.*



Figure 7: Helicopter tours offered out of Tusayan. *Source: Author. January 2004*



Figure 8: Tusayan's IMAX Theater. *Source: Author. January 2004*

In the 1960s, Tusayan housed employees in mobile home trailers behind local companies. By the mid-1970s, the Tusayan/Grand Canyon area was experiencing an increasing shortage of residential development for housing Tusayan and Park employees. During this time, Coconino County began using trailers as a temporary solution to the housing shortage and issued conditional-use permits permanent housing was developed. This “temporary situation” was still an issue in the 1990s. Terms such as “substandard,” “intolerable,” and “slum” described the housing conditions. In 1994, a survey conducted by the county found that half of the employers surveyed provided employee housing composed of trailers and dormitories (Herrmann 1994b) (see Figure 9).



Figure 9: Employee housing located behind Tusayan businesses. *Source: Author. January 2004.*

Providing affordable housing for employees is difficult in the seasonal tourism industry. Fluctuating employment numbers make the economic costs of investing in employee housing less inviting, as housing remains unused for a good portion of the year. Tusayan has limited acreage of privately owned land, and drilling for additional well water to supply supplementary housing is cost prohibitive. Tusayan's lack of adequate employee housing also stems from the willingness of seasonal employees to ignore substandard accommodations. Though employees were apparently prepared to live under these conditions, Coconino County wanted Tusayan to address the growing problem.

In 1977, the South Grand Canyon Specific Area Study was written and adopted by the county to address the housing situation (Herrmann 1994b). The study set aside 30 acres of land for the development of residences by the 1990s. Before 1992, Tusayan business owners had built only a few of the single-family residences called for in the Specific Area Study. Throughout the 1990s, the press continually bombarded the public

with Tusayan’s lack of progress on the issue and asserted that Tusayan employers’ primary interest lay in commercial development rather than addressing this ongoing concern (Herrmann 1994a). The National Park characterized Tusayan as just another commercial establishment interested in maximizing its profits (see Figure 10).



Figure 10: Hotels in Tusayan. *Source: Author. January 2004.*

Some accusations were made that Tusayan employers relocated employees to a trailer park in another town rather than build more housing (Interview with KNF Forest Lands Staff Officer 2004). The *Williams Grand Canyon News* reported that a few Tusayan employers undervalued their employees and considered them an “expendable nuisance” (Fischer 1996). In March of 1996, the County sent hotel owners an eviction notice regarding four of their rented mobile home spaces that they provided for employees in the Sage Valley Mobile Home Park (Heinonen 1996). The deplorable living conditions of these mobile home units affected the health and safety of their occupants (Heinonen 1996).

A New Way of Doing Business

The housing situation in Grand Canyon Village and Tusayan became such an important public issue during the 1990s in part because a Forest Service land exchange could potentially relieve some of the stresses experienced by the park. During this time, cooperation between the Forest Service and the Park Service began to transform the gateway to the park. Thomas DePaolo, a Scottsdale developer and the managing partner of Grand Canyon Limited Exchange Partnership, proposed a retail-shopping outlet on an inholding within the Kaibab National Forest.

Originally, the developer expressed interest in building an outlet shopping center on an inholding he had acquired. The Forest Service's suggestion that the developer instead consult with the Park Service, shaped the events of the next decade. Instead of building the outlet mall outright, the developer, in conjunction with the Park and Forest Service, Native American tribes, and environmental organizations, shaped a mixed-use planned gateway community that benefited multiple parties and the region as a whole (see Figure 11).

An analysis of the *Williams Grand Canyon News* (WGCN) and the *Arizona Daily Sun* (ADS) illustrated that though initial talks between the Forest Service and the developer began much earlier, the press did not report on the issue until 1993. Though initial discussions between the developer and the Forest Service occurred as early as 1992, the majority of the public debate spanned the years 1994-2001.

The Fight Over Incorporation

In the late 1980s, Tusayan began its first attempt to incorporate into a city. This would allow greater autonomy over Tusayan's development, free from Coconino

County and its zoning ordinances and criticism. The state of Arizona denied Tusayan's application for incorporation because it did not have the minimum population of 1,500. In response, the residents of Tusayan convinced their state representative John Wettaw to

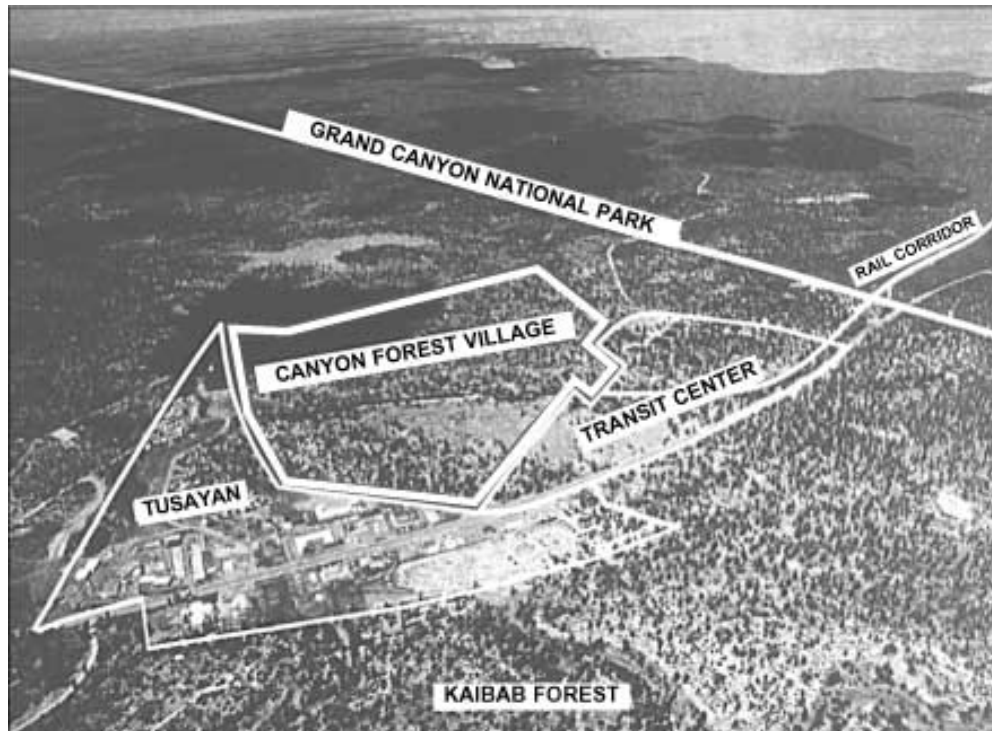


Figure 11: Aerial photo of the Tusayan area and proposed location of Canyon Forest Village. *Source: Canyon Forest Village Information Brochure 1998, Coconino County Community Development Office Archives January 2004.*

sponsor Bill 2014, enacted into Chapter 290 H.B. 2014, which would allow an alternative method of incorporation (*Canyon Forest Village v. Coconino County 1994*). Under this legislation, which was adopted in 1990, incorporation was permitted for communities that had a population of 500 and were located within 15 miles of a National Park. Tusayan again started planning for its future and for a vote on incorporation. Petitions were filed and on July 18, 1994, the County Board of Supervisors called for a vote on Tusayan incorporation (*WGCN 1994c*). The election never occurred, though, because the

developer filed and won a lawsuit, Canyon Forest Village Corporation v. Coconino County et al., claiming Chapter 290 was unconstitutional (WGCN 1994d).

Incorporation was an important issue for Tusayan's business community because incorporation would allow them to determine their own zoning, rather than Coconino County deciding it for them. Since the land exchange required a zoning change, and approval was more likely to come from the County than from Tusayan, this would give Tusayan greater local control over development (Drouin 1994b). The Forest Service was interested in the land exchange because it would help the GCNP address its objectives outlined in the General Management Plan. In his proposal for the land exchange, the developer included a planned community named Canyon Forest Village. CFV incorporated a transportation staging area, affordable employee housing, a community center, a library, a daycare, a police/fire protection service, a post office, an experiential education center, state-of-the-art conservation systems, and land dedicated to a school and house of worship. Since the land exchange was dependent on passage of a zoning change, Tusayan, if incorporated, could dismantle the entire project.

The developer and his supporters felt Tusayan's incorporation was "about a handful of people controlling the destiny of a much larger base" (Drouin 1994a). Tusayan business owners controlled competition within their community by owning a monopoly of private land; the land exchange would have altered this land use pattern. A larger private land base allows more commercial development and increased competition. Incorporation presented an opportunity for Tusayan to defeat the competition before it materialized. However, there were also legal concerns concerning Tusayan incorporation.

The preliminary boundaries for Tusayan's incorporation created acrimony between Tusayan residents and the developer (Interview with CFV developer 2004). The boundaries included a land parcel called "10 X," one of the developer's inholdings with the greatest potential for development (CC 1993) (see Figure 12). By including this inholding, Tusayan not only had the potential to stop the land exchange in its tracks, but also could hinder attempts to develop the inholding later. Chapter 290 of the enabling legislation for incorporation required that incorporated areas exclude large areas of uninhabited or rural land (1990). The court found these boundaries clearly violated Chapter 290 because the boundaries drawn by Tusayan included 13,440 acres, of which only 680 were assessed for taxes, while the remaining acreage was agricultural, vacant, or uninhabited (WGCN 1994a).

Furthermore, the developer claimed that Tusayan did not meet Arizona's requirements for a vote on incorporation (ADS 1994; WGCN 1994c). Article 13 section 2 of the Arizona Constitution requires a community to have at least 3,500 people to incorporate. Tusayan was the only community that fell into the category of having at least 500 residents within 15 miles of a National Park. Consequently, the legitimacy of the legislation was challenged on the grounds that the law applied solely to Tusayan (ADS 1994; AZR 1994a). The County Planning and Zoning Commission also had doubts regarding the legitimacy of Tusayan's incorporation bid (Drouin 1994b; Interview with CC Community Development Director 2004). The Arizona State Court declared the legislation governing this alternative method of incorporation unconstitutional. Thus, Tusayan could not incorporate (WGCN 1994c). The Tusayan business owners prepared to challenge the land exchange by creating a united front. They formed the Grand Canyon

Improvement Association (GCIA) and took the leading role in a campaign against CFV with the slogan “No on Canyon Forest Village.”

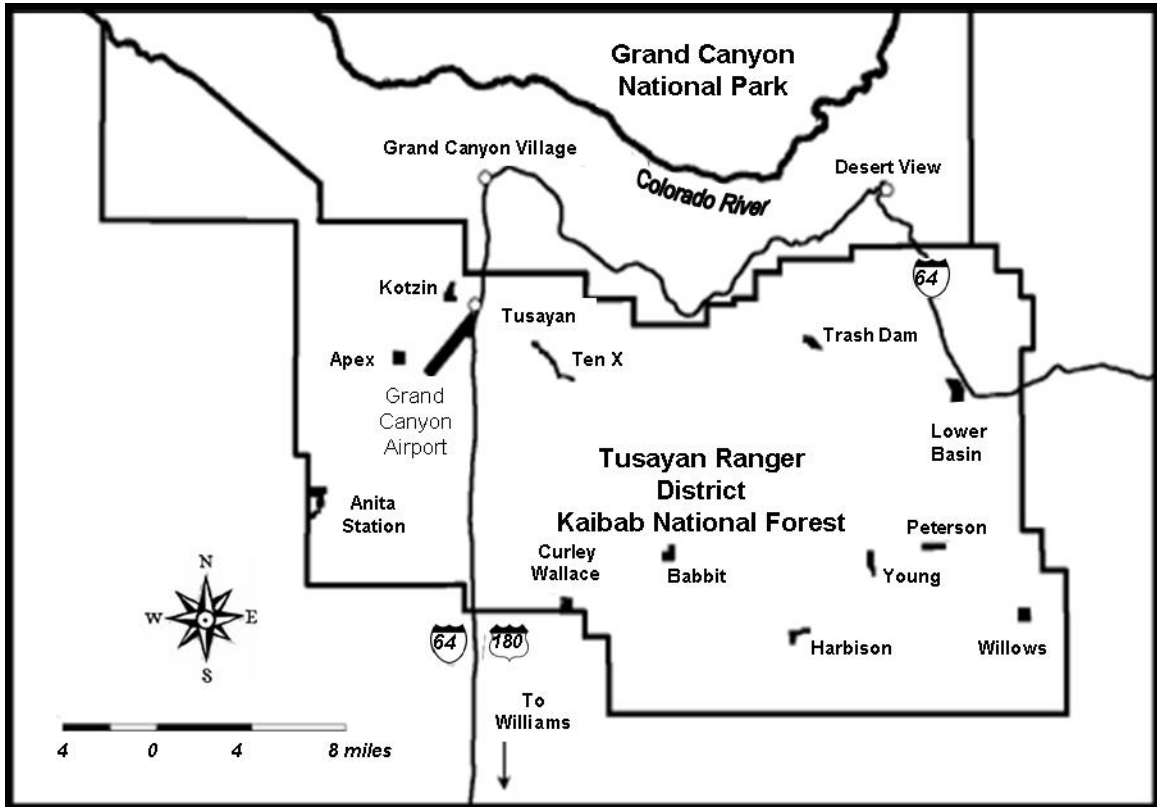


Figure 12: Location Map of Private Inholdings Offered in the Exchange. *Source: USDA, Forest Service, Final Environmental Impact Statement for Tusayan Growth, Kaibab National Forest; 1999, p.27.*

Gateway Community Opposition

Like Tusayan, Williams is also a gateway to the Grand Canyon. However, Williams has all the characteristics of a city. Long-time residents of Williams have strong ties to the Kaibab National Forest and the Grand Canyon National Park. The Forest Service headquarters are located in Williams, as is the historic Grand Canyon Railway linking Williams to the South Rim of the Canyon.

Some Arizona residents consider Flagstaff, situated at the intersection of Interstate 40 and US Interstate 17, a gateway to the Grand Canyon. Because of its location, Flagstaff receives many visitors passing through on their way to visit nearby parks and monuments including Sunset Crater National Monument, Walnut Canyon National Monument, Wupatki National Monument, Petrified Forest National Park, and Grand Canyon National Park. Flagstaff's primary source of revenue is the tourism industry that includes hotels, restaurants, and visitor services (Interview with former mayor of Flagstaff 2004).

These three communities of Tusayan, Williams, and Flagstaff became the most vehement opponents to the planned gateway community proposed by the developer of CFV. Business owners, acting as individuals under the "No on Canyon Forest Village" slogan, bombarded the press with editorials and interviews discussing the dire economic consequences for Northern Arizona communities. A series of political cartoons ran in the *Williams Grand Canyon News*. They portrayed CFV as a meteor on a collision course with Williams (Figure 13) and as a monster bent on destroying Northern Arizona (Figure 14); Williams was depicted as the Thanksgiving turkey about to become a feast for CFV (Figure 15). In response to local concerns, the Chambers of Commerce in both Williams and Flagstaff passed resolutions against the land exchange and its connected development CFV. The communities of Northern Arizona felt they had much to lose, economically, if CFV was developed.

The Public and the Land Exchange Process

Since the development and federal land exchange went hand-in-hand, an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) was required under (NEPA) the National

Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C §§ 4332). As the first step in this process, the Forest Service “determine[s] how to accommodate growth in the Grand Canyon/Tusayan area to meet public needs” by assessing alternatives (KNF 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1995d, 1995e) (see Figure 16).

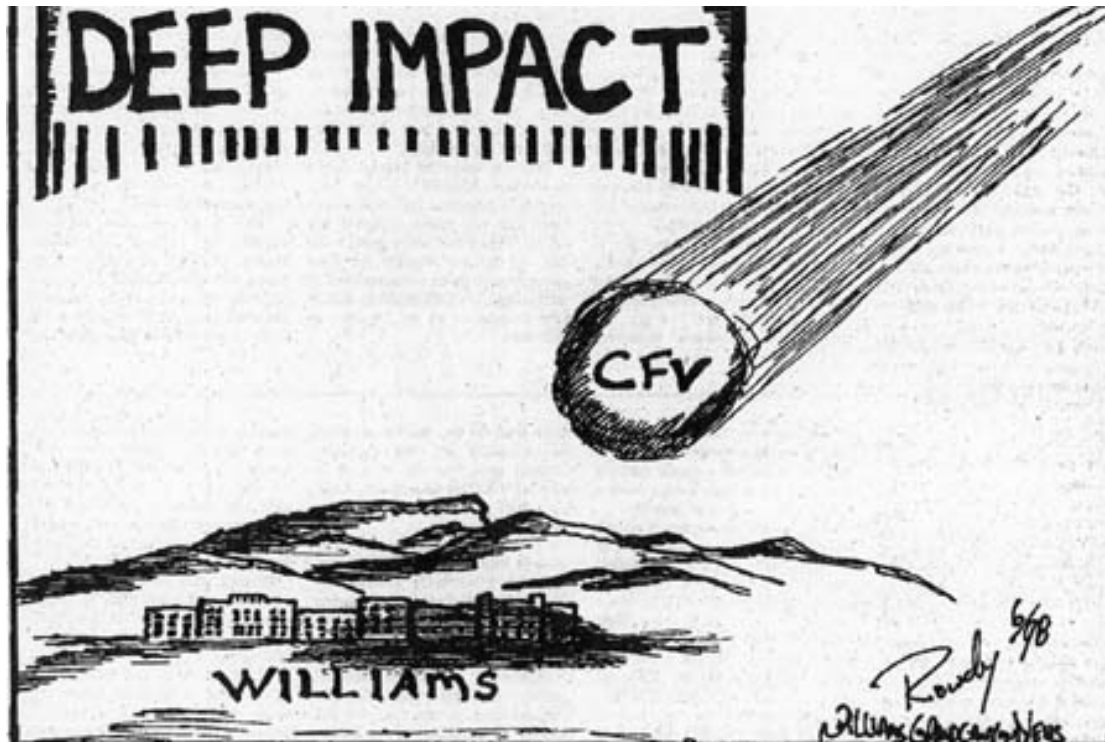


Figure 13: Canyon Forest Village’s impact on the city of Williams .
Source: Archives of Thomas DePaolo. January 2004. *Williams Grand Canyon News*. (Circa June 1998).

The Forest Service requested comments during public meetings which they held in the spring and winter of 1993 and 1994. They solicited public comments through the traditional channels of public notices in the media, bulletins posted on the Kaibab National Forest website, and the distribution of a series of mailers to 750 citizens. The mailer was sent to individuals and groups the Service had identified as interested and affected, including any who had expressed interest in the proposal, as well as environmental organizations, businesses within Northern Arizona, regional chambers of

commerce and city councils (Clark 1994; KNF 1994; Seifert 1994a). It contained an invitation to attend public “scoping” meetings, meant to “scope” out issues that were important to the public (Clark 1994; KNF 1994; Seifert 1994a). In addition, it described the necessity behind the project, its purpose, the EIS process, and the time and location of the public meetings (Clark 1994; Heselton 1994). Nine Northern Arizona communities held public meetings: 226 people attended. In addition, the Forest Service received 156 letters. During this early stage of the process, turnout and public participation had not peaked.

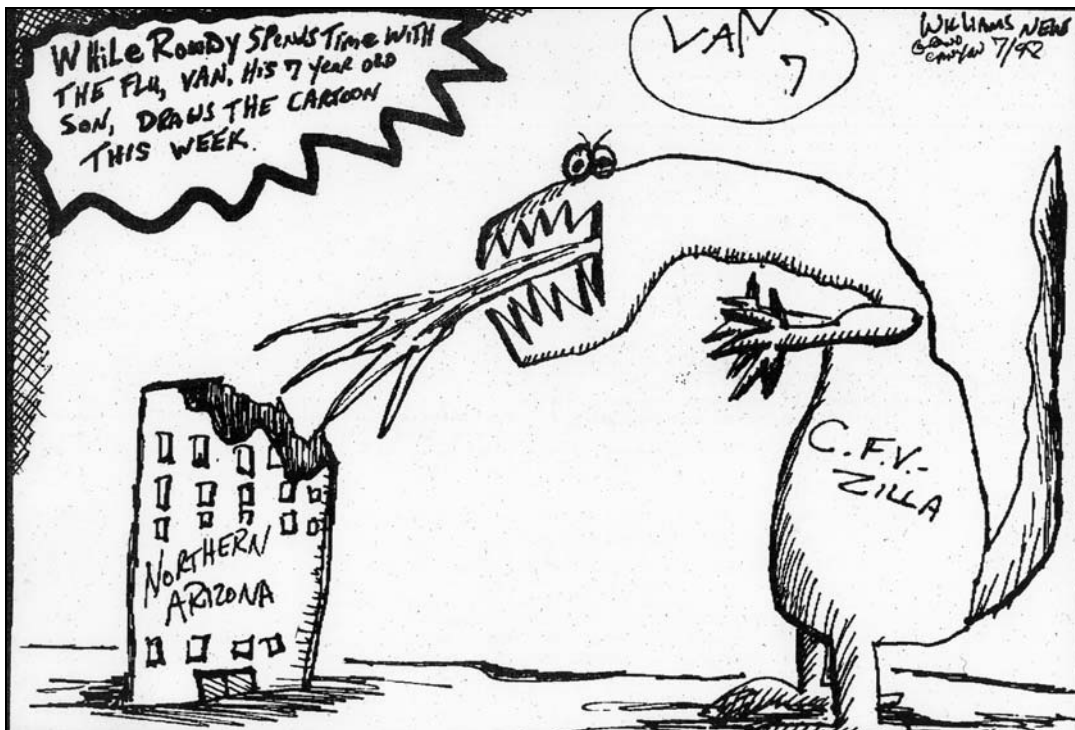


Figure 14: The Canyon Forest Village monster destroys Northern Arizona. Source: Archives of Thomas DePaolo. January 2004. *Williams Grand Canyon News*. (Circa July 1998).

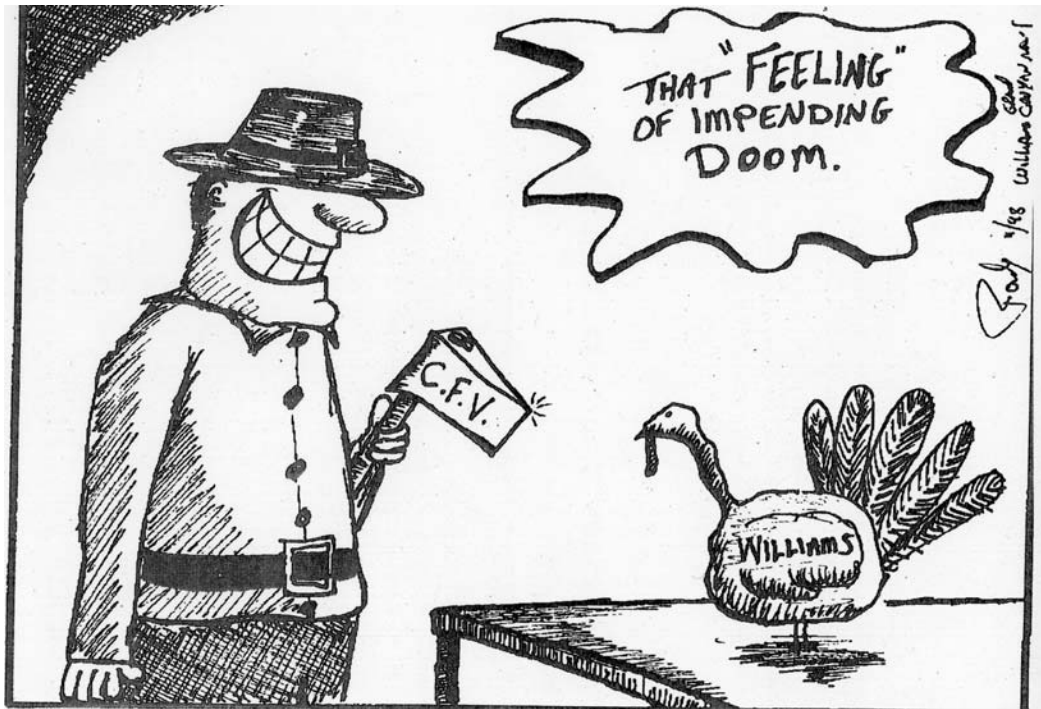


Figure 15: The Canyon Forest Village pilgrim dooming the Thanksgiving turkey.
Source: *Williams Grand Canyon News*. (November 18, 1998).

The Forest Service held nine regional meetings in the spring of 1994. News articles and editorials constantly bombarded the local public with deadlines, meeting dates, and comments on the process. The *Arizona Daily Sun*, printed in Flagstaff, and the *Williams Grand Canyon News*, printed in Williams, ran articles and editorials weekly, and sometimes daily, giving the public opportunities to become informed about the proposed land exchange (AZR 1994b; Heselton 1994). The creation of “No on Canyon Forest Village” in 1994 brought an even greater level of press coverage to the land exchange issue with an aggressive campaign against CFV (WGCN 1994b).

The Forest Service sorted the public comments on the scoping and determined that the public’s concern revolved around 14 main issues. The most critical concerns revolved around groundwater and the socioeconomic impacts of large-scale growth (see Table 6).

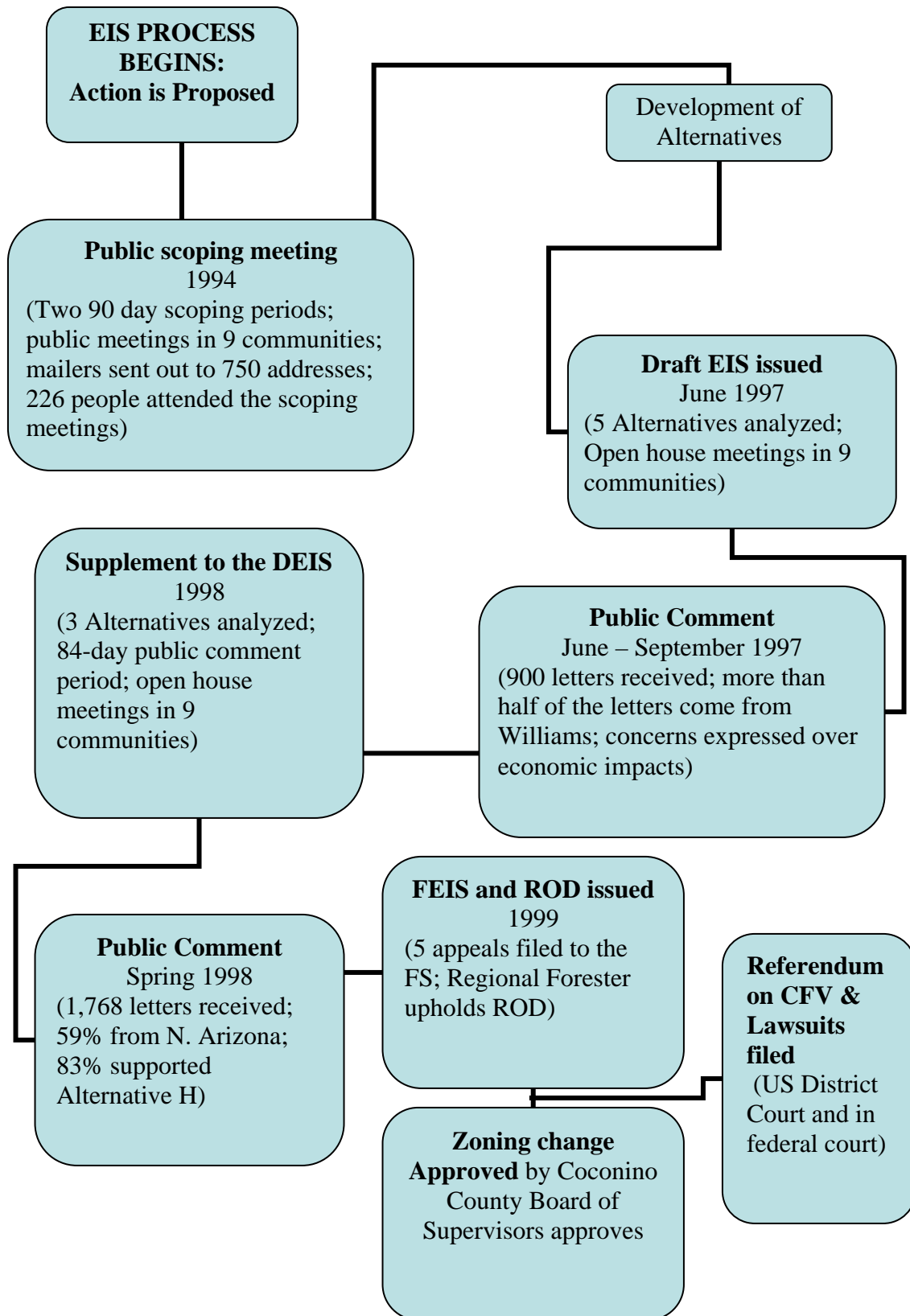


Figure 16: Steps in the Environmental Impact Process
 Source: Diagram by Author based on Kaibab National Forest: Tusayan Growth EIS
 Bulletins, 1-19, 1995-1999.

Table 6: Areas of Public Concern

Surface and Groundwater
Socioeconomic Environment
Visitor Experience Around the Grand Canyon
Transportation
Development Plan Assurances
Cultural Resources
Biological Resources
Forest Service Management
Scoping Issues
EIS Consultants
Appraisals
Project Consultation and Coordination
Purpose and Need
Cumulative Impacts

Source: USDA, Forest Service, Public Comment and Forest Service Response to the Draft Environmental Impact Statement, Kaibab National Forest (1988).

Due to the intense public interest in the scoping process, the Forest Service redoubled its efforts to keep the public informed and educated about the process, particularly regarding issues of water usage and the economic effects of the proposed land exchange. The Forest Service issued periodic bulletins to achieve these ends.

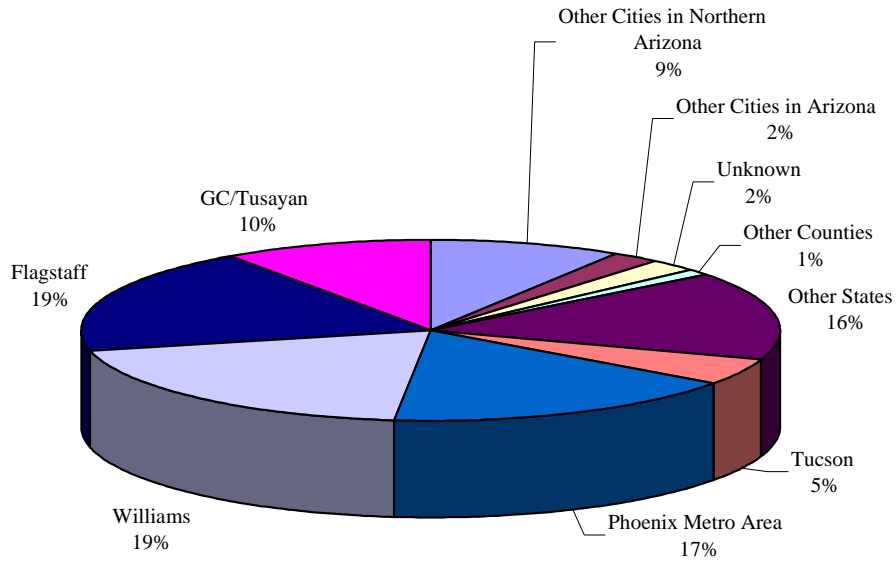
Out of these comments, the Forest Service developed five alternatives. They were labeled Alternatives A to E: Alternative A presented a “no action” alternative; Alternatives B and C involved a land exchange; and the Grand Canyon Improvement Association (GCIA) presented Alternative D which relied on the Townsite Act or special-

use permits to redevelop Tusayan (GCIA 1996). The Townsite Act of 1906 allows government to purchase federal land expressly for public uses (34 Stat 116). Alternative D provided needed community services on both private and public forestlands. Lastly, the Forest Service developed Alternative E to address the transportation and federal housing needs of the GCNP.

Though the Forest Service answered many of the public's concerns in the Draft EIS, this did little to alleviate community fears. Instead, it created an even greater outpouring of commentary and public outcry. The public's concerns revolved around the impact of the land exchange alternative's commercial aspect, the number of acres exchanged, the accuracy of the economic forecasting model used to project impacts on Northern Arizona, and the effects of water usage on an already stressed aquifer system. In all, the Forest Service received over 900 comments regarding the Draft. However, not all public concerns were within the scope of the Environmental Impact Statement.

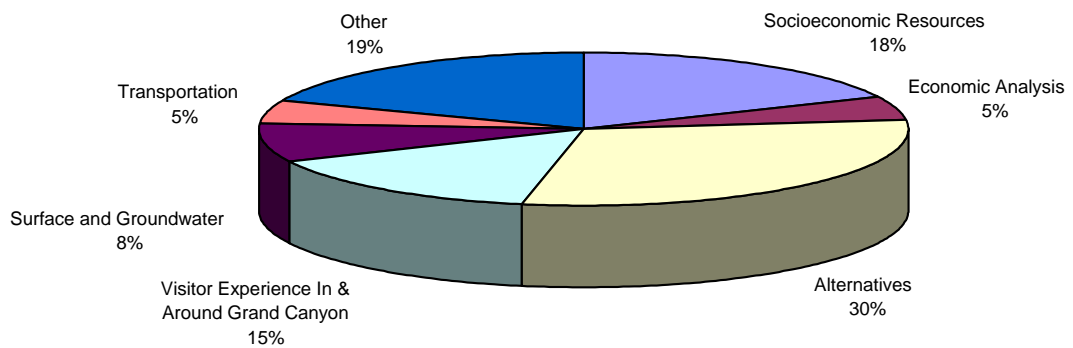
The majority of comments the Forest Service received during this period originated from individuals residing in Northern Arizona, particularly from the communities of Flagstaff and Williams (Figure 17). Residents of Grand Canyon Village and Tusayan accounted for 9.7% of the total letters received, but it is important to note that this is a large percentage of letters for a small community, demonstrating that Tusayan residents had reservations about the proposal even at this early stage. Most of the public concern revolved around the potential socioeconomic consequences for local communities with regard to the visitor experience and around the alternatives presented in the EIS (see Figure 18).

Figure 17: Source of Comments on the Draft EIS for Tusayan Growth



Source: Kaibab National Forest: Tusayan Growth Environmental Impact Statement Bulletin, Number 8, 1997.

Figure 18: Percentage of Comments on the Draft EIS in Each Issue Category



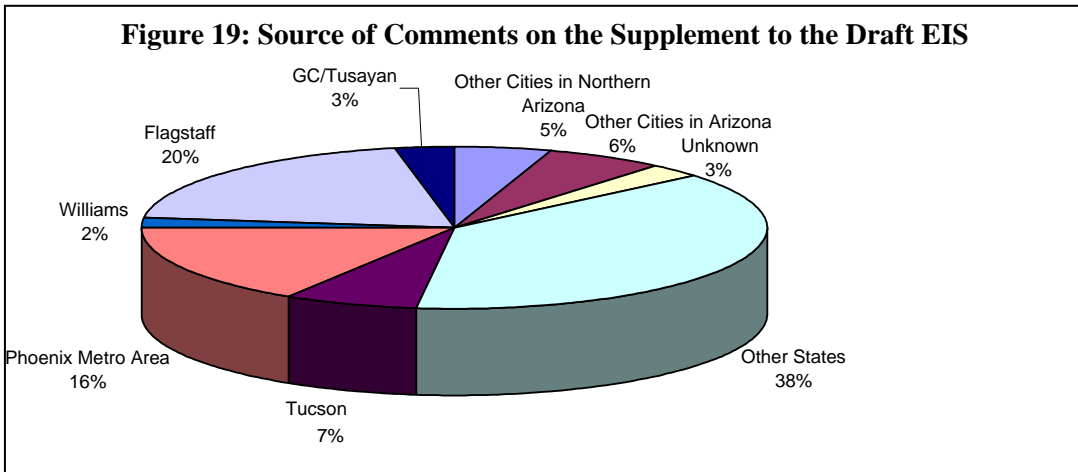
Source: USDA, Forest Service: Record of Decision, Final Environmental Impact Statement for Tusayan Growth; Kaibab National Forest,(1999). p.6..

Comments on the Draft EIS resulted in a reassessment of the alternatives by the Forest Service. This further analysis resulted in the release of the Supplement to the Draft EIS for Tusayan Growth (SEIS). The supplement described three new alternatives and the Forest Service identification of its preferred alternative. Generally, after it receives comments on the Draft, the Forest Service issues a Final EIS. The added step of an SEIS release, in this case, allowed the Forest Service to incorporate even greater public input into the new alternatives. The Forest Service solicited the public's response regarding the SEIS alternatives in July of 1998.

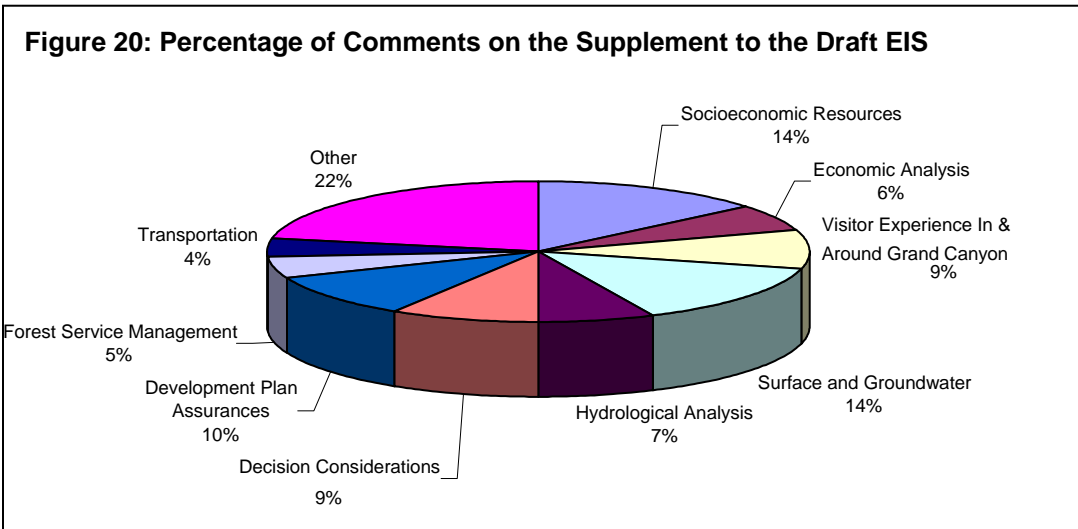
These comments further aided the Forest Service in refining the alternatives and identifying issues. An even greater number of individuals answered this call for comments: 1,758 individuals total wrote to the Forest Service (KNF 1998). The process, and the SEIS in particular, gained even greater publicity on a national scale. Though 59% of the comments originated from Arizona, 38% of letters were from individuals from outside Arizona (Figure 19). Within the state of Arizona, the majority of letters originated in Flagstaff. The interested public had expanded from the issuance of the Draft in 1994 to the release of the Supplement in 1998. The Forest Service received 39% more letters from states outside Arizona (KNF 1998). Letters from Arizona cities comprised a third of those received regarding the SEIS as opposed to the 57% of comments on the Draft.

The comments on the Supplement addressed concern over the following issues in order of the number of comments received: 60% expressed interest in or opposition to one of the alternatives, socioeconomic resources, hydrology, and development plan assurances (Figure 20). Alternative H, the alternative ultimately chosen, was supported by 83% of the individuals who commented. Eleven percent opposed both land exchange

Alternatives G and H or supported Alternative F which did not require a land exchange. The public was deeply concerned about the effects of development on the Grand Canyon's seeps and springs; the threat of competition on the economies of Northern Arizona; and the possibility that CFV would develop new wells, not limit development, or fail to adhere to the sustainable building design proposed in Alternative H.



Source: Kaibab National Forest: Tusayan Growth Environmental Impact Statement Bulletin, No.10 (1998).



Source: USDA, Forest Service: Record of Decision, Final Environmental Impact Statement for Tusayan Growth; Kaibab National Forest, (1999). p.8.

Finding Fair Market Value

During the public scoping meetings, there were concerns regarding the Forest Service's choice of appraisers and the transparency of the appraisal process. The public wanted an open appraisal process, yet the Forest Service would not entertain any questions regarding the appraiser chosen or the determination of land values. Since the appraisal is a separate process from the environmental impact analysis, the Forest Service felt that questions about the appraisals were beyond the EIS's scope. The appraisal process is regulated by federal laws to ensure standardized and formal procedures (KNF 1988).

Though opponents never legally disputed the land values, the *Williams Grand Canyon News* (WGCN) identified Congressional concerns that the valuations required greater scrutiny, especially when the General Accounting Office suggested Congress place a moratorium on land exchanges in 2000 (Seifert 1996a; Miller 2000; GAO 2000). The GAO detailed numerous instances across the country of undervalued public lands exchanged for their overvalued private counterparts (GAO 2000). The spokesperson for "No on CVF" raised serious questions about whether taxpayers were being "fleeced" by CFV (Lopez 2000).

Furthermore, the opponents attempted to make the case, in the *Williams Grand Canyon News*, that the inholdings offered in the exchange had no real development potential and consequently were overpriced (Seifert 1996c). In addition, if this was true, then one of the Forest Service's main reasons for entertaining the land swap was a moot point. Was the urgency behind the proposal really just smoke and mirrors? Moreover, if

there was indeed little development potential, were the land values correct (Interview with spokesperson for “No on CFV”)?

CFV offered 12 private inholdings in a proposed exchange with the Forest Service. The Forest Service felt that only 3 of the 12 parcels offered in the exchange had development potential (Wolf 1995a). It was felt that the development of these inholdings (Kotzin: 170 acres, Lower Basin: 320 acres, and Ten X: 194 acres) would place increased management responsibilities on the Kaibab National Forest, Grand Canyon National Park, and Coconino County by increasing population and changing visitor patterns, infrastructure, and utilities. The Forest Services pursued a land exchange with the CFV developer in order to prevent the development of these inholdings.

The appraisal was beyond the scope of the Environmental Impact Statement. It is specifically kept separate to avoid bias from the Forest Service line officers involved with negotiating and approving land exchanges (USDA 1999). However, GCIA, NACOG, and a host of individuals continued to question the appraisal process and values throughout the land exchange debate.

The preliminary estimates of the land values were completed in 1992 (DePaolo 1992). One of the complaints cited by GCIA was that a complete appraisal had not been done prior to the DEIS, and therefore the public could not comment on it during the process. Yet, Forest Service policy requires the appraisal values to remain private until approval of the land exchange. The Freedom of Information Act does not cover these appraisal values until the Forest Service renders a decision on the land swap (USDA 1999).

According to federal regulations, US Code Title 43 Chapter 35 Subchapter 2 § 1716, for a land exchange to occur the lands exchanged must be within 25% of equal value, and the difference in value is made up through cash. Not all land sold has the same characteristics, including similar road frontage, utilities, resources, acreage, etc. Some suggested that due to this difficulty the value of the lands offered for exchange by CFV was not determinable. To contest this position GCIA hired the appraisal firm of Winius Montandon Inc. to compare 14 parcels with attributes that ranged in date sold, acreage, highway frontage, presence of utilities, and distance from the Grand Canyon National Park. It was determined that the lands being offered by CFV were worth approximately \$1,500/acre but were so remote as to have “virtually no chance of being developed with more than a residence or two and some corrals within our lifetime” (Montandon 1997). GCIA felt that this appraisal report negated the Forest Service’s main purpose for pursuing a land exchange.

According to the Department of Community Development for Coconino County, CFV was not necessarily making an idle threat. Winius Montandon Inc., in their assessment of CFV’s inholdings, completely overlooked the parcel with the greatest development potential, the 320-acre Lower Basin property. It is located six miles east of the Grand Canyon and has access to Highway 64 (Interview with CC Community Development Director 2004). It is quite possible that some time in the future this property could be developed (Seifert 1995). Tusayan is a 144-acre National Forest inholding, yet has over time developed into a community.

The Forest Service’s own land was valued at \$19,853/acre totaling \$4.18 million and was offered in exchange for CFV’s inholdings at \$2,352 acre (KNF 1999b). To

make up the difference in these valuations CFV offered 2,118 acres in exchange for 272 acres of forestland (see Table 7). Initially the Forest Service felt the developer would pull out of the land exchange after hearing the low value of private lands being offered in the swap (Lund 1991). However, CFV did not dissolve its interest in the land exchange and continued to push forward, altering its proposal to accommodate the lower value. CFV originally came to the Forest Service suggesting that it trade 650 acres of forestland for 1,100 acres of inholdings. They later altered the proposal with a new offer of 272 acres for 2,118 acres, after the appraisal was produced (KNF 1999b). Up until the end of the process, suspicion still existed regarding the land values. The Forest Service’s final decision was contested by Pam Hoffman, a Tusayan business owner, on the basis that it was a “fraudulent quantification of ‘fair market value,’” that the proposal did not serve the public interest, and that the federal government was unfairly manipulating the market by increasing competition in the Tusayan area (Hoffman circa 1999).

Table 7: Land Values for Non-Federal Land in “Alternative H”

Parcel	Acres	Dollars/Acre	Dollars
Kotzin	158.06	\$5,500	\$870,000
TenX & part of Curley Wallace	295.16	3,500	1,000,000
Remainder of Curley Wallace	50.28	3,400	171,000
Lower Basin	319.39	1,600	511,000
Anita Station	303.14	1,300	394,000
Apex	146.86	3,500	514,000
Babbitt Tank, Willows, & Trash Dam	427.39	1,900	812,000
Young, Harbison, & Peterson	417.63	1,700	710,000
TOTAL	2,117.91		\$4,982,000

Source: USDA, Forest Service, *Record of Decision Final Environmental Impact Statement for Tusayan Growth, Kaibab National Forest; 1999, p.21.*

Environmental Consultants and Conflicting Interests

The value of the land being exchanged was highly contested in the media, as was the choice of consultants hired by the Forest Service to actually write the EIS. The Forest Service selected SWCA, Inc. Environmental Consultants to prepare the EIS. Shortly after

the announcement, controversy arose over the selection of SWCA (WGCN circa 1994). The Forest Service left the ultimate choice of consultants up to CFV. This resulted in GCIA charging the Forest Service with violating federal regulations that required them to choose the consultant hired to prepare the EIS (Rose 1994; KNF *circa* 1993). In May of 1994, the GCIA requested that the Forest Service retain a new environmental consultant to prepare the EIS. The GCIA was concerned about a possible conflict of interest and the possibility of process irregularities (Rose 1994). The conflict of interest stemmed from the failure of SWCA to file a financial disclosure statement with the Forest Service before beginning the scoping process. This statement proved that Canyon Forest Village employed SWCA prior to its hiring by the Forest Service (WGCN circa 1994).

The Forest Service gave Canyon Forest Village a list of eight qualified environmental consultants to produce the EIS. Of the eight environmental consulting firms suggested by the Forest Service, all were either used before by the Forest Service or the Forest Service had prior knowledge of their abilities (KNF *circa* 1993). SWCA was the only consulting firm located in Flagstaff; six others were located in Phoenix and the seventh was located in Sedona.

As a consultant, SWCA is not directly involved in decision-making regarding the EIS. A consultant is responsible for collecting and analyzing data that influences the land exchange process. The Forest Service is ultimately accountable for independently evaluating the EIS prior to its approval. The preexisting ties between SWCA and CFV presented a conflict which some felt would favor CFV.

The Northern Arizona Council of Governments (NACOG), a group representing the governments of Williams, Flagstaff, and Coconino County, expressed similar

concerns during the scoping period. Some opponents felt that SWCA's investment of time compromised its objectivity (Rose 1994; Watson circa 1994). The public wanted all benefits addressed in a disclosure statement (Sweet 1994). The *Williams Grand Canyon News* quoted GCIA chairman Richard James,

“Because SWCA is already employed by CFV we believe they have a financial stake in the outcome of the EIS. If the land exchange is approved, they are very likely to have the opportunity to do additional consulting work for the proposer” (WGCN circa 1994).

This conflict of interest presented an opportunity for CFV challengers, particularly the GCIA, to slow down the EIS process. By slowing the process, the GCIA could put together its own alternative. Work was underway by the GCIA to develop an alternative Community Development Plan for Tusayan as the staging area for the Grand Canyon. In the local media, the plan was dubbed “A Common Sense Approach” (Seifert 1994c).

The obvious reason why GCIA was concerned about a relationship between CFV and SWCA was that the Grand Canyon Limited Exchange Partnership, the developer's financial partners, would pay for the EIS, and may have undue influence as a result. Yet, the Forest Service at no time in the EIS process was required to approve the project. In the Memorandum of Understanding between the Kaibab National Forest and the Grand Canyon Exchange Limited Partnership, CFV

“*At their expense and through the contractor, {had} sole responsibility for writing and rewriting all parent or appendix material for the EIS, research and documentation of social, economic, and physical and biological information required to complete the EIS, and preparation of materials for public notification including but not limited to news releases, public meetings, the draft EIS and the final EIS*” (KNF circa 1994, emphasis added).

Familial Influence

In addition to the conflict over SWCA, the Babbitt family connection to Canyon Forest Village became a contested issue. The Babbitt family had connections to the Canyon Forest Village development from its inception and held decision-making positions within the county and with the Museum of Northern Arizona, and moreover exerted influence over the Grand Canyon National Park (Lopez and Hoffman 1998). The family-owned Babbitt Brother Trading Co. was partnered with the CFV developer (Hoffman 1997); Paul Babbitt occupied a seat on the Coconino County Board of Supervisors, which had an important position in voting on the rezoning that the developer required for Canyon Forest Village; and additionally, Bruce Babbitt, prior to becoming Secretary of the Interior, was the legal representative for CFV. As Secretary of the Interior, Bruce Babbitt oversaw the National Park Service.

Before the Clinton Administration appointed Bruce Babbitt as Secretary, he was a lawyer with the firm of Steptoe & Johnson, where he at one time represented CFV's developer personally (Palmeri 1997). Babbitt even appeared in early CFV promotional videos until *Forbes Magazine* ran an article about the link, after which Babbitt was edited out (Hoffman circa 1999). Steptoe & Johnson continued to represent the developer as his attorney throughout the land exchange process.

Though the Forest Service made the decision to approve the land exchange, the Park Service was a key supporter of the project (Fuqua 1999). The Forest Service and the Park Service promoted CFV as a collaborative showcase, highlighting that the two agencies worked together with regards to the land exchange (Tolan 1999; Clusen 2000).

The Park Service and Coconino County were each cooperating agencies in the EIS process under NEPA guidelines. Furthermore, in the EIS, under the “Purpose and Need” section, it was revealed that the Forest Service entertained the proposal primarily for the purpose of providing “land to facilitate coordinated community and visitor services in the Grand Canyon/Tusayan area” (KNF 1999a, 7). Babbitt appeared to have a stake in the approval of CFV.

The Babbitt Brothers Trading Co., a Grand Canyon National Park concessionaire, partnered with the developer to trade 700 acres of inholdings for space within the newly created CFV (Palmeri 1997). Bruce Babbitt and Paul Babbitt both divested their interests in the trading company 13 years before CFV even stepped on the scene (ADS 2000b). Bruce Babbitt had no direct financial stake in the proposal and limited his interest to the introduction of light-rail to the park (Kelley 1999). The GCIA, under the Freedom of Information Act, furnished the media with more fodder about Bruce Babbitt’s involvement in CFV (Hudson 1999). It was confirmed by the Forest Service’s Regional Forester that Babbitt made comments only regarding the light-rail (Ghioto 1999a). Some felt the GCIA went overboard with slandering the Babbitts and taking “cheap shots” (Sweitzer 2000).

To protect himself from the same kind of media circus that surrounded his brother, Paul Babbitt, on the advice of his attorney, recused himself from the Coconino County’s Board of Supervisors on the first day of the rezoning hearings in 2000 (WGCN 2000). This gesture was seen by some members of GCIA as too little too late, considering the County had already met with CFV, the Forest Service, and the Park Service for years as a cooperating agency (KNF 1999a).

Many of the key participants from both sides of the debate believed that the Babbitts were above reproach, and this particular issue became magnified in the media far more than other issues of greater concern. One writer summarized the conflict by saying, “Politics is as much about appearance as it is about reality” (ADS 2000b). The spokesperson for “No on Canyon Forest Village” applauded Paul Babbitt’s integrity and character (ADS 2000b). Those in Northern Arizona, and in Flagstaff particularly, hold the Babbitt family in high esteem. In the 2004 election, Paul Babbitt ran successfully for Congressman of Northern Arizona. Evidently, there were no political repercussions over this perceived conflict of interest.

Environmental Impact Statement Evolution

The Draft

Originally, the land exchange alternatives included in the Draft EIS called for 250,000 sq. ft. of retail and 3,650 additional lodging units or 180,000 sq. ft. of retail and 2,000 additional lodging units in Alternative B and Alternative C, respectively (Table 8).

The public considered the scale of CFV a major impediment, and the most vocal of opponents were the GCIA and “No on Canyon Forest Village.” Both of these organizations vehemently contested the proposed land exchange. The Grand Canyon Improvement Association’s membership was comprised of Tusayan Area business owners, whereas “No on Canyon Forest Village” consisted of GCIA members, Northern Arizona businesses and residents, and elected officials.

The GCIA was adamant about having their counter-proposal, Alternative D, included in the Draft EIS. After the Draft was issued, the Forest Service found serious flaws in GCIA’s Alternative D. The GCIA could not legally acquire land under the

Townsite Act, nor could they provide evidence of ownership or purchase options of the private land included in their alternative (Wilcox 1997). In order for the GCIA to include its alternative, the Forest Service asked GCIA to split the EIS preparation costs with the developer to make the process equitable (Wilcox 1997).

These costs included an economic study to determine the effect of CFV on the local economy. As of 1995 CFV had already spent \$770,000, and the Forest Service asked GCIA to pay half of these costs. The GCIA felt that it should not be charged for expenses incurred before its involvement began, nor should it pay for costs not associated with GCIA's specific proposal (DePaolo 1995; Wolf 1995b). In the end, the GCIA shared the costs for preparing the Draft EIS but discontinued its financial participation afterwards. This decision put the GCIA at a slight disadvantage, since it was excluded from part of the information process (Seifert 1996b).

In the Draft, the GCIA submitted its own Alternative D, consisting of 710 lodging units, substantially less than either land exchange alternative (KNF 1998). Surprisingly, the GCIA alternative included 220,200 sq. ft. of retail space and drew water from wells in Tusayan but did not address the hydrologic concerns of drawing this additional groundwater.

Table 8: The Three Main Alternatives in the Draft EIS

	Alternative B	Alternative C	Alternative D
	Land exchange option 1	Land exchange option 2	Townsite Act/special use permit
Retail/shopping	*250,000 sq ft. of retail	*180,000 sq ft. of retail	*220,200 sq ft. of retail
Lodging	*1,680 CFV units: 400 GCNP units: 495 Tusayan units	*1075 CFV units: 400 GCNP units: 475 Tusayan units	*377 GCNP units: 539 Tusayan units
	*3,650 guest lodging units: 20 campground RV sites	*2000 guest lodging units: 250 campground sites	*710 additional guest lodging units on private land
Groundwater	*147 mgy of water.	*140 mgy of water.	*34.2 mgy of additional water to supply redevelopment at full build out
	*Water supplied by 5 new wells	*Water supplied by 5 new wells, drilled in Valle	
	*Consumption equates to 41.3 – 46.3 gallons/person/day.	*Consumption equates to 55.9–80 gallons/person/day.	*Total water supply needs would be 88.5 mgy (54.3 mgy + 34.2 mgy) for Tusayan

Source: USDA, Forest Service: Final Environmental Impact Statement for Tusayan Growth; Kaibab National Forest,(1999).

The alternative presented by the GCIA was by no means as comprehensive as that presented by CFV, for several reasons. The GCIA plan required private property owners to finance the commercial development in Tusayan, with private enterprise funding the transportation staging area and either private or federal monies funding the federal employee housing. Employee housing would be constructed between 1995 and 2000, consisting of 300 multi-family housing units (GCIA circa 1997). This plan essentially attempted to maintain the status quo for Tusayan business owners. They would retain control over all development outside of the Canyon, while some other entity could deal with the transportation issue, and federal housing would be on federal land. The GCIA's plan would take away the Forest Service's control regarding what types of development could occur in the area (KNF 1997)

The public felt that since there were no economic incentives for private landowners in Tusayan to provide additional community services, such services would not materialize (KNF 1997). The GCIA's plan did not include housing development. Tusayan residents unaffiliated with the GCIA harbored doubts about whether the GCIA's plan would actually deliver on what they promised in Alternative D (Fischer 1996). The county had previously mandated Tusayan to provide housing and community infrastructure with no results (CC 1995). Residents felt that the GCIA was again making empty promises meant to derail the competition and protect its monopoly (Fischer 1996).

The Supplement

After much discussion during the scoping period and the comment period on the Draft EIS, the Forest Service issued a Supplement EIS incorporating the concerns expressed in 900 public comments. The Forest Service went back to the drawing board

and devised three additional alternatives to present to the public for comment. These new alternatives addressed public concern over the scale of the commercial space, the number of housing units, monitoring requirements for the alternatives, and updated information on the private inholdings.

Prior to the Supplement's release, CFV received a fair amount of negative media attention, with many of the editorials authored by Tusayan residents. The business community of Northern Arizona also opposed CFV (see Figure 21). To assuage this resistance the developer sought support for the project from the Grand Canyon Trust and a whole range of non-profit organizations, as well as local Native American Tribes. After issuance of the Supplement, eight environmental organizations, three tribes, the AFL-CIO, and the Museum of Northern Arizona all endorsed Canyon Forest Village's Alternative H.

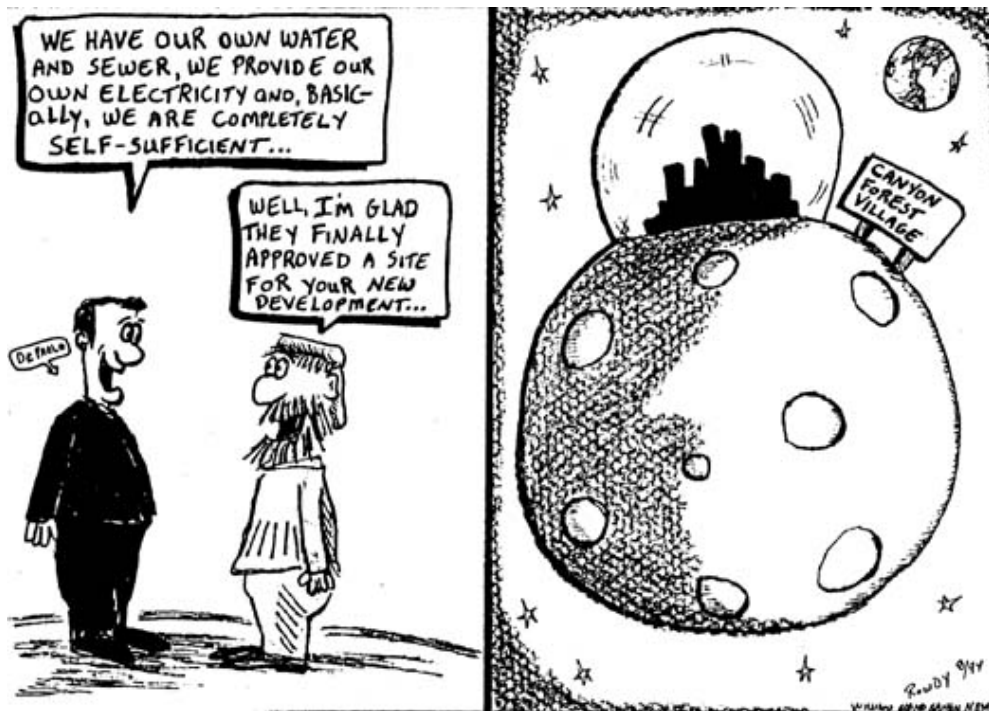


Figure 21: Canyon Forest Village on the far side of the moon. Source: *Williams Grand Canyon News*. (August 4, 1994)

Alternative H scaled back the lodging units from both land exchange Alternatives B and C to 1,630 units, increased the retail space to 272,000 sq. ft., and eliminated the use of well water from the Alternative (Table 9). In order to make a profit from the development, the developer increased the footage of retail space to offset the loss of revenue from the smaller number of lodging units.

Of those who wrote letters to the Forest Service, 83% favored Alternative H. It is important to note that the majority of those who commented on both the Draft and the Supplement had no specific group affiliations. They wrote their comments as individuals. In the supplement, 91% of those who commented did not express any association with a business or organization.

Table 9: "Alternative H" Design Characteristics

- Contingent on rezoning approval from Coconino County
- 272 acres traded for twelve private inholdings consisting of 2,118 acres
- 1,270 rooms and 272,000 square feet of retail space
- Land donated for worship, cemetery, library, and medical clinic.
- Incorporates U.S. Green Building standards for sustainable design and conservation.
- Provides a centralized land base for employee housing
- Provides a Native American Market Place
- Preserves Grand Canyon Seeps and Springs
- Provides new facilities -- visitor services, housing, fire and police substations, medical center and other park and community facilities

Source: USDA, Forest Service: Final Environmental Impact Statement for Tusayan Growth; Kaibab National Forest,(1999).

Alternative H included many features of the Grand Canyon National Park's Management Plan, just as the proposed Canyon Forest Village incorporated and addressed many of the concerns and needs of the Grand Canyon National Park. Many people, including environmentalists, considered CFV a showcase gateway community. It included a large parking facility north of Tusayan and a gateway information center to enhance the visitors "sense of arrival." The developer incorporated community features

such as a school, a recreation center, a church, and a neighborhood recreational area. The Park Service reiterated its promotion of environmentally sensitive design features such as energy conservation and efficiency, solid waste management, and water conservation. Should development occur, CFV promised all of these sustainable design features. Essentially CFV's promises mirrored the Grand Canyon Management Plan's "wish list" through its inclusion of the light-rail staging area, visitor services, and employee housing (Interview KNF Forest Lands Staff Officer 2004).

Prior to the Supplement, the environmental community was very much opposed to all the Forest Service alternatives (Seifert 1994b). The watchdog of the Colorado Plateau, the Grand Canyon Trust, is an environmental group that generally considers such development incompatible with the Colorado Plateau's ecology. Yet the Grand Canyon Trust was the first environmental organization to support the proposal, and this helped gain support and legitimacy for CFV. The Grand Canyon Trust took the position that development in the area was inevitable regardless of what happens with CFV and that it was in its interest to help shape the type of development, rather than allow it to occur haphazardly. GCT put its name on the line and convinced other environmental organizations to support CFV and its environmentally sensitive design. Perhaps as an incentive, the developer offered GCT a position in the Kaibab Institute, an institution designed to enforce water covenants and provide educational support and environmental programs within a cultural center called INSIGHT. One percent of all sales at CFV, estimated to exceed \$1 million annually, funded the Institute (Ghioto 1999b).

The developer approached the Sonoran Institute to write legally-binding covenants and conditions that provided guarantees that CFV's development would not

utilize groundwater or fail to deliver on its environmentally-friendly building practices (Interview with CFV developer 2004). The Sonoran Institute, an organization that assists public land managers and gateway communities by collaboratively addressing land and conservation issues through local partnerships, worked with the developer to design a series of covenants and conditions. To ensure implementation of CFV's design features the developer, with the help of the Sonoran Institute, devised a self-governing oversight committee, called the Kaibab Institute (Ghioto 1999b; Ghioto 2000). Federal and local agencies, as well as the tribes and environmental organizations, would serve on an advisory committee for the Institute's Board of Directors and have enforcement authority. The Institute was funded by 1% of CFV sales, projected in excess of \$1 million annually (Ghioto 1999b). Working with the Sonoran Institute helped the developer to convince environmental organizations to support CFV (Ghioto 1999b; Ghioto 2000).

Together, the developer and the Grand Canyon Trust gained support for Canyon Forest Village from the National Parks Conservation Association, the World Wildlife Federation, the Wilderness Society, the Museum of Northern Arizona, and three local Native American tribes (Table 10). These organizations recognized the benefits CFV offered to Grand Canyon National Park. They were pragmatic, and consequently they discarded typical

“In-your-face tactics, such as lawsuits and demonstrations, in favor of compromise and behind-the-scenes negotiations...These groups say they want to provide solutions rather than obstacles. They have embraced a kind of development they can shape to their ecological expectations, arguing that it is better than trying to stop development completely” (Ghioto 1999b).

Eventually, nine environmental groups endorsed Alternative H (Widmann 1998). Through their participation, these groups exerted power over the process. Supporting organizations included the National Parks and Conservation Association, the Wilderness Society, Natural Resources Defense Council, Environmental Defense Fund, American Rivers, and the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The Sierra Club refused to compromise its idealism and took a firm position against any type of development near the national park. Members preferred to challenge the legitimacy of the project in court (Ghioto 1999b).

Table 10: Supporters of Canyon Forest Village.

Organization	Benefits Received from Canyon Forest Village
Grand Canyon Trust	A member of the Kaibab Institute
Museum of Northern Arizona	Co-manage INSIGHT with Canyon Forest Village
Native American Tribes	Access to a Native American Marketplace to sell crafts directly to tourists.
Grand Canyon National Park	Solve management problems addressed in the General Management Plan
Kaibab National Forest	Acquisition of 2,172 acres of inholdings

Source: Author

The MNA helped to shape the Insight Center into an interpretive museum within Canyon Forest Village (Smith 1999). Similarly, the GCT helped shape the sustainable design of the proposed development. The Forest Service eventually chose Alternative H after the Supplement received much public input and support. The Forest Service examined over 1,876 letters, 83% of which favored Alternative H. Northern Arizona residents constituted 70% of those in favor of Alternative H (KNF 1999). By participating in the process, the GCT and MNA influenced the final version.

To gain support of the environmental community and the Native American tribes, the developer needed to alleviate their concerns. One of these issues involved CFV's

impact on the Redwall-Mauv Aquifer. The developer had hydrologists devise a plan to haul water by railcar or underground pipeline from the Colorado River in Topock, Arizona, to the development. Conservation methods included the use of water harvesting and reclaimed water for non-potable water as well as double-plumbing all commercial and residential buildings to reuse gray water. The original plan estimated consumption at 400 acre-feet of water per year; this revised plan projected significantly less consumption with 150-350 acre-feet of water per year (KNF 1999). This water would come from the Central Arizona Project and the Colorado River. CFV planned to contract with the Bureau of Reclamation to purchase rights to part of Arizona's entitlement to Colorado River water (Interview with CFV developer 2004). CFV entered into an excess water contract that would allow it to order 4,000 acre-feet of water over ten years (Herrmann 1998b). Storage would take place in an underground storage facility, allowing CFV to accrue recharge credits to exchange for the right to divert water directly from the Colorado River. The storage facility would pipe water 60 miles along Highway 64 (Herrmann 1998b).

Environmental organizations heralded the plan as “innovative” and “sustainable” (Ghioto 1999). However, the Sierra Club, Williams and Tusayan continued to present opposition. The Sierra Club found it difficult to believe that CFV would not tap into the local aquifer, an action that would severely threaten the seeps and springs in the Grand Canyon (Rose 1994). Tusayan residents continued to dig new wells, even in the midst of the CFV debate over water. One Tusayan hotel even built a large pool for its guests at the time. Many of the stakeholders wanted a guarantee that CFV would not disregard the plan and dig another well.

The Forest Service issued the Final EIS, which favored Alternative H. The Regional Forester received five appeals concerning the feasibility of transporting water and the economic impact of CFV on the local communities. Both the water issue and the economic ramifications of growth outside the Canyon were complex. Each side had different figures and projections regarding potential impacts. Nevertheless, the question remained whether or not CFV was an economic benefit to Northern Arizona.

After the release of the Draft, Flagstaff employed the Bureau of Business and Economic Research and Consulting (BBC), affiliated with Northern Arizona University, to review the economic model used in the land exchange alternatives. BBC projected a loss of \$832.3 million in tourism expenditures due to construction and 6.25 million in room-nights sold. It also concluded that the Forest Service did not take into account the seasonality of visitation at the Canyon, as well as the fact that CFV has a higher rate of capture for tourists due to its proximity (Herrmann 1998a; BBC 1998). CFV's support group, Coalition for the Canyon's Future, issued its own economic study that disputed the BBC's. It found that CFV created a substantially positive economic impact on the region. The benefit derived from increased retail spending, tax revenue, and jobs would ripple through Northern Arizona's economy (CCF 1997; Pollack 1998). Nonetheless, opponents used the dire predictions of severe economic impacts in the BBC report throughout the public process, even after the Forest Service updated its economic projections to incorporate aspects of the BBC report.

The BBC report lacked quantitative statistics but included an important disclaimer that questioned the reliability and accuracy of CFV's estimated impact (BBC 1998). The report influenced the Forest Service's, and later on the County's (Herrmann 1997).

Changes included the implementation of a phasing requirement and scaling back the number of hotel rooms.

The Forest Service's Regional Forester chose Alternative H, which provided 1,270 new motel rooms and 270,000 square feet of retail space, while the GCIA's favored Alternative called for 400 new rooms and 250,000 square feet of retail space without the environmental and design characteristics of CFV (Ghioto 1999b). During a 45-day appeal period following the announcement of the Forest Service's Record of Decision, opponents filed five appeals (Hoffman 1999; Vail 1999).

Idealism and the Sierra Club

The developer attempted to foster support from the Sierra Club since the mid 1990s, to no avail. The Sierra Club continued with its opposition because, as a grassroots organization that acts autonomously from its national chapter, it differed significantly from the organizations that supported CFV; the Sierra Club also prides itself on supporting preservation rather than conservation (Ghioto 1999b); and these two characteristics form the basis for the Sierra Club's opposition to any type of development outside of the Grand Canyon National Park. The Sierra Club's ideological opposition to development created an atmosphere of disbelief regarding the positive benefits extolled by the environmentalists supporting CFV. When asked about the Sierra Club's position on CFV, a representative suggested there was no way it would ever support the proposal. CFV was the best thing that could have happened to their membership numbers: the local chapter of the Sierra Club gained 200 members during the CFV controversy (Interview with Sierra Club state conservation chair 2004). CFV helped mobilize the Sierra Club's membership, giving them an issue to rally around. The Sierra Club issued newsletters and

alerts to its members that generated numerous postcards mailed to the Forest Service opposing the land exchange (Interview with Sierra Club state conservation chair 2004).

The Sierra Club brought up concerns regarding the impact of CFV on the Grand Canyon's hydrology and the impact of a drought on the development's water supply. Furthermore, the Sierra Club was concerned about the ambiguous definition of an "emergency" that would allow for groundwater pumping. In response, the Forest Service and county redefined emergency. After the Forest Service approved the Record of Decision, the Sierra Club filed suit over those concerns not addressed in the EIS.

The Tribal Perspective

The Sierra Club was not the only association opposed to development near the Canyon. The Hopi, Havasupai, and Navajo all opposed the development, fearing its impact on the seeps and springs of the Canyon. The Havasupai in particular were concerned, since the water flowing into the Canyon fed the Havasu Canyon that was the lifeblood of the Havasupai people. The tribes were very vocal in their opposition until Alternative H was developed and assurances were made that groundwater would not be utilized by the development except in the case of an emergency (see Figure 22). It was this guarantee that gained the support of the tribal councils (Interview with Havasupai Tribal Council Member 2004). The developer offered the tribes dedicated space in CFV's market center to sell their crafts directly to tourists (ADS 2000a), and CFV also offered the tribes an opportunity to work with the Museum of Northern Arizona to develop and operate INSIGHT, an interpretive orientation center that would teach visitors about the link between the Native Americans and the Grand Canyon.

Though the tribal councils gave their support to CFV, when the referendum on the zoning change occurred, the tribes overwhelmingly voted against the zoning change and helped to stop the development in its tracks. Districts that contained a majority of Native Americans voted 3-1 against CFV. A Havasupai representative explained that this discrepancy existed because of the developer's failure to communicate with the tribal elders to whom tribe members look for guidance (Interview with Havasupai Tribal Council Member 2004). The tribal elders are generally more conservative than the councils, as their education is based on tradition, as opposed to the councils who have a more contemporary education influenced by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Interview with Havasupai Tribal Council Member 2004). The developer failed to organize support at the grassroots level.



Figure 22: Supporters and opponents of Canyon Forest Village. Source: Archives of Thomas DePaolo. January 2004. Williams Grand Canyon News (Circa February 2000).

Local Opposition

The developer failed to make the case for CFV to the public. Though he excelled in gaining support from those high up in national organizations such as the NPCA,

Wilderness Society, the World Wildlife Federation, and Labor Unions, he failed in rallying the local public (Interview with former mayor of Flagstaff 2004). Political cartoons in local papers portrayed CFV and the developer as uncaring of the destruction that would befall Northern Arizona's communities should this scale of development occur. By depicting CFV as "Godzilla," ready to breathe fire on existing communities, and as a meteor bent on destroying the city of Williams, the communities expressed their fear of the unknown economic consequences that CFV might bring to Northern Arizona and to Williams (Figures 14 and 15).

The GCIA and "No on Canyon Forest Village" played on these fears through a continual stream of misinformation and scare tactics, likening CFV to a Disneyland and using original projections of 5,000 hotel rooms and 500,000 sq. ft. of retail to formulate studies on potential impacts (Rushlo 1997). NEPA requires federal agencies contemplating a land exchange to set maximum densities for proposed land-use plans in order to maximize public interest. These numbers represented a hypothetical situation dependent on full build-out, meant for discussion purposes only. GCIA exploited the numbers to maximize fear of the proposal regardless of the actual numbers approved by the Forest Service.

Between the public hearings and the large amount of information available to the public, the process appeared open and inclusive. It is important to separate genuine issues from those meant to inflame and manipulate public opinion. It is interesting to note that while one party (GCIA) relied primarily on negative campaigning, the developer refrained from this tactic (Interview with former mayor of Flagstaff 2004). Instead, he used laws concerning community incorporation and campaign finance to keep

the opponents in check. The developer relied primarily on the merits of his proposal to win public support. The developer proved his aptitude at acquiring broad-based support, but his inability to win grassroots support hurt in the end. In retrospect, relying solely on the merits of the project was an ineffective method of gaining support. Considering the amount of money spent on the proposal, choosing the right spokesperson and other public relations endeavors would have been a better use of money (Interview with former mayor of Flagstaff 2004).

The developer made overtures to Tusayan business owners early on to work together to formulate a development that would benefit all involved, but they turned him down. The economic ramifications of the proposal and the potential effects of CFV on Northern Arizona's water resources generated the most discussion and pitted the business interests of existing gateway communities against CFV from the start.

GCIA, "Just Say No to CFV," and the effective campaigning of their spokesperson Jason Rose bombarded the public with sensationalized stories of conspiracy, conflict, and impending doom. Though the press reports presented facts and details stemming from actual documents, the sensationalism of the comments made to reporters swayed the public. CFV opponents relied on negative publicity to rid themselves of the competition CFV would bring. GCIA's own proposal offered very little benefit for Northern Arizona and could not compare to CFV, as it offered no guarantee of compliance.

The media and the Forest Service bombarded the public with information for almost a decade, but it was a long and complex issue with inherent uncertainty. The public was at the mercy of a press that appeared hijacked by Tusayan business interests.

These business interests portrayed their community as a little town at the mercy of big business, when in reality its primary interest was in the maintenance of its economic stream of benefits. CFV essentially offered more to the average resident of Tusayan than what the GCIA presented. A primary example of Tusayan's disinterest in the greater good was their drilling of three wells between 1994 and 1995 without any public disclosure as to their impact on the Grand Canyon National Park (Interview with CC Community Development Director 2004). This occurred concurrently to the GCIA's media lambast of CFV regarding the development's impacts on such a unique resource as the Grand Canyon National Park (WGCN 1995).

While the developer attempted to gain greater public participation in the EIS process and educate the public about the proposal, the GCIA and Tusayan business owners tried to circumvent the EIS process by calling for its end (WGCN 1995). The public did play a large role in the land exchange process. The Forest Service asked the public to comment, and they did. They spoke up, and alternatives evolved to mitigate their concerns. The Forest Service scaled back the level of development. Eventually 83% of those who commented on the alternatives favored Alternative H. Originally, the Forest Service preferred another alternative but chose Alternative H in response to public input.

The Public Appeals Process

Flagstaff, Williams, NACOG, GCIA, and the Sierra Club all filed appeals to the Chief of the Forest Service. Their appeals concerned CFV's impact on regional water supplies and local economies, as well as the financial ability of CFV to follow through with a \$300 million project and the legitimacy of the land exchange values (Ghioto 1999b). The appellants felt the Forest Service had failed to evaluate the effects of water

pumping on the Grand Canyon's seeps. Coconino County allowed groundwater pumping only during the construction phase. While the Regional Forester reviewed appeals, Coconino County Planning and Zoning Commission held hearings concerning the changes in zoning.

Chief Dombek of the U.S. Forest Service upheld the Regional Forester's approval of CFV (Fuqua 1999; Hoffman 1999). Opponents of the project promised that if the Board of Supervisors approved the zoning change, they would hold a referendum and file lawsuits to prevent the development from occurring. The Board of Supervisors approved the zoning change after minor changes in phasing requirements and clarification of what constituted a water emergency for the purpose of pumping groundwater.

As promised, the Sierra Club filed a lawsuit, *Sierra Club vs. Michael Dombek*, in U.S. district court in Phoenix, Arizona, alleging that the Forest Service did not comply with NEPA 42 U.S.C. 4321 *et seq.*, the Administrative Procedure Act (APA), or the Federal Land Policy and Management Act (FLPMA), (43 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*) in approving the land exchange. This decision was based on the EIS lack of analysis of groundwater pumping during emergencies. The covenants on which CFV relied to allay this concern had not been formalized prior to the Forest Service issuance of the Record of Decision (Ghioto 2000). The District Court for Arizona granted the Sierra Club its motion for summary judgment on numerous counts, including the inadequate consideration of reasonable alternatives, environmental impacts, and water delivery and its cumulative impacts.

In September 2001, U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia heard the case of “City of Williams, *et al.*, vs. Michael Dombeck” and found the EIS analysis of the groundwater situation deficient and the EIS consideration of alternatives to exchanging federal land inadequate. The District Court for the District of Arizona found that the EIS analyzed the alternatives but did not conduct a comprehensive study of the environmental impact of transporting water from the Colorado River. This same court rejected claims by CFV opponents that the Forest Service failed to assess the impacts on Northern Arizona’s tourist economy. The judge ruled that the Forest Service needed to fix the deficiencies and amend the existing FEIS (*City of Williams v. Michael Dombeck*). This discrepancy between the two rulings created the possibility of a higher court overturning one of the court’s decisions.

The Public Cast Their Votes

While opponents pursued legal channels, they concurrently worked towards bringing the issue to the public for a referendum. Early in the land exchange process members of GCIA hired an effective political consultant, Jason Rose, to assist in winning the battle of public opinion. Jason Rose had gained a reputation as the “Swami of Spin”.(Roberts 1999). GCIA took an offensive position against CFV that worked well. Media attention surrounding the land exchange shaped public opinion. GCIA members wrote editorials in local newspapers driving home the same issues repeatedly until they began to resonate. Rose organized the placement of billboards attacking Bruce Babbitt across Northern Arizona (Farnsworth 1999). By playing on the public’s ignorance and uncertainties, and using phrases out of context, Rose was very effective in swaying public opinion (Malanowski 1997; Evans 1998). One claim Rose made was that the developer

intended to place roller coasters within the development, making CFV reminiscent of a Disneyland-like attraction (Interview with spokesperson for “No of CFV” 2004). This became an effective visualization in stirring public fear (Evans 1998) (see Figure 23).

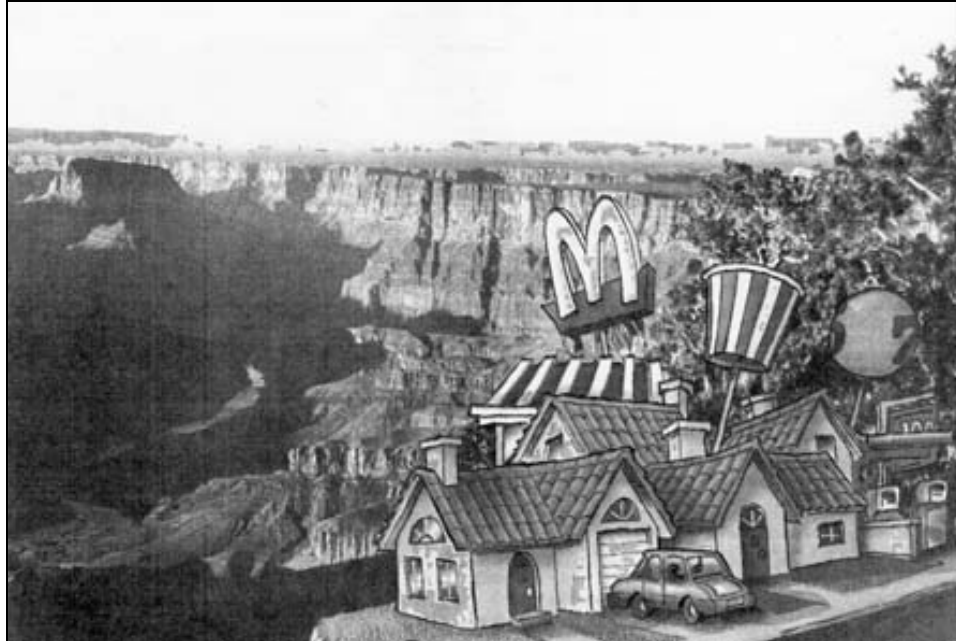


Figure 23: Fear tactics used to draw support against Canyon Forest Village.
Source: Archives of Thomas DePaolo. January 2004. *Williams Grand Canyon News* (Circa 1994).

The developer's financial partners came from California, Italy, Canada, Scottsdale, and Tucson (Drouin 1994c). GCIA plied the media with editorials bemoaning the day when foreigners own the Grand Canyon (Drouin1994c). In the early discussions between the developer, the Forest Service, the Sierra Club, and others, the developer suggested a moving exhibit in the INSIGHT center, much like that at Disney's Epcot Center, in which patrons move through exhibits on a motorized car (Interview with CFV developer 2004). The media, led by editorials originating from members of the GCIA, blew this reference to Disney out of proportion. In the end, this "people-mover" became a wild roller coaster in a major theme park. Opponents characterized CFV's developer

and financial partners as “out-of-towners” and “foreigners” attempting to take over the Grand Canyon. Many of the claims made by GCIA and “No on Canyon Forest Village” were deceptive and simplified into issues that resonated with the public. Major issues concerning water and the economy were more complex and involved uncertainty. The oppositions inflamed and mobilized public opinion against CFV (Drouin 1994c). Jason Rose helped get the zoning issue on the ballot as Proposition 400.

The public now had the final say on the land exchange. The developer received endorsements from a wide array of organizations including conservationists, community designers, Native American leaders, and labor unions (see Table 11).

Table 11: Endorsements for Canyon Forest Village in the referendum.

<p style="text-align: center;"> Hopi Tribal Council (Chairman Taylor) Navajo Nation (President Begaye) Flagstaff Mayor (Donaldson) American Rivers Arizona State AFL CIO Former Superintendent of GCNP (Bob Chandler) Coconino-Navajo Central Labor Council Environmental Defense Fund Grand Canyon Association Grand Canyon Railway Grand Canyon Trust Museum of Northern Arizona National Parks and Conservation Association National Trust for Historic Preservation Natural Resources Defense Council Rocky Mountain Institute Scenic America Sonoran Institute The Wilderness Society U.S. Green Building Council </p>
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Source: Author, compiled from USDA, Forest Service; Comments and Responses of the Tusayan Growth Environmental Impact Statement, 1998.

By nearly a 2:1 margin, Coconino County voters rejected CFV’s proposed gateway development in the 2000 election (Tucker 2000). As of 2000, the developer had spent \$20 million, and almost a decade, developing CFV. He drew endorsements from

numerous avenues, and outspent the opposition by 10-1, and in the end, 64% of voters overturned the Board of Supervisors zoning approval. However much some people would like to think CFV a dead issue, the 2000 rejection of the development does not dispel the risk of future development of the developer's inholdings (see Figure 24).

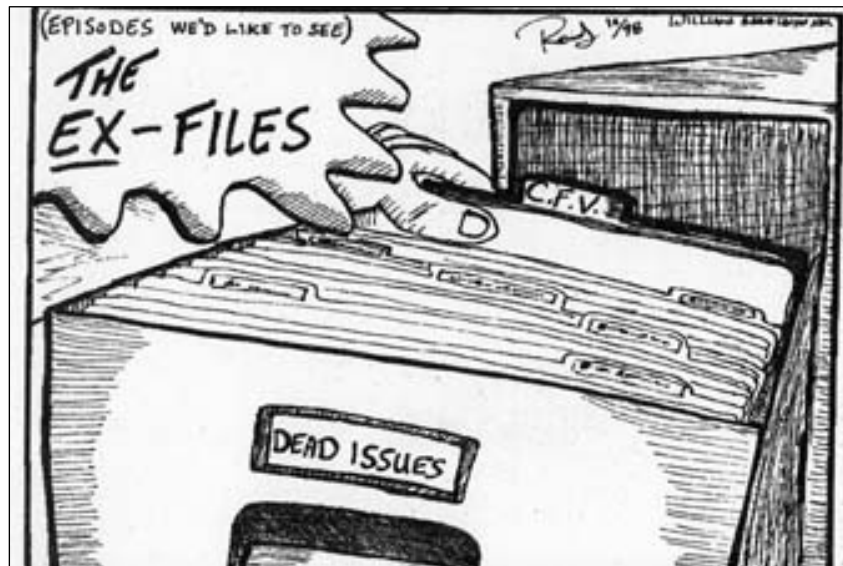


Figure 24: Residents hoped they saw the last of Canyon Forest Village. Source: Archives of Thomas DePaolo. January 2004. *Williams Grand Canyon News* (circa November 1998).

The debate over land-use change outside the borders of the Grand Canyon had waged on for a decade. The GCNP needed to pursue other avenues through which it could address its housing and traffic situation. Controlled growth outside the park via the land exchange was no longer an option. CFV, therefore, tested the public involvement in the land exchange process.

Canyon Forest Village in Retrospect

Residents of the city of Williams participated in a survey in the fall of 2004, four years after the controversy (Appendix B). The survey asked about their concerns regarding CFV and the proposed land exchange. Though the survey was not statistically

significant, the 32 residents who responded gave an indication of the general feelings regarding the public process as it pertained to CFV. Respondents had a high level of public participation: 16 kept track of the issue through the media; 15 attended local meetings concerning the land exchange; and 12 held a public office (Table 12). Since almost half of the respondents held public office, they did not accurately represent the population of Williams. Respondents identified the effects on the water supply and economy as primary factors affecting their opinion of CFV, similar to the concerns voiced by Williams residents in public comments on the EIS (Table 13). The nationality of CFV investors remained an issue that resonated with residents four years after the controversy, but to a far lesser extent than others. When asked whether they felt incorporated in the public process, 15 responded “yes,” 8 felt “disenfranchised,” and another 8 did not respond (Table 14).

Attended Community Meetings	46%
Held Office	39%
Read Newspapers/Watched News	54%
Wrote to Government Officials	25%

	Not Important	Some Importance	Very Important	No Opinion	Don't Know
Affect on Water Supply	7%	7%	79%	0	0
Affects on Economy	7%	18%	61%	4%	0
Scale of Development	14%	18%	57%	4%	0
CFV's Investors	29%	18%	36%	7%	4%

Incorporated	46%
Neutral	25%
Disenfranchised	25%

Respondents were asked about whether they felt the Forest Service approval of the land exchange and the subsequent County Board of Supervisor’s approval of the change in zoning was justified (see Table 15). Respondents were equally split on this issue. Twelve respondents considered both the Forest Service and county decisions unjustified, while twelve felt the Forest Service was justified in its decision, and eleven felt the county was justified in its zoning decision (See Table 16).

	Not Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Extremely Satisfied
Federal Government	50%	11%	32%	0	0
County Government	36%	25%	32%	0	0
Local Community	39%	11%	32%	7%	4%

	Not Justified	Somewhat Justified	Justified	Very Justified	Extremely Justified
Forest Service Approval	39%	4%	25%	11%	0
County Zoning Approval	39%	11%	21%	4%	0

Since the survey received such a low response rate, the opinions expressed by respondents in the comment section of the survey provided the greatest value. One respondent expressed regret that Williams lost out on a great opportunity to grow and achieve economic stability, while another’s concerns revolved around the continued traffic and parking issues facing the Grand Canyon National Park (Survey 125 and 91). Similar to the information gathered from interviews and news accounts, a serious divide existed between those who supported CFV and those opposed. Respondents’ opposition to CFV stemmed from a fear of the unknown and knowledge of the impact of previous development in the region. One respondent’s comment summarized this fear with her comment,

“I am opposed...Developers of private land have already devastated the land, ecology, and water supply in my community and on surrounding federal land” (Survey 158).

Respondents expressed an innate distrust of developers in general and specifically CFV’s developer. One claimed,

“Any time that the name Canyon Forest Village comes around, it makes me sick. Any time a developer with millions in his pocket tries to push his agenda against the will of the people, it stinks” (Survey 37).

The employee housing within CFV remained a contentious issue. The Grand Canyon Improvement Association’s alternative of using a special use permit to build housing on National Forest land seemed dismissed from the public’s memory. One respondent felt that the GCNP should provide its own housing rather than rely on the Forest Service.

Respondent 404 blamed the Park Service for starting DePaolo on the path towards CFV:

“GCNP has enough land base to provide housing for employees. They do not need National Forest Land for that purpose! This is what started the whole development issue. The Forest Service would have provided or set aside land to help Park Service - but then developers stepped in. The Park Service started the whole issue!” (Survey 108)

The Canyon Forest Village issue remained embedded in the minds of local residents years after the process ended. Though the public was concerned about the commercial aspects of the development, environmental organizations felt excited about the environmental design and all that CFV offered to the Grand Canyon National Park. The commercial aspect was necessary to offset the cost of the community infrastructure and design. By cutting back on commercial space, community services also required scaling back to maintain CFV’s economic feasibility.

The Forest Service was adamant about aiding the National Park Service in addressing the needs they identified in the General Management Plan. They were tired of

the piecemeal approach to addressing issues individually through special-use permits and were very interested in acquiring inholdings within the Tusayan Ranger District of the Kaibab National Forest. The Forest Service viewed Tusayan as delinquent in its duties as a gateway community since it provided none of the community services and visitor infrastructure needed by the Grand Canyon National Park.

To help its neighbor meet community infrastructural needs, the Forest Service had in the past employed special-use permits. The Kaibab National Forest granted them for a municipal golf course and an airport. The possibility existed to meet the National Park's needs through special-use permits for federal housing, the transit center, and the school. Rather than take this piecemeal approach to regional planning, the Forest Service, Park Service, and private enterprise, in the form of CFV, took a more holistic approach, addressing regional development in its entirety, up front. It was non-traditional; it was innovative; and for both the Park Service and the Forest Service it presented a solution to a growing problem. CFV offered an opportunity for the Forest Service and the Park Service to collaborate to benefit the entire area. Approval of CFV presented the potential for the Park Service to achieve its management objectives without having to face the reality of budgetary constraints.

Chapter 5: The Fight Over Canyon Forest Village: An Analysis

Chapter five demonstrates how the National Forest and the National Park function as common property resources as introduced in chapter two. Stakeholder power and its influence on the exchange process is then analyzed. After reviewing the processes and the politics that drove the land exchange, there is an examination of the meaning of the public interest. The different interpretations of who constituted the public in the Canyon Forest Village land exchange discourse and how this is influenced by resource definition are presented. This chapter concludes with an analysis of the role the Forest Service played in this collaborative attempt to develop a gateway community and presents some prospects for the future of federal land exchanges.

Defining Public Land as a Common Property Resource

Theodore Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot, and John Muir, among others, were men of vision who helped redefine the way the United States used its natural capital. Due to the work of these visionaries throughout the late 1800s, vast amounts of the public domain are managed for the public by the federal government as National Forests and National Parks. Though these lands are publicly owned, they can also be considered common property resources. In Northern Arizona, the Kaibab National Forest and the Grand Canyon National Parks, together with the gateway communities of Tusayan, Williams, and Flagstaff, create a common property resource. A common property resource exists when:

1. A resource is defined (Ostrom 1990).
2. There is a group of people with the recognized right to use the resource and the ability to exclude others (McCay and Acheson 1987; Ostrom 1990).

3. There is a management plan aimed at the sustainable use of the resource (Geores 1996).

The Grand Canyon National Park and the Kaibab National Forest are both defined resources with specific and recognized geographic boundaries. For each of these public lands, there is a group of people with recognized rights to utilize the resource, also known as *usufruct rights*.

Tourists and other individuals interested in the recreational value of the resources have rights to use the parks for such purposes. In addition, as a result of its multiple use mandate, the National Forests welcome a more diverse group of users, including hunters, fishermen, loggers, and miners. Citizens have the right to use the resource and hold membership in the public land community of owners (Geores 1996). Each of these groups has some influence with the Park Service and the Forest Service in determining the potential exclusion of the other groups.

The local gateway communities are also members in the public land community of owners. They have the right to use the resources, as well as the ability to exclude others from using the resources. The residents of the gateway communities have recognized rights to the benefit stream that originates from their proximity to these public lands (Howe and McMahon 1997). For the residents and business owners of Tusayan, Williams, and Flagstaff, these benefits take the form of tourism dollars generated by the estimated five million visitors that come to the region to see the National Park and consequently spend their time and money in the areas closest to the park.

The fight over Canyon Forest Village demonstrated the ability of gateway communities to exclude others from the aforementioned benefit stream (originating from proximity to the park) to which they are entitled. Tusayan, the closest gateway

community to the National Park, would have been supplanted by the creation of a new development marketed as a premier gateway community showcasing the latest sustainable technology. Tusayan, Williams, and Flagstaff displayed a proprietary attitude towards the Grand Canyon National Park. The business owners of Tusayan refused to work in conjunction with the developer of CFV, and residents and business owners of the three communities steered public opinion through the media. Though the required EIS was approved by the agency, the communities were able to exclude CFV and the economic competition it would bring through a county zoning referendum and through the court system.

The Park Service officials felt that moving visitor services outside the park would alleviate ecological pressures, therefore decreasing the amount of air pollution and noise pollution that the park endured from automobile traffic. The three gateway communities of the Grand Canyon National Park also wished to implement a sustainable economic strategy to maintain their economic status quo. Due to the inherent conflicts between the gateway communities and the CFV developer, reports regarding the project's impact on the regional economy varied greatly (Hoffman circa 1999). Some reports stated that CFV would increase regional tourism due to induced demand associated with the development of this premier gateway and its marketing, while other reports expressed quite the opposite. For example, one raised the concern that increased competition, combined with stagnant or falling visitation numbers, would hurt the economy and cause business failures throughout Northern Arizona.

Community Empowerment and Stakeholder Influence Over the Land Exchange Process

Stakeholders in the Tusayan Land Exchange influenced the outcome of the transaction through their sustained media campaign and their ability to stir doubt regarding the impacts of this scale of development on the local communities. While these communities had the ability to influence the scale of the project during Forest Service and County hearings, they demonstrated even greater strength and unity when it came to persuading county residents to vote against the rezoning referendum.

Previous studies (Ritchie 1993; Thorn 1994; Van Fossen and Lafferty 2001; Jamal and Getz 1999) have suggested that when governments foster a participatory process towards community planning, local residents retain control of the direction tourism proceeds and, the process helps ensure that the negative aspects of tourism are diminished what are perceived as the negative aspects of tourism. Throughout the Forest Service's public hearings and the county zoning hearings the local communities were able to limit the scope of the proposed CFV development but unable to entirely prevent it from being approved. At each stage, public participation was greatly encouraged by all parties, including the Forest Service, Coconino County, the developer of CFV, environmentalists, local representatives, business associations, and individual residents. Yet, the degree of public participation was not an adequate indicator of the resulting Forest Service and Board of Supervisor's decisions.

Batiste's (1997) findings suggest that public participation, in conjunction with a broader incorporation of the concerns stemming from this involvement, is required for the community to accept actions taken by public land agencies. Forest Service and County officials were aware in 1999, before the Regional Forester approved the

exchange, that the opponents would not give up and that they intended to initiate a county referendum on the zoning change. Knowledge of this information prior to Forest Service approval should have given officials pause, considering the amount of time and costs already associated with the EIS. The Forest Service's preparation of a Supplemental EIS addressed some of the public concern. Considering the sentiment of local community members as demonstrated through media accounts, the alternatives identified in the Supplement EIS appeased the environmental community, with the exception of the Sierra Club. Nevertheless, the options presented ceased to allay the economic fears of local business owners. The Forest Service addressed many of the concerns brought to its attention through the public participation process. They included among these the number of proposed hotel rooms, the footage of commercial space, and the search for an innovative method of procuring water.

An Environmental Impact Statement calls for the description of the "purpose and need" for a proposed action. Within the Draft EIS and the Supplement EIS, the "Purpose and Needs" section expressed that the Forest Service's objective was to acquire inholdings through a land exchange that incorporated community development and visitor services for the park. The Draft EIS was written in 1997, and given the "purposes and needs" identified in the document, specifically the need for the Forest Service to acquire inholdings and to address GCNP management goals, a land exchange was the desired action. Given the limitations expressed in the "purposes and needs" of the EIS 3 out of 7 of the alternatives presented to the public would not meet the Forest Service's standards.

The Processes and Politics Driving the Land Exchange

The literature addresses resource degradation within the parks and, increasingly, it has begun to focus on external threats to the National Parks (Shafer 1998; Freemuth 1991; Pringle 2000). No one disputes that the conditions and activities taking place outside the National Parks affect the resources within (Steer and Chambers 1998). The Kaibab National Forest and the developer attempted to assist the GCNP with addressing its management concerns by opening up new private land outside the park that would accommodate the park's needs. Potentially, a symbiotic relationship between public lands and gateway communities can exist, as the proximity to and use of the public lands attracts tourist revenue for local communities. Land within the local communities is privately owned, so individuals have an incentive to maximize the value of their properties. Profit maximization is the result of a landowner charging a premium for his or her land's proximity to the National Park, as well as the convenience this affords the visitor.

Tusayan business owners felt abandoned by the Park Service's support of CFV and believed that they had not been given adequate time and resources to address the park's needs (Interview with Best Western Grand Canyon, manager 2004). Tusayan was not alone in its sense of abandonment; evidently, there has been growing discontentment on the part of business owners and residents in many gateway communities. This trend was substantiated in 2002 by the House of Representatives' introduction of the Gateway Community Cooperation Act (H.R. 585). In December 2005, the bill was referred to the Senate for further review. This legislation requires federal land managers to support, coordinate, and cooperate with gateway communities. The legislation explicitly

recognizes that gateway communities provide necessary visitor services that federal agencies are unable to provide, therefore elevating the consideration of gateway communities over other parties.

The Public Interest and the Tusayan Land Exchange

In order for the Forest Service to pursue a land exchange, officials must be sure that the exchange would meet key statutory and regulatory requirements:

1. The land is appropriately valued
2. Its purpose will serve the public interest well

During the discussions over the Tusayan land exchange, the entire land exchange process came under the scrutiny of the Inspector General and the General Accounting Office. These bodies found that the Forest Service, as well as the Bureau of Land Management, accepted less than fair market value for federal land while overvaluing the private lands they acquired. In addition, the GAO reported that the Forest Service did not adequately demonstrate how the public benefits of the land exchange exceeded the public benefits of retaining the federal land. This, in turn, raised questions about whether the exchanges served the public interest. The GAO went so far as to suggest that Congress consider directing the Forest Service to discontinue the land exchange program.

Taxpayers want to know that the government receives a fair value for public lands traded to industry and developers. It is in the public's interest that the government receives fair market value for its land. Though the values of the lands offered in this trade were contested, the amount of media attention and angst over the public interest far exceeded the attention given to land values. Under FLPMA and its amendments, Congress directs the Forest Service to

“Give full consideration to better Federal land management and the needs of the State and local people, including needs for lands for the economy, community expansion, recreation areas, food, fiber, minerals, and fish and wildlife” (43 U.S.C. 1716a).

The Forest Service’s definition of the “public” refers to the state and local communities, so it is natural that the local business communities felt abandoned by the Forest Service’s support of CFV and the economic competition it would bring to the region. Conversely, the Park Service, in support of CFV, was looking toward the benefits CFV would bring to the national public with its newly developed gateway community providing new and improved visitor accommodations and services.

The developer of Canyon Forest Village, in support of the project, created coalitions such as Alternative H which was dubbed a win-win situation between development and the environment. The endorsement by environmental organizations, the Park Service, and the Native American tribes demonstrated that much of the public felt CFV would benefit it via its proximity to the Grand Canyon National Park. On the national scale, the Tusayan land exchange and CFV would indeed serve the public interest. However, on a finer scale, the exchange was detrimental to local and regional economies. The final contest came between which public’s interest, local or national, the land exchange served.

Local business owners and residents could not fully appreciate many of the nuances of CFV’s proposal since their immediate concerns were related to tourism associated with the National Park. By opposing CFV the local communities were fighting to maintain their potential economic well-being. Clawson (1951) would consider the localities of Tusayan, Williams, and Flagstaff “special users of the resource,” the resource being the National Park. As special users of the resource, the gateway

communities had a strong desire to maintain their economic status quo. Consequently, residents and business owners in the Grand Canyon National Park gateway communities worked effectively to organize themselves on a local and regional level to block and overturn the rezoning granted by Coconino County.

The local community groups fought hard to defeat CFV. According to Steel and List (1994), their proximity fostered a greater anthropocentric orientation. This sheds light on one reason for the environmental community's broad support for CFV. Many of the organizations that endorsed the development had top-down management, in which programmatic decisions are made far from the locality in question. This allowed these environmental interests to have a biocentric position towards the Grand Canyon National Park. After all, the large member base and administration of these organizations did not have a personal economic stake in whether a greater number of hotel rooms and/or increased area of commercial space were built in the Grand Canyon region. This biocentrism resulted in their call for a sustainable alternative to the piecemeal development that was occurring throughout the region.

However, proximity was only one determinant in whether or not an individual supported CFV. Many of the environmental organizations that approved of CFV did so because they felt development in the region was inevitable, and with this project they would have the ability to play a role in shaping that development. The Grand Canyon Trust (GCT), one of the few local environmental organizations to endorse the development, had similar concerns about growth around the Grand Canyon area. However, both the GCT and the Sierra Club's Grand Canyon Chapter were based locally, and one still fully supported CFV while the other was adamantly opposed.

The Grand Canyon Trust had close ties with CFV and contributed to shaping Alternative H and many of CFV's sustainable design features. The Trust's support helped to legitimize CFV's benefit to the Grand Canyon National Park and led other environmental organizations to follow suit. In contrast to the Grand Canyon Trust, the Sierra Club's Grand Canyon Chapter sustained its opposition to development in the Grand Canyon area throughout the land exchange process. The Sierra Club and its individual chapters have a long history of grassroots advocacy, meaning that the national headquarters does not make programmatic decisions for local chapters, unlike the other environmental organizations. Therefore, despite their close proximity to the resource, the Sierra Club had a biocentric orientation to the land. Consequently, the Sierra Club advocated for no new development around the Grand Canyon. The Sierra Club's Grand Canyon Chapter maintained that development should not occur in the region since it would negatively impact the natural resources in the National Park. Supporting a development such as CFV did not neatly fall within the Sierra Club's mission, as CFV threatened the seeps and springs within the National Park. Therefore, it was necessary for the Club to oppose the exchange and its consequent development.

CFV helped to generate greater support for the Sierra Club. The local chapter of the Sierra Club was able to increase its membership from 600 to 800 members throughout the duration of the land exchange discourse. At the same time, environmental organizations that supported CFV lost members (Sierra Club Grand Canyon Chapter Director 2004). The Sierra Club could not have asked for a better issue to mobilize the public and draw in new members and their monetary support to fight the developer. (Interview with Sierra Club state conservation chair 2004).

Resource Definition

Each of the stakeholders involved in the land exchange had its own definition of what the Grand Canyon National Park resource was. For the gateway communities, it was a natural wonder that happened to function as an economic engine drawing tourists to the region. CFV threatened the previously established stream of benefits derived from these communities' proximity to the park. Each of the environmental organizations defined the National Park as a resource in danger of exploitation by rampant unplanned development. Many threw their support behind a developer who incorporated their concerns and desires into a planned community. The Sierra Club agreed that development outside Park borders threatened the National Park, and none of the benefits CFV offered would make it acceptable.

For the Park Service, the Grand Canyon National Park is one of its "crown jewels." Over four million visitors, annually, travel to Arizona to see the Grand Canyon, making the National Park one of the most visited in the entire park system. The Grand Canyon is a national treasure of physical and biological significance to the country, and as such, it is a tourist attraction. This definition of the Grand Canyon allows the Park Service to manage it as a tourist destination that requires adequate visitor service, lodging, and parking facilities, while minimizing the impact on the resource. As Geores (1996) notes, a resource's definition facilitates the establishment of a management plan. The Grand Canyon National Park's dual definition therefore resulted in its Management Plan of 1995, which identified its desire to work with the Forest Service. The Plan also indicated the Park Service's wish to create a light-rail transit center and move visitor services outside park borders, either into the neighboring community of Tusayan or onto

National Forest land. This Plan helped to mitigate the biophysical impact of air pollution by minimizing tourist traffic.

National Forests are defined as multiple-use resources (Geores 1996; Geores 2001). Since 1981, the Forest Service has used exchanges to dispose of or consolidate land ownership patterns, as well as to promote more efficient multiple-use management techniques for the land and resources (GAO 2000). The Kaibab National Forest is defined as a forest, a recreational area, a habitat, etc. The forest is also land that is available to meet the needs of the State and local people, either economically or for community expansion through special-use permits or land exchanges. This definition and the statutory authority under the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (FLPMA) allowed the Forest Service to entertain the prospect of a land exchange with CFV's developer. The Forest Service had already issued special-use permits for oil and gas leases, recreation development sites, rights of way, roads, trails, and a golf course. The CFV land exchange would prevent the Kaibab National Forest from having to issue piecemeal special-use permits to the GCNP. Instead, CFV would incorporate the needs of the National Park into its design. The Forest Service would benefit from the acquisition of inholdings and save itself from having to administer long-term special-use permits in conjunction with the National Park. The Park Service received its wish list of visitor services, and the developer obtained approval for his project.

The Role of the Forest Service in Community Development

Canyon Forest Village was unique in its design, but, more importantly, it was unique because it presented the Forest Service with the opportunity for interagency cooperation with the Park Service and a community development venture. CFV was not an ordinary land exchange; it was dependent on the developer's delivery of a detailed description of the planned community in the EIS. Such assurances with regard building design and ground water usages came in the forms of covenants, conditions, and oversight from an independent Board of Trustees known as the Kaibab Institute. The project was also contingent on the county rezoning of National Forest land, prior to it becoming public. Ordinarily, when a land exchange takes place, there is less micromanagement concerning the use of the land immediately following the exchange. The complexity of the Tusayan land exchange lent itself to a great deal of public scrutiny and angst. In addition, it gave Coconino County residents power over the land exchange process regardless of the decisions made by the Forest Service.

In the land exchange case of Vail, Colorado, the Forest Service sought to dictate the type of development permitted by including conditions which required the development of affordable government housing or the construction of transportation facilities. Similar to the battle over CFV, gateway community members lost, as their relative proximity to the park was threatened and their investment affected (Ragsdale 1999). In any land exchange there are potential winners and losers. In both of these cases, Dadswell and Stewart (1999) were correct when asserting that the major difficulty in pursuing a land exchange is gaining the cooperation of neighboring landowners who

will feel the repercussions of the land swap. Without community acceptance, the Tusayan Land Exchange was doomed to fail.

The Federal land exchange process involving CFV encompassed a great deal of public participation that made it time-consuming and expensive for the Forest Service as well as the developer. The power that citizens exerted over the process ensured CFV would not come to fruition. Land exchanges between public and private entities produce both winners and losers. Since CFV's defeat, another land exchange has been proposed for Northern Arizona: the Ruskin-Yavapai Ranch land exchange. Fred Ruskin, the owner of Yavapai Ranch in west-central Arizona, offered to exchange 35,000 acres of inholdings in the Prescott National Forest for 15,000 acres of Forest Service land within his remaining ranch, on the outskirts of Flagstaff, Williams, Camp Verde, Clarkdale, and Cottonwood (Interview with former mayor of Flagstaff 2004).

The Yavapai Ranch land exchange would create a larger private land base in Flagstaff. However, in order to avoid the expense and time involved in the development and refinement of an EIS, Congress will make the ultimate decision regarding the Yavapai Ranch land exchange through legislation. The Northern Arizona National Forest Land Exchange Act of 2003 (H.R. 2907) was approved by the House of Representatives in 2003. Such legislated land exchanges involve direct interaction between the private landowner and a congressional sponsor. The concerns of stakeholders and interest groups are not completely circumvented this way, but their power is minimal compared to that which is afforded through the EIS process.

With CFV, the Forest Service and the Park Service worked in conjunction with the developer to plan a community that would benefit many. This cooperation

demonstrated what is possible when such organizations work together. Cooperation between the Park Service and the Forest Service in the past had been relegated to issues of law enforcement or fire management and more recently ecosystem management (Sax and Keiter 1987; Clark, Amato et al. 1991). Despite a history of interagency rivalry and conflict, the fact remains that the proximity of the National Parks and Forests yields great potential for cooperative management.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

The Canyon Forest Village land exchange process and the ensuing battle for control over development outside the Grand Canyon National Park demonstrated the complexity and multidimensionality of stakeholder power and the struggle for control or power over local land use decisions at the interface of public and private lands. Throughout the discourse, power was exerted on multiple scales. This power was continually used to promote one stakeholder group's definition of the "public interest" above another group's.

Locally, the gateway communities of Tusayan, Williams, and Flagstaff feared the economic impact Canyon Forest Village would have on their economies. The community interests lay in maintaining their local economies and preventing the competition that a newly created gateway community would bring to the region. Throughout the land exchange process it appeared that the concerns of local community members had minimal impact on the land exchange process in its early stages when the decision making process was solely in the hands of the Forest Service. It was not until the land exchange became a local zoning issue that the communities were able to demonstrate power over the process by subverting the entire land exchange.

The Grand Canyon Chapter of the Sierra Club and the Grand Canyon Trust both operated on a finer scale but had differing views of the public interest. The Sierra Club's interests in National Park issues are to minimize development around the Grand Canyon National Park and any of the negative impacts that such development would bring. The Grand Canyon Trust's interests in the region are to find common sense solutions to

problems affecting the region's natural resources. Consequently, the Sierra Club fought to prevent the development of Canyon Forest Village, whereas the Grand Canyon Trust promoted the land exchange and worked with the developer to design a community that accentuated positive design characteristics while minimizing negative impacts on natural resources. The changing characteristics of Canyon Forest Village between the Draft Environmental Impact Statement and the Final Environmental Impact Statement demonstrated the power the Grand Canyon Trust exerted over the process. The Final Environmental Impact Statement reflected minimal local community concerns while it upheld the public interest defined by the Forest Service, the National Park Service, and the Grand Canyon Trust. In the federal land exchange process, local interests were not fully taken into account as part of the broader public interest and thus were discounted.

Here, the developer's proposal represented a partnership between private industry and public lands. This cooperation may very well indicate the ways in which the Park Service will address visitor services in the future by relocating these facilities outside of the park boundaries despite the failure of this exchange. However, the Park Service must recognize that, as demonstrated with CFV, it is especially important to address community concerns, because local residents hold the power in determining the viability of development on private land through zoning, permits, and other legal or regulatory avenues. The Park Service needs to foster stronger partnerships with local communities since threats to the visitor experiences and the park's natural resources are increasingly external and transboundary since they occur outside park borders.

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Appendix B: Interview Subjects

Employment and/or Affiliation During the Land Exchange Negotiations
Mayor of Flagstaff
Current Williams Mayor
Congresswoman Kaibab Institute
Williams City Councilman
Former Flagstaff City Council Member; Spokesperson for “No on Canyon Forest Village”
Coconino County Board of Supervisors; Bruce Babbitt’s brother
Coconino County Community Development, Director
Northern Arizona Council of Governments (NACOG)
Kaibab National Forest, Forest Lands Staff Officer
Kaibab National Forest, Public Affairs Officer
Kaibab National Forest, Forest Lands Staff Assistant
Havasupai tribe, council member; Grand Canyon National Park, cultural demonstrator
Northern Arizona University’s Business School Produced BBC report for CFV opponents
Northern Arizona University’s School of Forestry, faculty member Worked closely with KNF
Coconino Community College, faculty member Worked closely with the KNF
Best Western Grand Canyon, manager; Member of the Tusayan Chamber of Commerce
Owner of Red Feather Lodge in Tusayan
Grand Canyon Trust, president
Grand Canyon Trust, conservation director
President of CanyonAire, river running outfit at the GCNP Member of the Sierra Club
Sierra Club Grand Canyon Chapter, state conservation chair; Southwest Forest Alliance, executive director

Appendix C: Williams Survey

A Survey of Residents' Views on the Canyon Forest Village Land Exchange in the Tusayan Area

Note: Your Responses to this survey are confidential.

Please return your completed survey in the enclosed self-addressed stamped Envelope. For the sake of confidentiality, please do not write a return address on the envelope. If you have any questions or comments about this survey, please contact Barbara Kearney at the below email address and phone number.

Barbara A. Kearney, Ph.D. Candidate

**University of Maryland
Department of Geography
2108 Lefrak Hall, College Park MD 20742
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Please respond to the following statements:

Section 1: Land Exchange Questions

1. Were you aware of the proposed Canyon Forest Village (CFV) development and the associated National Forest land exchange proposal? (*Yes or No*) _____.
- 1a. If YES when did you first hear about it? (*Year*) _____
- 1b. If NO skip to Section 2.

2. **Where did you get your information concerning the land exchange proposal and Canyon Forest Village?** *(Circle all that apply)*

		<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>
1.	Television	1	2
2.	Other individuals	1	2
3.	Newspapers	1	2
4.	Mail	1	2
5.	Through group affiliations	1	2
6.	The internet	1	2
7.	Other _____	1	2

3. **Did you favor the Canyon Forest Village the proposed land exchange?** *(Yes or No)*_____.

4. **Please rate the importance of the following factors on your opinion.**

	Not Important	Some Importance	Very Important	No Opinion	Don't Know
Job Opportunities	1	2	3	4	5
Size of the community	1	2	3	4	5
Visitor Pressure on GCNP	1	2	3	4	5
Community Heritage	1	2	3	4	5
Economic competition	1	2	3	4	5
Foreigner influences	1	2	3	4	5
Other _____	1	2	3	4	5

5. **Rate the degree of benefit the following stakeholders would have received from the Land Exchange.**

	Negative Affects	No Benefit	Positive Affects	No Opinion	Don't know
Williams	1	2	3	4	5
Tusayan	1	2	3	4	5
Flagstaff	1	2	3	4	5
Local Businesses	1	2	3	4	5
Grand Canyon NP	1	2	3	4	5
Kaibab NF	1	2	3	4	5
The developer	1	2	3	4	5

6. **Did you make any public comments about the proposed land exchange to:**

(Check all that apply)

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>
1. The Forest Service	1	2
2. The Park Service	1	2
3. Local Officials	1	2
4. Local organizations	1	2
5. The Press	1	2

7. Please use the following scale to rate your satisfaction with the following aspects of the Tusayan land exchange process.

	Not Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Extremely Satisfied
Your participation	1	2	3	4	5
Level of information received	1	2	3	4	5
Forest Service approval	1	2	3	4	5
County Zoning approval	1	2	3	4	5
Williams City Government	1	2	3	4	5
The outcome	1	2	3	4	5

8. How justified do you think the following *decisions/opinions* regarding the land exchange and Canyon Forest Village were?

	Not Justified	Somewhat Justified	Justified	Very Justified	Extremely Justified
Forest Service approval	1	2	3	4	5
County Zoning approval	1	2	3	4	5
The Opposition	1	2	3	4	5

9. What do you believe the purpose of the land exchange was? (Circle *al that apply*)

	YES	NO
1. To alleviate visitor pressure on the Grand Canyon National Park	YES	NO
2. To consolidate National Forest land holdings in the Kaibab National Forest	YES	NO
3. To increase economic competition	YES	NO
4. To profit the Canyon Forest Village developer	YES	NO

10. Please rate your satisfaction with following *influences* on local land use decisions.

	Not Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Extremely Satisfied
Federal Government	1	2	3	4	5
County Government	1	2	3	4	5
Local Community	1	2	3	4	5

11. Please rate the importance of the following aspects of the Land Exchange on your opinion of it?

	Not Important	Some Importance	Very Important	No Opinion	Don't Know
1. Affect on water supply	1	2	3	4	5
2. Affect on Economy	1	2	3	4	5
3. The scale of development	1	2	3	4	5
4. CFV's investors	1	2	3	4	5

12. Did you feel that the comments you made were incorporated into the Canyon Forest Village proposal as it evolved? (Yes or No) _____.

13. Do you feel that Tusayan provides adequate support for the Grand Canyon National Park, ie. Employee housing, visitor services, interpretation? (Yes or No) _____.

14. Do you feel your community played a large role in the defeat of Canyon Forest Village in the County-wide referendum? (Yes or No) _____ If not, who do you feel did play a large role in the referendum outcome? _____.

Section 2: National Park Questions

15. When was your most recent visit to the Grand Canyon National Park?

- a. Past six months
- b. Six month to a year ago
- c. Within the last 5 years
- d. Over five years ago
- e. Have never been there

16. Rate your level of satisfaction with the following aspects of the Grand Canyon National Park.

	Not Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Extremely Satisfied
Visitor services	1	2	3	4	5
Parking	1	2	3	4	5
Employee helpfulness	1	2	3	4	5
General Upkeep	1	2	3	4	5
Recreation	1	2	3	4	5
The view/air quality	1	2	3	4	5
Other _____	1	2	3	4	5

17. Have you been to any public meetings or participated in public comment sessions on National Park issues regarding the Grand Canyon Area? (Yes or No)

a. If so can you please write what that issue was about?

RATE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT

18. My community is involved in the decisions that the National Park Service makes that affect my community.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

Section 3: National Forest Questions

19. How often do you go to/use the Kiabab National Forest?

- a. Weekly 4. Yearly
- b. Monthly 5. Every five years
- c. Seasonally 6. Every ten years

20. Rate your level of satisfaction with the following aspects of the Kaibab National Forest.

	Not Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Extremely Satisfied
Visitor services	1	2	3	4	5
Parking	1	2	3	4	5
Employee helpfulness	1	2	3	4	5
General Upkeep	1	2	3	4	5
Recreation	1	2	3	4	5
The view/air quality	1	2	3	4	5
Other _____	1	2	3	4	5

RATE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT

21. My community is involved in the decisions that the National Forest Service makes that affect my community?

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

22. Do you recognize any differences in how the National Forest Service and National Park Service manage their resources? (Yes or No) _____

Section 4: Demographic Information

When answering the following questions about yourself, remember that all responses will remain confidential to the extent of the law.

Circle the appropriate letter:

23. **What is your gender?**
- a. Male
 - b. Female
24. **Do you own or rent your home?**
- 1. Own
 - 2. Rent
25. **What is your age range?**
- a. Under 21 years
 - b. 21-30 years
 - c. 31-40 years
 - d. 41-50 years
 - e. 51-60 years
 - f. 61-65 years
 - g. over 65 years
26. **What is your education level?**
- 1. Less than 9th grade
 - 2. 9th to 12th grade, no diploma
 - 3. High school graduate or equivalency
 - 4. Some college,
 - 4. Associate degree
 - 5. Bachelor's degree
 - 6. Graduate or professional degree
27. **What is your primary area of employment?**
- 1. Agriculture
 - 2. Forestry
 - 3. Mining
 - 4. Construction
 - 5. Manufacturing
 - 6. Transportation
 - 7. Retail trade
 - 8. Finance, insurance, and real estate
 - 9. Entertainment and recreation services
 - 10. Professional and related services
 - 11. Health services
 - 12. Educational services
 - 13. Public administration
 - 14. Other _____
28. **How long have you lived in this community? (months or years) _____**
- a. **Where did you live before? (city, state) _____**
29. **How many different National Parks have you been to in the last 5 years?**
- _____

30. What are your primary outdoor recreational activities in the Kaibab National Forest and/or the Grand Canyon National Park? (Choose all that apply)

- | | | |
|----|---------|---|
| a. | Hiking | 6. Boating (ie. Rafting, canoeing, sailing) |
| b. | Fishing | 7. Picnicking |
| c. | Biking | 8. Sightseeing |
| d. | Sports | 9. Other_____ |

31. Do you participate in local government and/or politics? (Yes or No) _____ . If so which of the following do you participate in?

		<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>
a.	Go to community meetings	1	2
b.	Hold office	1	2
c.	Read the newspaper, watch news on television	1	2
d.	Write to government officials	1	2

32. Of the following organizations please *circle* whichever category applies to you:

		Member	Contributor	Volunteer
a.	National Parks and Conservation Association	1	2	3
b.	National Park Foundation	1	2	3
c.	Grand Canyon Trust	1	2	3
d.	Sierra Club	1	2	3
e.	Friends of the Grand Canyon	1	2	3
f.	The Nature Conservancy	1	2	3
g.	World Wildlife Federation	1	2	3
h.	Grand Canyon Association	1	2	3

Please use this space for any other comments you have about the issues addressed in this survey.

By returning this survey I state that I am over 18 years of age, in good physical and mental health, and wish to participate in a program of research being conducted by Barbara Kearney in the Department of Geography at the University of Maryland at College Park.

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