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A Sociological View of Tourism in an American Indian Community: Maintaining Cultural Integrity at Taos Pueblo

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When every effort was made to wipe out our culture and religion, we made adjustments to insure that there was an outward showing of compliance. We managed to keep our religion and culture going (underground, as it were) so we were able to survive the Spaniards. So too are we able to survive the tourists and culture they represent.
—Taos Pueblo member

INTRODUCTION

American Indian nations have experienced various forms of internal colonialism and forced assimilation since the arrival of the Europeans. Although tourism is not necessarily perceived as a means of forced assimilation, it has assimilative effects and has been studied in terms of its acculturative impact on the host society.[1]

American Indian nations/tribes across the country are beginning to recognize the tremendous economic benefits of tourism and are in the process of developing this area further. Within the

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social sciences, there is a growing body of literature on American Indian tourism. However, the research does little to reflect the social and economic impact of tourism from the perspective of the American Indian.

Beginning in the early 1900s, Taos Pueblo, one of the most picturesque and traditional New Mexico pueblos, has attracted tens of thousands of tourists from the United States and abroad, with a steady increase of visitors over the years. The pueblo has come to rely heavily on tourism as its primary economic base supporting tribal programs, including administration and education. The influx of tourists creates an unusual living environment for Pueblo residents, but, despite the almost constant presence of outside visitors, the Pueblo has been able to sustain a strong, solid cultural foundation.

This examination of tourism in Taos Pueblo provides a rare opportunity to study how a traditional pueblo such as Taos is able to maintain its cultural integrity in a less than ideal environment. Also, the focus on tourism provides insights into the fragile relationship between Taos Pueblo and the town of Taos, which have existed within close geographical proximity (four miles) for almost five centuries. Similar relationships can be found among other historically Spanish towns that border Indian pueblos in New Mexico.

This paper accentuates the endurance of the Taos Pueblo people and culture by focusing on three factors. First, it examines the perceptions of the Taos Indians, who regard tourists as another, contemporary form of invasion. This is reflected in the interactions with tourists, who often tend to be intrusive and insensitive toward Pueblo culture. Next, this study examines the ways in which the Indians have been able to adjust to the steady flow of tourism. Finally, it considers the Pueblos' interaction with the town of Taos and looks at the exploitive and racist nature of the relationship.

Taos Pueblo is a Tiwa-speaking village with a tribal membership of almost two thousand. Although virtually every tribal member once resided within the walls of the pueblo, approximately 150 people now live there permanently. The majority of families live in more modern homes outside the old walls but within pueblo land.

Research for this study was conducted at Taos Pueblo between 1980 and 1993. The research is informed by two decades of participation in the life of Taos Pueblo augmented by six in-depth

interviews. Daily interactions and discussions with additional tribal members were also included in the analysis.

EXPLANATIONS OF CULTURAL STRENGTH

For thousands of years, pueblo residents have adhered tenaciously to their way of life and continue to do so despite the imposition of western European culture. Among the Pueblo Indians, the first documented contact with Spanish Europeans occurred in the 1540s. Since that time, Europeans have consistently attempted to force their culture on Indian tribes through various methods ranging from cultural and physical genocide to Christian benevolence.

Beginning in the 1500s with the forced imposition of Christianity by the Spanish and followed in the 1840s by the Americans, the Pueblo people learned to defend and protect their religion and culture from external intrusion under the most extreme conditions. Although Spanish and American contact with the Pueblo Indians was persistently brutal, the Pueblo culture and religion have endured. Dozier's 1961 research describes the various techniques utilized by the Spanish to force Christianity on the Pueblo, such as destruction of kivas (ceremonial chambers) and sacred objects, including masks and kachinas; public executions of highly respected religious leaders; and public ridicule, torture, and murder of other key leaders.[2]

The Pueblo Indians experienced similar atrocities under the United States government. Policies of forced assimilation focused on the children, tribal government, religion, and culture. It was not uncommon for children as young as six years old to be removed from their homes and sent to government boarding schools miles from their families and communities. Many of the children attending boarding schools were unable to return home for long periods of time. In addition, they were punished for speaking their language, attempting to practice their religion, and, basically, for being Indian. Anything Indian was referred to as "going back to the blanket" and was regarded as negative and backward by boarding school officials. Some of the children who were educated in boarding schools had difficulty returning and adjusting to their communities as a result of their experiences. Conversely, many others returned home and have carried on the traditional way of life.

The United States government not only seized Indian children; it also confiscated land from Indian nations, including Blue Lake, the sacred site of Taos Pueblo. In addition, laws were enacted to restrict Indian people from practicing their native religions. In the 1920s, when Taos Pueblo was in the process of regaining ownership of Blue Lake, the pueblo was investigated for violation of the Religious Crimes Act. This act was passed in 1921 by Congress to assimilate Indians. Fortunately, Taos Pueblo was able to argue successfully under the First Amendment in court. However, it was not until 15 December 1970 that the United States government finally returned Blue Lake to the pueblo.[3]

Assimilation by education, religious conversion, and confiscation of Indian land was the primary emphasis of the United States government's Indian policy. A pattern of total disrespect for native people and culture permeated early United States policies and programs. To survive, many American Indian nations sought to protect their religion by concealing their ceremonies from outsiders. Thus, the Pueblo Indians learned to comply outwardly with forced Christianity while discreetly continuing to practice their religion and lifestyle.

Research to date emphasizes the importance of concealment and secrecy in cultural maintenance among the Pueblo. Dozier refers to the reluctance of Pueblo people to discuss their religion as "the Pueblo Iron Curtain."[4] Brandt also mentions the importance of secrecy among the Pueblo and describes how it is used as a "conscious political strategy" to maintain religious traditions.[5]

Today Taos Pueblo continues to safeguard its culture and religion from outsiders through various methods, including secrecy. For example, during certain ceremonies, the pueblo is closed to all outsiders. In addition, sections are closed to tourists throughout the year. Although this results in a loss of much-needed revenue for the tribe, the pueblo continues to restrict access to tourists. Rather than decreasing the numbers of days the pueblo is closed to outsiders, they have increased them.

Although intercultural contact such as tourism has resulted in the assimilation of some ethnic groups into the majority culture, this situation has not occurred at Taos Pueblo. This resistance to unsolicited cultural change can be attributed primarily to Taos Pueblo's long history of successfully preserving, protecting, and defending its traditional way of life from the external world, even under excessive and severe conditions.

RESEARCH ON TOURISM

Sociological research on tourism has been summarized in a number of ways. Cohen presents eight of the most important conceptual and theoretical approaches to the study of tourism, including commercialized hospitality, democratized travel, modern leisure activity, a modern variety of the traditional pilgrimage, an expression of basic cultural themes, an acculturative process, a type of ethnic relations, and a form of neocolonialism.[6] This paper will focus primarily on ethnic relations, particularly the attitudes and perceptions of Taos Pueblo people toward tourists.

Tourism involves face-to-face contact, communication, and exposure to different lifestyles and new ideas.[7] As a consequence, tourism introduces alternatives to the host population's self-definition that can lead to changes in attitudes, ideals, values, and behaviors.[8] Doxy's research presents four stages of attitudinal changes toward tourists, including euphoria, apathy, annoyance, and antagonism.[9] A positive attitude toward tourism is most likely to accompany the initial stage of contact. Annoyance and antagonism usually occur in areas where there has been prolonged contact or tourism has increased rapidly, highlighting the difference between the locals' and the tourists' socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds.[10] Tourism has also been known to modify or improve local attitudes.[11] Local people learn to cope with the tourists and develop a tolerance toward their behavior.[12]

RESEARCH ON AMERICAN INDIAN TOURISM

Regarding American Indian tourism, most of the research concentrates on ethnic relations between the tourists and the Indians. Evans-Prichard examines the interaction between tourists and Indian artisans in New Mexico and finds that inaccurate stereotypes between the two groups are enhanced rather than minimized because the encounters are brief and superficial.[13] The research by Laxson on upper-middle-class tourists also found that their interaction with Indians in New Mexico was more likely to enhance negative stereotypes than to promote cultural understanding.[14]

On the other hand, research by Sweet and Browne and Nolan emphasizes the positive aspects that tourism can have for tribes.[15] Sweet provides interesting insights into how Pueblo Indians have

been successful in managing tourism and how this success has strengthened the Pueblo's "definition of themselves and their cultural boundaries."[16] The Browne and Nolan survey also highlights the positive effect that tourism has had on western tribes, including increased self-esteem, self-determination, and economic independence.[17] Hollinghead's paper on cultural tourism presents what he refers to as "guiding principles of cross-cultural activity."[18] Hollinghead's work seeks to sensitize tourism programmers and operators to cultural differences and prevent stereotyping of American Indians.

The research on American Indian tourism reflects previous work on tourism and ethnic relations. According to the literature, tourism has both positive and negative outcomes for the host society. The positive effects are seen in its strengthening and revitilization of the existing social and cultural structure of the host society. In contrast, the negative effects of tourism include increased negative stereotyping, forced assimilation, and social and cultural disruption that can result in community instability. In sum, the positive effects of tourism are more likely to be reflected in the political economy of the tribe and include increased economic stability and tribal self-sufficiency. However, the negative elements revolve around the transformation of everyday life, with Indian people losing their privacy and experiencing negative stereotyping in their most secure environments—their villages and homes.

Methods

The research is based on six case studies that involved in-depth interviews. Respondents are members of Taos Pueblo and range in age from fourteen to seventy-three . The interviews were initially conducted in the early 1980s and updated in 1993. In addition to age as an important variable, the selection of the respondents was guided by the following criteria: They had to be enrolled members of Taos Pueblo, lifetime residents of the pueblo, and willing to participate in the project.

With the permission of the person being interviewed, interviews were taped. Half of the interviews occurred at Taos Pueblo, while the others transpired elsewhere. All participants grew up at Taos Pueblo and consider themselves to be permanent residents of the pueblo.

Although a general interview format was used, the participants were encouraged to discuss their views on related issues. The standardized questions covered the following areas: (1) participant's general feelings about tourists; (2) experiences with tourists; (3) social changes in the pueblo due to tourism; and (4) personal changes due to tourism.

In addition to the six interviews, the study draws on informal interactions that took place between the author and the residents over two decades. The author has unique access to the daily life of the pueblo due to her relationships within the pueblo and her American Indian identity.

Together these interviews and the informal interactions with pueblo residents provide insightful information on Taos Pueblo attitudes toward tourism and its implications for their lives. Most research on American Indians reflects the perspective of the tourist. This is one of the first studies on tourism based on the perspectives of Taos Pueblo residents.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF TAOS PUEBLO

Taos Pueblo is one of the oldest continuously inhabited communities in the United States and has the distinction of being a National Historic Landmark since 1975 and a World Heritage Site since 1992. It is the northernmost of the nineteen pueblos in New Mexico and is believed to have been established at its present site around A.D. 1000 to 1400.

The Taos Pueblo people trace their ancestry to the Mesa Verde cliff-cities at Aztec, Colorado and Chaco Canyon, New Mexico.[19] Located at the foot of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains between Santa Fe and the Colorado border, Taos Pueblo is one of the most beautiful of the nineteen pueblos. It consists of two four- and five-story adobe dwellings, often referred to as "the first apartment buildings" in the United States. The village is divided by the Rio Pueblo de Taos, a small river that separates the north side of the village (Hlauuma) from the south village (Hlaukwima).[20]

Taos Pueblo is surrounded by a low adobe wall, which often goes unnoticed by tourists. This wall is very significant to the pueblo residents, because it symbolically separates the non-Indian world from the world of Taos Pueblo. Modern conveniences

such as running water and electricity are not allowed within the walls of the pueblo. At certain times of the season, automobiles are also prohibited within the pueblo walls.

According to Taos tradition, the main parts of the pueblo structures appear much as they did when the first Spanish explorers arrived in northern New Mexico in 1540. The Spanish believed that the pueblo was one of the fabled golden cities of Cibola. At the time of the Coronado expedition in 1540–41, the reported population of Taos was 15,000.[21]

Since 1598, when Spain colonized northern New Mexico, Taos Pueblo has struggled to maintain its culture. In 1680, after eighty-two years of forced Spanish imposition, the Pueblo Indians revolted.[22] The revolt began in Taos Pueblo and was methodically executed in other pueblos across New Mexico and Arizona. Although pueblo independence lasted only twelve years, it most likely contributed to the determination of the Taos Indians to maintain their culture. After four hundred years of Spanish and American rule, the Taos Pueblo culture endures.

Taos oral history indicates that immediately after first contact, the Spaniards lived in the pueblo. However, as intermarriage and/or cohabitation increased, concerned pueblo leaders petitioned the Spanish governor to remove all Spanish subjects from the pueblo. As a result, the town of Taos was established.[23] Since then, the pueblo and the town have maintained separate and distinct communities. The following statement from one pueblo respondent emphasizes their distant relationship:

> Based on that history, things are not going to change. We are always going to be here at the pueblo and they always will be there in the town of Taos, and whether there is commingling on an individual basis that is for individual tribal members to decide. Whether they choose to work in town . . . the tribal government is not going to make it happen, because that is not their concern. Part of the history of the conquistadores is that we have our way of life here and they have theirs and the two can never come together, because that is just the way things are. As far as attitudes go, I suppose we are just as ethnocentric on our side as they are down there, and I suppose if there ever comes a time when the pueblo would make overtures to the town of Taos to have more interaction—I imagine that the town of Taos would be more than glad to take advantage of it. And that is what they would be doing, they would be taking advantage of it. I see the town of Taos as a parasitic entity leeching off the pueblo. All talk

> aside about the artist colony, the reality of it is there would not have been a town of Taos had it not been for the pueblo. If, for some strange reason, the pueblo were to move, the town of Taos would cease to exist.[24]

CONTEMPORARY BACKGROUND AND TOURISM IN THE TAOS AREA

Tourism as a major industry began in the Taos area in the late 1800s with the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad.[25] The Fred Harvey Company began as a curio business emphasizing Indian arts and crafts in 1899 and later developed a chain of hotels along the Santa Fe route to facilitate tourism.[26] Since that time, Taos Pueblo has attracted many tourists from all over the world. Also contributing to the growth of tourism in the Taos area is the fact that, in the early 1910s and 1920s, the town of Taos became an artists' colony, gaining its reputation from people such as D. H. Lawrence, Carl Jung, and Mable Dodge Luhan. Currently, Navajo artist R. C. Gorman, author John Nichols (*The Milagro Beanfield War),* and other prominent individuals are perpetuating the art colony tradition.

According to the 1980 United States Bureau of the Census report, 3,369 people resided in the Taos area. In 1986, the population increased to 3,670. The 1980 population of the pueblo was 1,421, of whom 716 identified themselves as Taos Pueblo tribal members.[27] This indicates that almost half of the people living at the pueblo at that time were from different tribes or were non-Indian. In 1990, the pueblo reported that it had approximately 2,000 enrolled members. The 1990 United States census indicated that 1,248 American Indians lived at the pueblo. Although the census reflects that more than 60 percent of the pueblo membership do not reside at the pueblo, in fact, many of these individuals maintain two homes (for job-related purposes) and commute to the pueblo on a weekly basis. The 1990 census report shows the combined population for the town and the pueblo to be 4,745.[28]

Taos Pueblo is located approximately four miles from the town of Taos. Although this is a short geographical distance, it represents a major social and cultural distance that spans more than four hundred years of Spanish and American contact and has been carefully maintained by both sides since the removal of Spanish residences in the 1500s.

To reach the pueblo village, one must travel approximately three miles from Route 522 on a small, paved road. The pavement ends about two hundred feet from the pueblo. Inside the walls, the village has been kept as traditional as possible, with no electricity or running water allowed. The people who live within the walls must get their water from the creek that runs through the pueblo, dividing the north adobe building from the south building.

Today only a few families—generally the elderly and the unemployed—live inside the walls of the pueblo on a regular basis. People began moving outside the walls in the 1960s to build homes near their fields and pastures. The motivation was the lack of modern conveniences and the lack of privacy due to tourism. Many families, nevertheless, maintain a place within the village that is used during certain times of the year for special occasions and specific religious functions.

One respondent describes the experience of growing up within the pueblo walls in the 1940s and 1950s as more cohesive and inclusive an experience than today:

> There was a strong bond among tribal members. When growing up, everyone lived inside the pueblo. The majority of families were large, with five or more children. Everyone lived in a two-room house and everyone shared a similar lifestyle. This lifestyle did not lend itself to accumulation of material possessions. The sense of community was stronger. Religious activities seemed to be better organized. The leadership and tribal government appeared more in charge. In addition, it seemed that the elderly were more visible within the social community. One could always count on having a grandfather, grandmother, or uncles nearby. People who were born in the late 1800s seemed to experience the best of the old way of life. Everyone planted and gathered foodstuffs from the valley. The land sustained people more so than today. Oral traditions were more clear then.[29]

SOCIAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN OF TAOS

According to the 1990 United States census report, the Hispanic population comprises the largest segment (48 percent) of the total population of the Taos area. The majority of the Hispanics consider themselves descendents of the early Spanish invaders of the Southwest and refer to themselves as Spanish rather than Mexi-

can-American or Chicano(a). Since the pueblo residents also refer to the Hispanic population as Spanish, this term is applied throughout this paper.

Although the town of Taos (predominantly a Spanish community) is small, it is stratified into three major economic groups. At the top level are the old Spanish political families, wealthy businessmen and women, and the established artists. The second level consists primarily of professionals and semiprofessionals, both Spanish and white. The third level is composed of blue collar workers and "hippies" who moved into the area from the mid 1960s to the 1970s. Overall, pueblo residents do not fall into any of these categories. They tend to limit their involvement with the town to shopping and business-related activities. Few Indian people from the pueblo work in town, and fewer are active in community affairs. Essentially, the pueblo and the town can be viewed as two separate communities, with the exception of commercial transactions.

Until recently, people from the pueblo were easily identified by their distinctive style of dress and language. Because of racial animosity, they were perceived by the Taos townspeople as either threatening or subordinate. Consequently, the Indians have experienced racial and cultural discrimination by many of the townspeople. One of the most serious effects of discrimination continues to be a lack of meaningful employment opportunities. Most of the Indians who work in town are employed in the service industry. In the past, most of the Indian women worked as maids, while most of the Indian men were engaged in farm labor. Currently, Indians of both sexes work as clerks or fast food servers. To gain better employment, the majority of the well-educated Pueblo have had to move to the larger metropolitan areas such as Albuquerque and Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Denver, Colorado.

INTERVIEWS

The following is a summary of the interviews and includes direct quotes from the respondents. Generally, all six respondents viewed tourism as necessary for the economic well-being of the pueblo. However, the continuous stream of tourists creates a complex living environment for pueblo residents. The people feel that they are viewed as a living museum and are constantly

bombarded with questions. One of the respondents describes the experience this way:

> When you are living inside the walls of the pueblo, the day-to-day living is very complicated because you have to deal with tourists. They are very curious and you can't blame them for visiting Taos, but it does affect your day-to-day life. Since there is no plumbing or electricity allowed inside the pueblo walls, we have to go to the creek for water and throw water out every so often. There are always tourists in the way. It really bothers you because when you go down to the river for water, they ask you all kinds of questions. You begin to feel like you're part of a zoo. It's like being a wax model in a wax museum. You are there for everyone to look at and take pictures of. You don't have any private life.[30]

Another respondent talks about the insensitivity and lack of respect of some tourists:

> There are just too many tourists who come in and bother the Indian people when they are trying to get their work done. I don't like it because when they see someone plastering, they hurry over and start taking pictures. By the time the person turns around, the tourist has already gone. They don't even have the respect to ask the women or men if they can take their pictures. This is why some of the people who plaster their houses sometimes throw mud at the tourists who try to take their pictures.[31]

Stereotyping is also a common occurrence among tourists. Non-Indian tour guides have been overheard presenting false information to the public about Taos Pueblo life. As one respondent recalls,

> Tourists were commonplace when I was growing up. Jack Denver used to take tourists to the pueblo in horse-drawn stagecoaches and would park the horses next to the stream. . . . They then would give a walking tour. I remember hearing sarcastic remarks made by some of the older people who were tending to various chores in the pueblo that the guide knew nothing about Indians and was telling lies about us. As I got older, I got into the swing of things and would earn money posing for pictures and doing other antics.[32]

CULTURAL MAINTENANCE

Despite the growth of tourism and the economic dependency on it, belief in religion and culture remains strong in all the people interviewed. This attitude plays a central role in cultural maintenance despite daily contact with non-Indians within the pueblo walls. Reflecting this perspective, a respondent stated, "It (religion) will never change because it is inside your heart. It will always be there. No one can take it away, because this is how you were brought up.[33]

The tribal council, the secular governing body of the pueblo, has taken steps to protect the traditional way of life against interference by tourists. In 1989, the pueblo governor, one of the first to attend college, closed the pueblo to tourists for the entire month of February for religious purposes. This was the only time that the pueblo had been closed since tourism became a major economic resource in the 1920s. Although the closure resulted in a loss of revenue for the tribe, it received wide support, and the February closure continues today.

Following are comments from respondents concerning cultural maintenance, indicating that, regardless of the tourists, the tribe will persevere with their culture and religious beliefs:

> People are trying (to maintain their culture). As the new generation are coming up, they tend to value it and protect it more than ever. Some of the older people, back in the late 1800s and early 1900s, have already sold some of the things that we hold dear. All we can do now is try to protect whatever we have . . . . I myself believe very much in our ways, but it is within me. It does not depend on the changes made. They can make them, but they are not going to change me and what I am. The tourists also won't change me. If we are living in the village and feel that we are being changed by them, then we should find another place to live.[34]

One respondent expressed concern that the tribal council was compromising tradition by allowing tourists to take pictures within the pueblo walls.

> We love the pueblo very much because it is part of our life, part of our tradition. It becomes very touchy as far as our traditions are concerned. But because of the economy, the

> culture is actually changing. Right now the tourists are actually allowed to photograph the buildings. The traditional way that we have been taught told us that we are not supposed to bring any kind of lights or electricity into the pueblo, yet it is being done. I really don't know if I have any answers, but my personal feelings are that it is a very hectic life to live within the pueblo walls because of the tourists, but it is not the tourists' fault.[35]

The following statement stresses the inner strength of Taos Pueblo and highlights the sense of community within the pueblo. The respondent believes that tourists are drawn to Taos not only because of its beauty but also because it symbolizes a sense of belonging that many non-Indians lack.

> The way of life that we have at Taos Pueblo is so tightly wrapped in traditional practice that the sense of community is something that fuels the progress and the very existence of the community and the tribe. This is something you do not see anywhere else in the world. For that reason, people come from all over the world to view the place. It is not just a bunch of buildings. If you wanted to do that, you could go to Chaco Canyon or to Bandelier and see buildings. People come to Taos Pueblo to see a community. There is a powerful sense of community in Taos Pueblo. There is a powerful sense of nature interacting with the human race.... I have a feeling that the average American has lost the feeling of belonging, and they come to the pueblo to share this sense of belonging. We belong and they don't. They would like to be a part of this belonging, and they come; they walk through the pueblo; they sit at the river; they take pictures, hoping they can take some part of this experience back with them.[36]

The same respondent emphasizes the adaptability of Taos Pueblo to the Spanish conquistadores and relates this to the contemporary tourists as follows:

> When every effort was made to wipe out our culture and religion, we made adjustments to insure that there was an outward showing of compliance. We managed to keep our religion and culture going (underground, as it were) so we were able to survive the Spaniards. So, too, are we able to survive the tourists and culture they represent.

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE TO CULTURAL MAINTENANCE

As Taos Indians have become more educated and knowledgeable about the ways of the outside world, they have also become more protective of their culture. Steps have been taken to preserve the culture through restricting and controlling the visitors who come into the pueblo. For example, the tribal council regulates the times and areas that the pueblo is open to tourists. The pueblo also distributes pamphlets to tourists, which list the fees for admission and the various rules and regulations that outsiders are expected to follow when visiting the pueblo, as well as general information about Taos Pueblo. In addition, guided tours are conducted by tribal members who are well informed about pueblo life and culture.

Statistics on tourism in Taos Pueblo are unavailable. However, a rough estimate indicates that, in the early 1980s, the pueblo was receiving approximately $150,000 a year from tourism. Currently, the estimated income from tourism is approximately $250,000 annually. This does not include revenue from shop owners within the pueblo. If the pueblo had not been closed to tourists during certain periods of the year, generated income would have been greater.

INTERACTION BETWEEN THE TOWN AND THE PUEBLO PEOPLE

Since the 1600s, the people of the pueblo and the town of Taos have remained separate. This separateness has been carefully maintained by both sides throughout the centuries. Tourism, a recent occurrence, has not minimized this division. In fact, it appears that tourism has exacerbated the differences between the two groups and has intensified the level of competition and resentment. The following observations were made:

> The townspeople are competing with the pueblo because they see the pueblo as attracting more tourists than the town. Some businesses employ Indians in town but only if it is advantageous for the company to do so, such as the Taos Moccasin Company. They employ Indians so they can truthfully claim that their products are Indian made. However, it you go to a business that does not specialize in Indian crafts,

> such as McDonald's or Smith's market, you seldom, if ever, see an Indian person employed there. There are a lot of young Indian men and women that can do as good a job as the Spanish or Anglo person, yet they don't get hired because the people in town don't want the Indians to advance in front of them. If they did, who would take the place of the lower paying positions? ... This is very discriminatory. Most of the store owners and managers are Spanish, and the majority of professionals such as lawyers and doctors are Anglos. This leaves the Indians with the low-paying, unskilled jobs.[37]

Another respondent expressed a similar opinion:

> In the downtown area, what few jobs are available are given to the Spanish people. It is a very political town. We still have a long way to go yet before things will start to improve. We need to develop the tourist attraction, to commercialize it more, and to gain better control over it. In this way, it will be more clear as to how much money is brought in and where it is going.... There was a motel complex proposed at one time; however, the town of Taos businessmen jumped up and down about it, so the tribe kind of lost interest in the idea. But this would be a very good idea to look further into. It would bring jobs to our people. Most of the money from the tourists goes to the downtown area.[38]

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The interviews indicate that tourism has had a dramatic impact on the attitudes of the Indian respondents regarding cultural maintenance and ethnic relations with tourists and the people of the town of Taos. The attitudes reflected are both positive and negative. Although tourists frequently are a nuisance, they are perceived primarily as necessary to the economic well-being of the pueblo. Tourism does not appear to be seen as a threat to Taos culture. In fact, it appears that, among pueblo members, it enhances an appreciation of their lifestyle, culture, and beliefs.

Close, daily contact with outsiders has exposed pueblo residents to the apparent differences between the Indian and non-Indian worlds. Rather than feeling encouraged to assimilate into the majority culture, pueblo residents have become more aware and appreciative of their own culture and lifestyle. As one of the respondents stated,

> I realized that there are two different areas and I never again wished to be like the white person or to have what they have. It seems that it has made many of the Pueblo people more aware of what is happening in the world, because they are exposed to the contrasts (between whites and Indians) on a daily basis.[39]

There are three important reasons that the Taos Pueblo Indians have been able to maintain their traditions while taking advantage of the economic benefits of the tourist trade: (1) the pueblo had a strong cultural and religious foundation prior to the influx of tourists; (2) the pueblo residents have maintained control over the regulation of tourism at the pueblo; and (3) they have learned how to protect their religion from outside interference.

The interviews reveal tension between the town and the pueblo in relation to tourism. Pueblo respondents are cognizant of the fact that town merchants and artists are benefiting more financially than the pueblo is from the tourist trade, although it is the pueblo that initially attracts tourists to the Taos area. Tourism is a factor that continues to emphasize and substantiate the long-standing conflict that exists between the pueblo residents and the townspeople of Taos. The tension between the town and the pueblo has been present since the arrival of the Spanish almost five hundred years ago. The exploitive and oppressive methods employed by the Spanish and American invaders continues to be evident today in the pending court cases involving pueblo land and water rights.

The interaction between the predominantly Hispanic population of the town of Taos and the Indian population at the pueblo continues to involve separateness and distrust. Prior to the 1500s, the pueblo existed for hundreds of years without the town and was self-sufficient. Now that the pueblo has moved from an exchange economy to a cash economy, it has become more dependent on the town for employment, education, and consumer-related activities. However, it remains independent of the town regarding significant aspects of culture, such as religion and politics. Thus tourism has not improved the interaction between the two communities. There is some hostility and resentment expressed by pueblo residents toward the town concerning employment and tourism. As the pueblo begins to develop and expand its tourist-related enterprises, such as establishing and managing hotels, restaurants, and shops, these activities will most likely exacerbate the friction between the two communities and create a more competitive relationship.

The findings of this study also indicate that the respondents viewed tourism as necessary for the economic well-being of the pueblo and that pueblo residents have learned to accommodate the tourists in their daily routine. This accommodation involves a high degree of tolerance, combined with a minimal level of acceptance, particularly among the younger pueblo residents. The most evident difference in attitudes regarding tourists was found between the age groups. The younger respondents (those under the age of thirty-five), who expressed more negative feelings, purposely distanced themselves from the tourists and had minimal contact with them. In contrast, the older respondents were more likely to have positive feelings regarding the tourists. In fact, some of the older respondents indicated that they had developed close, lifelong friendships with tourists.

The differences in attitudes between the two age groups can be explained in part by the type of tourists who visit Taos Pueblo. The tourists who visited in the early 1920s through the 1960s were more likely extremely interested in the Pueblo Indians and were well informed and appreciative of Pueblo customs. Currently, the typical tourist is less educated about American Indians and Taos Pueblo and more likely passing through from Santa Fe or coming from the Taos Ski Valley.

Regarding the literature on race relations and tourism, Taos Pueblo residents appear to be experiencing the last two stages of attitudinal change, as discussed by Doxey—annoyance and antagonism toward tourists.[40] Nevertheless, tourism is a vital economic resource for the pueblo. Thus far, the acculturative impact of tourism on the pueblo's traditional culture has been minimal. The traditional culture does not appear to be eroding any more quickly at Taos than at other pueblos that do not admit tourists. External forces such as education, mass media, and general contact with the outside world are more likely to create acculturation stress than is tourism.

As mentioned earlier, Taos Pueblo was recognized in 1992 as a World Heritage Site. Despite the international recognition, the primary concern of the pueblo is to concentrate on preserving the integrity of the culture and religion rather than capitalizing on the tourist industry. The major concern of the residents is the continued existence of their people and their pueblo. As one respondent states,

> The community holds a place for you regardless of where you go. You are part of a collectivity—a community. Your

> homeland is Taos and you are expected to come back and resume your responsibilities in the pueblo.[41]

The strong sense of community and responsibility are not unique to Taos Pueblo but are important aspects of many American Indian nations and tribes in contemporary society. Non-Indian communities could learn from the experience of tribes, from their dedication and commitment to the maintenance of their culture and community.

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