Managing Tourist Space in Pueblo Villages of the American Southwest

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The Problem: Acculturation and Tourism

Acculturation

Acculturation is defined as the process of culture change that occurs when a society with superior technological sophistication comes into contact with one of inferior technological sophistication. The latter is most likely to become an acculturated society, experiencing dramatic shifts in social structure and world view. The North American experience has largely been one in which American Indians have experienced pressure to change under the expanding influence of European settlers (Bodine 1972). Societies can react in a variety of ways under pressure of this kind (Lew 1989). In general, these reactions can be classified into two types: innovation diffusion, and cultural adaptation.

Innovation diffusion is the process by which one social group adopts practices that were originally developed by another social group. The degree of similarity or difference between the two groups is believed to have a bearing on the degree to which one group will adopt the practices of another. Some researchers focus on the characteristics of the "receiver" group. Of particular interest is the receiver group's perception of the innovation in terms of relative advantage, compatibility, complexity, experimentation (ability to try without adopting), and visibility of results. The adoption process is an ongoing one in which decisions to keep or reject the ways of the dominant culture occur at varying intervals and to different degrees.

Cultural adaptation has been defined as "the process of change in response to a change in the physical environment, or a change in internal stimuli, such as demography, economics, and organization" (Rogers 1983:401). Theories of cultural adaptation focus on changes that occur within a
society in response to changes in the world it interacts with. In some cases resistance to change becomes increasingly more rigid and less flexible as environmental stress is prolonged. This form of adaptative response works to preserve against change. For example, it has been argued that pueblo Indians in the American Southwest have been able to preserve their traditional culture through compartmentalization — they have adopted clearly distinct spheres wherein traditional ways predominate and outside influences are prohibited (Dozier 1964).

Cultural adaptations may also occur in a way that takes advantage of unanticipated changes. This reaction involves the exploitation of changing circumstances and it is sometimes described as the development or utilization of new ecological niches or opportunities.

**Acculturation of Native Americans**

Prior to European arrival, an estimated five million Native Americans lived in what it today the United States. These people adapted to the physical and social environment in a manner compatible with the population density and needs of their societies. Low density populations throughout much of the pre-colonial U.S. put little pressure on natural resources and resulted in communal lifestyles and inter-tribal boundaries that were fluid.

On the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, European society was developing in a very different manner. European colonial expansion into North America arose in association with 16th century mercantilism and global economic expansion. By the 18th century the *laissez faire* doctrines of the French gave rise to the Classical School of economics in England. Classical economic theory, based on rational economic behavior and reliance on free market forces, came to prominence at the very founding of the United States as a country. It was also helped to lay the foundations of the industrial revolution in both Europe and the U.S. (Cameron 1975). More recent modifications of classical economic theory include Keynesian economics and monetarist theories. Through these adaptations, the United States has been relatively successful in the increasing competition for scarce global resources. Societies which have not adopted and adapted classical economic policies have been less successful in this competition.

Only a few aspects of the dominant American cultural system have deeply penetrated Native American society. Superficial "product" innovations, such as the ranch house and pickup truck, have been more readily adopted than have more intangible "soft" innovations (Vogt 1951). The modern system of tribal government is a soft innovation that was forced upon reservation by the U.S. government, with mixed results (Smith 1996a). Classical economic theory is a major soft innovation which many Native American reservations have been
hesitant to adopt. This is because the basic assumptions of classical economic theory are at odds with the long-held beliefs of many Indian cultures (Trosper 1995). For example, the common practice on most reservations of holding property communally, rather than individually, presents issues of usage and contract rights that are not present on off-reservation lands.

Reservations today are a perplexing mix of traditional and contemporary values (Bodine 1972). Table 1 summarizes the competing values that are common on American Indian reservations. Most individual Indians fall somewhere in between the very traditional and very contemporary values indicated in this table. The less than complete adoption of classical economic principles by Native American societies results in the criticism that reservations require excessive expenditures of time, money, and effort to bring about minimal development progress (Kirst 1987; Talbot 1981). Such ethnocentricity is common among societies with comparatively greater technological sophistication. However, after a century of federal government efforts to eradicate Indian culture, it is now widely held that successful economic development on reservations requires a creative mix of traditional and classical economic beliefs (Cornell and Kalt 1995.)

**TABLE 1. SOME COMPETING VALUES on NATIVE AMERICAN RESERVATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRADITIONAL INDIAN VALUES</th>
<th>DOMINANT AMERICAN VALUES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cooperation</td>
<td>Competition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prestige and authority based on family, age and religion</td>
<td>Prestige and authority based on personal property, political position, education, and economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education from elders</td>
<td>Education in schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animist religious beliefs</td>
<td>Scientific rationalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality based on social conformity</td>
<td>Morality based on good &amp; bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceremonial activities</td>
<td>Work activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communal ownership and decision making</td>
<td>Individual ownership and hierarchical decision making</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Tourism and the Acculturation Process*
Tourism, as a form of economic development, is also influenced by the conflicting values found on reservations. Tourism, however, is also one of the major means of social contact between people from different societies. As such, it serves as a mechanism for innovation diffusion and acculturation. Although tourism is not the only force for change in traditional cultures, it is a major component of the entire milieu of relationships that exist between the more and less developed societies of the world.

Cultural tourism, or the curiosity about people and places who are in some way different, is one of the driving forces behind international tourism, a major segment of which consists of travel from the more developed countries of the world to the less developed countries. For a hefty price, tourists can take adventure trips to primitive Borneo, hidden Tibet, or deepest Africa.

Some have argued that this kind of tourism contributes to the homogenization of cultural differences and the decline of traditional societies (Britton 1980). This is because wealthy tourists often demand, and receive, accommodations and services replicating their lives at home. Major hotel chains in India, for example, emphasize their modernity in the midst of an exotic society. The term "exotic" as used here may alternatively be interpreted as traditional and poverty-stricken.

Others argue that tourism is a modernizing force that brings about a better adjustment of traditional societies to the modern world (Bond and Ladman 1980). By teaching people to adapt to modern ways of doing things, tourism can, in the extreme, save a culture from otherwise inevitable extinction. Cultural performances and other forms of "museumization" are a way of preserving cultures, just as zoos are used to save endangered species (Relph 1976). In both the arguments for and against tourism development it is nevertheless seen as a major force for acculturation and culture change.

The tourism literature indicates two specific ways in which tourism contributes to the acculturation of a society: (1) the demonstration effect, and (2) the development of tourism management and development mechanisms (Mathieson and Wall 1982). These correspond, respectively, to innovation diffusion and cultural adaptation, as discussed above.

The demonstration effect is the adoption of the behavior patterns of someone from another society. For example, youths on traditionally conservative South Pacific islands have been seen to adopt Western customs of holding hands and showing public affection whenever a cruise ship sails into port. While they often revert back to traditional behavioral norms after the ship leaves. Over time the impact will likely become more permanent. Critics of tourism argue that the demonstration effect is harmful because most tourists exhibit behavior that is far more affluent and carefree than they would if they were not on tour. Others hope that the demonstration effect will instill modern values and behavior patterns that are conducive to a global, cash-based economic system.
Of a more subtle nature is the way a society *adapts* to protect itself from the onslaught of new ideas and new ways of doing things. Some societies attempt to shield themselves from tourist influences by placing legal restrictions on tourists. Tourists may be restricted to visiting only certain cities, such as in China, or may be strongly encouraged to be part of an organized and tightly controlled tour group, as in the former USSR.

Another adaptation is the development of a commercial tourism industry. This can lead to a society becoming heavily dependent on tourism as a major sector of their economy, making it vulnerable to unanticipated shifts in tourist interests and travel patterns. It can also lead to a feeling that one’s culture is being commercialized and commoditized for sale.

A third option would be for a society to take no action at all in response to tourism. This approach could increase cross-cultural misunderstandings and conflicts. Both the hosts and guests are more vulnerable to exploitation when the rules of proper behavior and interaction are unclear.

Short of completely closing a society to outsiders, there is no out for traditional cultures. Once tourists and the tourism industry designates a people and place as being of interest, the people in that destination must come to terms with outside visitors. The demonstration effect and the various means of cultural adaptation will impact societies whether they like it or not, inevitably resulting in changes in their traditional culture.

**Tourism Issues on Pueblo Reservations**

The pueblo reservations of the American Southwest are among the oldest sites of continuous habitation and cultural continuity in the North America (Figure 1). Minimal Spanish influence, as compared to Central America, and a long history of cultural resistance to American domination have made the pueblo tribes among the most traditional of all Native American cultures in the U.S. (Brew 1979).

Early February marks the beginning of the weekend tourist season to pueblo villages, such as those on the Hopi Indian Reservation. Although some ceremonial dances are held before this time, the Bean Dance is generally the first of the year to draw large numbers of non-Hopi visitors. As the seasons change, so do the dances; and as spring moves into summer, the number of tourists increases, both on the dance weekends and during the more quiet midweek.
FIGURE 1 - MAP OF PUEBLO VILLAGE RESERVATIONS

Source: Peoples of the Mesa Verde Region

http://www.crowcanyon.org/educationproducts/peoples_mesa_verde/post_pueblo_where_live.asp

accessed 2 May 2010. (a different, but similar, map was in the original publication)
The exact numbers of annual visitors to the pueblo reservations of northern Arizona and New Mexico is unknown. The Hopi Reservation is estimated to receive between 75,000 and 100,000 non-Indian tourists a year. The Acoma Pueblo Reservation, which has better access to an Interstate freeway, receives between 300,000 and 400,000 visitors annually. This author has counted as many as 275 cars parked outside of a central plaza on the Hopi Reservation when a dance was in progress. Probably fewer than 10% of these vehicles brought non-Indian tourists to the dance. The others belong to:

- Hopis who came from other villages,
- Hopis who have briefly returned home from work in off-reservation cities, and
- Indian visitors from tribes other than the Hopi.

**TABLE 2. MAJOR MOTIVATIONS FOR VISITING NORTHERN ARIZONA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motivation</th>
<th>% &quot;Very&quot; or &quot;Extremely Important&quot;</th>
<th>Mean score&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seeing How Indians Live</td>
<td>74.9%</td>
<td>4.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience a Natural Setting</td>
<td>74.6</td>
<td>4.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New and Different Experience</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>3.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop Deeper Understanding of American Indian Culture</td>
<td>71.7</td>
<td>4.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Explore New Places</td>
<td>68.3</td>
<td>3.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend an American Indian Religious Ceremony</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>3.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personally Meeting American Indians</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>3.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal or Spiritual Values</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>3.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping for Indian American Arts and Crafts</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>3.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 419 respondents

<sup>1</sup> Mean Score is based upon a likert scale of 5 = "Extremely Important" and 1 = "Not at all Important." A score of 3 is midway on this scale.
Non-Indian tourists find an interest in the pueblo reservations primarily because of the strength of the traditional pueblo culture. A survey which this author conducted of 419 American tourists in the Spring and Summer of 1990, found 75% indicating that interests in seeing Native Americans was a major motivation for their coming to northern Arizona (Table 2). Surprisingly large numbers were particularly interested in American Indian culture and religious practices.

Traditional pueblo culture is "primal" in the sense that it is "not available for export." It is not possible for a non-tribal member to become a pueblo Indian, although there are many pueblo "wannabes" who intentionally trespass onto sacred sites (Haederle 1994). Nor can pueblo culture be replicated in anything but a contrived manner outside of the pueblo setting. The authenticity of the culture and its close integration with place are the essential elements in defining the attractiveness of the pueblo villages to visitors.

Pueblo Indians hold mixed opinions on tourists (Lujan 1993). The traditional ways of the pueblo people are based primarily upon their religion and its relationship to the agricultural calendar (Harvey 1972). Pueblo religion is organic in that it permeates every aspect of their society. Because of this, tourists visiting a village cannot help but intrude upon pueblo culture in some manner. Some intrusions are actually welcome, while others can be the source of considerable tension.

A recent survey of pueblo Indians, conducted under the direction of the author, found that while most were warm and open to visitors, they still felt very protective of their religion (Table 3). Although there was some disagreement, most were keenly aware of the tourism situation on their reservation. Most felt that the tourism situation needed to be improved; and most approved of increasing signage to control visitors and expanding visitor services (such as providing public restrooms).

The shortcomings of tourism on pueblo reservations is directly related to the traditional qualities which tourists come to experience. The issue of how to maintain authenticity and traditional behavior patterns has been raised (Lew 1990), but has yet to be adequately resolved. Sweet (1991) describes how pueblo Indians use secrecy about their religious practices as one way of maintaining cultural integrity against the onslaught of inquisitive tourists. She also discusses the establishment of regulations that govern tourist behavior and how they are enforced by religious leaders and tribal police on Acoma Pueblo--one of the better organized pueblos for tourism. The following discussion focuses specifically on the physical design aspects of pueblo villages and how these can influence tourist behavior and the impact of tourism on pueblo peoples.
TABLE 3. PUEBLO INDIAN COMMENTS ON TOURISM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comments Supportive of Increasing Tourism</th>
<th>Mean Score$^1$</th>
<th>SD$^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>We need more motels and restaurants for tourists.</td>
<td>4.88</td>
<td>.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villages should provide public toilets for tourists at dances.</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism is a good way of Indians to earn money.</td>
<td>4.61</td>
<td>.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tribe should provide professional tour guide training.</td>
<td>4.48</td>
<td>.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tribe should do more to promote tourism.</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism is a good way to share our culture with others.</td>
<td>4.36</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists have much to learn from the traditional Indian way of life.</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I enjoy sharing pueblo dances with tourists.</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village offices should be open on weekends to serve tourists.</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>1.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comments Supportive of Protecting Pueblos from Tourists</th>
<th>Mean Score$^1$</th>
<th>SD$^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My village should have specific parking areas for tourists.</td>
<td>4.55</td>
<td>.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villages should use more signs to control where tourists go and what they do.</td>
<td>4.33</td>
<td>.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is OK for a village to completely close itself to tourist.</td>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tribe should educate tourists before they come to the village.</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists should be confined to certain areas to observe dances.</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>1.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because tourists are too curious, they are offensive to Indians.</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Indians should only be allowed at dances if they are guests of Indians.</td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td>1.59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 31 respondents

$^1$ Mean Score is based upon a Likert scale of 5 = “Agree” and 1 = "Disagree" with the statement. A score of 3 is midway on this scale.

$^2$ SD = Standard Deviation; a higher standard deviation indicates less agreement among respondents.
Environmental Design and Tourism on Pueblo Reservations

Several authors have suggested models describing the functional design aspects of tourist attractions (Gunn 1979; Leiper 1989). These models generally involve a series of transition zones through which a tourist passes en route to the tourist attraction. These zones prepare the tourist for the attraction experience by providing information on (1) the significance of the attraction, and (2) proper behavior and attitude toward the attraction. Attractions for which these zones are poorly defined can cause a sense of uncertainty and disorientation in the tourist.

When tourists encounter culturally ambiguous environments, their immediate reaction is to search for environmental cues to help them define proper behavior. Culture shock results when such cues are difficult to detect or interpret. When the behavior of uninformed tourists negatively impacts the host society, the hosts may experience a reflective culture shock. Culture shock and reflective culture shock are most likely to occur in situations in which (1) cultural differences between hosts and guests are significant, and (2) mechanisms for managing tourist behavior are inadequate.

Most of the pueblo reservation today are puzzling environments for tourists. The lack of clear environmental cues for tourists results from a historic ambivalence toward tourism on the part of many pueblo residents. Pueblo residents sometimes interpret resulting tourist behavior as an affront to their culture, thereby further supporting anti-tourism opinions.

Semiotics and Environmental Design

Semiotics is the science of signs. The semiotic model includes a sender and a receiver who communicate information through one or more channels using some form of code (MacCannel 1989:4-5). Although all forms of communication are subject to semiotic analysis, concrete informational and directional signs, such as those encountered in tourism, are particularly appropriate. Leiper (1989), drawing upon the earlier work of MacCannel (1976) defines a tourist attraction as:

"...a system comprising three elements: a tourist or human element, a nucleus or central element, and a marker or informative element. A tourist attraction comes to into existence when the three elements are connected."
This definition of a tourist attraction provides a framework within which we can come to understand the role and influence of environmental cues in tourism on pueblo reservations. In addition to this, there are essentially two types of environmental design cues (or informative elements) that can affect tourist behavior: overt and covert. Overt cues center on signage and other forms of tourist information and guidance. These are the "markers" in the MacCannel/Leiper model. Covert environmental cues consist of physical site characteristics associated with the "nucleus or central element" of the attraction system.

Because this current discussion focuses on environmental design, other types of overt cues, such as brochures and guidebooks, are not discussed. Similarly, covert cues concentrate on village design, excluding interpersonal forms of communication.

**Overt Signage**

Table 4 lists the signage considerations that can affect tourist behavior. Large, roadside billboard advertisements are the most common type of the off-reservation signage. With some notable exceptions, there are very few billboards that actually promote visitation to any of the pueblo reservation. Most of the billboards that do exist promote visitation to shopping facilities and gaming casinos (or bingo halls) that are well removed from the residential areas of the pueblos.

The major exception in billboard use is Acoma Pueblo in New Mexico, which has several billboards along the nearby Interstate freeway promoting its tours of the "Sky City" village. Sky City sits majestically atop the cliffs of a formidable mesa, which allows the Acoma Reservation to maintain tight control over visitor access. The Acoma Reservation is also well marked by entrance signs, directional signs, building identification sign, signs indicating the visitor parking area, and restricted area signage. Exit signage, possibly the least important, is the only type in which Acoma is lacking. Acoma, however, is an exception. It is widely known to be a leader in its particular approach to tourism management (Smith 1995). It has also been criticized by some Indians for being too commercialized and having lost its authenticity because of the way it has managed tourism. It is an example of what they do not want tourism to be on their reservation.
### TABLE 4. SIGNAGE CONSIDERATIONS

**Sign Location**
- 1 - Generation Markers (at the tourist's home location)
- 2 - Off-Site Markers
  - Tribal
  - Non-Tribal
  - Billboard Advertising
- 3 - On-Site Markers
  - Location Confirmation
  - Welcome Signs
  - Regulations
  - Further Information
- 2 - Directional Signage
- 3 - Parking Signage
- 4 - Educational Signage
- 5 - Building Identification
- 6 - Restricted Area Signage
- 7 - Exit Signage

**Sign Role and Meaning**
- 1 - Direction
  - Navigational
    - Commercial
    - Non-commercial
  - Behavioral
- 2 - Significance
  - Importance or Value
    - Societal Benefit
    - Personal Benefit

**Sign Condition**
- 1 - Clarity
  - Size
  - Visibility or Prominence
- 2 - State of Repair

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A less pro-active, but equally effective approach, is used on Taos Pueblo. Taos is one of the better known pueblos in the Southwestern U.S. and does not need to rely on off-reservation signage to attract visitors. The design of the pueblo is such that a very large open plaza is situated in the middle of an area surrounded adobe building complexes. This controlled open area is used for parking, for which visitors pay a fee. The high density of the surrounding adobe buildings allows the reservation to place only a few "no access" barriers at strategic locations to confine tourist movement to areas immediately adjacent to the plaza. Numerous arts and
crafts shops and food stalls are found in buildings that face the open plaza area. Only modest window signs are used to distinguish a shop from a residence. Thus the tourist space is clearly defined and separated from the non-tourist space, helping to minimize (but not eliminate) intrusions into the lives of residents.

By contrast there is scant signage on the most of the other pueblo reservation. For example, only one of the three major routes leading to the Hopi pueblos has a sign indicating that the visitor has passed from the surrounding Navajo Reservation onto the Hopi Reservation. Directional signage is virtually non-existent, even to the visitor-oriented Hopi Cultural Center with its museum, motel, and restaurant facility.

Sign Role and Meaning

In most major tourist settings, visitors are looking for signs indicating appropriate direction and significance. Directional signs are of two types: navigational and behavioral. Navigational signs tell the newcomer where they are and indicate how to get to places they may wish to go. This information is helpful to the visitor and conveys a sense of local care for the visitor's well-being. Like the Hopi reservation, most pueblo reservations lack any directional signs, parking signs, or restricted access signs. Without a good guide, map, or sense of direction it is easy for visitors to lose their way. Tourists visiting these pueblos for the first time are already likely to experience a high degree of culture shock and disorientation. Inadequate signage exasperates these problems.

One type of directional sign that is prominent on many reservations are those that lead the tourist to arts and crafts shops, both within and outside of pueblo villages. However, the message of commercial directional signs is very different from non-commercial signs. Instead of feeling "cared for as a welcome guest," the visitor may feel even more alienated from the host society. The visitor's experience in this case is not one of a welcome guest, but of an exploitable outsider. This is particularly true when commercial signs exist to the total exclusion of non-commercial signs.

Individuals will respond to the message in different ways. Most tourists to pueblo villages have at least a vague preconception that the pueblo Indians are one of the most traditional Native American societies in the U.S., and therefore a general ambivalence toward tourism is understandable. Within this context, the lack of adequate directional signage may be accepted. However, the increasing prominence of commercial directional signs can stimulate a more reactionary response on the part of the visitor. If the Indians are willing and able to develop such a prominent display of commercial directional signs, why are the non-commercial navigational needs of the visitor not met in a similarly fashion?
Most tourists do not wish to intentionally violate the regulations and norms of the host society. However, unless those norms are clearly explained to them, unintentional violations are likely to occur. Signage is one means of identifying the proper behavioral role for the tourist. The lack of signage puts a greater onus on the tourist to formulate their own behavioral role model. Some tourists are better able to do this than others.

Many pueblo villages have entrance signs, which give behavioral guidance to the visitor. These tend to emphasize regulatory restriction on tourist behavior. They typically prohibit:
- Alcohol and drug possession
- Photographing, sketching, and recording villages and ceremonies
- Visiting archeological sites, and
- Taking or purchasing cultural artifacts or antiquities.

These behavioral signs are effective for most visitors. Problems are encountered when the visitor does not notice the sign. The major reason that these signs may not be noticed is because they are often in a poor state of repair. Exposure to the elements causes deterioration and, from a distance, the list of restrictions can appear indistinguishable from a public notice bulletin board (which in some cases may be situated right next to it). Despite the poor state of repair of many of these signs, the overall message is clearly understandable, if read.

While mass tourists may resent restrictions such as these, the types of tourist who are drawn to the pueblos are generally more aware of their fragility and, therefore, are more inclined to appreciate the type of information provided by behavioral restriction signs. They may not obey the restrictions, but at least they are aware of the risks involved in violating them.

Some pueblo village signs also state that visitors must register at the village administrative office. Since almost all of these offices are closed on weekends, few visitors abide by this requirement. Furthermore, village administrative offices are sometimes poorly marked and difficult to find. This is an example of a situation in which the tourist receives mixed messages. Since the weekend tourist is unable to satisfy the stated registration requirement, the message becomes either (1) that the village is closed to visitors on weekends, or (2) that the stated regulations are not as serious a consideration as they might appear. In either case, the visitor is unsure of what constitutes appropriate behavior.

Another problem with signs that list rules of behavior is that they may not necessarily provide an accurate guideline for what is acceptable and proper tourist behavior in a village. A survey of pueblo Indians was conducted to determine which tourist behaviors are most resented (Table 5). This list indicates that there are
several areas of tourist behavior that could be better defined for the tourist. This could be accomplished by not only advising tourists about improper behavior, but also by telling them what is acceptable.

TABLE 5. ACCEPTABILITY OF TOURIST BEHAVIOR

**Very Unacceptable Behavior:**
- Littering *
- Acting like an expert on Pueblo culture
- Trying to act like an Indian
- Entering sacred areas knowingly
- Taking pictures of dances *
- Wearing shorts, halters, bathing suits, etc.
- Urinating behind a rock or house

**Unacceptable Behavior:**
- Wandering around villages on their own
- Speaking loudly at dances
- Entering sacred areas without knowing it
- Not registering at CD office *
- Asking questions about or at dances

**Mixed Opinion:**
- Climbing on house roofs at dances
- Parking in villages

**Acceptable Behavior:**
- Watching dances
- Bringing food (picnic) to eat at dances

* = Normally indicated on a pueblo village rules sign.
Based on a survey of 31 pueblo Indian residents.
Building and Site Design

In *The Image of the City* (1960), architect Kevin Lynch defined five basic physical design elements which provide essential environmental cues for behavior in a place. These are:

- **Paths** that people move along
- **Edges** between two different areas
- **Districts** clearly identifiable with common elements
- **Nodes** focal points, often at the junction of Paths
- **Landmarks** major points of reference

Lynch's construct has provided a basis for understanding how people mentally and physically organize space. These elements are used to develop a sense of orientation and the ability to navigate through an environment. They are considered covert environmental cues because most people do not consciously think about their influence on behavior. Christopher Alexander and his colleagues have expanded upon Lynch's earlier work by contending that communities and buildings are physically organized into patterns that reflect and shape human use and behavior. In *A Pattern Language* (1977), Alexander outlines a “language” of urban and architectural design that he believes to be effective in creating desirable places to live. For example, he states that "sacred sites" should be zealously protected by local government ordinance; and that their design elements should include:

- secluded and contemplative areas
- special scenic views framed in a meaningful setting
- trees situated in locations that contribute to the place experience
- a semi-secluded sitting area
- access only by foot
- some form of gateway indicating transition to a sacred ground

Pueblo Village Design

The design and layout of the pueblo villages have been shaped by both the physical environment and the population dynamics of different villages. The narrow ridge top of Acoma's Sky City mesa forces a very compact and linear settlement. The broad hill on top of which the Zuni Pueblo has arisen allows for more
dispersed settlement, although it still maintains the traditional clustering of adobe-style housing units set on an uneven grid street pattern. Lynch's landscape elements and Alexander's pattern language provide basic guidelines for understanding the relationship between the physical environment and tourist behavior and experience in pueblo villages. A summary of the basic design elements that may be used or manipulated in some manner to control tourist behavior and impacts is listed in Table 6.

**TABLE 6. PUEBLO VILLAGE TOURISM DESIGN ELEMENTS**

1. **Paths** (which people move along)
   - Roads and trails: Prominence - Density - Pattern/Layout
   - Parking lots: Size - Location - Surface
   - Viewpoints: Off-site or on-site - Interpretive information

2. **Edges** (between two different areas)
   - Walls, Fences and Signs
   - Vegetation and Ground markings
   - Building locations

3. **Districts** (clearly identifiable with common elements)
   - Tourist Buildings and Areas: Visitors centers - Arts and Crafts shops
   - Non-Tourist Buildings and Areas: Private - Sacred

4. **Nodes** (concentrated focal points, often at the junction of Paths)
   - Plazas: Clearly demarcated entrance
   - Commercial Centers: Grocery, gas and other services

5. **Landmarks** (major points of reference or interest)
   - Churches
   - Other site specific features

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**Paths**

Paths are one of the most important environmental design elements that influence tourism on pueblo reservations. Major paths between villages are generally well marked, since most are part of a highway system managed by the
states of Arizona and New Mexico. Once the visitor leaves these highway, however, the experience is very different. Few streets have names, and only a handful are paved.

The visitor, therefore, must rely upon environmental cues to determine acceptable pathways. The most frequent cue is the degree of erosion evident along a given road or trail. Evidence that many others have driven the route is often interpreted to mean that anyone can drive the route. While this is often true, the survey of pueblo residents (Table 3) indicates that it may be in the best interest of some villages to try to control the degree of access that tourists have within a village. This problem is heightened by the arid environment in which the pueblos are located. Under these conditions, ruts in the ground are easily created by automobiles and foot traffic. Once created they remain for a long time and give the impression that entire villages are open to the public.

Villages wishing to confine tourist access to certain prescribed paths must clearly demarcate those routes for the visitor. This can be done most effectively through signage. However, it should also be supported by environmental design considerations. These could include barriers of wood or stone lining a path; color schemes that indicate path versus non-path areas; the use of prominent buildings, viewpoints, and other landmarks around which to center visitor activity; and the use of pavement to make the acceptable route more prominent. Similar design considerations could also be used to distinguish acceptable visitor parking areas.

The organic layout of pueblo villages plays a major role in shaping the location of paths and the likely tourist use of them. Linear villages naturally have linear paths. Grid villages have grid paths. Plazas that are clearly demarcated with limited access points are more effective than those that are less obviously demarcated. The protected plaza conveys the message that the community hold this place is special esteem. The limited or controlled access gives the visitor a sense of passage from a more profane space to a more sacred space. Such is often the case in those New Mexico pueblos which experienced the strongest Spanish influence. They typically have a controllable grid street layout with a plaza demarcated by the presence of an adobe Catholic church. Many of the pueblo Indians in these villages practice a mixture of traditional and Catholic religious rites.

Edges

Any area that has special meaning should be provided with an edge to demarcate it from the less meaningful world. Many of the design considerations that apply to paths actually involve the creation of edges between tourist space and non-tourist space. This is similar to a fence, wall, or door demarcating the private home from the public community. There should also be a private community area which is protected from the public world. If there were no tourists, this would not be a problem. But there are, and there will probably be
increasingly more for most pueblo villages in the future. Edges are not a part of pueblo culture to the same degree as in the dominant American culture with its fences and clearly demarcated property lines. However, unobtrusive edges, such as rock path boundaries, along with a couple of well placed and maintained barriers or signs, might be all that is necessary to confine the majority of outsiders to acceptable public spaces.

Nodes and Landmarks

The presence of tourist-oriented businesses (even those operating out of an individual's home) provides the visitor with the sense of being in the proper place. The placement of these at certain strategic points could create nodes of visitor concentration. Such nodes within a village could become the focal point of visitor activities, where they would conceivably spend the majority of their time. Visitors would then be less likely to wander into more private back regions of the village. The First Mesa villages on the Hopi Reservation have such a node, which tourists are directed to. The village office is located there, as well as a small store and several households that sell arts and crafts.

A prominent landmark could provide the attractive element for the creation of tourist nodes. This could be the plaza (as discussed above), a distinctive cluster of buildings, or a scenic viewpoint. A visitors center or museum could also serve this function. The landmark would catch the visitor's initial interest, while the associated tourist-oriented businesses and other activities could serve to maintain the visitor's longer interests.

Creating a Tourist District

The creation of a landmark-centered, nodal tourist district with a clearly defined path leading to it and well marked edges would help the tourist in determining the acceptable way of visiting a pueblo village, and thereby lessen tourist-resident conflicts which occasionally arise (Table 7). Locating the village administrative office in this district would further enhance its importance in the eye of the visitor. This would also be an ideal location for public restrooms. If a village wished to allowing photography at a fee, which many New Mexico pueblos already do, the tourist district could provide the ideal location to introduce this concept. The advantage of this approach is that it would minimize the impact of tourism on a traditional village by making environmental cues as unobtrusive as possible through a mix of overt signs and covert physical design.
TABLE 7. PUEBLO VILLAGE TOURISM DESIGN PRESCRIPTIONS

1 - **Paths and Edges** should be clearly demarcated by use of distinct materials (rocks, wood, pavement) or colors schemes. Some **signage** should be considered to supplement these. A tourist path that includes prominent **landmarks**, distinctive buildings and attractive **viewpoints** should be development and demarcated in some manner.

2 - **Tourist nodes** should be allowed to develop at prominent locations, such as at **viewpoints** and near major **landmarks**. These nodes should be indicated by use of color schemes and **signs**. Tourist businesses and services should be isolated in the immediate vicinity of these nodes.

3 - **Private areas** should be well protected by unobtrusive barriers and, where necessary, **signs**. A private, non-tourist community area (or node) should be developed and protected from tourism.

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Other than Acoma and Taos, few pueblo villages have this type of tourist district. The only place on the Hopi Reservation that currently has a clearly defined "tourist district," somewhat similar to that suggested here, is on First Mesa. The First Mesa villages have an advantage because the a physically narrow mesa on which they are located allows considerable vehicular control. All vehicular traffic is funneled through a single route where the cars can be intercepted and informed of village regulations. For most other pueblo villages, the first step would be to make the path leading to the tourist district more prominent. (Several pueblo reservations, including Hopi, have tourist districts located outside of the traditional villages. These types of facilities are easier to construct and identify than the village-based districts discussed here.)

According to MacCannel (1976) and others, one of the major motivations of tourists is to penetrate into the "back region", or "real world" of the place visited. For most tourists, the experience of a "tourist district" in a pueblo village is a sufficient back region experience. This, however, is not enough for some. A small minority will always try to go to places where they should not. No amount of environmental design or planning can prevent this. But the suggestions offered here could substantially reduce these types of occurrences.

Conclusions

Unlike many other tribes in the U.S., most of the pueblo Indians of the Southwest were not moved by military force from their homeland to a distant reservation. Although some dislocation occurred under Spanish rule, the pueblo villages of today reflect a cultural tradition dating back at least a thousand years, with close links
to cultures that are two to three time that old. Their villages are special places of which they are rightfully very protective. Smith (1996a; 1996b) refers to this as a habitat that is both available for exploitation as a tourist attraction, and in need of protection against improper use and abuse. For most Southwestern pueblo villages, the protection aspect has been a major concern with regard to tourism.

The present situation of tourism in the pueblo villages in the states of Arizona and New Mexico could be improved. One of the major problems from the tourist perspective is not knowing what is acceptable and unacceptable behavior. Minimal existing signage and the ambiguous physical design of villages results in confusion and disorientation. Most villages, however, were not designed with the needs of the tourist in mind. Nor should they have been. Now that the tourists are here, however, they must be accommodated in some manner. Using environmental design to both inform visitors (through signage) and to guide visitors (through physical design) could provide an unobtrusive means of managing the ever increasing numbers of visitors to pueblo reservations.

The adaptation of environmental design concepts to the problem of pueblo village tourism management provides a potentially more positive diffusion of ideas than does unmanaged tourism induced acculturation. This approach is highly compatible with existing village designs and lifestyles, it is not complex to understand, and it can and has produce visible results when implemented. By consciously controlling tourism, its negative impact on the acculturation of Native Americans can be lessened and the tourism's more positive impact of enhancing cross-cultural understanding can be increased.

References


