

2003

# Experience of producing tourist art among Native American artists : a qualitative investigation

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31979/etd.my4p-ea3m>

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EXPERIENCE OF PRODUCING TOURIST ART AMONG  
NATIVE AMERICAN ARTISTS: A QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Recreation and Hospitality Management

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

by

Naho Maruyama

May 2003

UMI Number: 1415723

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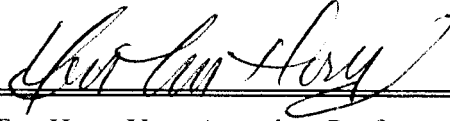
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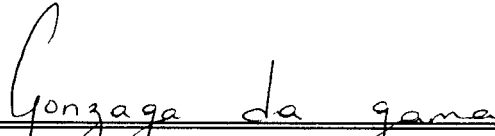
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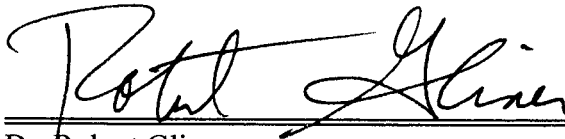
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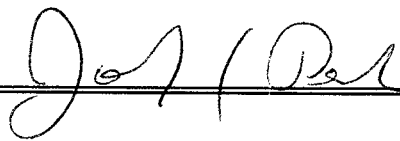


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## ABSTRACT

### EXPERIENCE OF PRODUCING TOURIST ART AMONG NATIVE AMERICAN ARTISTS: A QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION

By Naho Maruyama

The purpose of this study was to understand the experience of producing tourist art from the indigenous artists' perspective. An exploratory qualitative research method was employed. In-depth, individual interviews were conducted with nine Native American artists in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Phenomenological analyses of the interviews revealed that the artists maintained a strong sense of pride in their art. Moreover, they supported artistic transformations caused by market demand as long as the art was made by traditional producing methods. At the same time, the artists expressed their discomfort with a misconception of their art among tourists. The findings suggested that it is important for tourists and tourism developers to understand the artists' philosophy of cultural authenticity in order to avoid misjudging the value of their art. Moreover, the findings might suggest the need for the artists to provide information in supporting of the authenticity of tourist art.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis could not have been completed without the help of several individuals. First, I would like to give my most grateful appreciation to Dr. Tsu-Hong Yen, my thesis advisor, for his guidance and support throughout the process. Even amidst time of frustration, he has always stood by my side and constantly encouraged me. I owe a great amount of thanks to Dr. Gonzaga da Gama and Dr. Robert Gliner, my thesis committee, for their encouragement, time, and valuable input on my thesis. In addition, I would like to thank Dr. Maureen Glancy who always reminded me of reaching higher.

I also thank nine interview participants in this study for sharing their thoughts. The two weeks I spent in New Mexico with them will always remain one of my most precious memories.

I would like to thank my best friends in Japan for caring and making me laugh and relax. Their friendship made me feel connected to them even though I was thousands of miles away. Furthermore, I want to give special thanks to the memory of my high school best friend, Satomi.

Lastly, but not least, I would like to thank my family in Japan. Dad, you gave me a sense of purpose to complete the degree. Mom, you were on my side in any occasion, which gave me great confidence. Thank you two for being great role models for me. My older sister, Miho, and my brother in law, Nobu, thank you for the constant care and advice that you gave me. My younger sister, Chiho, thank you for all the cheerful and thoughtful messages that you sent to me. Thank you all for making me feel that I am doing the right thing.

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## CHAPTER I

### Introduction

Ethnic tourism transforms indigenous people's culture, such as religious ceremonies, local food, and local products, into tourist attractions. Curious tourists are attracted by the genuine encounter to the unordinary lifestyles. During their visits, the tourists tend to purchase local art and crafts as tangible reminders of their visits, which makes the local products promoted to the tourists to be a new form of art named "tourists art." Cohen (1993, p. 1) referred to tourist art as "ethnic art and craft products, produced for an 'external' audience, namely an audience that is typically unfamiliar with the culture and authentic criteria of the producer's society." Because of the current boom of ethnic tourism as an alternative form of mass tourism, tourist art is now a major component of the tourism industry.

According to Pearce (2002), a travel experience consists of four phases: anticipation, travel to the site, on site stay, and recollections. Tourists who anticipate genuine encounters with exotic indigenous culture purchase locally made art and crafts products as souvenirs during their on site stay. These items function as a tangible reminder of the travel experience at the post travel recollection stage (Littrell, Anerson, & Brown, 1993; Rosette, 1984).

Early critics disputed the authenticity of tourist art because local art forms were often modified in order to fulfill tourist demand, and the changes were condemned as cultural erosion from early antholopological view (Greenwood, 1977; MacCanell, 1976). Recently, however, researchers have begun to study it from a logical standpoint, and several constructs of artistic transformations of local art have been developed (Cohen,

1993; Graburn, 1976; Rosetta, 1984; Ryan & Crofts, 1997; Silverman, 1999; Taylor, 2001). For example, Cohen's study in Thailand demonstrated how plain crafts could be developed into diversified tourist art because of the demand from tourists.

The expansion of ethnic tourism has widened the tourist art market from local to nationwide or even to global market. For example, with the help of the Internet, the indigenous artists who used to produce art for their own communities can promote their art in the virtual global market. In fact, studies have shown that the widened market may influence not only the nature of the art but also the artists themselves (Silverman, 1999; Simpson, 1993). On one hand, this expansion of the market stimulates collective identity among members of the communities (McKean, 1977). The internal bond among locals is reemphasized by presenting art as the symbol of ethnic identity to an external audience.

On the other hand, local artists encounter outsiders who cannot understand the cultural values of the art (Cohen, 1993; Rosetta, 1984). This lack of shared understanding of the art may cause a conflict for the artists between internal and external value of their art. As a result, the artists might have to reconsider the meaning of their art and their ethnic identity as artists. Because ethnic identity is reciprocal, when their identity is misunderstood by others, the artists may struggle to maintain or even renounce to sustain it.

The purpose of this study was to explore the meaning of producing tourist art from indigenous artists' perspective. Because the emblems of a host society's ethnic identity are always the initial tourist attractions (Berghe, 2000), it is important to analyze the influence of tourism on the locals' perception of their own culture and ethnicity.

The motivation to conduct this investigation stemmed from the investigator's personal experience as a tourist. Having visited some indigenous communities, the researcher became interested in how local people felt about displaying their culture as a commodity to attract visitors. Especially when the researcher visited Santa Fe, a well-known ethnic tourism site in New Mexico, she saw that many Native Americans were selling their handmade art and crafts on the street. She pondered the following question: Are they proud of their culture, or are they just making a living? Because of this experience, Native Americans residing around Santa Fe were chosen as the research target for this study.

The recent studies of tourist art have increased knowledge from different perspectives: its economic impacts (Hall, 1996), the transformation process of art appearances (Cohen, 1993; Silverman, 1999), and the concept of authenticity of tourist art among tourists (Littrell, Anderson, & Brown, 1993). However, not many studies have devoted to study the artists themselves, especially their actual experience of producing tourist art is still under-studied area. Therefore, in this study, a qualitative approach with in-depth individual interviews was utilized to understand the artists' experience from their own perspective.

### *Significance of Study*

The significance of this study was demonstrated by providing a channel for the art producers' voice that had not been represented in the study of ethnic tourism. In-depth interviews with Native American artists revealed their viewpoint as to the experiences of producing tourist art.

Moreover, the results of this study might contribute to the knowledge of cultural carrying capacity. Sofield and Birtles (1996) introduced the concept of cultural carrying capacity as the acceptability of the impacts by visitors on a host community culture. Proper assessment of the cultural capacity is important to preserve indigenous peoples' way of life from inappropriate development. However, the criteria to evaluate the cultural carrying capacity have not been well determined. By investigating the experiences of the art producers, the result of this study might contribute to further development of the measures of the cultural carrying capacity. In fact, this study demonstrated that preservation of cultural authenticity of art and cultural progress can be achieved at the same time as long as the traditional art making methods were used.

#### *Statement of the Problem*

This study explored Native American artists' experiences of being tourist artists from their point of view. The artists may be facing two world views through producing tourist art: one is the Native American view based on community-held norms, and the other one is the modern society's view based on individualistic and capitalistic norms. Living between these two worldviews is anticipated to have a unique impact on their experiences. In some cases, the integration can be a major force to strengthen the artists' ethnic identity and sustain the solidarity of ethnic groups (Graburn, 1976; Ryan & Crofts, 1997). However, in current tourist context it is assumed that the artists face dilemmas. Because of the market orientation, artists are often forced to supply art pieces based on modern tourist preference, even if it is not aligned with their own traditional value (Pritchard, 1987; Ryan & Crofts; Taylor, 2001; Tucker, 2001). As a result, the artists often struggle to maintain their traditional values while being required to create new

identities. In fact, some studies reported artistic expressions that indicated this struggle and confusion in light of the rapid change of their circumstances (Silverman, 1999; Niessen, 1999). However, studies focused on artists themselves have not sufficiently done. Therefore, the research to explore the artists' experience of producing tourist art is needed.

### *Research Questions*

The following questions were addressed in this research: (1) How does producing tourist art influence the artists' thoughts of their traditional art? (2) What is the experience of the artists when producing tourist art? and (3) What is the meaning of being a tourist artist?

### *Definition of Terms*

For the purpose of this study, the definition of tourist art set forth by Rosetta (1984) was adapted. She defined it as "a form of contemporary art produced locally for consumption by outsiders...tourist art may be drawn directly on traditional precedents, revitalize and combine a variety of related artistic conventions, or totally abandon any attempt to preserve customary art forms" (Rosetta, p. 9). The products exported to the outside, such as craft shops, tourist villages, and tradeshow, were also treated as tourist art. Native American artists were referred to either as members of tribes recognized by the Federal government or individuals certified as an Indian artisan by an Indian tribe (The Indian Arts and Crafts Act 1990).

### *Limitations*

Because of the research method used, there may be methodological limitations associated with this study. First, the recruitment of the interview participants was



preceded by the researcher's personal visit to the artists' booths or by private letters. Therefore, the artists who had a positive experience with tourist art production might have been more willing to participate than those who had a negative perception about it. Moreover, the researcher recruited some of the participants through the referral of the other participants; consequently, all the artists might have a similar perception about the producing art to tourists.

Another concern about transferability to other indigenous groups is that Native Americans have a high dependency on tourism, and this need may possibly influence their perception of the traditional art. Specifically, several studies have revealed that residents' attitudes toward tourism tend to be positive in tourism-dependent communities because of the financial benefit from the industry (Ap, 1992; King, Pizam, & Milman, 1993). Likewise, it is possible that the opinions of the interview participants in this study may be favorably biased because most Native American communities do not have a profitable industry other than tourism.

Another limitation to this study is the influence of the time in which the interview periods took place. Summer is the busiest season for the tourism business; therefore, the respondents might be either negatively or positively biased. They might be fatigued by having encountered mass amounts of tourists or delighted by the income.

This thesis consists of five chapters. In the chapter one, the background of this study was provided. In the next chapter, relevant literature is reviewed. In the chapter three, research methods are presented. Chapter four illustrates the findings of the study. Finally, in chapter five, discussion and conclusion are presented.

## CHAPTER II

### Review of Literature

This chapter reviews literature about the activity and impacts of producing tourist art. It is organized into three sections. The first section describes transformations of art forms and presents an overview of critiques about the changes. The second section provides an understanding of the impacts of producing tourist art on the artists' perception of their ethnic identities. The third section provides the background of the research methodology employed in the study.

#### *Transformation of Traditional Art to Tourist Art*

##### *Transformation of Art Forms*

Historically, traditional art was important for ethnic groups as an expression of values, beliefs, and aspirations (Graburn, 1976; Ryan & Corotts, 1997; Simpson, 1993). All of the social components were embedded in the art, which stood for a sense of group identities. Because producing art and crafts was a social activity, the producers were working under the control of custom (Rosetta, 1984; Simpton). All the motifs were based on cultural themes, and production and ownership of certain items were restricted by a social continuum. Consequently, items made in a community were exchanged within the community.

However, currently local art has become a popular souvenir among international tourists (Kim & Littrell, 1999; Rosetta, 1984). The growth of e-commerce has allowed the worldwide promotion of the art; furthermore, advanced transportation systems have made exportation of the local items possible. Due to these developments, local crafts have become a major commodity traded in the global tourist art market.

Due to the market orientation, when local arts and crafts are presented to tourists, some transformations are predictable. In fact, research, such as Rosetta's (1984) in Africa, Cohen's (1993) in Thailand, Simpson's (1993) in Sri Lanka, and Silverman's (1999) in Papua New Guinea, illustrated how art forms were modified in response to the market demand. According to the studies, tourists, who have limited time, prefer simple presentations and pay most attention to the visual phases and spectacles. In addition, tourists often have a different concept when compared with the locals about the authenticity of art in terms of color, design, and functions. In order to respond to these tourist needs, artists are often required to modify their products.

#### *Research History and Change Constructs in Tourist Art*

From an early anthropological view, the local art sold to outsiders was distinct from true art made for internal use; more specifically, tourist art tended to be disapproved of as mere cultural erosion with less authenticity. For example, the changed form was named "tourist junk art" (McKean, 1977, P. 96)

Graburn's (1976) edited volume contains numerous essays describing the impacts of direct cultural interaction on ethnic art forms and is considered a milestone from which logical research began in the study of tourist art. Graburn arranged the local art into seven subcategories based on the levels of artistic transformations caused by interaction between local producers and tourists. The seven categories were extinction, functional fine arts, commercial fine arts, souvenirs, reintegrated arts, assimilated fine arts, and popular arts.

Rosetta's (1984) study in Africa emphasized a different point from Graburn's. Rosetta analyzed that the communication between tourists and artists was rarely direct

and mostly mediated by middle people, such as art brokers and souvenir shop owners.

According to her:

The tourist art system is based on a process of double reflection between the artist and the audience. The artists create images that are received and purchased by their audiences. Through this process, the artists present their perceptions of themselves and their works. These products are transmitted to the consumers via middlemen whose intervention interprets and “sells” the works of art. Then in turn, middlemen transmit the consumer response back to the artists. This cycle is interrupted by the middlemen both on the local level and beyond. The artists may alter the format and content of their artworks based upon *their perceptions* of the audience response by its mediation through middlemen and culture brokers. (p. 16)

Cohen’s (1993) study in Thailand illustrated how simple crafts had been innovated into diversified tourist art as the consequence of the competition among producers. In order to stand out from others and catch tourists’ attention, an artist had to innovate unique forms. However, the attractiveness of the new innovation did not last long; once the style became popular, others soon copied it. The repetitive renewal of art became necessary to obtain market advantage again; this cycle of innovation and copying caused constant innovation of heterogenic art. Moreover, Cohen insisted that authenticity of the local product was not the concept that could be objectively judged; on the contrary, it had to be erratic depending on norms by which it was conceived.

#### *Elastic Nature of Culture*

In recent studies of tourist art, the elastic nature of traditions has been emphasized rather than an inflexible model (Moreno & Litterell, 2001; Ryan & Crofts, 1997; Taylor,

2001). Namely, in a given time and space, culture is a continual process that responds to internal and external forces through changes. In this sense, the changes in art styles are not immediately perceived as cultural erosion if they occur within acceptable parameters. Instead, they are considered as the artists' interpretation of a precedent cultural theme based on current ideology to create the future. In fact, McKean (1977) insisted that Balinese tourist art helped preserve the tradition of local villages despite the fact that the tradition was modified to account for tourist preference.

However, the acceptable parameters of changes beyond which cultures are inappropriately commercialized are not yet clarified (Smith, 1996; Sofield & Birtles, 1996). In other words, the basic components of tourist art development are still under exploration. The components include: by whom and with what speed the art should be developed; what level of commodity of art is acceptable; and what type of promotion allows for both expansion of audience and cultural integrity.

### *Summary*

Based on the literature discussed so far, local art that used to be made for internal use is now being transformed into popular tourist art traded in the global art market. Although tourist art tended to be criticized as cultural erosion in early studies, recently the transformation of art forms is not immediately regarded as cultural erosion if it is within culturally acceptable levels. However, the acceptable levels of change within which cultural authenticity is confined are not empirically established.

### *The Indigenous People and Tourist Art*

#### *Impacts of Producing Tourist Art on Indigenous Communities*

The indigenous people are often described as living in the fourth world because

“ [their] land falls within national boundaries and techno-bureaucratic administrations of the countries of the first, second, and third world” (Graburn, 1976, p. 1). Sofield and Birtle (1996) cited a United Nation’s general report that indigenous people faced poverty and prejudice despite the high living standards that majority residents had today.

For indigenous communities with distinctive cultures that do not have major industries, promoting ethnic art as tourist art is the major vehicle of economic survival and successful integration into a global capital market (Cone, 1995; Sofield & Birtles, 1996). In fact, the ethnic art market has generated millions of dollars of yearly profit in the past several years (Smith, 1996).

Commercialization of ethnic art may impact not only economics but also the sociocultural order in the traditional communities. For instance, Simpson’s (1993) study in Sri Lanka and Jacson’s (1984) study in Native American communities described that local artists became freed from traditional bureaucracy and enjoyed great freedom of choice by becoming a part of the global art market.

From one aspect, promotion of tourism art fosters individualism (Graburn, 1976; Silverman, 1999). To gain access to market and pursue the capitalistic goal, local artists compete against each other generating tension between successful and unsuccessful artists and consequently de-emphasizing group motivation. Also, levels of cohesion to tradition become varied among individuals within a community (Cone, 1995; Rosetta, 1984). For instance, young generations often have more interest in pursuing the capitalistic goal with less adherence to the traditional art value, while elderly people maintain strong ethnic cohesion.

However, some researchers have insisted that tourist art promotion helps reconstruct collectivism (McKean, 1977; Rosetta, 1984). To be precise, indigenous artists enter the capitalist market as members of an ethnic group and promote traditional art. Traditional art is a symbol through which members of a community convey their group's collective identity. By promoting this symbol, a common cultural pride and strong sense of ethnic identity will emerge.

Residing in areas where integration with the large modern system is effected, indigenous social elements have been found to be shattered and identities are marginalized and disgraced (Friedman, 1994). However, by promoting ethnic art to a large society, the indigenous communities may be able to resist cultural assimilation and reinforce the ethnic identity.

#### *Tourist Art and Ethnic Identity*

An ethnic identity is the concept of an individual that relies on both the individual's self-identification and others' recognition of the individual as a member of an ethnic group (Phinney, Chavira, & Tate, 1993; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). This concept is not necessarily strongly related to ancestry; instead, it is socially constructed. Namely, ethnic identity is reciprocal; an individual cannot sustain an identity that is not shared with other societal members.

Ethnic identity consolidates the community as a unity; by fortifying ethnic identity, one can enhance belongingness to the group and self-esteem (Phinney, Chavira, & Tate, 1993). To reinforce the sense of ethnic identity, one needs adequate knowledge regarding one's group and opportunities to express it (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

If the development of tourist art is ideally conducted, it functions for an artist as a rich resource of knowledge about one's group, as a great opportunity to express one's ethnicity, and as an important medium between one's own ethnic concept and that of others (Bendix, 1989; Rosetta, 1984; Ryan & Crofts, 1997; Simpson, 1993). An artist learns about cultural themes from the most skillful people in the group, then, the artist creates images that portray the understanding of his or her own culture. The images are conveyed to an audience and recognized. At the same time, the artist can identify audience's images of his or her art through its feedback and reflect the feedback in the next products. Through this process, the sense of reciprocal ethnic identity emerges. In fact, Ryan and Crofts acknowledged that the identity of Maori artists in the late 19th century was developed due, in part, to tourism. Audience learned the meaning and the function of the art from artists through direct interaction. Artists were aware of the preferences of their audience and then embodied it in art styles. Although the artists began to use different materials, the change was done with little concern because all materials were parts of the whole in the Maori traditional cosmology.

#### *Lack of Shared Meaning of Art Between Artists and Tourists*

It was, however, reported that what artists intended to share with an audience through their art was often not understood by their audience in the current tourist art context (Rosetta, 1984; Ryan & Crofts, 1997; Simpson, 1993; Taylor, 2001). Specifically, tourists have insufficient prior knowledge about a visited culture and rarely have opportunities to interact directly with the artists under the mass tourism system. As a result, they cannot read into the complexity of cultural themes contained in the art products. Instead, they pay attention only to the appearance of the products. Similarly,



tourists often translate the original messages in the art into other meanings (Rosetta). For instance, an indigenous artist makes a figure of a giraffe as a symbol of animals; however, for a tourist it is a tangible proof of travel and a sign of where it is found.

In addition, tourists tend to have stereotyped images of indigenous art as primitive art (Kneafsey, 2001; Pritchard, 1987; Silverman, 1999; Taylor, 2001; Tucker, 2001). More specifically, people in developed countries today hunger for cultural authenticity and a primitive humanity that they have abandoned in their quest for technology; in contrast, indigenous communities seem free from modern anxiety. Thus, the tourists from developed countries expect indigenous art to function as a reminder of what they have lost.

The problem is, however, that the images are often created only for tourists and not aligned with the local view of their own culture (Laxson, 1991; Pritchard, 1987; Taylor, 2001). For instance, in the Museum of New Mexico, where many Navajo Indians were selling their jewelry, the museum officials encouraged the artists to sell only typical Indian jewelry that met the tourist expectation, despite the fact that the “typical style” was actually a mixture of Native American, Anglo, and Hispanic designs (Pritchard).

#### *Struggle to Maintain Ethnic Identity*

Because of these aforementioned discrepancies, artists struggle in sharing the meaning of their art with an external audience. As a result, the artists face two different values attached to their art: the traditional value derived from a cultural continuum and a capitalistic value based on consumers’ needs. Even though traditional art is supposed to be based on custom, as long as it is traded in a market, the consumers’ needs have to be

fulfilled in order to obtain the market advantage. As a consequence, the artist is forced to reconsider the concept of his or her art, tradition, and ethnic identity.

Some studies showed various movements of tourist art that might occur while the artists attempt to redefine their identity (Berlo, 1999; Silverman, 1999). For example, Silverman's study in the Sepik River in Papua New Guinea illustrated how the local artists began to carve new motifs or patterns that were completely unrelated to the tradition of the Sepik tribe. Additionally, Silverman described the artistic expressions that might stand for artists' struggle and ambiguity of identity. For example, a series of hidden faces in masks symbolized the tension between bounded and individualized self. Large masks similar to traditional forms but without a face expressed the rapidity of socioeconomic change and the incapability of the selves to be firmly attached to the contemporary context. Then, Silverman concluded that in the village, dramatic transformation and emergence of a new policy were unsure; therefore, the artists were "sometimes pleased with tourist art; at other times they feel that it is only a minor step toward that elusive goal of development" (p. 65).

### *Summary*

For indigenous people, art promotion is an important resource of economic and cultural survival. Although ideally developed tourist art can be a tool for reconstruction of ethnic identity, under the current tourism context, reconstruction is disturbed by factors such as lack of shared meanings of art and an absence of aligned self-image. Because of these dilemmas, artists may confuse insight into their own ethnic identity and often create a new identity.

Although these articles provided the theoretical background of the influence of producing tourist art on artists' identity and examples of transformations of art forms, much less was documented about the actual experiences of tourist artists. Moreover, narrative descriptions that verbalized the experiences of art producers were lacking. Therefore, this study was designed to explore indigenous artists' experience of producing tourist art and its influence on their ethnic identity from their point of view.

### *Review of Research Method*

#### *Background of Phenomenology*

The history of phenomenology began in the early 1900s with a number of German scholars such as Husserl and Heidegger. These scholars developed phenomenology as a method to study the meaning of human behavior (Boyd, 2001; Creswell, 1998; Orbe, 2000). In the 1960s, Merleau-Ponty asserted that phenomenology had not yet been clearly defined and produced extensive writings addressing the phenomenological philosophy for explicit characterization (Boyd; Creswell).

Phenomenology is the study of life that people immediately and consciously experience rather than to theorize about it. This approach addresses the structures, meanings, and essence of experience of the phenomenon for the people (Creswell, 1998; Lebolt, 1999; Patton, 1990).

Instead of hypothetical concepts, phenomenological data analyses highlights conscious experience of how a person associates to the living world in which one resides (Orbe, 2000). Moustakas (1994) portrayed three processes of the phenomenological analyses method. First, a researcher sets aside prejudgments of phenomena. In this stage, each experience is considered in its totality in a fresh and open way. Second,

during the process of reduction, the researcher brackets out all presuppositions in order to be concerned with pure forms of consciousness. Throughout the process of horizontalization and thematization of data, all aspects of the data are considered with equal value. Finally, in imaginative variation, the researcher systematically imagines the phenomenon from various points to be aware of the essence of the phenomenon.

In-depth interview is the most commonly used approach in phenomenological inquiries (Creswell, 1998; Orbe, 2000). An interview is a valuable tool for assembling descriptions of actual experiences of interviewees because they tell their stories in their own words. In addition, to support the idea and to make the outcome concrete and valid, other sources are utilized, including reviews of written documents.

#### *Tourism Research and Phenomenology*

Marshall (as cited in Jamal & Hollinshead, 2001) stated that in tourism research, phenomenology had been the subject of discussion in terms of its designation, function, suitability, and evaluation. However, current tourism greatly involves the variation of people, places, and time. Therefore, the study of tourism tends to include the criticism of strict objectivity, while it includes ambiguity and narratives (Jamal & Hollinshead; Urry, 1992).

Few studies have been conducted with people in host communities using phenomenological approaches. Popelka and Littrell's (1991) research in Oaxaca, Mexico, investigated about producers of local textile that had been transformed from a traditional craft to tourist art. The in-depth interview, which questioned producers' perceptions of the changes, revealed the handcraft producers' insights into market

changes, their decision-making process regarding design, and producers' understanding of consumer preference.

### *Ethnic Study and Phenomenology*

In terms of exploring the issue of ethnicity, phenomenology is an appropriate approach. For example, Orbe (2000) insisted that phenomenological inquiry appeared particularly effective for studying ethnicity because it sought to gain a deeper understanding of the nature and meaning of everyday experience. In fact, Becker's (2002) study of elder immigrants revealed their view of their own homeland and how these views affect the notion of death.

### *Summary*

Phenomenology is an approach to study the meanings and essence of experience of the phenomenon for people experiencing it (Creswell, 1998; Patton, 1990). In the phenomenological approach, a researcher brackets out prejudgments of phenomena in order to be concerned with pure form of consciousness. After the process of horizontalization and thematization of data, the essence of the phenomenon is structurally described. This approach encompasses the ambivalence of local people and minority groups because the openness of phenomenology allows inquiries to be free of structure and representative of true lived experiences.

Based on the aforementioned literature review, it seemed appropriate to use a phenomenological approach for this study that intends to explore the indigenous artists' experiences of production of tourist art and its influence on their ethnic identity. Research design and processes employed to carry out this study are covered in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER III

### Method

The purpose of this study was to explore the meaning of producing tourist art from the indigenous artists' perspective. For this purpose, a qualitative phenomenological approach was adapted. This chapter presents research methods employed to gather the data, including research target, recruitment of research participants, interview procedures, and data analyses.

#### *Research Design*

Because not much was known about the Native American artists' experience of producing tourist art, an exploratory qualitative approach was employed. In qualitative research design, researchers are "attempting to make sense of phenomena in terms of the meanings [that] people bring to them" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 107). Moreover, phenomenological method was applied. This method, one of the qualitative research techniques, is the inquiry of the structures, meanings, and essence of experience of the phenomenon for the people (Creswell, 1998; Patton, 1990). Because the intention of this study was to understand artists' experience from their points of view, a qualitative approach with phenomenological inquiry was most appropriate. Multiple methods were utilized to ensure validity of the research findings, including a pilot study, individual, face-to-face interviews, field notes, and review of relevant literature.

#### *Research Target*

This study focused on the Native American artists, particularly in New Mexico, who produced tourist art. Native American artists were defined either as members of tribes recognized by the Federal Government or individuals certified as an Indian artisan

by an Indian tribe (The Indian Arts and Crafts Act 1990). Although the act was enforced, there is no official record of statistics regarding qualified artists at the present time (J. Antoine, personal communication, May 7, 2002). Certificated artists, however, can belong to local and national Native American art organizations to develop promotion networks. For example, more than 1,000 artists are accredited by the Native American Vendors Programs (New Mexico Indian Art Organization, n.d.). The endorsed artists are permitted to sell their art at the front porch of the Palace of the Governors, a well-known tourist place in downtown Santa Fe. Moreover, eight hundred artists are registered with the Indian Art and Craft Association in New Mexico (M. Lang, personal communication, May 7, 2002).

Nine Native American artists were recruited for this study. The sample consisted of six males and three females. The tribes with which the interviewees were registered were varied: three with the Santa Clara Pueblo, three with the Santo Domingo Pueblo, one with the Laguna Pueblo, one with the Hopi tribe, and one with the Aleutian tribe. All were born in their respective reservations. Seven of the nine artists were currently living in their own reservations; two were not. The age of the interviewees ranged from 43-64 with a median age of 62. The number of years in the business of producing art ranged from 17 to 53 years: four in the range of 10 to 19 years, one in the range of 20 to 29 years, two in the range of 30-39 years, one in the range of 40-49 years, and one in 50-53 years. These artists were mainly displaying their works at outdoor booths at the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and at various art shows and events. In addition, they occasionally worked under contracts with museums, wholesalers, and private art dealers.

Because the sample size was so small, it was not a representative sample of the Native American artist population nor did the study demand it. Utilizing the valid qualitative query, the researcher attempted to exhaustively understand the artists' experiences and perspectives rather than to generalize those outcomes to a large population. In fact, Creswell (1998) stated that the purpose of qualitative research was reporting thorough views of informants; therefore, qualitative researchers counted on a few cases and many variables, although quantitative researchers relied on a few variables and many cases.

#### *Recruitment of Research Target*

Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were utilized to reach the participants. The researcher visited the Stanford Powwow, an intertribal Native American dance ceremony held in Palo Alto, California, in May 2002. At the site, the researcher visited booths and made initial contacts with eight artists from Santa Fe and other nearby areas. In June 2002, letters were sent to these artists to formally seek their participation in this study. Four of the eight artists agreed to participate.

In June 2002, the researcher also contacted the Indian Art and Craft Association in New Mexico and obtained a list of registered artists. Twelve letters were sent to the listed artists living in Santa Fe and nearby areas. The letter contained detailed information on the nature of this study and request for their participation. Only one of the twelve artists agreed to participate.

The efforts to recruit interview participants were continued upon the researcher's arrival in Santa Fe, New Mexico. One artist was recruited at an outside booth while the artist was selling art. While staying at Santa Fe, the researcher frequently visited the



tourist site where many artists were working at booths, which allowed her to be familiar with the site and ask the artist to participate in this study.

Furthermore, the researcher utilized the snowball sampling strategy to keep recruiting interviewees. Those artists with whom she had already made contact were asked for more referrals. Through this snowball sampling procedure, three artists were recruited. Upon request from the artists, the researcher obtained permissions for conducting interviews from a tribal governor.

### *Research Instrument*

Individual, face-to-face interviews were conducted with each artist. The interviews followed semi-structured, open-ended questions format (see Appendix C). These interview questions consisted of four parts.

In the first part, the artists' backgrounds information was obtained. The researcher asked their tribal backgrounds, the number of years in the tourist art business, the motives for getting involved in art making, and their market.

In the second part, inquiries regarding the design of their art were explored. The researcher asked how the artists reflected both the traditional format and the consumers' preference into a design. The artists' perception of artistic transformations in response to tourist demand were sought.

The third part consisted of the questions concerning their experiences of encounters with tourists. The artists were asked to describe both their satisfying and dissatisfying experiences of selling art to tourists.

The fourth part included questions regarding experiences with peer artists. The artists were requested to portray both pleasant and unpleasant experiences with other Native American artists.

Finally, the questions were focused on the importance of cultural promotion. The artists were asked if they acknowledged the promotion of art as a way of cultural maintenance. Finally, they were asked to describe their perception of ethnic identity as artists.

### *Credibility*

Triangulation technique was employed to increase the credibility of this study. In this technique, researchers utilize multiple methods of data collection to supply corroborated evidence (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The methods utilized in this study included a pilot study, individual, face-to-face interviews, field notes, and review of relevant literature. Furthermore, the codebook of meanings and themes were verified by another researcher to make sure any significant meanings were not missed.

Moreover, the member check technique was used to verify the accuracy of the analyses (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The depiction of each theme was sent to each interviewee for his or her review with the request for feedback to confirm the analyses. These strategies minimized the chances that the conclusion was based on idiosyncratic data.

### *Pilot Study*

A pilot study with two interviewees was completed before the actual study took place. The participants of the pilot study were recruited through a purposive sampling procedure at the Stanford Powwow held in Palo Alto, California. The first interview was

conducted in Palo Alto, California, in May 2002. This first interview enabled the researcher to be familiar with the interview environment. The second interview was done in San Francisco in July 2002. This interview trained the researcher in the interview strategy and efficient use of recording equipment. The interview questions were revised after a review of transcripts from these two interviews.

#### *Interview Procedures*

The interviews were conducted during July and August 2002 at four locations in New Mexico. The locations were Albuquerque, the Santa Clara Pueblo, the Santo Domingo Pueblo, and Santa Fe. The interviews took place depending on each participant's request at the participant's house, a work site, or a separate place. No other people were present during the interviews.

#### *Data Collection Strategy*

At the beginning of each interview, the participant was informed about the nature of the study and his or her right to stop the interview at any time. Each participant was assured of his or her confidentiality. A written form of consent for interview participation and tape-recording of the interview was obtained before the interview was initiated (see Appendix B). The consent form contained a declaration of the individual's rights as a participant and the name and phone number of the contact people.

Each interview lasted from one to two hours. The researcher conducted all the interviews. At the end of the interview, a small gift was presented as a token of appreciation. The interviews were tape-recorded and further transcribed verbatim (see Appendix D).

### *Confidentiality/ Human Subject.*

Prior to conducting data collection, this study was approved by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board in San Jose State University (see Appendix A).

Confidentiality was safeguarded by securing all the taped interviews in a locked drawer. Additionally, names were not placed after the quotes on the transcripts, and the informed consent forms were stored separately from the data. Likewise, no identifier appeared on the final report so that the participants themselves could not identify the information sources.

### *Data Analyses*

Data analyses followed the procedure suggested by Moustakas (1994). As the first step of the phenomenological approach, the researcher's personal bias was bracketed out to identify the data in pure form. Patton termed this step as "phenomenological attitude shift" (as cited in Moustakas, p. 407).

Second, each interview transcript was read five times. By doing this, the researcher was able to immerse in the details to get a sense of the interviews as a whole before breaking them into parts (Agar, 1980). Notes were taken on the margin of the transcripts as an initial process to explore the collected data. These memos were brief sentences and key concepts.

Third, significant statements that directly pertain to an individual's personal experience of the topic were extricated from each description. All aspects of the data were treated as having equal worth; namely, the data were horizontalized.

Next, the significant statements were grouped into meaningful units, and the researcher developed a coding book for the meanings. Repetitive and overlapping

statements were eliminated. After the researcher finished the initial coding, another researcher was asked to read through the transcripts and the lists of codes to make sure no significant meaning was missed.

After that, invariant themes from the meaning clusters were identified and a coding book for the themes was developed. These themes have to be common to all the interviewees' descriptions. Thus, the themes were referred back to the original transcriptions in order to ensure if there was anything in the transcripts that was not reported in the clusters of themes.

Subsequently, an imaginative variation was performed on each theme. In this procedure, all aspects of the interviewees' consciousness were reflected by the researcher to diverse themes. The researcher thoroughly imagined each theme and constructed an explanation of how the phenomenon was experienced. Secondary or coincidence themes were eliminated during the procedure. After assimilating the interviewee's feedback, an overall description of the essence of the experience was provided.

## CHAPTER IV

### Findings

Following analyses of the interviews, six themes emerged. The themes are the meaning of being a Native American artist, a sense of pride, importance of cultural promotion, support of artistic transformation, perception of tourist art among customers, and changing dynamics among Native American artists. In this chapter, the description of each interviewee is reported first. All the names are anonymous. Then, the six themes are presented in detail.

#### *Description of Each Interviewee*

Anthony, in his 40's and married with children, is a full-time jeweler living in the Santo Domingo Pueblo. He has been involved in this business since 1984, when he retired from the military and came back to his village. The sale of his art is the primary income for his family. Therefore, in the interview, he expressed his appreciation for the economic benefit and the self-respect from the ability to support his family, "I work with my hand and from my heart.... I do my best for my family and myself." Currently, he sells his art at the Palace of the Governors, a famous ethnic tourism site in Santa Fe, as well as various art shows.

Beth, in her 40's and married with children, is a full-time jeweler living in the Santo Doming Pueblo. In 1984, she began to profit from her jewelry making as a supplemental source of income. Five years later, she turned into a full-time artist and started attending art shows. She enjoys meeting people. In fact, she stated, "It's really fun to meet different people from different places.... And, they say they like my art. It makes me feel good." Currently, she sells her jewelry at the Palace of the Governors and at various

art shows and events.

Charles, in his 50's and married with children, is a potter living in the Santa Clara Pueblo. His career in the art market began with running an art gallery dealing with Pueblo pottery. In 1985, he became involved in pottery making. Currently, he sells his art at his own gallery. He has won awards at various art shows including the second highest award in the Santa Fe Indian Market, an internationally known Native American art show. He recalled this experience, "I felt very proud because [the award] indicated that local people in Santa Fe evaluated my work as good as other well-known artists."

Daniel, in his 50's and unmarried, is a full-time potter living in the Santo Domingo Pueblo. He began his career in art with jewelry making; however, while attending the Institute of American Indian Art, he shifted his interest to ceramics with the advice from an instructor. During the interview, he demonstrated a strong adherence to the traditional Santo Domingo potteries. In fact, he stated, "The old styles have more meaning to people compare to the contemporary ones." He has regularly received the highest award at the Santa Fe Indian Market because his traditional potteries are highly appreciated by customers and art experts.

Eric, in his 60's and married with children, works in various mediums including gourds works, moccasins, and jewelry. He is registered with the Hopi Tribe and currently living in Albuquerque. He started making art when he joined the military in California. He stated, "Once in a while, I went back to Arizona on vacation.... So, I brought my art pieces and sold them to trading posts. That brought me some extra cash." He recently sells his art at various art shows and events. In addition, his pieces are displayed at the Smithsonian Museum in Washington D.C as well as a Hopi art book.

Fena, in her 60's and unmarried with children, is from Aleutian Islands, Alaska, and currently lives in Albuquerque. She produces medicine bags and dolls decorated with traditional beadwork. She started making art when she was four years old with her grandmother's guidance and made her first art sale when she was ten. She used to sell her artwork everyday at the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe. Recently, she is more involved in art shows. In addition, her works are displayed at the Smithsonian Museum, the National Museum of the American Indian in New York, and two galleries in nearby Albuquerque.

Greg, in his 40's and married with no children, is a potter from the Santa Clara Pueblo. He has been involved in this business since 1986. He is a part-time artist who has two other jobs. He attends various art shows and events, which allows him to develop an intertribal network. He stated, "I have so many friends.... They are from all different tribes. They saw my work and said 'you should just keep going, and someday you'll get there'." He also displays his artwork at the Smithsonian Museum, two galleries on his reservation, and galleries in Albuquerque and Santa Fe.

Helen, in her 60's and married with children, is a potter from the Santa Clara Pueblo. She became involved in art making in 1963 when she had her first child. In order to work at home, she set up her studio in her house and began making pottery with her mother's guidance. Her pieces are displayed at galleries and art shows. Moreover, she occasionally has customers visiting her house. She stated about the customers, "I feel good that someone knows my work and comes to see me."

Ivan, in his 60's and married with children, produces jewelry and leather crafts. He used to work at an electronic plant on his reservation. However, he became a craft person



in 1979 mainly for a better income. He sells his artwork at the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe and at various art shows across the country. He has also served the local art committee as a board member. The art committee supervises the vendors and prohibits the sale of mass-produced or imported products. He stated, "I was involved in the whole process to oversee the booths.... It turned out real good. We have a lot of control over what people sell. So, tourists come to here can get the authentic things we do." He also occasionally offers art workshops for the public in order to raise their awareness of Native American culture.

### *Discussion of Themes*

#### *Theme One: Meaning of Being a Native American Artist*

Although previous studies have focused on the economic benefits of tourist art promotion (Hall, 1996; Smith, 1996), this study revealed other benefits for the artists than just income. The artists consistently mentioned themes surrounding family tradition and independent working style.

*Family tradition.* All the artists who were interviewed in this study had strong family backgrounds in art making. Their parents, relatives, or siblings were producing art; the artists grew up in an environment surrounded by the production of art. In fact, all the artists repeatedly stated, "Art has been always part of my life." The majority mentioned that they began their art making by helping their families. The following quotes reflect the essence of this theme. For example, Beth stated, "My family was always doing jewelry when I was small. And, if I didn't have homework during the night, they asked, 'you want to drill some turquoise?'... And they let me drill." Charles also expressed:

Since I was small, I observed my aunt making pottery. So, I just thought that someday I would make it, too.... As I went through all the life stages, going to college and joined the military service, having family, and all that, art-making was always in my background. After I was done with the big project we worked on, I returned back to my roots. This is where I was from.... So, I needed coming back here sooner or later and start making pottery.

The quote above describes how Charles became aware of traditional pottery-making through the influence of his aunt and kept a sense of connection to it while living away from his reservation for over 20 years.

*Independent working style.* All the artists in this study were self-employed. This allowed them flexibility in their working style, such as open work hours and the ability to work at home. This independence is important to Native American artists because they have the obligation to participate in various community services (New Mexico Indian Art Organization, n.d). The artists in this study were conscious of this benefit in their personal lives and expressed appreciation for their independent working condition. For example, Helen, who had her studio in her home, stated, "I was able to stay home with my kids while I was making pots here.... Now, I still watch three grandkids." She also enjoyed her accommodating job hours:

If you are working outside of the home, you go to work at a certain time, and quit at a certain time. And here, if I feel like getting up early doing something on my Pottery, I can do it, or do it late at night.... I can stop whenever I feel like stopping for a few minutes and do something else. And, nobody can tell me anything else.

Autonomy was another benefit achieved from working independently. For example, Ivan stated:

What we like about this business is that we take it from the design, ideas of what we want to make, and then, production part. And, we go into the marketing, selling it.

In the marketing, you get satisfaction from your pieces and people who buy it....

They like the constructed way.

As reflected in the quote above, the artists were satisfied to have complete control over the entire production process from the first to the final stage.

#### *Theme Two: Sense of Pride*

All the artists expressed a strong sense of pride in producing tourist art. The pride came from the following three sources: the cultural heritage, the economic independence, and the quality of art.

*The art as cultural heritage.* The artists were delighted to produce traditional art because it was the cultural heritage carried on in their communities for centuries. In fact, previous research reported that Pueblo pottery had its origin over 2,000 years ago. The ancient Native American culture used pottery for food storage, cooking, rituals, and trade for supplies (Berlo & Phillips, 1998; Brody, 1976). Jewelry-making, which is a relatively new form of Native American art, has its origin over 1,000 years ago (Alleva, 1993). Consequently, the artists considered art a part of their “legacy.” In fact, they repeatedly made comments such as “we’ve been making pots for centuries” and “we were making jewelry before the Spanish conquest.” Ivan also asserted, “After all those things done against Indian people, we still survive. We still carry on our custom.”

*Pride in being economically independent.* The artists in this study all remarked on pride in an economic independence brought about by their art sales. Seven of the nine artists stated that their art sales were their primary source of income. The ability to sustain their families made them feel “self-reliant” and “self-confident.” Eric’s comment reflects this feeling, “It makes me rely on my self with my piece and my customers without any anxiety of things. I don’t have to worry.”

*Pride in the quality of art.* While their economic success provided a remarkable sense of self-respect, the artists also insisted that the economic motive did not override their pride in the quality of the art itself. In fact, the artists were proud of their workmanship. Moreover, the customers’ appreciation of the quality of their art was another source of the pride. The following quote made by Beth captures the essence of this theme. She stated, “First time you’re influenced by money, but after that, once you see customers’ facial expression of how much they appreciate, it makes you feel good. And that’s the whole idea. You just keep doing it.” Daniel also commented about his positive experience with customers’ gratitude of his art, “I feel great that I have a lot of customers coming back every year, and say that ‘your pot speaks to me’.”

A sense of pride in the quality of art gave the artists confidence when dealing with conflict that their customers might present over pricing. The artists, who might feel insulted by customers’ bickering over prices, relied on pride in the quality of their art to remain firm. For instance, Eric commented:

I do have customers [that] come up once in a while. They don’t like my price.

Then I go, ‘you need to go to flea market.’ I priced my work depending on my cost,

the detailed work I put into it, the traditional work transformed into my work....

This is traditional value.

Similarly, Beth's comment illustrates how the artists can maintain a positive point of view when faced with negative experiences they might encounter from customers' complaints. She stated, "I know what I have and I know it's good quality.... [This feeling] gives me a positive view about it, and [I did not] not take what [the customer] said to my heart."

*Carrying on the heritage to the next generations.* Based on this strong sense of pride in their art, the artists were eager to carry on their culture to the next generations. For example, Eric stated that he was voluntarily teaching traditional art and craft making to Native American children while living in California. He stated, "A lot of urban Indian kids don't know the tradition. So, we taught them how to make kachina dolls. That's a part of who we are." Ivan's children are pursuing a career in art. He explained his sense of mission to his culture, "In a way, I feel like I am doing things now to set an example for my children, grandchildren, and all the children coming after that, like my parents affected us."

### *Theme Three: Importance of Cultural Promotion*

Some researchers supported the notion that promoting indigenous culture to tourists could positively contribute to the sociocultural progression of indigenous societies (McLaren, 1998; Simpson, 1993). For example, Simpson's study illustrated how the promotion of traditional art to tourists played a role in liberalizing producers from the cultural boundary. The artists interviewed in this study also demonstrated their positive

attitudes toward promoting art to tourists in terms of educating tourists about their culture and finding a home for their art.

*Educating tourists.* All of the artists interviewed acknowledged that tourist art promotion was an “educational process” for tourists in order to raise their awareness of Native American culture. Several artists expressed that some of the tourists had a false image of Native American culture because of incorrect illustrations created by movies, television, or even history classes. For example, they typically have the image of Native Americans as “savage Indians” who fought with guns and killed the white people. Moreover, some of the tourists consider that there is only one “Indian” tribe and do not recognize that there are hundreds of Native American tribes, each of which has a different culture. Some even suppose that all Native Americans were already extinct.

Therefore, the artists believed that if people who were prejudiced toward Native American culture visited the Native American art market places, such as Santa Fe, and saw the art made by Native Americans, they could develop an accurate image of the Native Americans and their culture. Ivan described how his customers tried to reconcile for the historical incidence between European conquerors and Native Americans:

A lot of states have no Indians at all. [Europeans] killed them all. And today, they're coming back and say, “Oh, there are still some [Native Americans] out West. We get to see what they look like.”... They tell us that they hate the way they treated us, you know, how they took our land and all the stuff. They try to be our friends, and we accept it.

*Finding a home for art.* All the artists considered their art pieces as not merely merchandise, but as “beings” with spirits. In fact, they frequently mentioned, “Art needs

its home and parents.” This statement indicates the artists’ belief that the art needs a place to stay and an owner who can take care of the art. Accordingly, the artists regarded the promotion of the art as a way to find a home for it rather than simply as an exchange for money.

In order to find “the right home” for their art, the artists believed that the art and customers must mutually and naturally like each other. Thus, they did not want to assertively discount the price to compel the customers to buy. In other words, lowering the price is considered a hindrance to finding the best match between the art and a customer. Instead, the artists let the art speak and the right customers would “hear” it. This belief is reflected in the comment by Anthony, “I don’t twist their arms to sell my jewelry. The jewelry talks to them and the customers feel it.... It just comes naturally.” Charles also stated, “I don’t force them.... But people come and bring my pot into their home as part of their life. I let [my pottery] go to whomever they are comfortable with.”

#### *Theme Four: Support of Artistic Transformation*

Several studies have critiqued that due to the market orientation, when local art and crafts were presented to tourists, some artistic transformations were predictable (Cohen, 1993; Graburn, 1976; Rosetta, 1984; Simpson, 1993). According to the study, tourists only have limited time and opportunities to interact with the artists. As a result, they cannot read into the complexity of cultural themes embodied in the art. Instead, they pay attention mainly to the appearance of the products. In addition, they seek the small pieces for the easy shipment in their suitcases (Cohen; Graburn). Consequently, the transformations often include the simplification of the shape, the use of bright color, and the miniaturization in size. For example, Simpson’s study in Sri Lanka has illustrated

how the ritual mask has been modified into a small and colorful decorative piece in response to the market demand.

*Patterns of artistic transformation.* In this study, three artistic transformation patterns appeared from the interviews. These patterns paralleled with three of the seven transformation categories that Graburn (1976) developed. According to Graburn, local handcrafts were categorized into seven groups based on the levels of artistic transformation caused by direct interaction between local producers and tourists. The seven categories included extinction, functional fine arts, commercial fine arts, souvenirs, reintegrated arts, assimilated fine arts, and popular arts.

The following examples identified in the interviews demonstrate the different levels of artistic transformation. The first example is the reproduction of extinct styles. It refers to the replication of old artifacts with some levels of modification into contemporary context (Graburn, 1976). The reproduced form falls into Graburn's category of functional fine arts. Charles described how he became a well-known artist by reproducing a classic design of the Pueblo pottery:

I do what is called Mimbres design which is old, old, old design from the extinct culture from south west New Mexico.... They left lots of symbols on pottery which have been found in many photographs. So, from some of those photographs, I sometimes replicate. I make entire pot onto a contemporary pot. I'm one of the few artists adding ceramic paints on to the pottery. It can be sold from [as] a traditional design to [as] a non-traditional, contemporary design.

The second pattern is commercial fine art. Graburn (1976) explained this type of art products "although they are made with eventual sale in mind, they adhere to culturally



embedded aesthetic and formal standards” (p. 6). Greg’s family is famous for developing the “melon design” of a traditional round vase. Greg amended his own variation based on the traditional form but with a longer neck. He described his work as “a little traditional but also a little contemporary.... I am putting up a little more [on the traditional form].”

The souvenir piece is the third pattern. According to Graburn (1976), when the commercial art is further developed in response to tourist preference and relationships to the traditional concepts are reduced, then the art is referred as a souvenir piece. Jewelry is often cited as an example of this type of art (Graburn; Smith, 1996). In fact, Ivan, a jeweler, commented, “In a lot of degree, tourists determine what we make because they are the ones who buy...because we make things to sell.” Then, he further illustrated how his design for bracelets appeared as a result of mixing tourists’ demand and the cultural symbols:

There are some things we make that don’t look like Native American art at all. We do it because a lot of people that come from the East would not wear Indian jewelry when they go back.... So, I do some bracelets that are just plain silver and put a little symbol on the side. Those are, to me, rain-balls.... They still have the symbol to me even though they look like plain bracelets that [the customers] can wear anywhere.

Another example of the souvenir piece was identified in the interview with Ivan. This form was completely innovative and had no connection to cultural themes. He explained:

My son made a bracelet with silver and some gold, and in the middle, he wrapped wire on it.... It wasn't really a nice design. Nobody thought of doing something like that before. But, he came out here to sell those things, and tourists liked them. And, he started matched rings.... So, after him, anybody started to make that type of bracelet, too. Now if you go out there, you see people with a bracelet wrapped in the middle with silver and gold. Some of them are wrapped and twisted and wrapped and twisted.

The noteworthy point of Ivan's description above is that although the origin of the design had no connection to Native American culture, it was widely imitated by other artists and gained recognition as a cultural product. This pattern of cultural transformation was observed in Cohen's (1993) study of tourist art at the Dan Kwien craft market in Thailand. He explained that the artists invented products to capture the attention of the market; however, every successful innovative design was soon copied by other artists. Then, the products were further modified and introduced into the market. Cohen concluded that this cycle of innovation and copying had diversified the tourist art

*Support of transformation within the acceptable level.* From an anthropological view, transformations of art forms resulting from tourists' demand tended to be considered cultural erosion, and the transformed art was disapproved as less authentic (Greenwood, 1977; MacCanell, 1976). In fact, the art was often given bad names, such as "airport art" (Graburn, 1976, p. 6).

However, the majority of the artists interviewed in this study frequently used words such as "progress" and "enlargement" to describe the transformation. For example, Greg,

who developed his own design of vases based on the traditional design, stated, "I guess I kind of put one step higher than what the old tradition was." Eric also commented:

I think it's enlarging.... We start realizing that maybe Indian things, [such as] turquoises, aren't necessarily the best way to go to make things interesting to people who maybe don't even have interest in Indian art.

This quote by Eric also reflects the artists' positive attitude toward the artistic transition to create further appealing products.

The reason for the positive view of the transformation might stem from the artists' belief that the design should be determined by an individual's free interpretation and expression of the cultural motifs. Indeed, Ivan stated:

There's a concept from our culture and whatever the medium we decide to put into, say, whether the sculpture decides he wants to curve it, or jeweler wants to make it silver.... That's up to individuals.... You, as an individual, have freedom to make what you think.... Each individual is unique. That's what is nice about human beings.

Eric also expressed, "I myself and my fellow artisans do a lot of contemporary work with the traditional value.... I feel that's good. It's the way of expressing yourself as an artist. Feeling good about your work is so important." Likewise, all the artists frequently commented, "[Design] is up to individual."

Charles also supported the transformation, but he argued that it was an essential step for the cultural endurance. He stated, "All art has changed. Otherwise, it's going to die, just like human beings.... You can't live in the past.... We live in today. So, if that's the transition, you have to do that."

Only one artist, Daniel, indicated a sense of disappointment regarding the current transformation of art. According to him, artistic modifications made by the ancestry occurred largely to excel the authenticity of art. On the contrary, the present changes were motivated only by economic competition:

I guess, in old times, [our ancients] were trying out different materials, methods, and designs of potteries to make better quality. But for us today, now, it's just meaning of money. I don't think it's good to put in this way, but that's the only thing that I, myself, depend on. It's for living. Money.

However, he also remained in a nonjudgmental position regarding the issues of the transformation by stating, "I'm not the judge to tell them what kind of thing they produce. It's totally up to the individual."

Although the artists supported the transformation of design, they also insisted on the necessity of using traditional production procedures in order to maintain cultural authenticity. The following statement by Charles reflects both his support of the artistic transformation and his adherence to the traditional production method. He stated, "I think [using contemporary designs] is the artists' progress, to respect themselves.... It's fine as long as they stick to basic method of making it, and coiled native clay, fired up those on the ground." Greg also stated, "I don't use any other different types of firing method. I always use traditional firing method. So, everything is done about the same, but I add my design." Furthermore, Daniel commented, "[The changes of design] is not the change of culture.... Because we still use natural clay and plant juice."

The production procedures consist of the use of natural material, the use of the traditional equipment, and the manual process in producing art. For instance, the

jewelers showed their adherence in using natural turquoises and a traditional manual production. Beth stated, “We work with our own hands.... That’s the thing that tradition goes through.... Make it with our hands, we will be more comfortable.” The potters stressed that they never used commercial clay; they dug the ground in the nearby mountains to obtain the natural clay. Moreover, they fired the pottery in earth kilns.

*Concern about the deviation from the traditional process.* Although the artists interviewed demonstrated a strong adherence to the traditional making methods, five out of nine artists were worried about the deviation by young artists from the process. Because traditional methods of producing art are complicated, cumbersome, and time consuming, the young generation may not be able to tolerate the lengthy process. For example, Helen expressed her concern about her daughter who did not follow the traditional learning path:

My youngest one, she is 21 now. She is interested in [making pottery]. But then, she wants me to help her along to make.... She wants me to make for her. But, that’s the one thing my mother never did. She did not start making a pot for me.... I observed her and had to figure out how I can do something like that.... [My mother] said that makes you appreciate a lot more.

Similarly, other artists expressed their concern about younger artists using non-traditional materials for producing their art. In fact, Daniel commented:

There are a lot of younger potters coming out who are using the commercial materials. They can easily just buy the clay.... So, a lot of younger ones don’t know the process or the older method. They would rather go to the stores because they know for sure that they have the material.... For me, it’s always the challenge.

I never know what's going to happen in the fire. So, there is a lot of changes.

Younger people are not following the older style.

The quote above indicates that it is difficult for potters to predict how the final product will come out when they use natural clay. The color and shape are influenced by the condition of the firing, and the artists cannot control that. Therefore, young artists would rather buy commercial artificial materials for which the outcome is certain.

*Theme Five: Perception of Tourist Art Among Customers*

Another controversial issue in tourist art research was tourists' knowledge of the authenticity of art (Graburn, 1976; Rosetta, 1984). According to Rosetta, the image of tourist art as mass-produced items was shared among international art consumers. The artists interviewed in this study expressed their awareness of different levels of knowledge and appreciation of their art among their customers. They also expressed a discomfort with the misconception of their art.

*Different levels of appreciation among customers.* Seven of the nine artists were aware of multiple levels of appreciation of their art from their customers. The art collectors were regarded as serious and educated buyers. Greg illustrated how desperately the art collectors wanted to obtain his pieces, "The buyers are standing at my booth, even before the show starts, and they almost get into a fight to get that piece."

On the contrary, tourists were considered to be less serious shoppers who "just want a piece to take home." Moreover, five of the nine artists specifically pointed out that domestic tourists in the United States tend to be "selfish" and "money oriented." For instance, Helen described the improper behavior demonstrated by some domestic tourists at her booth:

Especially white people, they don't think you understand what they're saying.

Say, you have your potteries right there on the table, and they are standing by the side, and you're sitting there, too. And then, they make different kind of negative remarks.

Two artists remarked that foreign tourists were relatively polite and eager to learn about their culture. According to Fena, "they look at things and ask about it to learn. I tell them what the color means, what design means. Lots of them would say, 'will you write it down?' .... It's so beautiful."

*Misconception of tourist art among tourists.* Aforementioned by Helen, the artists often encounter tourists who make negative remarks about their art. Most of the time, the remarks were complaints about the prices of art. In fact, all the artists mentioned that they had suffered from the complaints about prices of their art, especially when the tourists begged for a big discount. Anthony illustrated, "[Tourists] say, 'oh, too expensive, can you give me a fair price?' .... Well, it's my fair price, though." Similarly, Charles described how the tourists reacted to the prices of his pieces, "They pick it up and see the price, and they put it down."

The artists assumed that those complaints about the prices came from a false conception about the real value of their art. To be exact, the artists postulated that a large number of tourists thought the art pieces were not traditional handmade artworks but mass-produced or imported imitations. Consequently, the tourists devalued the art as inauthentic and not worth the prices asked. The following quote provides the artists' assumption about the reason for the tourists' complaints:

They thought they could have bought that with 25 dollars but they're paying 100 dollars.... They perhaps may feel that those are something bought from Mexico or China, something replicated, mass-produced.

Similarly, tourists often judge the art according to its appearance and do not appreciate the quality of the craftsmanship. Greg expressed his anger about tourists' attitude. They insulted him because they made a judgment based only on the size of the pieces and did not comprehend the involved production process:

A lot of the times, they ask me like "how come is this so small and expensive?" It makes me a little mad because.... They depend on how big, the size, and not the difficulty of making it.... They don't understand how long it takes to finish one piece.

The two quotes above imply that, from the artists' point of view, complaints about prices reflected more than a simple disagreement about an amount of money. They indicate the customers' distrust about the cultural value of the art and workmanship. The following quote commented by Fena represents the artists' discomfort with the lack of comprehension about the value of their art among tourists:

They always want a deal rather than understanding.... Somebody may ask \$50 for something. What is \$50? .... Sometimes, when I made the first thing, I should charge \$650 for it and \$20 next time because it is easier.... [There] is the lack of knowledge and inexperience of people. The time, effort, the creativity, the spirit of the work, all of these things came about.

Charles also expressed his feeling toward the consumers who complained about the prices:



You don't know what the process is. You don't know that pottery is a part of culture. You don't know it's a native material. You don't know I went dug and clay my self.... You don't know the meaning behind the people, what it represents to the people. So, because of that, it's just a piece of clay. It's a pot.... So, I have to give them some degree of understanding.... I want you to understand each meaning, then, you may appreciate the price.

*Attempts to create mutual understanding.* Because the distrust about the value of their art was highly offensive, the artists displayed a strong desire to educate the tourists as to the cultural meaning and the process of producing art. Indeed, the artists utilized several approaches in order to enhance the understanding of the art's value among tourists. For example, Helen collected pictures about the whole process of making pottery and presented them in a photo album. Charles produced videotapes recording the production process. Demonstrations of jewelry and pottery making were offered by Charles, Daniel, Greg, and Ivan.

More frequently than the other approaches, direct conversations with tourists were recognized as a useful strategy to disseminate the meaning of their art to tourists. All of the artists stated that they explained the production process, the meanings of the symbols on their art works, and the ways to take care of it to their customers. Ivan commented, "I give them meaning [of my art piece], and they like it because it becomes something that has meaning to them."

At the same time, the artists were disappointed by not being able to give enough information to the customers. The common barrier was the tourists' lack of desire and time to learn. They noted, "Tourists just don't listen" and "tourists only meet you

once.... It's hard to get real exchange of ideas." Moreover, in some occasions a cultural restriction prevented them from offering a thorough explanation about certain religious symbols. Daniel mentioned:

I don't get into details in my patterns of certain religious pieces. If I do, then, I will reduce the respect for it. They won't have that power. Of course, I tell them what a certain symbol stands for, what a bird stands for, what a hand stands for. But there are more stories behind it, but I don't tell.

The quote above suggested that the artist chose not to explain the meanings of art to tourists to maintain the sacred power of traditional art.

#### *Theme Six: Changing Dynamics Among Native American Artists*

Promoting tourist art seemed to change the dynamics among Native American artists. Participating in various market places gave the artists chances to communicate not only with tourists but also with peer artists. Two issues derived from the changing dynamics of cooperation and competition among Native American artists.

*Cooperation.* All the artists stated that they enjoyed meeting with their peer artists. They complimented each other, exchanged information, and traded art pieces, all of which contributed to inspiring experiences and generated "the sense of belonging to the same community." For example, Beth recalled her memory of trading her art works with other artists:

Toward the end of shows, people are gone and just the artists [remain], and somebody come talk to me, "I like this necklace, you want to trade?" "Yap" right away, you know? I've traded some potteries; I've traded some beads stuff.... We have a lot of memories in these things.

Ivan also expressed his experience:

We do shows, traveling around, probably about 20 to 25 shows [a year]. And when we go out, we look for new artists, and anybody that are doing something unique, that we think would fit into our show, we invite them to the show in our area.

Every year, we have some people that are different. This year, we have a lady from Alaska who comes bring Alaskan art.

The quote above describes how Ivan facilitated the intertribal network to provide more variation of art to his local art show.

*Competition.* Even though the artists would like to develop the intertribal network among peers, competition also exists among them. Eric's comment reflects the dilemma of friendship and competition:

I would say [to my peers] "I'm glad you are doing this." I always encourage them to keep going. I don't have negative feeling about others.... It might give me competition with others doing the same thing.... There is jealousy between artisans.

In fact, competition is intense among artists. First, they have to apply for acceptance to attend art shows and market places. The chances for acceptance are generally slim. For example, Charles kept applying and failing to be accepted to the Santa Fe Indian Market, an internationally known Native American art show, for seven years before he was first accepted. Another occasion where there is competition is when artists are trying to attract customers. In the situation where artists are "making the same art and selling them next to each other," the artists have to compete against each other to get more attention

from customers. Although there may be an appearance of peace between the peer artists selling their art at the outside booths, they must battle to attract more customers.

In this study, six of the nine artists interviewed stated that they felt incremental competition with their peer artists. The following quotes describe how the artists perceived the competition. Charles stated:

Indian people used to work together. But, with the advent of the Indian art show, now we compete against one another. Now, we don't help one another. Now, we don't tell them how I made this or made that. No one can watch me [making pot] anymore. So, the era, or the age, of competitiveness. That comes in conflict.

Greg also illustrated his experience of escalating competition when he found other artists breaking into the designs that traditionally belonged to his family:

My family does the certain type of bowls. The other families got their own different style of traditional pot that they have. So, it's a family way of making things. But, if you're competing [against] each other, sometimes, they go into ours. They do our type of work. So, if you see your family work made by others, you'll feel like you're competing with others.

Interestingly, only one of the nine interviewed artists showed his enthusiasm to succeed in a competitive environment. He expressed his feeling:

We may compete against one another.... You have the same right as I have the same right to express my art the best I can. And, I'm going to do it.... Because you, as an artist, you have the right to try to get non-Indian people to think you're better than me.

The rest of the artists appeared to have a passive attitude toward the competition and want to stay away from it. Indeed, the following comment stated by Eric reflected this feeling, “Once in a while, you can see the envy is sullyng some of the artisans, corrupting their work. But, that is the person’s problem. It’s not my problem.”

### *Summary*

From phenomenological analyses of the interviews, six themes emerged: the meanings of being a Native American artist, sense of pride, importance of cultural promotion, support for artistic transformation, perceptions of tourist art among customers, and changing dynamics among Native American artists. Overall, the artists were satisfied with being tourist artists. They presented a strong sense of pride in their art. Furthermore, they acknowledged the importance of art promotion as a way of educating tourists about their culture and as a way of finding a home for their art. In addition, they supported the artistic transformation under the conditions that the art was made with traditional production methods. At the same time, the artists expressed their discomfort with a false impression of tourist art among tourists as imported or mass-produced imitations. Promotion of art also caused the changing dynamics among Native American artists. The artists enjoyed meeting their peers at various market places while they also felt escalation of competition among them. The conclusion and recommendation of findings are presented in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER V

### Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to explore the meaning of producing tourist art from the artists' point of view. The research questions under investigation were: (1) How does producing tourist art influence the artists' thoughts of their traditional art? (2) What is the experience of the artists when producing tourist art? and (3) What is the meaning of being a tourist artist?

Because not very much research has explored the artists' experiences of producing tourist art from the artists' perspective, this study took an exploratory qualitative approach. Nine Native American artists were interviewed in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed, and phenomenologically analyzed. Six themes emerged from the analyses of the interviews. The themes included the meanings of being a Native American artist, sense of pride, importance of cultural promotion, support of artistic transformation, perceptions of tourist art among customers, and changing dynamics among Native American artists.

#### *Discussion and Implication*

##### *Art Promotion and Ethnic Identity*

According to existing notions, the development of tourist art could strengthen the indigenous artists' ethnic identity (Ryan & Crotts, 1997; Simpson, 1993). More precisely, tourist art can function as a resource of knowledge for artists about their own traditional themes. It also can be a possibility for artists to express symbols of their ethnic identity to outsiders. However, several researchers warned that the artists might have to renounce their concept of the art and ethnic identity because tourists from

different cultural backgrounds often cannot read into the symbols embodied in the art (Berlo, 1999; Silverman, 1999; Taylor, 2001)

In this study, however, the majority of the artists interviewed stated that they were aware of neither a positive nor a negative influence from the art promotion on their perceptions of ethnic identity. For example, Beth stated:

Not just by my artwork, but within me, I know I'm a Native American. I don't have to brag it to other people.... I don't know, maybe I'm too used to it. You know? Living here, I have to make jewelry with turquoise. It's just there naturally like that.

The quote above indicates that the art making is so immersed into Beth's life that she does not perceive any significant influence of it on understanding of her ethnicity.

Likewise, Charles stated:

There are Santa Clara Indians those who don't make potteries as much as Santa Clara [Indians] who do. So, I would say, making pottery *can* [italics added] identify you as traditional here because we've sold potteries for centuries. But not necessarily. There are others who don't make it, but they are Native Americans and know the culture.

While, as these quotes illustrate, the artist did not perceive any influence of art making on the perception of ethnic identity, a strong sense of pride in art making was presented by the artists throughout the interviews. For example, they voiced how their pride in their workmanship gave them confidence to cope with conflicts that customers presented. Moreover, the artists demonstrated their enthusiasm to carry on their culture to the next generations. Previous literature supported that ethnic identity was a basis for

self-respect, and that a group's well-established identity could endure over generations (Levita, 1968; Phinney, Chavira, & Tate, 1993). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the artists in this study maintain a strong sense of common cultural pride and ethnic identity.

#### *Patterns of Artistic Transformation*

The patterns of artistic transformation identified in this study included a reproduction of the ancient forms with slight modification, a mixed form with traditional themes and market preference, and a complete innovation with little traditional themes attached. These patterns of the renovations were consistent with Graburn's (1976) theory of ethnic art transformation. In addition, the artists gave detailed descriptions regarding how the innovative art forms were copied by other artists and became the popular form of Native American art. It is interesting that a similar path of change was observed by Cohen (1993) in Thailand.

Considering that the same paths of artistic transformation have occurred in other places and time, these transformation paths are, in fact, common routes of tourist art development. Therefore, art brokers, tourism developers, and artists themselves may utilize the principals as criteria to evaluate the current degrees of development and to predict the consequence of the continual expansion of tourist art. By using proper measures, inapt development may be avoided.

Rosetta's (1984) model highlighted that artists and tourists rarely had direct contact in the common tourist art market mechanism. Instead, middlemen conveyed the message and meanings of the art. In other words, the artistic transformation was controlled by the middlemen to a considerable degree. However, in this study, all of the artists maintained



direct contact with their customers. They directly learned from the customers in terms of art preference; moreover, they could transfer the meaning of art to their customers immediately.

#### *Artists' Perception of Cultural Authenticity*

This study revealed the fact that the artists perceived the transformation of the art forms as cultural enlargement rather than erosion as long as the traditional art producing methods were maintained. This finding is consistent with the elastic and flexible nature of culture (Moreno & Lettrell, 2001; Smith, 1996; Tucker, 2001).

This finding may also relate to Cohen's (1993) notion of authenticity of local art. He stated that evaluation of local art was divergent depending on the approaches. More precisely, if the conservative approach was taken, the authenticity was assessed by the art's appearance and its resemblance to traditional precedent forms. On the contrary, the liberal approach focused on the salience of the producing process instead of the exterior appearance.

In this study, although the art did not look exactly the same as its predecessors, the artists still considered the art to be culturally authentic because they used the traditional materials and followed the traditional production procedures. This finding indicates that the artists maintain the liberal concept of authenticity that may differ from that of conservative outsiders who judge the genuineness of art based only on its appearance. Therefore, it is important for tourists, art brokers, and tourism developers to take into account the artists' philosophy of cultural authenticity in order to avoid misjudging the value of their art.

Preserving cultural authenticity by adhering to the traditional art production methods may raise another critical issue in the current Native American art community. The artists interviewed expressed strong concerns about the next generation of artists, who had begun to use non-traditional materials and follow a different learning path. Assuming that artistic transformations can be optimistically accepted only if they occur within a culturally acceptable boundary (Smith, 1996), the alteration of the traditional producing methods may cause a critical shift of cultural authenticity and the meaning of the art to artists. In order to sustain the authenticity, it may be important to include the traditional art producing methods in art education to reinforce the importance of the methods throughout the generations.

#### *Tourists' Perception of Tourist Art*

The artists interviewed in this study categorized the consumers into two groups: collectors and tourists. They explained how the two parties had different levels of knowledge and appreciation for the art. The artists also suffered from tourists' complaints over the prices of their art pieces. The same classification of the local art market and the similar description of the typical attitude of each party were documented in Rosetta's (1984) study in Africa. Therefore, these attitudes toward tourist art might be common characteristics of tourists.

The artists in this study pointed out that the tourists' complaints derived from the false impression of the tourist art as imported or mass-produced. Graburn (1976) and Rosetta (1984) also warned that the ethnic art was challenged by imported items that were inexpensive and of low quality. According to the artists in this study, most tourists do not have enough information to distinguish the genuine art from mass-manufactured

ones. Therefore, it is essential for the indigenous artists to provide information about the authenticity of art.

The artists described their attempts to rectify the misconception of the value of art. The approaches included showing photo albums and videotapes, giving demonstrations, and having direct conversation with customers. However, they still experienced obstacles in effectively communicating the correct information.

One artist acknowledged the possible use of museums as an efficient way to deliver information. He stated:

Museum has put up great information to the public so that they are aware of what we produce here.... People think that I produce what they see in the museum. They would know that I'm producing the old pot.... So, it does help me with my sale.

Previous studies criticized that museums separated art from its producers and community life (Berlo & Phillips, 1998; Pritchard, 1987). The separation was condemned in that it cultivated the stereotyped image of folk art among visitors. However, the quote above might propose a reconsideration of the effective use of museums. It may facilitate opportunities for the artists to interact with visitors as well as peer artists if museums arrange demonstrations by artists for tourists or offer workshops for artists.

#### *Producing Tourist Art as Positive Experience*

Overall, the artists interviewed in this study were satisfied in being tourist artists. The artists demonstrated a sense of pride in their art and acknowledged the importance of art promotion. They also supported the artistic transformation as long as the art was produced by the traditional production methods. This finding did not support the concept

that indigenous artists were coerced to satisfy modern tourists' ethnocentric expectation, thereby losing a sense of ownership of their own culture (Robinson, 2001; Ryan & Crotts, 1997). Instead, it supports the notion that the local artists were freed from cultural bureaucracies and actively developed the new cultural context that met both tourists' and locals' needs (McKean, 1977; Simpson, 1993).

#### *Areas for Future Studies*

This study provided a channel for the art producers' voice that had not been previously represented in the study of tourist art. In-depth interviews with Native American artists revealed their viewpoint concerning the experiences of producing tourist art.

For a better understanding of the phenomenon, more studies regarding the experience of producing tourist art are needed. Furthermore, future studies need to include different generations of artists in order to compare the various concepts of cultural authenticity. In addition, future studies need to understand the phenomenon of tourist art from the tourists' point of view.

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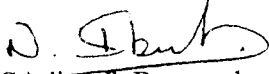
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APPENDIX A

Institutional Review Board Approval Letter

To: Naho Maruyama  
347 S. 11<sup>th</sup> Street  
San Jose, CA 95111

From: Nabil Ibrahim,   
AVP, Graduate Studies & Research

Date: July 1, 2002

The Human Subjects-Institutional Review Board has approved your request to use human subjects in the study entitled:

“The Impact of Producing Tourist Art on Indigenous Artists.”

This approval is contingent upon the subjects participating in your research project being appropriately protected from risk. This includes the protection of the anonymity of the subjects' identity when they participate in your research project, and with regard to any and all data that may be collected from the subjects. The approval includes continued monitoring of your research by the Board to assure that the subjects are being adequately and properly protected from such risks. If at any time a subject becomes injured or complains of injury, you must notify Nabil Ibrahim, Ph.D. immediately. Injury includes but is not limited to bodily harm, psychological trauma, and release of potentially damaging personal information. This approval for the human subjects portion of your project is in effect for one year, and data collection beyond July 1, 2003 requires an extension request.

Please also be advised that all subjects need to be fully informed and aware that their participation in your research project is voluntary, and that he or she may withdraw from the project at any time. Further, a subject's participation, refusal to participate, or withdrawal will not affect any services that the subject is receiving or will receive at the institution in which the research is being conducted.

If you have any questions, please contact me at (408) 924-2480.

APPENDIX B

Consent Form for Interview Participation

Responsible Investigator: Naho Maruyama

Title of Protocol: Impact of Producing Tourist Art on Indigenous Artists' Ethnic Identity

I, \_\_\_\_\_, have been asked to participate in a research study investigating how producing art products for tourists influence the understanding of my ethnic identity. I understand that the participating in this study is voluntary and no monetary compensation will be given.

I will be asked to engage in an in-depth interview. The interview will take place and time that the researcher arranges based on my convenient. The interview will be tape-recorded.

\_\_\_\_ Yes, I agree      \_\_\_\_ No, I prefer not  
(I can change my mind later, if I want to)

I understand that the probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort are no greater than encountered in daily life. No discernible benefits are expected beyond personal satisfaction for contributing to the importance of knowledge.

I understand that the result of the study may be published, but no information that could identify me specifically will be included.

Any questions about this research may be addressed to Naho Maruyama at 408-292-4269. Complaints about the research may be presented to Dr. Charles Whitcomb, Chairperson of the Recreation and Leisure Studies department, at 408-924-3000. Questions about research, subject rights, or research-related injury may be presented to Nabil Ibrahim, Ph.D., Associate Vice President for Graduate Studies and Research, at 408-924-2480.

My consent to participate in this study is given voluntarily. I may refuse to participate in the study or in any part of the study. Furthermore, I may decline to answer any question. If I decided to participate in the study I am free to withdraw at any time without prejudice to my relations with San Jose State University.

I have received a signed and dated copy of this consent form.

- The signature of a subject on this document indicates agreement to participate in the study.
- The signature of a researcher on this document indicates agreement to include the above named subject in the research and attestation that the subject has been fully informed of her rights.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Subject's Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Investigator's Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## APPENDIX C

### Interview Questionnaire

- When did you start making art?
- When did you start making profit out of it?
- What kind of art do you make?
- Where do you display?
- What is your market?
- Can you talk about the process of developing design of your art?  
(Probes) how do you reflect tourists' preference? How do you reflect the traditional ideas?
- Are you aware of any transformations of traditional art forms in your community?  
(Probe)How would you feel about the transformation?
- Overall, are you comfortable with selling art to visitors?
- Have you had any experience that made you pleased of selling art to tourists?  
(Probes) How is it like? What part of the experience made you pleased?
- Have you had any difficult experience with tourists?  
(Probes) How is it like? What part of the experience made you uncomfortable?
- Have you had any good experience with other Native American artists?  
(Probes) How is it like? What part of the experience made you pleased?
- Have you had any difficult experience with other Native American artists?  
(Probes) How is it like? What part of the experience made you pleased?
- In which way are you proud of being Native American artists?
- Do you think that the art promotion is a way to maintain your culture?
- How would you describe your ethnic identity as an artist?  
(Probes)Do you think that selling art to tourists somehow influences your understanding of your identity?

## APPENDIX D

### Example of Interview Transcripts

I: Which tribe are you from?

P: I'm Hopi and Tewa, and I grew up in Arizona.

I: Were you born in the reservation?

P: Yes, I was born in the first Mesa, in Arizona. Tewa's village is there, which is called Hano.

I: When did you move to New Mexico?

P: Well, we moved here about 18 years ago. I left home '59 and joined air force, US air force, and I spent most of my time in California, north of Fresno. I did my service there and met my wife in San Francisco, and we moved down in Los Angeles area, then we lived there until we moved here 18 years ago.

I: When did you start making art?

P: Well, my artwork, I think, started way back when I was a child. Both my dad and my mom helped me learn traditional artwork. That's how I started.

I: Were your parents making art for their living?

P: My dad did a lot of his artwork; rattles, Kachinas. And they did a lot, sometimes a lot for traditional use, given for traditional dancers for doing; they could dance with them. And also they did to sustain the family, monetary rewards for that. Both of my mom and dad.

I: when did you start making profit out of it yourself?

P: well, I would say, well, as I told you I learned these things as a child with the teaching from my dad like I said. But as far as monetary value, it started for extra cash, maybe for some of material things I needed when I was in California. So, I started making my Kachinas in California. I took those Kachinas and bring them over to back to New Mexico, Arizona, and sold to stores as I traveled. So, that was helping financially quite a bit.

I: Currently, where do you display your art?

P: Since I was back to New Mexico, I have been into more artwork, and finally people see my work and impressed by my work. And I was very fortunate to display my work at Smithsonian at Washington D.C, they've been displayed there for last 8 years. And of course other shows that I do, and also they are shown in one of Hopi Art book. And I'm very happy about that. And the calendar; it's 1999, mine is on November, this one. And other shows, the coming Santa Fe Indian market in two weeks. So, I'm working towards that one.

I: What is your market?

P: A lot of my customers are collectors, and tourists coming to the show. And I'm glad to share my work in that way.

I: How do you develop the design of your artwork?

P: I think they are, well, my work leads a lot towards TEWA. Most of my work I do on gourds and on my sketching. And I do lot of Kachinas. My dad told me a lot about Kachinas; Kachina dancers participating in that area. And the potteries, my mother taught me. Her design work influenced me a lot on Kachinas and potteries. That is

where I pick up a lot of mine. That is where I'm learning from. Because of my parents.

I: Do you sometimes reflect the customers' preferences, too?

P: Yes. When a customer takes one of my pieces, I explain the design, the symbol, the meaning of the certain piece; I explain that to my customers. So, they become well aware of my work's tales.

I: Have you noticed some transformation of traditional forms in Native American art world?

P: Well, my work is, I would say, traditional design yet it has a little contemporary touch to it. For example, the feather work that I do a lot on my work is enhancement of on my design. Eagle feather work that I put into my work. That's a little bit off of the traditional design, but I think it still fits in to that. You know, it's still fits into traditional design.

I: What is the reason for you to integrate both traditional and contemporary designs into your work?

P: Well, I think it's because of the market. The market calls for that. You know? People like to see the different art work, they want to see the traditional art work, yet they see something a little bit unique, that appeal to the buyers and collectors. That's why I feel like, well, you're doing something for your self. Especially, for my self, my artwork, I feel good about it.

I: How do you feel about that? How do you feel about the integration or transformation of design from traditional to contemporary?

P: I feel, I think it's good. A lot of my fellows and I, I myself and my fellow artisans do a lot of contemporary work with the traditional value. And, I feel that's good. It's the way of expressing yourself as an artist. And feeling good about your work is so important. I feel like I'm respecting myself as an artist, and sharing my work with my fellow friends and collectors. So, I think it's good.

I: Do you think that your customers understand the value of your work?

P: Yes, they do.

I: How do you communicate with them to have them understand the value of your art?

P: well, the value of art work is, I think, it's kinds of the six sense. I feel it with my intuition. I feel that my certain piece of work means a lot to me. And the price I set on my work depends on, I would say, how much time I put into it and how much detail. And the price that I set is usually I'm comfortable with. I personally don't not have a very high price on my merchandise. I want my pieces to go out and find a place to stay. I believe that way. So, I want to be comfortable with the price I set.

I: what is the range of your price?

P: The range? The range would be anywhere, well, again, it depends on the type of work I'm doing. These gourds, I do ceramics, I do paintings, I do sketching. Depends on which medium I'm using, and I set a price. The price could be from \$10 to \$1,000. Again, it depends on the medium I use. And again, the price I set is the price I'm comfortable with. And I also admire my customers.