

FROM SKEPTICISM TO SUPPORT: NATIONAL HERITAGE AREAS IN THE WEST

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In 2006, Congress established two new national heritage areas (NHA) with lands mainly in Utah. In the southern and central part of the state, the Mormon Pioneer National Heritage Area (MPNHA) stretched for roughly 250 miles along Highway 89 and included land in six counties: Sanpete, Sevier, Piute, Wayne, Garfield, and Kane. Further west, the Great Basin National Heritage Area (GBNHA) encompassed all of Utah's Millard County, as well as neighboring White Pine County and the Duckwater Shoshone Reservation, both in Nevada.¹ In each case, the campaign for NHA designation took close to ten years, with local advocates traveling to Washington, D.C. several times to testify before House and Senate committees.

This article explores the shifting politics of NHA designation in the American West, with an emphasis on Utah, Nevada, and Arizona. The National Park Service (NPS) is charged with overseeing the NHA program, which it defines as including “places where historic, cultural, and natural resources combine to form cohesive, nationally important landscapes.”² The NHA model emphasizes partnerships and collaboration as tools to promote community-driven conservation, preservation, and economic development projects. Originally concentrated in deindustrialized areas of the Upper Midwest and Eastern Seaboard, the approach has slowly gained traction in western states during the past two decades. Though wariness toward the idea persists, there has been a move towards acceptance among many early critics. Monte Bona, longtime executive director of the MPNHA, has described this ongoing transition as “skepticism turning to spectacular support.”³

Key to this transformation is the designation process itself. Though in part funded by congressional appropriations, the drive for creating NHAs does not emanate from within the NPS or other federal land management agencies. Instead, the primary impetus comes from local actors and interests who ideally build consensus around a plan prior to legislative action. This approach serves an important legitimating function,

shielding successful NHA campaigns from at least some of the rancor often connected to debates over other forms of protected area management, including those that include significant public land acreage.

For both political and pragmatic reasons, NHA proposals lacking support from a diversity of stakeholders rarely gain authorization. Ongoing discord would sabotage the program's fundamental goal of partnership development. It would also raise concerns for congressional sponsors and other elected officials whose support is necessary for authorization and long-term viability.⁴

NHAs are one of many federal land designations in the West. Yet they differ substantially from most initiatives in that they include both public and private property. Their boundaries, though defined in legislation, are rarely marked with signs or entry stations. People, rather than a physical landscape, are at the center of the NHA process. "You cannot have a heritage area with just land and no people," Brenda Barrett, the former national coordinator for heritage areas, commented. "People's stories, memories, and cultures are vital to NHA development in the short and long term."⁵ The significance of public lands within an NHA emerges because of human influence and interaction over time—*not* despite it.

Studying the history of the NHA program reveals much about the direction of conservation practice, including public lands management, in the late twentieth-century United States. Beginning in the 1960s with the establishment of national seashores and lakeshores, the NPS began to experiment, albeit haltingly, with allowing residents and other property owners to continue living and working within park boundaries.⁶ The agency also ceded some decision-making authority to its partners, whether in the form of advisory boards, cooperative agreements, or memoranda of understanding. These actions allowed the NPS to establish a broader presence in urban and suburban areas as well as in landscapes with varied landownership patterns. NHAs represent one of the more dynamic (and popular) outcomes of this broader shift towards the collaborative administration of protected areas, including federal public lands.

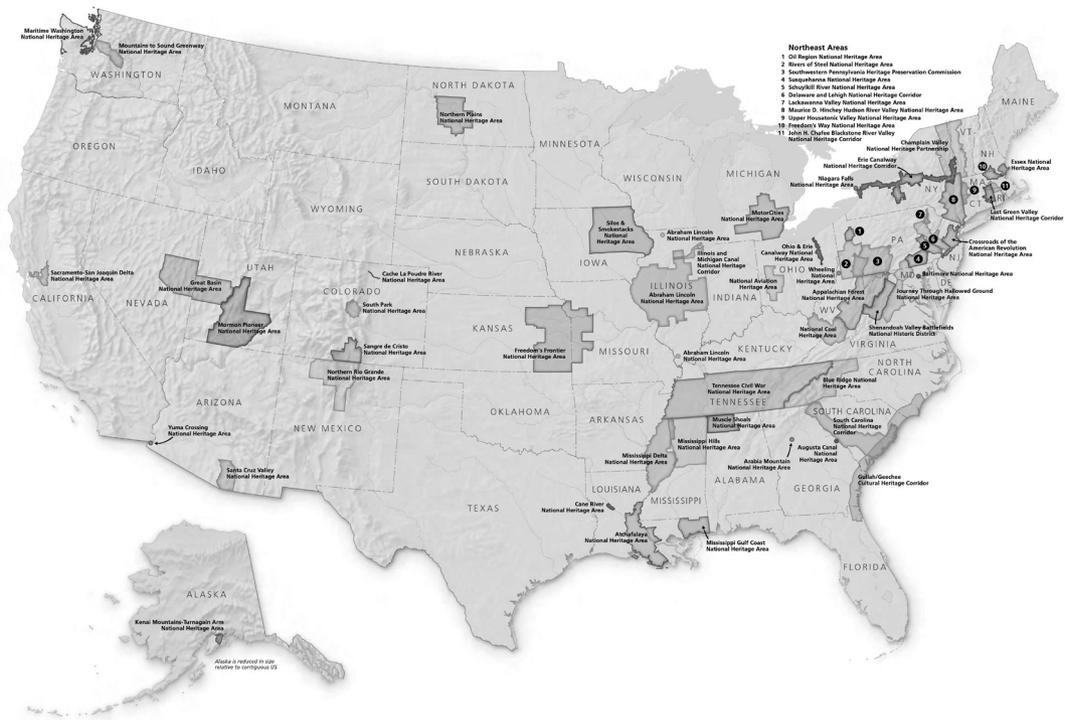
THE NATIONAL HERITAGE AREA MODEL

Congress designated the Illinois and Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor as the first NHA in 1984. Since that time, the program has grown to include fifty-five locations in more than thirty states. Each NHA has unique authorizing legislation, though several similar elements appear in most bills. One commonality is the role of the NPS. It is the principal federal partner and provides ongoing financial and technical assistance to all active areas, with the agency's regional offices usually serving as the primary point of contact. Additionally, many NHAs share thematic connections with NPS units and work together closely on joint programming.

NHA designation has no impact on private property rights, the use of public lands, or zoning. Instead, the immediate effects are increased visibility and access to financial resources. The prestige of congressional recognition, along with linkage to the NPS, stimulates interest in a region's cultural and natural resources—a valuable outcome given that heritage tourism is a primary aim of most NHAs.

Eligibility for federal NHA funding is also an outcome of designation. Since the mid-2000s, federal allocations have averaged roughly \$150,000 per year for newly established areas and \$300,000 to \$600,000 per year for areas that have a management plan approved by the Interior secretary. But congressional funding in any given budget cycle is not guaranteed. Additionally, NHAs must match all federal funds with nonfederal support (cash or in-kind).

NHAs vary tremendously in their geographic scale, thematic scope, and management structure. Some are limited to a few downtown neighborhoods, while others encompass tens of thousands of square miles across multiple jurisdictions. Interpretive emphases are equally varied. Several NHAs focus on a specific topic or period in time—for example, the American Revolution or the life of Abraham Lincoln. Others address thousands of years, covering the full breadth of a landscape's natural and cultural history. Nonprofit organizations, universities, federal commissions, state agencies, and local



Map of National Heritage Areas nationwide, 2019. NHAs in the western states have come about only in recent years, with two of the largest—Mormon Pioneer NHA and Great Basin NHA—designated in 2006. *Courtesy National Park Service.*

governments all manage NHAs, with staff size ranging from one to more than a dozen.

What links these efforts is a common approach to community development rooted in a sense of place and shared governance. NHA coordinating entities act as a platform for partnerships and local capacity building. They assemble stakeholders, guide planning processes, and seed projects with funding and technical expertise. With a few exceptions, NHAs do not own or manage property beyond a visitor center or office. Their role is catalyst and convener, forming new connections and cementing existing relationships. The result is a powerful “collaborative framework,” grounded in shared appreciation for a region’s histories, cultures, and natural landscapes.⁷

NATIONAL HERITAGE AREAS MOVE WEST

By the end of 2000, the number of NHAs reached almost two dozen. Only one, however,

was located west of the hundredth meridian. In contrast to most of the areas established further east, NHAs proposed in western states regularly encountered resistance from residents, elected officials, and business interests, as well as politically conservative think tanks such as the Heritage Foundation.⁸ This hostility stemmed, in large part, from fears regarding the possible land use implications of designation.

These tensions surfaced in a dispute concerning the Yuma Crossing National Heritage Area in Arizona.⁹ Originally authorized by Congress in 2000 to include roughly twenty-two square miles of historic downtown Yuma and surrounding areas along the Colorado River, the NHA encountered the ire of farmers, ranchers, and other property owners shortly after completing its management planning process in 2003.¹⁰ A mistaken decision by a city official to deny a permit for a billboard on private land within the NHA boundaries set off a torrent of protest led by the Yuma County Farm Bureau. A series of public meetings drew large crowds,

including one session where almost six hundred people packed into a local farm supply company, with many residents learning about the NHA and its activities for the first time.¹¹ During its multiyear management planning process, the NHA had directed its energies on a roughly five-square-mile area near downtown and along the Colorado River. Language in its 2000 authorizing legislation, however, still reflected the original, larger boundaries. To clarify this important issue for the public, the NHA and the Yuma County Farm Bureau signed a joint statement. It announced that the NHA would ask Congress to change the boundaries to align with those in the management plan. It also stated that the farm bureau would support the management plan.¹²

In addition to the congressional request, the NHA coordinating entity also acted on a local level. It recommended that the city of Yuma and Yuma County pass resolutions clearly stating that no municipal regulation could rely on heritage area boundaries as a pretext for regulation. The NHA also added a representative of the agricultural community to its board, with one farmer eventually becoming the chair.¹³ These quick and decisive steps helped build trust by demonstrating the NHA's commitment to listening to the needs and perspectives of residents.

In the following decade, the Yuma Crossing NHA had a major impact on the city of Yuma. It spearheaded the creation of a new riverfront park, expanded historical interpretation throughout the downtown landmark district, and played an important role in restoring the Yuma East Wetlands along the Colorado River. Each project relied heavily on partnerships, with involvement of residents, business interests, local and state government, and the Quechan Indian Tribe.¹⁴

Yet despite these achievements, the Yuma experience became (and remains) a popular talking point for NHA skeptics.¹⁵ It also offered an important lesson for communities seeking designation. Outreach, including to potential opponents, is critical to short- and long-term success, especially in the West where many property owners have a visceral reaction to federal initiatives. Moving quickly towards designation, while

attractive in some respects, can generate serious challenges later as more residents learn about the NHA and its activities. Reflecting on these events, former Yuma Crossing NHA executive director Charles Flynn commented: "What I learned from the experience is that many Westerners have had bad experiences with the federal government generally, given the large amount of land the Feds control. We must respect the fears and genuine emotions involved. By respecting those emotions and addressing the concerns without affecting the Heritage Area plans, we ultimately drew even stronger support from the farming community."¹⁶

MORMON PIONEER NATIONAL HERITAGE AREA

Interest in creating an NHA in Utah dates to the mid-1990s.¹⁷ One early effort targeted the San Rafael Swell, a large area in the east-central part of the state managed by the Bureau of Land Management. This proposal, which would have encompassed land in Emery, Carbon, and Sanpete Counties, did garner some enthusiasm, but ultimately faltered prior to designation.¹⁸ Only a few years later, another NHA began to take shape further south. Centered on the Highway 89 corridor between the town of Fairview and the Arizona border and Highways 12 and 24, the National Mormon Pioneer Heritage Area (later changed to Mormon Pioneer National Heritage Area) proposed to tell the story of nineteenth-century emigration and settlement by members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. A nonprofit, all-volunteer organization, the Utah Heritage Highway 89 Alliance (Alliance), took the lead in advocating for the NHA designation. Its membership included "area artisans, crafters, shopkeepers, innkeepers, restaurants and outfitters," according to a newspaper report. Originally formed in 1996 as an offshoot of the Sanpete Heritage Council, a multicounty tourism agency, the Alliance prioritized outreach and engagement. It held dozens of public meetings along the length of the corridor, inviting residents, local elected officials, business owners, and tribal governments to learn more about the effort.¹⁹

The land within the NHA's proposed boundaries included a mix of public and private



Landscape scene of Manti, Utah, within the Mormon Pioneer NHA. *Courtesy Mormon Pioneer National Heritage Area.*

ownership. In addition to three national parks, three national monuments, eight state parks, and three national forests, the area under consideration also included a large amount of farmland and numerous towns and small cities. Not surprisingly, the idea of applying a new federal designation to such a large landscape generated uneasiness. Concerns included effects on zoning, changes in the management of federal lands, and the potential for gentrification and displacement linked to the tourism industry.²⁰

Given these anxieties, the Alliance and other NHA supporters pursued a “microlevel” engagement strategy.²¹ Numerous scoping meetings took place up and down the corridor during the early 2000s to explain how NHAs worked. At these events, open to the public,

anyone interested, worried, or even hostile to the idea could share views.

An important talking point at the gatherings was economic development. The NHA model has always emphasized the linkage between heritage tourism, historic preservation, investment, and job creation.²² The private sector is an essential partner for NHAs, with representatives from local businesses serving on boards of directors alongside nonprofit leaders, academics, and public officials. In the case of the MPNHA, the emphasis was at the community level with the goal of revitalizing towns along the proposed route.²³ This approach was largely successful in both allaying fears and galvanizing support, including among municipal officials and county commissions.

Another important part of the Alliance's strategy was building partnerships with state lawmakers and agencies. Prior to seeking federal designation, the Alliance sought recognition from the legislature, becoming one of four state heritage areas. In addition, it advocated for the creation of a Mormon Pioneer Heritage Center at Utah State University. These actions raised the NHA's profile in Utah and demonstrated to Congress and the NPS that the effort had a broad spectrum of backers.

Despite these endorsements, the push to gain federal status as an NHA still took time. First considered for designation in 2002, the NHA only received congressional authorization in late 2006, when a bill creating ten new NHAs gathered enough momentum for passage. Though frustrating to advocates, the waiting period likely had an unintended positive impact. It allowed those skeptical of the idea to gain added familiarity with the NHA concept and solidified support among longtime backers of the initiative.

GREAT BASIN NATIONAL HERITAGE AREA

The drive to establish an NHA in the Great Basin region of Nevada and Utah also began in the late 1990s. Denys M. Koyle, a longtime resident of White Pine County, played a crucial role in the NHA's creation. She recalled that in late 1998, the superintendent of Great Basin National Park attended a meeting about the NHA program in Washington, D.C. Shortly after returning to Nevada, the superintendent discussed the idea with Koyle and other local business owners, who reacted with enthusiasm to the concept.²⁴

The next step was a public meeting in the small town of Baker. Over fifty people took part, with many traveling from neighboring communities to learn more. The response from attendees was largely positive, even among those unhappy with the existing NPS presence in the region.²⁵ In this formative period, NHA supporters crucially stressed that their effort was a new and separate initiative from the national park. It would receive federal funds and work with federal agencies, including the NPS, but its management would be entirely independent. In addition, the

NHA would not own any land or play a role in regulating public lands.²⁶ These arguments succeeded in stemming apprehension, though the initial GBNHA proposal was scaled down when elected officials in an adjoining county (ultimately not included) expressed unease over the perceived property rights implications.

One reason that support for the NHA coalesced so quickly was northeastern Nevada's worsening economic situation. The mining industry had been in decline since at least the 1980s, with copper facing an especially steep drop in prices. In fact, only a few months after the initial NHA meeting, a major employer, Broken Hill Proprietary Co. Ltd. (BHP), announced that it would be shutting down production at the Robinson Mine in Ruth, Nevada. The closure eliminated over four hundred jobs and had a significant effect across White Pine County. Property values decreased, as did tax revenue. Additionally, many workers decided to leave the area, moving elsewhere to look for more stable employment opportunities.²⁷

Many residents had hoped that the creation of Great Basin National Park in 1986 would stimulate investment and job growth. Tourism did increase, but not enough to offset the losses in mining and other industries. Visitors often stayed within the park and did not spend money in neighboring communities, limiting the park's potential economic ripple effects.

The NHA model differed in that it had the potential to promote a much larger landscape. During the push for designation, Tonia Harvey, who operated a gift shop and café within the park, explained the need for the NHA to a local newspaper. "People come to Baker to see the park, but it never occurs to them there is more to see than just the park," she said. "With the heritage area we feel we can get them to stay longer and tour the entire area."²⁸ Another local business owner, Lorraine Clark of Ely, Nevada, commented, "This is critical for our whole survival out here. . . . Promoting all that heritage, that's what we hope to use as an economic stimulus."²⁹

In 2002, members of the Nevada and Utah congressional delegations introduced legislation to create the GBNHA, but, like the MPNHA, it would take many years of advocacy for the bill

to become law. During this period, public engagement continued. Backers of the effort emphasized several key points. First, and likely most important, was the voluntary opt in nature of NHA activities. The GBNHA, like all other NHAs, would have no effect on zoning or land use. Involvement in its projects would be by choice. Second, NHA advocates did not criticize the region's longstanding industries, like mining, during their campaign. Instead, they promoted heritage tourism as an additional source of jobs and revenue. "Mining has always been a part of our heritage," a leader of the NHA effort explained. "The problem is if you let yourself depend on mining solely, you'll ask for it. Mines come and go."³⁰ Finally, the celebratory aspect of NHA designation also received attention. Creating an NHA was a means to signal pride of place to one's neighbors and to the country as a whole. At a hearing before the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, for example, Denys Koyle testified, "I want not only my children and grandchildren to be proud of this heritage, but also for the entire nation to know of this heritage and understand it and incorporate it with pride as part of their heritage."³¹

Since its designation in 2006, the GBNHA has emphasized these same core principles. One notable success has been a grant program that supports local partners. As Brandi Roberts, executive director of the GBNHA, explains: "What we do is provide the resources, both financial and technical assistance, for the local communities to tell their stories in the way they want to, using the methods they want to, choosing their audiences. We don't direct people what to do."³² Private individuals, nonprofit organizations, tribal governments, businesses, and local governments have all applied and received support. A sample of funded projects includes new roofs on historic structures, Powwow operations, oral history interviews, interpretive programming and exhibits, and restroom facilities at a hot spring on the Duckwater Shoshone Reservation.

FUTURE CHALLENGES, OPPORTUNITIES

The number of NHAs in the West continues to grow. In early 2019, Congress passed the John D. Dingell Jr. Conservation, Management, and

Recreation Act into law. It established six new NHAs—the first time in almost a decade that Congress added landscapes to the NHA system. Four of the six new NHAs were in western states, including two in Washington, one in California, and one in Arizona.

Antagonism towards NHAs remains, however. Though specifically barred from carrying out zoning or similar measures, NHAs are inevitably caught up in debates over the role of the state in implementing conservation initiatives. Longstanding distrust of federal action in many western states, especially as it relates to the public lands and adjoining private property, is often coupled with the rhetoric of national property rights organizations. The result is anxiety over the possible implications of a new and little-known federal designation. A recent attempt to establish a new NHA on the border of Texas and Louisiana, for example, faltered in the face of significant opposition from residents fearful of potential environmental regulations.³³

While property rights continue to be the dominant issue driving opposition to NHAs, other significant questions also exist. For example, an effort to establish an NHA on the island of Oahu lost momentum after Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) and others expressed reservations regarding its interpretive foci and tourism emphasis, as well as a lack of public engagement. In addition, worries regarding the effects of NHA status on Kanaka Maoli sovereignty emerged as a prominent issue.³⁴ These concerns, though specific to Hawai'i, nonetheless reflect a broader need for NHAs to remain aware of the history and ongoing reality of colonialism and racial exclusion in the West.³⁵ Heritage is never a singular category and, especially in its more promotional forms, can become a tool of erasure, inscribing the silences of the past into the contemporary memorial landscape.

CONCLUSION

The NHA model is a unique approach to protected area management. It links economic and community development to preservation, conservation, and recreation projects. Though supported with federal funds and technical expertise, it is almost entirely locally driven.

The boundaries of areas, the proposed interpretive themes, and the management structure all emerge from on-the-ground organizing. Experienced NPS staff at the park, region, and national levels offer important guidance and support in areas like recreation planning, historic preservation, and interpretation.

The blending of knowledge and expertise is written into NHA authorizing statutes. This type of legislative language, which mandates collaboration and consultation with varied partners, has also become more common in the establishment of new national park units. Its presence is important, in that it provides legal footing to balance the power asymmetries that can often undermine cooperation between the federal government and grassroots constituencies.

Creating more NHAs will not resolve the tensions that surround public lands in the West. Still, when designated in a slow and thoughtful manner, NHAs can and do build trust among skeptical actors. These relationships, in turn, create new and exciting spaces for joint planning and programming, with results like the Yuma East Wetlands Project or the Great Basin Grants Program.³⁶

In successful NHAs, federal agencies, including but not limited to the NPS, are drawn into and engage in planning processes led by local communities—a noteworthy change from the oftentimes rote public engagement that can accompany legally mandated environmental consultation. The strong ties developed during the designation period offer a stable foundation for future cooperation—even on controversial or divisive topics. There is no “off-the-shelf” formula for NHA success, however. It takes time, determination, and humility to build and sustain place-based partnerships, but the ultimate results can be transformative for the affected partners and landscapes.

Notes

1 The term National Heritage Area refers to all regions designated by Congress as part of the National Heritage Areas Program. Some sites employ a variation on the nomenclature, including National Heritage Route, National Heritage Corridor, or Cultural Heritage Corridor. The authorizing legislation for the GBNHA identified it as a National Heritage Route, but the nonprofit co-

- ordinating entity, along with partners, prefer and have always used the term National Heritage Area instead. For a full list of every location in the program, see “Visit NHAs Online,” National Heritage Areas, accessed November 5, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/heritageareas/visit_nh_as_online.htm.
- 2 “What is a National Heritage Area?” National Heritage Areas, accessed January 10, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/what-is-a-national-heritage-area.htm>.
 - 3 Monte Bona, phone interview by author, August 27, 2019.
 - 4 For example, in explaining why they withdrew support for a recent NHA proposal that spanned the Texas and Louisiana border, members of the Louisiana congressional delegation explained: “This proposal was an effort to create more jobs and economic opportunity for the Caddo Lake community while protecting the private property rights of residents. However, we said from the beginning that if the people of Northwest Louisiana did not support this effort, neither would we. Since some residents are still opposed, we are respecting their wishes by making sure the proposal will no longer be considered in Congress. We will continue to listen to and serve the people of Northwest Louisiana, vigorously defend private property rights, and do everything we can to ensure our local communities prosper.” U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Representative Mike Johnson of Louisiana, “Johnson, Cassidy announce Caddo Lake National Heritage Area Proposal Will Not Move Forward,” News Release, July 24, 2018, Congressional Documents and Publications, Nexus Uni.
 - 5 Brenda Barrett, phone interview by author, December 27, 2019.
 - 6 These changes played out differently at each National Seashore and Lakeshore. For specific examples, see James Feldman, *A Storied Wilderness: Rewilding the Apostle Islands* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011); U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *A Nationalized Lakeshore: The Creation and Administration of Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore*, Theodore Karamanski (Omaha: Midwest Regional Office, 2000); Jacqueline A. Miranda Mullen, “Coastal Parks for a Metropolitan Nation: How Postwar Politics and Urban Growth Shaped America’s Shores” (PhD diss., University at Albany, State University of New York, 2015); and Laura Alice Watt, *The Paradox of Preservation: Wilderness and Working Landscapes at Point Reyes National Seashore* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017).
 - 7 The term “collaborative framework” in regard to the NHA model is drawn from Daniel N. Laven et al., “From Partnerships to Networks: New Approaches for Measuring US National Heritage Area Effectiveness,” *Evaluation Review* 34, no. 4 (June 2010): 271–98.
 - 8 Though early NHAs in the East and Midwest encountered limited to no opposition from private property rights organizations, this began to change during the 2000s, especially in the Southeast. One proposal (ultimately designated in 2009) that provoked significant debate was the Journey through Hallowed Ground NHA. It stretches from Monticello to Gettysburg and includes land in Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. Examples of the type of criticism directed at NHAs include John J. Miller, “An Ugly Heritage: The Poor Man’s National Park,” *National Review*, Janu-

- ary 28, 2008, 24–28; and Cheryl Chumley and Ronald D. Utt, *National Heritage Areas: Costly Economic Development Schemes that Threaten Property Rights* (Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation, 2007).
- 9 For more information on the Yuma Crossing National Heritage Area, see Heather M. Scotten, “National Heritage Areas: Planning for and Managing Living Landscapes; A Case Study of Yuma Crossing, Arizona” (master’s thesis, University of Oregon, 2009).
 - 10 Following designation, NHAs have three years, as mandated in their authorizing legislation, to complete a management plan. The secretary of the interior must approve the document.
 - 11 Michelle Kann, “Heritage Area Meeting Crowded,” *Yuma Sun*, February 27, 2004, NewsBank: Access World News—Historical and Current; Michelle Kann, “Property Owners Express Concerns with Yuma Crossing National Heritage Area Boundaries,” *Yuma Sun*, February 8, 2004, NewsBank: Access World News—Historical and Current.
 - 12 Details of the steps taken by the NHA in the months following the controversy over the billboard and management plan come from contemporary newspaper articles and from Charles Flynn, former executive director of the Yuma Crossing NHA. Charles Flynn, emails to author, November 8, 2019, and November 11, 2019.
 - 13 Charles Flynn, emails to author, November 8, 2019, and November 11, 2019; Michelle Volkman, “Boundary Change One Step Closer,” *Yuma Sun*, March 11, 2006, NexusUni.
 - 14 A summary of the achievements of the Yuma Crossing NHA is available in an evaluation report commissioned by the NPS. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Yuma Crossing National Heritage Area Evaluation Findings*, Debra Rog et al., August 2015, accessed November 1, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/heritageareas/upload/Yuma-v2016-2.pdf>.
 - 15 Miller, “An Ugly Heritage,” 24, 28.
 - 16 Charles Flynn, email to author, November 11, 2019.
 - 17 In the late 1990s and early 2000s, Utah created a state-level heritage area program. Only a few other jurisdictions (New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Massachusetts) have ever sponsored such an initiative. Prior to federal designation in 2006, both the Mormon Pioneer National Heritage Area and the Great Basin National Heritage Route had achieved status as state heritage areas.
 - 18 Media reports linked the plan to ongoing disputes over the designation of new wilderness areas on BLM lands within the same region. For examples of news coverage, see Layne Miller, “Utah Travel Council Rep Visits San Rafael,” *Emery County Progress*, October 14, 1997; and Layne Miller, “San Rafael Swell Proposal Gains Support,” *Emery County Progress*, February 17, 1998. Additional information on this proposal is available in Jeffrey Olani Durrant, “Struggle Over Land and Lines: Mapping and Counter-Mapping Utah’s San Rafael Swell” (PhD diss., University of Hawai’i at Manoa, 2001), 145–67. Information on the San Rafael project also comes from Brenda Barrett, former national coordinator for heritage areas. Brenda Barrett, phone interview by author, December 27, 2019.
 - 19 Mark Havnes, “Bennett to Fight for U.S. 89 Distinction; Proposal Seeks to Name Corridor as Historic Area,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 19, 2002, NexusUni; Bona, phone interview by author, August 27, 2019. The Mormon Pioneer NHA has no official affiliation with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
 - 20 A series of letters to the editor in the *Richfield Reaper* (Sevier County, UT) between 2002 and 2005 documented these concerns. For example, one writer, commented, “Is the hope that rich people from outside the area will spend money here, enough for us to give up some of our freedoms?” Ryan Syme, letter to the editor, *Richfield Reaper*, May 7, 2003, newspapers.com. Other residents, however, defended the NHA idea. One letter writer argued, “With the economy in a slump and many small business owners closing their doors, and the drought forcing changes in agriculture, tourism and the new dollars it brings into the area would be a welcome relief.” Paul Turner, letter to the editor, *Richfield Reaper*, April 30, 2003, newspapers.com.
 - 21 Bona, phone interview by author, August 27, 2019.
 - 22 This emphasis has been a point of criticism for those worried that increased visitation within NHAs might negatively affect longtime residents, the environment, and historic resources. Concerns about heritage tourism and historic preservation go well beyond heritage areas, however, and have inspired rich popular and scholarly debates. Several essays in *Bending the Future: Fifty Ideas for the Next Fifty Years of Historic Preservation in the United States*, a recently published collection, address these issues. Page Max and Marla R. Miller, eds., *Bending the Future: Fifty Ideas for the Next Fifty Years of Historic Preservation in the United States* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016).
 - 23 Bona, phone interview by author, August 27, 2019.
 - 24 Denys Koyle, phone interview by author, September 24, 2019.
 - 25 Koyle, interview.
 - 26 The story of the creation and management of Great Basin National Park is complex. For background on the park and its creation, see Darwin Lambert, *Great Basin Drama: The Story of a National Park* (Niwot, CO: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1991); Terrill J. Kramer, “Great Basin National Park: Rationales, Concepts, and Conflicts,” *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers* 53, no. 1 (1991): 19–34; Harlan D. Unrau, *Basin and Range: A History of Great Basin National Park* (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1990), 367–420; Leisl Carr-Childers, *The Size of the Risk: Histories of Multiple Use in the Great Basin* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 120–52.
 - 27 Local and regional newspapers covered the effects of the shutdown extensively. For example, see Don Cox, Ken Alltucker, and Jennifer Crowe, “Closures Cut a Path across the State,” *Reno Gazette-Journal*, September 26, 1999, newspapers.com; Don Cox, “Ruth, Ely, McGill have Industry Ties,” *Reno Gazette-Journal*, September 27, 1999, newspapers.com; Adella Harding, “Robinson Seeks Federal Aid for Laid Off Workers,” *Elko Daily Free Press*, July 10, 1999, newspapers.com. For more on the development of mining in this region, see Hal Rothman, *Nevada: The Making of Modern Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2010), 63–81; and James W. Hulse, *A Great Basin Mosaic: The Cultures of Rural Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2017), 87–102.

- 28 As quoted in Martin Griffith, "Heritage Plan Gains Support: Tourism Could Take Place of Defunct Mining Industry," *Reno Gazette-Journal*, March 1, 2002, newspapers.com.
- 29 "Heritage Plan Gains Support," *Reno Gazette-Journal*.
- 30 As quoted in "Nevada Counties Hope Heritage Draws Visitors, Dollars," *Times-News* (Twin-Falls, ID), March 6, 2002, newspapers.com.
- 31 As quoted in Lee Davidson, "U.S. Roadblocks Great Basin Plan," *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City, UT), April 19, 2002, NexisUni.
- 32 Brandi Roberts, phone interview by author, August 28, 2019.
- 33 Nick Wooten, "Caddo Lake National Heritage Area is Nixed on Fear of Environmentalists," *Shreveport Times*, July 26, 2018, accessed November 30, 2019, <https://www.shreveporttimes.com/story/news/2018/07/26/caddo-lake-national-heritage-area-nixed-fear-environmentalists/836718002/>; Jeff Beimfohr, "Caddo Lake Heritage Area Bills Pulled from Congress," *KTBS.com*, July 6, 2018, accessed November 30, 2019, https://www.ktbs.com/news/arklatex-indepth/updated-caddo-lake-heritage-area-bills-pulled-from-congress/article_e6867c8c-813c-11e8-97df-673e293dc0dc.html.
- 34 Gordon Y. K. Pang, "Heritage Area Plan Questioned," *Honolulu Advertiser*, March 14, 2009, newspapers.com; Lee Stack, "National Heritage Areas Cut Off Local Input," *Honolulu Advertiser*, May 25, 2009, newspapers.com.
- 35 Several NHAs have been developing partnerships to address these issues in programming and interpretive materials. One example comes from the Sangre de Cristo National Heritage Area in Colorado. In partnership with Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve and a local history museum, the NHA sponsors summer internships and archaeology camps for Indigenous and Hispano students from the region. In addition, the NHA also has been supporting language preservation initiatives. Also in Colorado, the Cache la Poudre National Heritage Area participated in a yearlong consultation process with Northern Arapaho elders and others to protect and appropriately interpret the site where a council tree once stood along the Cache la Poudre River in Fort Collins.
- 36 For more on the Yuma East Wetlands project, see Fred Phillips, Charles Flynn, and Heidi Kloepfel, "At the End of the Line: Restoring Yuma East Wetlands, Arizona," *Ecological Restoration* 27, no. 4 (2009): 398–406.