Cultural Education towards Creative Entrepreneurship among Marginalized People

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines cultural education towards creative entrepreneurship among marginalized peoples. It explores values relating to sustainability of indigenous cultures and economic autonomy through entrepreneurial initiatives for developing benefit from creative cultural expression. The specific case is the Hopi people of Northern Arizona. Like marginalized peoples worldwide the Hopi experience under or non-employment, poverty, lack of education, and other socio-economic ills. There is a need to develop structures for transfer of cultural knowledge among tribal members, between generations, and between tribal members and tourist/visitors. Sustainable entrepreneurship (DeVereaux and Swanson 2011), cultural sustainability (Mowforth and Munt, 2003), cultural citizenship (Mercer 2002; Delanty 2003), contextualize cultural tourism and creative entrepreneurship to consider cultural impacts, the integrated nature of these impacts on the Hopi tribe, and the role of cultural knowledge in facilitating development of creative entrepreneurial initiatives.

Introduction

Entrepreneurship has been offered as a solution to a wide range of economic (and in some cases, political and social) problems in both wealthy and developing nations beginning at least in the 1990s. Applied to the problems faced by marginalized and indigenous peoples it is seen as a means for rectifying economic inequalities and empowering both groups and individuals for life betterment. Challenges to economic empowerment for marginalized and indigenous peoples result from many factors. Among them are unemployment, poverty, health conditions, political disenfranchisement, and educational disadvantage. Many of these have been linked to globalization and the compromise of cultural traditions through incursion of western traditions and values. The irony of developing western-style entrepreneurial initiatives and providing training and education in entrepreneurial methods as a remedy for these conditions should not be ignored. Indeed, entrepreneurial training and methods may result in further compromise of marginalized and indigenous cultures. Despite the 'diverse nature of entrepreneurship and the miscellany of gender, ethnic, demographic and cultural differences that influence', the construction of entrepreneurial identity, some scholars argue that entrepreneurs nevertheless 'project a range of culturally specific, socially constructed identities' (Smith and Anderson 2003, p. 1). Specifically, the commonly held image of 'entrepreneur' is a white male who exhibits contemporary western-style badges of success in attire and other trappings of wealth (Ibid).

Joost Smiers (2000), points to the dangers to social and cultural practices from the western system of copyright and other types of 'commercialization of […] intellectual and creative commons' (p. 392) and others have found a significant disconnection between the values of western entrepreneurship and indigenous cultural values. The 'adjustment to the market economy from a sharing culture or a gift economy has been neither gentle nor fair' (Wood 1999). An important challenge therefore, is to seek methods for economic empowerment that sustain and maintain traditional values rather than disrupt them. Cultural education for researchers and cultural management/policy practitioners is necessary for protection of these values. In some cases, however, cultural education for members of marginalized cultural groups is also needed for political and economic empowerment within the dominant culture as well as to preserve cultural citizenship rights against further incursion. The development of creative enterprises has promise for ensuring all of these aims.

This paper examines some of the conditions of disempowerment among a particular marginalized group, the Hopi of Northern Arizona, and explores how cultural education may serve the integrated aims of entrepreneurship, cultural sustainability, and economic well-being. While this study focuses on the Hopi tribe, the theories, methods, and results provided here have potential for wider application to other indigenous and marginalized groups in other geographic locations.

The paper draws on data from case study research conducted in conjunction with development of a tourism policy for the Hopi people (Swanson and DeVereaux, 2011). Sustainable entrepreneurship (Ibid), cultural sustainability (Mowforth and Munt, 2003) and cultural citizenship (Mercer 2002; Delanty 2003) are used as theoretical frameworks to comprehend capacities for cultural tourism and creative entrepreneurship that consider social, economic, and cultural impacts, the integrated nature of these impacts on the Hopi tribe, and the role of cultural knowledge in facilitating or impeding development of creative entrepreneurial initiatives. It begins with an overview of Hopi history and culture as it pertains to the present study with special emphasis on cultural education and transfer of cultural knowledge. It argues for the importance of cultural education in service to economic and political empowerment while also demonstrating that traditions relating to transfer of cultural knowledge among the Hopi may also impede these aims. Survey data used to operationalize the above concepts is examined in order to demonstrate the importance of cultural sustainability and cultural citizenship as core values. This is contrasted with values championed by the entrepreneurial paradigm. The article concludes with recommendations for integration of cultural education and sustainable entrepreneurship within the creative sector that can serve as a model for marginalized peoples elsewhere seeking similar economic aims.

1. The Hopi People

The US Government recognizes 564 Native American tribal entities, including the Hopi, whose ancestral heritage begins in the American Southwest with the ancient cliff-dwelling people, *Hisatsinom,* who have lived in the Four Corners region since prehistoric Basket Maker times (Koyiyumptewa, Davis, & Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, 2009). Four Corners is a region of the United States consisting of the adjacent corners of Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah. The presence of the Hopi in the region is the result of northern migration from present-day Mexico through the present-day United States over the course of many generations. The Hopi village of Oraibi is the longest continually inhabited village in North America dating to 1150 AD. Hopi culture is unique and distinct from both American white culture and from that of other Native American tribes.

To refer to Hopi culture as non-western appears to ignore the presence of the tribe in their current location long before European settlers arrived in the Southwest in the early 1600s. The commonly accepted term 'western' to refer to the dominant white culture of the US, however, is used here to refer to the values and traditions of European-derived societies including beliefs relating to entrepreneurship paradigms. These paradigms are alien to the

traditional Hopi way of life but have been embraced by some Hopi as a means for individual economic betterment. Notably in current usage, many Hopi and other Native Americans commonly refer to non-Indians (non-native Americans) as 'European'.

The Hopi are a sovereign people whose territory consists of 1.5 million acres (approx. 650,000 hectares) of isolated arid land, most of it within the jurisdictional boundaries of Arizona, and comprised of 12 autonomous villages with approximately 10,000 tribal residents. The tribe's population varies little from numbers reported in the 16th century by Spanish explorers who recorded 12,000 Hopi living in five villages (Whitely, 1988; James, 1974).

They are 'so different in so many ways from most of the Indian tribes of the Americas' (James, 1974, p. xi) that Hopi culture is often both misunderstood and misrepresented. Their unique religion permeates both the social and political life of tribal members and has a significant influence on choices relating to economic activity as well. Their system of beliefs places the Hopi in a special relationship with the earth as its stewards. Accounts of the tribe's origin begin with the emergence of humankind into the present world (the Fourth World) from the Underworld where humans and other beings were first created. Their religion is place-dependent (Griffin-Pierce, 2000); Hopi history identifies the location of their emergence into this world at Sipapuni, a limestone cone at a juncture of the Little Colorado River near Grand Canyon. Their spiritual pact with the deity responsible for their emergence included placing 'footprints' in the form of potsherds and other physical evidence such as ritual springs, sacred trails, shrines, and petroglyphs to show that they had fulfilled their pact by vesting the area with their stewardship. Archaeological sites thus verify clan history and give potency to their religious beliefs (Ibid). The importance of this in the present context is that protection of artefacts and historic/religious sites were primary motivators for creating Hopi's first tourism policy in 1989. Since that time, destruction of sacred sites and removal of artefacts has been an on-going problem. Many of these sites are officially closed to outsiders and some Hopi derive part of their income from conducting tribal-approved tours of these sites. The priority right of these individuals is diminished as the result of non-sanctioned visitors and site desecration.

Principles of the Hopi way of life (the Hopi Way) also include adherence to prescriptions of peace and hospitality. These values are embodied in cultural practices and rituals as well as in the very name 'Hopi' which means 'behaving one, one who is mannered, civilized, peaceable, polite, who adheres to the Hopi Way' (Hopi Dictionary Project, 1998). The more formal name 'Hopitu-Shinumu' is translated as 'all people peaceful' or 'little people of peace' (James, p. xii). This recognizes a core value of their religion, though Hopi history also includes instances of aggression against other peoples. A year-long calendar of religious rituals and events guides nearly every aspect of Hopi life.

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2. Economic Development and History of Hopi Tourism

An acute need for economic development at Hopi is the result of high unemployment, underemployment, and other socio-economic and political factors. Some sources report unemployment figures in excess of 80% (Arizona Department of Commerce, 2008). US and Hopi Tribal governments are the top employers for the 45% of Hopi who are employed. Coal production, cattle production, arts and crafts shops, and the few restaurants, service shops and other small private-sector enterprises on Hopi lands or nearby provide additional options (DeVereaux, 2011). Median per capita income in 2009 was $10,647 (€ 7883.00), an increase of approximately 36% from the median per capita income in 2000 (City-Data, 2011).

Tourism is seen as a viable economic option for life betterment for the Hopi given the factors noted above. Opening tribal lands to tourist visitors is met with trepidation, however, by many Hopi because of negative past experiences especially relating to removal of artefacts from sacred sites. Hopi are often reluctant to share tribal customs and are concerned about the potential for compromise to personal privacy. Hopi informants tell of tourists peeking through windows of homes or intruding upon family gatherings to take photos. Hopi are also concerned that tourism will have a Disney effect on tribal life or that their village will become a living museum diorama to satisfy tourist voyeurism. Some Hopi informants express negative views about tourists' desires to take

pictures of Hopi ceremonies, Hopi individuals, or of the landscape of Hopi lands. They do not see a contradiction between this and their own interest in taking pictures as tourists traveling to other locations.

An extant tourism policy administered by the Hopi Office of Revenue Commission (HORC) is out dated according to agency staff and lacks many substantive features for preventing removal of objects, for compliance with the policy, for sanctions in the case of non-compliance, and for effective policing of tribal lands to prevent un-authorized visits. A single provision of the existing tourism policy addresses protection of culture stipulating that the policy is:

> To assist the villages to protect and preserve the arts, crafts, traditions and ceremonies of the Hopi culture, including the health, safety, welfare and economic security of the Hopi community (Hopi Tourism Policy, 1989, p. 1).

Currently HORC's primary function is to collect fees from licensed tour operators and to provide guidance in policy directives to both operators and visitors.

To assist with development of a new tourism policy, HORC partnered with two researchers from Northern Arizona University to test assumptions about the role and value of a tourism policy, to determine the degree of buy-in from the Hopi community regarding changes, and to test attitudes regarding policy revisions. The researchers concluded that the current policy must incorporate new realities to address the complexities of contemporary tourism not accounted for in the original policy.

3. Rationale

Hopi lands have no protected borders. Hopi is a geographically remote area of Northern Arizona; its location discourages many visitors from entering Hopi lands without a tour guide but others find their way there. Of particular concern are visitors who enter forbidden, sacred areas either inadvertently or intentionally. Lack of signage and physical barriers contribute to this problem. In addition, Hopi governance, social structure, religion and culture impose inherent difficulties for adopting and implementing a tribal wide policy.

The tribe has an autonomous government independent of the US Government within whose jurisdiction its lands lie. Unlike other recognized tribes, Hopi have never signed a treaty with the United States. A system of constitutional government is relatively new. A recent tribal-wide election to amend the Constitution attracted only 30% of eligible Hopi voters; effectively 10% (approx.) of the current population.

Prior to creation of a central Tribal Council required by the US Government in 1936, each Hopi village operated autonomously; 'comparable to a city-

state' (Griffin-Pierce, p. 98), each with its own set of individual rules. Quasi-political alliances based on familial and clan relations govern relationships between the villages. Some Hopi informants report feeling uncomfortable or reluctant to enter other villages without permission from resident villagers. Despite political autonomy, however, the Hopi are dependent economically and politically upon both the US and Arizona governments in a number of ways.

The 12 Hopi villages are located on or below three high desert mesas. They include Hano/Tewa, Sichomovi, Walpi, and Polacca on First Mesa to the east; Moshongovi, Sipaulovi, and Shungopavi on Second Mesa; and Oraibi, Hotevilla, Bacavi, and Kykotsmovi on Third Mesa. An additional settlement which includes the village of Moenkopi is approximately 50 miles to the west in a more populated area that is separate from the main Hopi lands and entirely enclosed within the Navajo Nation, the result of a land dispute with the United States and the Navajo that is formally resolved but still controversial.

Some villages adhere to traditional rules of governance under a *kikmongwi*; a village father or chief. Villages each choose whether or not to participate in central tribal governance. Those that elect a representative to the Tribal Council have some say in central governance. Others do not participate. Some villages preserve strict traditional ways including maintaining homes without modern conveniences (i.e. indoor plumbing and heating). This preference for tradition often excludes visitors or any participation in touristic activities. Other villages embrace tourism and related enterprises; restaurants, guide services, artisan shops and galleries. Visitors to these villages may sometimes view dances and other religious ceremonies under strict rules regarding their conduct and access to village areas. Photography, illustration, or other recording of Hopi religion or daily life is forbidden on all Hopi lands except in rare cases where prior approval is obtained. The prohibition extends even to tribal members for some ceremonies and sacred places. The Hopi also prohibit photographic and other recording as a way to control the image or story of their people from disinformation and misinterpretation by others.

These strict rules have caused some problems between Hopi and tourists. Some tourists have deliberately violated the prohibitions. This may result, in the case of photography, in confiscation of film, erasing of digital photos on a camera, or in rare but extreme cases, destruction of a camera. Other tourists may be unaware of the rules but may also be subject to the above sanctions. According to informants, it is typically a Hopi resident, rather than a tribal official, who metes out the sanction. There are also prohibitions against picking up any item from the ground. It may be difficult, for the outsider, to differentiate between trash or a discarded item, and a sacred object. Tourists who have not been informed of such rules may inadvertently violate them. For this

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reason, tourist education should be an important component of any tourist project at Hopi.

The village of Sipaulovi has the only formal tourism policy at the village level. The policy covers only visitors to this village and is not enforceable outside of its limits except through the customs that govern village relationships. It was adopted specifically to address cultural citizenship rights and to attempt to regulate tourist visits and visitor behaviour. The village owns a tract of land below the mesa near the junction of two highways where it will develop a tourist service centre with restaurant, hotel, petrol station and museum. First Mesa has a restaurant, a guide service and attracts visitors to its centrally-located local artisans who sell directly to interested visitors. The visitor-oriented Hopi Cultural Center is located on Second Mesa. Second Mesa is one of the most accessible to non-Hopi visitors. The Cultural Center includes a museum, restaurant and motel facilities. A convenience store and the Tribal Council agency offices are located in Kykotsmovi. The settlement of Moenkopi has a Hopi-owned resort motel, travel centre and restaurant. The village is dependent upon Oraibi for the purposes of ritual ceremonies and celebrations.

The closest communities to Hopi are approximately 45, 60, or 90 miles (approx. 64, 97, or 145 kilometres) to the south or west. Flagstaff, Arizona is the closest urban centre with a population of approximately 65,800. For Hopi living on tribal lands, it is a destination for many goods and services.

Visitors are attracted to Hopi for its remote and unique desert landscape. Motivations for visitors to travel to Hopi include: to see how Indians live and to personally meet American Indians, develop deeper understanding of American Indian culture, attend an American Indian religious ceremony, and shop for American Indian arts and crafts (Lew, 1999). Hopi appear to be motivated in welcoming tourist/visitors by a desire to share their culture with outsiders and to benefit economically from tourism (Swanson & DeVereaux, 2011).

4. Tourism as Cultural Education and Creative Enterprise

Cultural travel in the United States accounts for 92.7 million travellers. A national survey conducted in 2001 showed that 65% of US adult travellers who visit cultural, arts, heritage, or historic events or activities each year have travelled more than 50 miles. Historic sites are the most popular destination for travellers to and in the US (National Travel Survey, 2001). Further, tourism may be regarded as a win-win opportunity for both governments and affluent tourists:

> Tourism perceived as both less demanding in terms of infrastructural start-up requirements and as a 'clean' industry, has become one of national and local governments' favorite tools for developing economically depressed regions. Consequently, the 'exotic' holiday spent in less-traveled parts of the world has become the vacation of choice within the conventional mass tourist market (Apostolopoulos, Sönmez, and Timothy, 2001, p. 4).

For these reasons, culturally specific tourism has good potential as an economic opportunity for the Hopi people. Indeed, Hopis have welcomed tourists to their lands from their earliest existence in their present location. The demands of contemporary tourism, however, require development of an effective tourism policy and the entrepreneurial skills that can enhance economic activity for the Hopi's benefit. Smith (2003), for example, notes:

> […] cultural tourism can offer something of a boon to developing world economies, as well as making a positive contribution to social and cultural development. It can provide a means of raising the profile of lesser-

known destinations and enhancing the standard of living for local people (p. 45).

At the same time, tourism has many drawbacks. Smith, among others, also notes that 'Loss of authenticity and exploitation are often inevitable consequences of mass tourism development' (Ibid. p. 47). This is precisely what the Hopi fear. Tourism clearly has the potential for both harm and good. Deitch (1989) significantly notes that tourism, in some cases, is responsible for the protection of cultural heritage rather than its destruction:

> It was fortuitous that the early twentieth-century settlers and health-seekers became interested in the indigenous cultures and historic traditions of the Southwest, and that the prime entrepreneur recognized their marketability as a tourist attraction. Otherwise, the decline of Indian arts and crafts would have paralleled other elements of their culture […] (Deitch, p. 227).

Nonetheless, exploitation of Native American culture for economic gain by non-natives is a significant feature of US history. Balancing both positive and negative consequences is not solely a matter for entrepreneurship, however. Indeed at the level of the individual entrepreneur it is unlikely that such a balance would occur. Policies are needed to secure this balance in a way that provides benefit to all Hopi.

> Tourism should be seen to benefit the host communities, and to provide a means and motivation for them to care for and maintain their heritage and cultural practices. The sustainable development of tourism is clearly dependent on the involvement and empowerment of local communities (Smith, p. 111).

Education can serve the purpose of producing entrepreneurs with both the knowledge and skills to work within such a balance in order to ensure economic well-being and sustainability of cultural rights. Economic development in rural and remote locations often depends on the initiatives of local enterprise in the form of production of local and indigenous creative goods. The skills for producing these goods are typically handed down through generations. The most desirable, for tourists, are often those goods that are handmade and unique to a particular artist or artisan.

As is the case for many producers of creative goods in any economic setting, however, entrepreneurial skills relating to effective marketing, merchandising, and distribution are often lacking. Though some Hopi business owners thrive in a contemporary entrepreneurial climate, many others lack the formal skills required for creating and managing a creative enterprise. Most shop owners specialize in traditional arts and crafts so are a source for developing and stimulating artistic production within the tribe. Thus they enhance (or create an incentive for) local tourism, promote local service industries and attract other businesses that support these sectors. A challenge for the tribe and its individual members is to translate these skills into opportunities that are more widely available. Another key challenge relates to the expectations of visitors against the rights of the tribe to defend the integrity of their own culture in the face of tourism and entrepreneurial demands. As noted above, many tourists are unfamiliar with restrictions on viewing or participating in ceremonial activities, photography, or other activities that they might expect to experience in other tourist settings. For many tourists, these activities may be the precise reason they selected Hopi as a tourist destination. A tourism project must find ways to provide for positive tourist experiences without compromising key Hopi traditions and values.

5. Theoretical Framework

The conceptual framework for this study takes into account core values of Hopi culture. The benefits of a globalized world have come at a high price for many cultures, especially those already marginalized by other historical factors. Despite their promise for economic benefit, Western-style business methods and entrepreneurship which reinforce neo-liberal values are implicated in the compromise or eradication of traditional cultural values of many peoples (Swanson and DeVereaux, 2011). Walle (1998) notes, 'The business school paradigm views tourism, first and foremost, as a business; proponents embracing this perspective assert that business perspectives should be presented first as an overarching model or paradigm […]' (p. 96).

A satisfying definition of entrepreneurship is difficult to find. Some authors unhelpfully trace its history to the French *entreprendre* meaning 'to undertake'. In its most simplistic meaning, an entrepreneur is someone who starts a business; the term is thus used as a synonym for 'small business owner' or a person who derives her primary income from a business she owns. A more developed definition understands entrepreneurship as a means for wealth creation, typically using capital secured from an outside source. Key to understanding the concept, however, seems to be that entrepreneurs operate to maximize individual benefit at the cost of other values.

Licht (2007) suggests that entrepreneurs rate power and achievement above traditional cultural values, religion, and universalism (characterized, for example, by traits of social justice, unity with nature, and protecting the environment) and notes that many facets of entrepreneurship apply especially to Western industrialized nations (p. 43). 'The underlying

behavioral concept of entrepreneurship includes assumptions about capitalism and the Protestant work ethic, which are not easily transferable to non-Western [contexts]' (Noseleit, 2010, p. 42). Some researchers have defined entrepreneurs as predators rather than risk takers (Villette, Vuillermot, and Holoch, 2009). Risk taking and innovation appear as frequent themes in many definitions of the term (Knight, 1967; Drucker, 1970). J.S. Mill (1848) believed that risk was a distinguishing feature between entrepreneurs and managers. A later definition (Schumpeter, 1950) understands the entrepreneur as the driving force behind economic growth and change.

It is clear that these many definitions emphasize individual over communal action, including the following which states, 'Entrepreneurship is a process by which individuals – either on their own or inside organizations – pursue opportunities without regard to the resources they currently control' (Stevenson, Roberts, and Grousbeck, 1989). In other words,

development. The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) defines it as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (1987, p. 43).

Sustainable entrepreneurship values the use of entrepreneurial methods and economic means to sustain a particular way of life. It may be used, more commonly, to speak about environmental preservation or ecological sustainability, for example that seeks to preserve clean water resources used for food production or the biodiversity of tribal forest land used for hunting and harvest. It is also used, as in the present article, to include preservation and sustainability of cultural traditions and values. For example, prohibiting artificial snow on sacred mountain peaks may be important to preserve the continuity and sanctity of ceremonial rituals that ensure spiritual well-being of the tribe. Sustainable entrepreneurship methods would seek entrepreneurial

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entrepreneurial activities typically aim at wealth production as a primary goal rather than the goals of sustaining, maintaining or preserving resources – cultural or otherwise.

For the Hopi, work is not a secular activity distinct from spiritual life (Griffin-Pierce, p 94). The work ethic it embodies is strongly linked to Hopi religious beliefs. Systems of barter still exist and a significant number of artisan and craft items made by some individuals are intended solely for gift-giving or household use rather than for economic gain, according to Hopi informants. The above-noted characteristics of entrepreneurship therefore clearly conflict with many core Hopi values. Likewise, commercialization of traditional culture is a factor that risks undermining and changing traditional cultures in ways that challenge tribal rights to determine appropriate use of heritage and to limit and prevent use of cultural goods whose spiritual value may be otherwise diminished. 'Loss of authenticity and exploitation are often inevitable consequences of mass tourism development' (Smith, p. 47). For these reasons the use of entrepreneurial methods incorporating cultural sustainability are important. Application of sustainable entrepreneurship has grown rapidly from its earliest use as sensitivity to environmental and ecological concerns in economic

solutions that ensure the time, resources, internal and external tolerance and social and political environment for enhancement and exercise of cultural citizenship rights. Given Hopi's integration of religious practices into everyday living, sustainable entrepreneurship models would maximize economic benefit while ensuring appropriate autonomy to maintain religious obligations. A Hopi-owned business, for example, may be more likely to grant time away from work for exercise of religious rights even if they resulted in a lengthy absence. The present state of Hopi economy and its over-reliance on outside funding (U.S. federal grants, state grants and non-profit foundations) to support essential services make attaining such goals difficult. Informants note that some ceremonies have been shortened or are performed over weekends instead of weekdays. Likewise, introduction of contemporary western entrepreneurial models have privileged the authority of these models over other possibilities. The concept of sustainable entrepreneurship, in contrast, encapsulates key development and sustainability values relating to Hopi culture and artistic expression, and autonomy through individual and communal entrepreneurial initiatives.

Cultural sustainability focuses on the preservation of cultural heritage and identity. An additional concern for this study is the potential for

subversion of the Hopi Way from increased market and other economic pressures stemming from contemporary, globalized systems that interact with the Hopi tribe and its members. Market-based entrepreneurial practices typically position economic utility and material self-interest as intrinsic to any economic activity. The influx of tourism and its potential negative effects is also a concern. The concept of cultural sustainability has been recognized in the area of tourism where it is defined as 'the ability of people to retain or adapt elements of their culture which distinguish them from other people' (Mowforth & Munt, 2003, p. 99). The negative effects of tourism on the cultures of developing countries have been recognized, despite tourism's promises for economic benefit.

> Societies may be able to continue functioning in social harmony despite the effects of changes brought about by a new input such as tourists. But the relationships within that society, the mores of interaction, the styles of life, the customs and traditions are all subject to change through the introduction of visitors with different habits, styles, customs and means of exchange […] Cultural influences from even a small influx of tourists are inevitable and may be insidious […] (Ibid).

Additional threats to Hopi cultural identity are the result of the settlement of displaced Native Americans, such as members of the Navajo Nation, on Hopi land, US government-sanctioned efforts to sell Hopi communal land to private owners, land development and shared land use. One controversy alluded to in this article concerns use of reclaimed water by a ski-resort company to make artificial snow on the San Francisco Peaks above the city of Flagstaff. The Hopi believe this will violate the sacredness of the peaks as the home of the spirit beings – *katsinam* – that provide for the well-being of the tribe. The controversy pits the integrity of their cultural practices against the economic desires of private enterprise and the leisure rights of skiers.

The principle of *cultural citizenship* also encompasses the values of cultural identity rights. It is 'a framework created around a communal idea; that of a multicultural society where the rights of cultural groups to maintain their distinct identity separate from the dominant or majority cultural groups is guaranteed' (DeVereaux 2008, p14). As a policy concept it seeks recognition and empowerment of cultural groups, especially regarding inclusion (Delanty, 2003).

Cultural uniqueness is empowering in that it allows for politically, economically, and socially unencumbered expression of the fullest range of cultural representations such as religious and spiritual practices, native language, native costume, educational practices, and other articulations of cultural integrity. Exerting these rights establishes cultural groups as the primary definers of their own identity. 'The power to name, create meaning, construct personal biographies and narratives by gaining control over the flow of information, goods and cultural processes is an important dimension of citizenship as an active process' (Delanty, 2003, p 6). Hopi rights to cultural integrity and the full exercise of cultural expression were undermined historically by policy and practice due to interventions by US and state governments.

These included prohibitions against engaging in ceremonial dances and dressing in native costumes, removal of children from their homes to receive Christian instruction, and many humiliating practices such as forced cutting of male tribal members' hair. Photographic records and written accounts were often used to document violations of rules against Hopi cultural practices, hence the continued disallowance of photography and other record-keeping on Hopi lands.

Cultural citizenship is therefore an appropriate framework in the case of the Hopi whose claims to define and express their unique culture have been undermined since their occupation of their present location. The concept recognizes the centrality of culture to human development (Mercer 2002) and the compromise of these rights as detracting from this aim. Cultural citizenship is recognized, therefore, as an essential right for individuals of any cultural group.

6. The Research Process

A necessity for engaging in a research process with the Hopi people was developing a relationship of trust and commitment with tribal members. To this end, a committee of volunteers was formed under the loose direction of HORC. The Hopi members of the committee were active participants in providing background information to the researchers, in legitimizing the process to the larger Hopi community and in facilitating processes that might otherwise have impeded the study.

The main objective guiding this research was to determine if there was common ground between the Hopi people and tourists with regard to what both populations desired from tourism that could be reflected within a tourism policy. Critical points included effectively communicating the ideas of the Hopi culture without diminishing its sacred nature, identifying and ensuring that Hopi offers tourists something they are genuinely interested in, creating tourism policies which do not disrupt cultural activity, and ensuring that tourism policies will provide cultural and economic sustainability for the Hopi People.

An important component was the cultural learning that took place. The study was part of a semester long university course in which students learned methods of case study research and actively participated in the research. The researchers provided the Hopi tribe with expert advice in designing the

research, data collection, and eventual interpretation of data. In addition, they provided advice and facilitation relating to the policy process. Hopi participants were the liaison to the Hopi community and served as informants. Recurring themes in these interactions were the balance between secular western ways and the Hopi Way, between village autonomy and central tribal governance and unity, and the social and political positioning that occurs regularly in the conduct of Hopi life but that is virtually hidden to outsiders. Informant testimony and secondary research established that this latter barrier might impede goals of some individual entrepreneurs as well as some intended outcomes from tourism as an effective economic option.

It should be noted that a potential limitation for researchers in conducting this research was their lack of expert knowledge about Hopi culture and traditions. Given that the underlying conceptual framework for the project focused on cultural citizenship and rights and protection of Hopi cultural ways, it could be argued that researchers studying these issues must possess expertise regarding the target culture. In this case, however, researchers determined that lack of expert cultural knowledge did not impede the study because of strong involvement of individual Hopi tribal members and village and Tribal Council representatives. The expertise of these individuals and agencies constituted a satisfactory knowledge framework for the study.

Prior to commencing the research project, researchers and students conducted specific research into Hopi culture and traditions. One steering committee member provided lectures in-class and on-site in her village of Sipaulovi as an introduction to the Hopi tribe and to her village. Key reading texts and other information were consulted as needed. Other relevant documents, e.g. the existing, out-dated Hopi Tourism Policy, the Hopi Constitution, visitor research data and tour operator licensing procedures were also available. Researchers used the process outlined above to design the research project. Opportunities for informal data collection as the result of interaction with these individuals comprise some of the data and findings reported here.

7. Empirical Findings (adapted from DeVereaux & Swanson, 2011)

Researchers used both quantitative and qualitative means to evaluate the interests and needs of the Hopi tribe regarding tourism for economic development and its benefits or disadvantages. A thirteen question survey instrument tested assumptions and attitudes relating to core issues and important cultural values and aims. The survey instrument was intentionally brief to get at core issues relating to Hopi tourism. Prior to administering the survey, predictions from HORC staff and committee members suggested that the survey process was most likely to result in very few responses. Reasons given were: distrust of outsiders, apathy or distrust regarding the policy process, and unwillingness to participate in any activity associated with the central tribal policy. Nonetheless, 195 surveys were collected from residents representing all 12 Hopi villages over the course of a single day.

The first question was open-ended and was used to determine what, if anything, respondents knew about the existing tourism policy. In coding, any response that indicated some awareness counted as 'aware'. A sampling of answers included 'visitors should check in', 'it is old, not sure if it's enforced' and 'complicated for outside [tour] companies'.

Of the respondents, 17.5% were aware of the existing tourism policy; in contrast 82.5% were unaware of the policy. The next question asked Hopi residents to express as positive, neutral, or negative, their past experiences with non-Hopi visitors. Over half, 55.2% had positive experiences; surprisingly, only 4.6% responded in the negative, with the remaining 40.2% neutral in their experiences with non-Hopi visitors. These responses indicate the need for education regarding any future policy as well as for buy-in from Hopi for a policy that would stimulate tourism enterprises.

The next series of questions asked respondents to agree or disagree with four non-mutually exclusive statements representing opinions regarding the purpose of a tourism policy. The highest percentage of 'agree' answers was in response to the statement 'the purpose of a tourism policy is to ensure minimal intrusion of the living communities at Hopi'. Of the respondents, 94.2% agreed with this statement. The next greatest percentage of 'agree' answers was in response to the statement, 'the purpose of a tourism policy is to protect the safety and well-being of Hopi tribal members', with 90.1% responding in agreement to this statement. Only 86.5% of respondents agreed with the third purpose statement, 'the purpose of a tourism policy is to preserve Hopi tradition,' while the fourth statement, 'the purpose of a tourism policy is to provide employment for Hopi tribal members' had an 80.9 'agree' percentage. Table 1 shows these results. The data show that protection of way of life has high importance for Hopi. While respondents value privacy and protection of personal well-being, protection of the Hopi Way was also rated highly.

Two independent but related questions asked respondents their opinion about policy at the tribal versus the village level. This was intended to address concerns of many Hopi relating to the importance of village autonomy over central tribal authority. Overwhelmingly, 94.3% of respondents answered, 'it was in the interest of the Hopi Tribe to have a well-defined tourism policy'. Similarly, 91.1% of respondents answered, 'it is in the interest of the village to have a well-defined tourism policy'. This indicates that Hopi respondents recognize the value of centralized policy but also find it important to maintain authority over policy issues at the village level.

Survey respondents were also probed about opinions relating to the results of tourism on Hopi.

Purpose statement	Frequency	Percentage*
To protect the safety and well-being of Hopi tribal members	173	90.1
To provide employment for Hopi tribal members	152	80.9
To preserve Hopi tradition	166	86.5
To ensure minimal intrusion into the living communities at Hopi	179	94.2

*Non-mutually exclusive, percentages will not equal 100%

TABLE 1. PURPOSE OF TOURISM ON HOPI

Four non-mutually exclusive statements asked respondents to mark 'yes' or 'no' pertaining to their opinions on the results of a tourism policy. The highest percentage of 'yes' responses, 92.1%, agreed with the statement, 'the result of tourism on Hopi is educating visitors about Hopi traditions and culture'. 88.4% of respondents answered yes to the statement, 'the result of tourism on Hopi is an increase in revenue for Hopi businesses'. Two statements that represented possible problems from tourism were also probed. 45% of respondents indicated that 'the result of tourism on Hopi is an excess in traffic on Hopi lands'. The last statement, also seeking answers to a negative aspect of tourism garnered a 16.9% 'yes' response to the statement, 'the result of tourism on Hopi is more pollution and litter from visitors'.

The importance of these findings is that a predominance of survey respondents finds it important for the Hopi to develop a well-defined tourism policy to protect Hopi culture and economic prosperity. Anticipation of positive outcomes from tourism exceed expectations of negative outcomes, which suggests that respondents see value for development of a tourism initiative for the Hopi tribe. An important component for securing cultural preservation however is establishing separate, though inter-linking policies at both the village and tribal level.

8. The Need for Cultural Education

The survey included only one question probing respondents about beliefs or attitudes relating to education of visitors. As indicated above, 92% of respondents felt this was an important aspect of tourism. Informal and qualitative data support this finding. Future studies may focus more attention on this aspect of Hopi tourism and the ways that existing structures both support and weaken cultural education as a component of tourism.

Among the many poorly or variously understood concepts that present themselves in the field of cultural policy, cultural education is not unique and therefore begs clarification. Concrete definitions, however, are not easily discovered. In broad strokes, definitions may fall into a few select categories. Some definitions seem to place particular emphasis on the arts and other creative and intellectual accomplishments as central components of the term. In this sense, cultural education would include any form of education 'in which culture or art is the goal or an instrument' (Research Group of Art in Cultural Education, 2011). Other definitions emphasize, instead, the cultural, social, and intellectual heritage of a people in addition to artistic heritage, and count cultural education as concerned with coming to understand and respect cultural values, traditions, and the processes of cultural change of different peoples. This latter understanding of the term more closely adheres to the manner in which the term is used in this article. Cultural education, however, need not be limited to in-group transfer of knowledge. Hopi aims to transfer knowledge of their culture to others can be counted as another goal of cultural education.

Necessary to 'cultural education' in the context of the present article is a support structure to carry out its aims. In the case of the Hopi people, several structural barriers impede effective cultural education that may, in turn, determine the success of policy and the outlook for creative enterprise. These barriers include those that impede in-group knowledge transfer as well as cultural education directed at tourist/visitors.

Cultural education has important implications in the case of the Hopi. In an informal survey, Hopi tour operators and staff also cited educating visitors about Hopi history and sharing Hopi culture as primary reasons for engaging in the tourism enterprise. One informant noted that his clients were exclusively people who visited Hopi to learn more about the tribe, its history, and culture. 'The people I deal with', he said, 'aren't regular tourists. They come here because they really want to learn'. The Hopi prefer the word 'visitor' to the word 'tourist'. They believe it better conveys the type of relationship they wish to have. Indeed, given the high value placed on hospitality as part of the Hopi Way, such a preference makes sense. In addition, expectations of visitors – recipients of hospitality – may be different than those of tourists. As

Result statement	Frequency	Percentage*
Is an increase of revenue for Hopi businesses	167	88.4
Is an excess in traffic on Hopi lands	85	45.0
Is educating visitors about Hopi traditions and culture	174	92.1
Is more pollution and litter from visitors	32	16.9

*Non-mutually exclusive, percentages will not equal 100%

TABLE 2. RESULT OF TOURISM ON HOPI

noted earlier in this article, the latter emphasises commercialism and consumerism. Though in either case, there is an exchange of value, the idea of visitor may place more emphasis on educational, aesthetic, spiritual, or other experiential gains, which may be profoundly different from the traditional concept of tourist. 'If cultural products are sold or consumed' the relationship may be limited to 'the transactional sphere […] where nothing is due or expected' (DeVereaux 2012). The issue of cultural rights and citizenship of the host culture may be thereby diminished.

It is also worth noting that Hopi believe that obligations for earth stewardship are done on behalf of all people, not the Hopi alone. This means that educating non-Hopi about Hopi values and the Hopi Way need not interfere with religious obligations or cultural values but can, instead, be a means of fulfilling these obligations within the context of a tourism project.

9. Cultural Education and the Hopi People

Similar to other minority cultural groups, Hopi religion, dress, customs, and language have been threatened by dominant western white culture. Though Hopi were not targeted for eradication and did not suffer displacement from homelands as did other Native American tribes, aggressive efforts to instil western values have threatened the Hopi Way.

> Whites… have for the most part perceived the Hopi as "primitive," as somewhat less than human, and have attempted to forcibly change the Hopi Way of being in terms of their own "civilized" cultural patterns (Loftin, 2003, p. 65).

The first off-reservation school for native Americans funded by the United States Government was organized and founded by Richard Henry Pratt in 1879 (Slivka, 2011, p. 1). While far from the contemporary ideals embodied in the concept 'cross-cultural education', the aim was to instruct native American children in English and to provide a means of employment through manual training – a practice devised by Pratt to discourage migration to cities and to 'provide jobs for rural folk'.

Policies and practices such as these have had the effect of diminishing or erasing cultural knowledge, especially knowledge traditionally passed down from one generation to the next. As an oral culture, the Hopi have maintained few written records of their history. Much available research is conducted by non-Hopi. Prohibitions preventing exercise of cultural rights such as described above meant that many Hopi were not schooled in Hopi language and customs thereby preventing the passing down of knowledge. One informant in the present study noted that her four-year old son was one of only two children of his age in the entire tribe that could speak Hopi. Because many Hopi families do not speak the language regularly at home, children must learn Hopi in school as a second language.

Likewise, not all Hopi tribal members participate in Hopi culture. In earlier centuries, many Hopi were converted to Christianity. Of those who continue to identify with Hopi spirituality some do not participate in religious ceremonies especially given that tribal ceremonies are time-consuming; some take place over the course of many days. These factors have an impact on cultural knowledge. As in any culture, knowledge of traditional values, customs, practices, and histories may be both fragmented and diluted. Given the small population of the Hopi, however, the problem may have additional implications in terms of the integrity and authenticity of tribal customs and traditions, though these have economic potential for attracting cultural tourists.

Cultural knowledge is evidently important in developing relationships between members of differing cultures and can therefore encourage preservation of culture. At the same time it provides opportunities for economic gain through tourism as many visitors seek experiences where education about another culture is featured. From the tourist point of view, cultural

education may occur from exposure to an environment different from one's own. Graburn (1989) explains that travel is a quest for meaning and renewal. Less obvious, however, are the ways in which indigenous cultural tradition can impede these aims. Hopi entrepreneurs and governmental bodies interested in promoting tourism should address these barriers as an important component of the cultural education mix.

While it is clear that the historical past is a construction of human memory, for marginalized groups whose cultural past has often been commandeered by dominant cultures for the latter's ends, this truism poses significant problems. As noted above, the conditions of knowledge transfer for Hopi and other Native Americans have resulted in such things as loss of language, customs, and history. The Hopi are acutely aware of what they have lost and that much claimed knowledge is pieced together from the remnants of imprecise oral and written records.

Recapturing and owning their past is an important step in political and economic empowerment of the Hopi. This is true on both the macro level – the tribe in relation to the dominant US culture – as well as on the micro level, i.e., the individual Hopi who may seek empowerment for individual benefit within the tribe or for economic self-betterment. Notably, Hopi place great importance on who is permitted to tell the story of their culture and what story is told. Hopi report acute sensitivity to misrepresentations of their culture and history. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, for example, US Government policies directed toward Native Americans made exercise of cultural rights not only difficult, but often illegal, and documentation was used to catch individuals in the act of performing the so-called illegal activities. As a result, the Hopi place great importance on accurate representations of their culture both for reasons of security and for reasons of cultural integrity. Hopi are as concerned with the potential for misrepresentation of their culture by other Hopi as by non-Hopi.

Hopi society and its complex social relations, lineage, and clan groupings impose additional restrictions on cultural knowledge transfer. Clemmer notes that 'clan and lineage each denotes a degree of inclusion or exclusion' (1995, p. 314). In the past, Hopi have sought to protect tribal cultural expression and ritual knowledge from outsiders. But, there is also a tradition of keeping secrets as a means of protecting political power within the tribe. Several members of the research steering committee noted that regarding relationships among Hopi of differing villages and clans, 'we don't trust each other'. One informant stated, 'We have to get along because my daughter might marry his son'. Behind-the-scenes, or away from the researchers' observation, however, much positioning and bargaining occurred. While this is typical for any cultural group, it must be stated again that the small number of Hopi and the relatively small geographical area covered by each individual village heightens the effects of divisiveness in a way that may impact economic aims. The researchers also noted a reluctance to offer or receive advice between villages.

Researchers wondered why one informant, who had been instrumental in designing an effective structure for handling tourism in her village, could not organize a system for providing training to other villages interested in duplicating her success. In a traditional entrepreneurial model, she could be expected to advertise her skills and provide workshops to other Hopi, for a fee, as a means of expanding her income. The informant stated that rather than approach residents of other villages, she would have to wait until they requested her assistance. A more forward approach would be regarded as an encroachment on their autonomy.

Notably, it was not clear to researchers how permission was granted that allowed some activities and not others. The researchers were sometimes allowed to take photos of apparently restricted areas but not of others. Some photos were allowed for personal use only while others had no apparent limitations. Secondary research indicates that as clans exert differing levels of power within the tribe, factors relating to clan affiliation may be at work. Whitely (1999) also notes, 'The primary source of power in Hopi society lies in esoteric ritual knowledge' (p. 311).

Additional challenges relating to cultural education concern clan affiliation and the matrilineal and patrilineal patterns in transferring cultural and ritual knowledge. While the overall structure of Hopi inheritance is matrilineal, some types of knowledge are alternately controlled. Whitely (1986) notes the 'significance of patrilineal relationships for social integration' (p. 69). In addition, instruction of males and females regarding traditions, customs, and histories differs significantly as do practices that relate to ritual. For example, one informant upon seeing a feather on the ground noted that she wasn't allowed to pick it up because of prohibitions relating to ritual practices. Only males may pick them up, though they may give them to a female.

Understanding these practices in the context of both tourism and preservation of culture suggests that reliance on oral tradition, gender limitations on transferring culture knowledge, and socio-political realities relating to village and clan divisions may strongly impact the body of knowledge available to the tribe for its own use or for its use in the tourism context. An additional limitation is secrecy as an institutionalized aspect of Hopi religious practice. In many cases, a single person is the sole surviving possessor of secret knowledge. Understandably there is reluctance, for religious reasons, to divulge the secret. Nonetheless, another female informant told researchers she regretted that she and her sisters had not insisted that family elders divulge these secrets. Since the deaths of these elders, valuable cultural knowledge has been lost.

Finally, there is the case of clan and village ownership of cultural and ritual knowledge as well as ownership of cultural forms. 'Through secrecy, knowledge takes on the character of property' (Whiteley, 1999, p. 311). An example of this

in practice may be the negative case, cited by Whiteley (1986) of rituals at Third Mesa. He notes:

> In the twentieth century, ceremonial activity declined at Third Mesa outside of third-order societies so that the most important ceremonial associations are now part of historical tradition "rather than a nexus of social action" (p. 71).

This may explain, in part, the openness of Third Mesa to tourism activities such that economic enterprises may have developed for want of political power and prestige. Entrepreneurship at Third Mesa villages is in fact, highly developed compared to other villages. The point illustrates, however, that ritual knowledge understood as property is a factor to consider when contemplating tribal-wide tourism initiatives and policies.

Also worth noting is that some entrepreneurs have used cultural knowledge as a commodity for personal entrepreneurial gain. Tour operators provide visits to historical and sacred sites. Complaints about unlicensed guides focus on the fragility of sites and their possible destruction by uninformed guides as well as on whether information given about tribal history and culture is accurate. A common complaint from authorized tour operators engaged in licensed tourism activities is that no one can verify that unauthorized individuals are 'telling the right story'. One informant states, 'We don't know what they are telling [visitors]'. An underlying factor, however, may also be competition for tourist trade between licensed and unlicensed tour operators. One means to resolve these issues may be for villages providing tours to also provide training workshops for guides. In the case of Sipaulovi, a training course, test and certification are required. This also suggests a need to standardize the Hopi story. This can be a benefit to tourism interests for the reason that competing stories among villages and clans may have a negative impact on visitors' experiences of Hopi as contested versions may be perceived as a lack of authenticity. Standardization of message also facilitates the training process and may aid in quality control.

Given the data, above, regarding the political dimensions of cultural knowledge and knowledge transfer, however, one may legitimately question whether the standard version gives preference to more powerful clans, which may then compromise authenticity in another direction and may contribute to continued disempowerment of other clans. One might legitimately object, as well, that alternate accounts could serve to enhance rather than diminish the visitor experience. Due to the relatively small size of occupied Hopi land and population, however, multiple competing accounts of Hopi history and tradition may, indeed, have the negative effect suggested above. Because cultural knowledge is already diluted within the tribe these issues have implications for cultural knowledge of tribal members and transfer of knowledge to future generations and thus merit further investigation.

Conclusion

Cultural tourism professionals must come to understand that their profession is a policy science 'whose primary allegiance is to host cultures' (Walle, p. 86) rather than simply a profession concerned with entrepreneurship and commercial gain. Economic, educational and political realities pose challenges to indigenous and marginalized peoples. While the potential for exploitation exists (and has occurred) there is also the opportunity for creative enterprises, especially in conjunction with tourism, to develop as viable options for economic betterment. Among barriers are also those relating to cultural education for tribal members, visitors, and entrepreneurs. Culturally sustainable models for creative enterprise must consider the impact on cultural groups where economic gain may not be the sole or primary value. Entrepreneurial models must allow for adaptation to cultural realities of the host culture. Collaboration is imperative and must include the means for empowerment of the cultural group in making decisions about cultural values as part of the overall entrepreneurial aims. Cultural education is also important for achieving economic and political goals. Structures within the culture community however may challenge political and economic empowerment of the group within the wider dominant culture.

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