

THESIS

FROM SOUVENIR TO SUNDANCE:
PERCEPTIONS AND PARTICIPATION OF RESIDENTS IN CULTURAL TOURISM
ON THE PINE RIDGE INDIAN RESERVATION

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WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER OUR SUPERVISION BY MELANIE ANN GRAHAM ENTITLED 'FROM SOUVENIR TO SUNDANCE: PERCEPTIONS AND PARTICIPATION OF RESIDENTS IN CULTURAL TOURISM ON THE PINE RIDGE INDIAN RESERVATION' BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING IN PART REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS.

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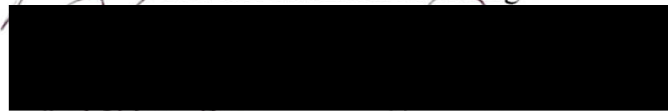
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ABSTRACT OF THESIS
FROM SOUVENIR TO SUNDANCE:
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Cultural tourism development on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota has the potential to increase access to the cash economy for Pine Ridge residents, as well as the potential to create negative social, cultural and economic impacts that threaten to overshadow any benefits. In the effort to develop responsible and culturally appropriate tourism, it is critical to understand how tourism impacts the daily lives of residents, and how they participate in these economic activities. Surveys and interviews with households (n=47) and business owners (n=43) explore how a Pine Ridge economy that is embedded in Lakota values of reciprocity and generosity interacts with and contradicts the global economy. Results reveal that this sample of residents expresses a generally positive attitude regarding tourism, as well as a strong consensus that the greatest potential for exploitation lies in the commercialization of Lakota spirituality. Additionally, the experiences of business owners demonstrate that tourism does increase access to the cash economy, but it is only a marginal improvement in local sources of supplemental income when entrepreneurs lack the resources necessary to compete in the difficult business environment on Pine Ridge. Understanding and responding to the experiences of local residents will enable communities to mitigate the negative impacts of

tourism in order to maximize the positive outcomes, resulting in a tourism sector on the reservation that is responsible, accountable and undeniably Lakota.

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Part I: Theoretical, Ethnographic, and Methodological Background

Chapter 1: Introduction to Tourism on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation

This study evaluates cultural tourism development on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation¹ in South Dakota from the perspectives of Pine Ridge residents. Cultural tourism can be an important way for residents to access the cash economy, yet negative social, cultural and economic impacts often overshadow the supplemental income tourism activities provide to some. Every effort must be taken to understand how residents perceive tourism development, how they participate, and how development decisions impact reservation communities. This information increases the likelihood that Pine Ridge residents can maximize the benefits while mitigating the negative impacts of tourism development. This conviction guided me to ask the following questions:

Question 1: How do Pine Ridge residents view tourism development and its potential impacts on the Pine Ridge economy and Lakota culture?

Question 2: How does participating in tourism act as a viable way to access the cash economy for Pine Ridge residents?

To begin to answer these questions, three major theoretical perspectives were used to form the foundation for understanding the interactions of Lakota culture with the Pine Ridge economy in cultural tourism: substantivist economic theory; the

¹ I will refer to the study area alternatively as the 'Pine Ridge Indian Reservation,' 'Pine Ridge,' and the 'reservation.'

anthropology of tourism (social impacts); and multiple forms of capital. These foundations allow for a deeper understanding of the Pine Ridge economy and Lakota culture, how tourism impacts economic and cultural structures, and how tourism creates opportunities and barriers to accessing the cash economy.

My first crucial assumption is that the Pine Ridge economy is embedded in Lakota society, meaning that residents' social obligations within their social networks largely determine their economic behavior. Karl Polanyi's substantivist economic theory informs this perspective as a refutation of neoclassical economic assumptions that individuals act as single entities to maximize individual benefits (Popkin 1979:31) and instead recognizes that individuals act, not in their interest as individuals, but to protect their wellbeing within their social networks (Polanyi 2001[1944]:48). The second major argument of substantivism is that there are four modes through which individuals and communities access and exchange resources: householding; reciprocity; redistribution; and market exchange. While market exchange dominates mainstream American society and many other parts of the world, it is not the dominant mode of economic integration on the reservation. Market activities are performed alongside, and interact with, householding (such as hunting for one's own household), reciprocity (babysitting today to have your children babysat tomorrow), and redistribution (such as giveaways). These four modes combine to provide Pine Ridge residents with the resources they need.

Lakota culture interacts, contradicts, and evolves alongside market exchange. The basic Lakota principles of generosity and egalitarian social structures conflict with basic market principles of individual accumulated wealth. The result is a unique form of market exchange on the reservation that attempts to incorporate Lakota morals and values into

the local market economy (Browne 2009:30). For example, “Indian pricing” is an activity among local business owners in which they operate a scaled pricing system that charges Lakota individuals based upon what they can afford to pay (Pickering 2000:39-40). Pressure from the outside to conform to mainstream market principles, and pressure from within local social networks to reciprocate favors and redistribute wealth results in business practices that are confusing and contradictory, but also important in their attempt to maintain an explicitly Lakota identity.

Anthropological literature on the negative impacts of cultural tourism helps us identify what kinds of impacts have been experienced by residents on Pine Ridge, as well as strategies to mitigate those impacts. The social, cultural, and economic impacts of cultural tourism can be severe and far-reaching for both individual and collective cultural identities. The controversy inherent in defining traits of a culture to sell to tourists on the market can create conflict between community members, in addition to major changes in economic and social structures that accompany rapid, poorly planned, and culturally inappropriate economic development (Burns 1999; Greenwood 1989; McLaren 2003; Sweet 1991; Wood 2002). Mitigation strategies identified by scholars of cultural tourism include local control and local ownership; slow growth; the development of small-scale, mixed economies; implementing indicators of social change; and molding marketing and tourism products to attract respectful cultural tourists (Colton 2005; Smith 2001; Sweet 1991; Wood 2002). When development is done in a sustainable and culturally sensitive way, the results can be an increased, supplemental income for many families, as well as potential for cultural education and inter-cultural interactions that benefit both host and guest.

Finally, Pierre Bourdieu (1983:183-189) has recognized that successful economic endeavors within society can only occur when an individual possesses not only economic capital, but also social capital (one's social networks), and cultural capital (cultural knowledge). In the case of mainstream American business practices, social capital would include one's ability to access marketing resources and business networks, while cultural capital includes one's critical knowledge of how to conduct business. Bourdieu's recognition of multiple forms of capital has led me to identify the existence of Lakota-specific forms of social capital (Lakota social networks) and cultural capital (knowledge of Lakota history and culture, including crafts, storytelling and spiritual ceremonies).

In cultural tourism, tourists come to the reservation in pursuit of Lakota cultural capital. I believe, therefore, that although many Lakota residents do not possess the mainstream financial assets, social networks and business know-how to participate fully in the tourism industry, there are still opportunities to participate at a microenterprise level. Additionally, this theory helps me recognize the ways in which Lakota residents with cultural knowledge are taken advantage of in tourism, by those lacking in Lakota cultural knowledge but possessing the mainstream resources to profit from that knowledge. Both the opportunities and barriers to participation in tourism are based upon the possession of different forms of capital. This can be seen in the responses of survey participants and other residents on Pine Ridge.

The Pine Ridge Indian Reservation is home to the Oglala Lakota (referred to as the 'Lakota'), as well as Indians from other tribes and non-Indian residents. There are approximately 28,787 people living on the reservation, according to 2005 HUD census numbers (Pickering N.d.:3). More than a century of severe poverty and disease, forced

cultural assimilation, and economic and social exclusion have resulted in a dire economic climate on Pine Ridge, with a high unemployment rate of 37.11% and unreliable, temporary and seasonal unemployment (Pickering N.d.:4). Small business and microenterprise fill in where wage work is lacking, while reciprocity and redistribution act as important social safety nets for a weak market economy.

As mentioned earlier, there are often conflicts between traditional Lakota culture and participation in mainstream American culture, including the market economy. With reservation settlement, these conflicts first became known as “old,” conservative Indians who sought to maintain traditional Lakota social structures; and “new,” liberal Indians who sought to incorporate themselves into mainstream culture (Pickering 2000:82-83). As non-Indians moved onto the reservation and intermarriage occurred, these divisions became known as “full-blood” (old, conservative) and “mixed-blood” (new, liberal) divisions that continue to operate today. While political and economic preferences and practices hardly coincide with categories of blood quantum (Pickering 2000:88-89), these stereotypes persist and are often embedded in arguments of jealousy, nepotism, and accusations of selfishness and wealth accumulation of business owners. This tension makes it even more difficult for business owners to succeed on the reservation, and is a significant element of interest in this study.

Tourism as a form of economic development can increase access to cash and help alleviate poverty through formal and informal participation in the market economy. Largely through the production of arts and crafts for souvenirs, tourism activities are an important source of supplemental income for some families. In addition to craft production, individuals offer their talents by providing guided tours, traditional culinary

arts, lodging, and guidance through spiritual ceremonies. Tourist participation in spiritual ceremonies is a controversial issue on the reservation and also an important element of this study.

In the summer of 2008, I traveled to Pine Ridge to conduct my thesis research in conjunction with a larger study formed by Dr. Kathleen Pickering and a small group of students from Colorado State University. The purpose of Dr. Pickering's study was to work with two non-profit organizations on Pine Ridge to evaluate their programs led by the SAGE Collaborative, a non-profit organization whose goal is to create culturally sensitive approaches to business development for Native entrepreneurs (SAGE Collaborative 2008). Within the larger study, I was interested in investigating the opinions local residents had regarding tourism, as well as how business owners participated in the industry. Our research team administered surveys and conducted interviews with two groups: households (n=47) selected from a previous longitudinal study; and business owners (n=43), to make a total of ninety participants.²

This study follows a non-experimental, mixed methods design. The household sample was derived from a previous representative sample using a non-random stratified sampling method with different proportions, maintaining a medium level of external validity (Gliner et al. 2009:122). The business owner sample was obtained through convenience sampling and cannot be generalized to the larger business population. The responses of these participants to survey and interview questions, however, continue to be impassioned accounts of their experiences with tourism development and maintain value in their own right.

² See chapter three for a more detail explanation of methodology.

The portion of the larger survey that focuses on tourism development asks both household residents and business owners the same eleven quantitative questions and one open-ended question in their surveys. In addition, business owners were given three additional scaled questions dealing with the actions of business owners. Those who identified themselves as tourism business owners were also asked eleven additional open-ended questions that explored their motivations, methods and experiences in the tourism industry. The assertions made in this study are also informed by unstructured interviews and daily interactions with Pine Ridge residents and tourists on the reservation. The use of both quantitative and qualitative data allows for a more holistic understanding of the complex interactions of Lakota culture, the Pine Ridge economy, and cultural tourism on the reservation.

Information gained from daily interactions with residents and tourists also helps me account for an important missing element in this data. The business owners who participated in this study were identified because they had participated in the past with a micro-lending organization, The Lakota Funds (TLF), or because they were approached at their place of business in town or along the side of the road. This sample does not include a representative number of the many microenterprise participants who participate informally in tourism and represent a crucial element of the Pine Ridge economy. There are many individuals on Pine Ridge who would not consider themselves tourism business owners but profit from the industry informally.

Ethnicity is also an important element of this topic that is missing from this study. Tribal membership and blood quantum were not collected from the participants and therefore, may represent a prevalent extraneous variable, particularly in the business

owner population. For example, I have heard from others, and observed for myself, that many of the more successful business owners on the reservation are non-Lakota. Since many of the survey questions directly relate to Lakota identity and spirituality, it should be kept in mind that ethnicity may play a role in how participants responded to these survey questions.

There are three attribute independent variables identified in the design and analysis of this study: type of resident (household or business owner); gender; and age. Dependent variables include the responses to fourteen quantitative questions (thirteen Likert-scale statements and an ordinal question), and several qualitative, open-ended questions. Of the quantitative statements, nine were scaled variables and five were ordinal (skew value greater than 1).³ The following is a brief summary of the assertions that resulted from the data analysis (see chapter four for more detail).

Question 1: How do Pine Ridge residents view tourism development and its potential impacts on the Pine Ridge economy and Lakota culture?

Assertion #1: Pine Ridge residents express a generally positive attitude regarding tourism development on the reservation.

Residents responded positively to a significant portion of the survey questions, including the statement that tourism is good for Lakota culture. When asked what the main results of tourism were, the financial benefits were most commonly named, while also stating the need for better infrastructure and marketing and the difficulty of seasonal boom-and-bust cycles. The potential for cultural understanding and elimination of negative stereotypes was also mentioned. There was a significant association of age (r

³ See Appendix E for the Variable Codebook.

(77) = .324, $p = .004$), with a typical effect size, where older participants felt more positively about tourism than younger participants.

Assertion #2: While economic benefits are the strongest motivation for participating in or supporting tourism development, other important motivations are represented in the survey data.

A large majority of participants agreed that tourism brings economic growth to the reservation. Despite the many difficulties involved in business ventures, economic growth is identified as the greatest benefit of the tourism industry. Beyond financial incentives, many agreed that it is important to share Lakota culture with tourists. Business owners named many reasons for choosing their particular tourism business, of which financial gain was low on the list, while personal enjoyment and a desire for cultural education were mentioned by several participants.

Assertion #3: Residents agree that the negative impacts of tourism mainly involve the commercialization of Lakota spirituality, which can be mitigated through accountability of business owners and management of tourists.

The place where participants identified the greatest negative impacts was unequivocally in the case of spiritual tourism. Participants agreed that it is important to keep some aspects of Lakota culture out of the tourism product, most often citing the Sundance ceremony. Participants reported that it was appropriate for tourists to be present at pow wows, a Lakota social gathering, but overwhelmingly rejected the idea of tourists being present at spiritual ceremonies like the Sundance. There was a statistically significant association of age and the presence of tourists, in that younger participants felt more uncomfortable with the presence of tourists at both pow wows ($r(74) = .227, p = .049$), and Sundances ($r(74) = .280, p = .014$) than older participants, both with smaller to medium effect sizes.

Both business owners and households agreed that it is inappropriate for businesses to market spiritual practices. Ideas regarding the ability of tourism to exploit or misuse Lakota culture are explored through interviews and anecdotes from my own experiences. The sentiment that business owners refrain from marketing spiritual practices due to social pressure from their families and communities is widespread, while some participants call for more effort from community leaders to educate tourists on appropriate behaviors on the reservation.

Assertion #4: Business owners do not express a significant difference in opinion from other Pine Ridge residents.

One goal of this study was to explore the full-blood/mixed-blood stereotype that those who are more incorporated into the market economy (i.e. business owners) are less embedded in their social networks, obligations and cultural traditions than other households. To test this, I ran difference tests (Mann-Whitney or Independent Samples *t*-Tests) on every quantitative survey question to identify any significant differences between the two groups. Only the statement that tourism brings economic growth to the reservation revealed a significant difference, in that business owners agreed more strongly that tourism brings economic growth ($U = 444.5, p < .001, r = -.46$). Thus, I conclude in general that the business owners in this sample have the same concerns and motivations as the household sample and show no major differences. This supports my argument that the combination of Lakota values and mainstream business practices results in a different form of market exchange that accommodates the socially embedded values of Pine Ridge business owners.

Question 2: How does participating in tourism act as a viable way to access the cash economy for Pine Ridge residents?

Assertion #5: Tourism promises financial support for entrepreneurs, but without mainstream social networks, cultural knowledge and business know-how (and often even with it), rarely provides financial stability.

Finally, question two explores whether and how tourism improves the lives of entrepreneurs. This section reviews a variety of information about business owners and their businesses, including stories I heard and events I witnessed myself. Tourism is a seasonal and unreliable form of participation in the cash economy. For most, it provides only a small income to supplement other economic activities. Nearly anyone who possesses some form of Lakota cultural knowledge can participate informally through beadwork, tours, cooking, etc., although these efforts usually produce meager profits. On the other hand, there are those within and outside the reservation who take advantage of microenterprise entrepreneurs by purchasing bulk goods at deflated prices and traveling outside the reservation to sell them for a substantial profit. The conclusion here is that tourism activities provide an important source of petty cash for informal participants, but without mainstream financial resources, social networks and business knowledge, and a good deal of luck, tourism will rarely improve the financial stability of entrepreneurs.

The following chapters will provide a more detailed explanation of the above topics. Chapter two describes the theoretical foundation for my arguments, as well as the ethnographic background necessary to understand the study site. Chapter three discusses the methodology for this study. Chapter four reveals the survey and interview results and their analysis, and chapter five will conclude this thesis by highlighting the key points I have identified as necessary for understanding cultural tourism on Pine Ridge.

Chapter 2: A Review of Theory and Ethnography to Understand Lakota Cultural Tourism on Pine Ridge

Theoretical Perspectives for Understanding Lakota Cultural Tourism

Cultural tourism on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation is explored through three major theoretical perspectives: substantivism, cultural tourism as social impact, and Bourdieu's multiple forms of capital. All three of these theories allow for a greater articulation of Lakota culture, the social impacts of cultural tourism, and the economic realities, opportunities and choices related to both Lakota society and tourism enterprise. The combination of these theories produces a more holistic understanding of how residents will perceive and participate (or not) in tourism development.

Karl Polanyi's theory of substantivism provides us with a clear understanding of the socially-embedded nature of the Lakota economy, both past and present. Through his articulation of the four modes of economic integration, we gain tools to help us understand how Pine Ridge residents make economic choices that are not based solely on market exchange, but also on householding, reciprocity and redistribution that have highly functioning purposes on the reservation.

The next section explores the literature concerning the social and economic impacts of cultural tourism. While there are many different forms of cultural tourism, the focus here is on community-based indigenous tourism. Anthropological concepts help us understand how cultural traits become commodities in cultural tourism, and how the

commodification of those traits impacts the cultural identity of local residents. An analysis of the social impacts of tourism identifies the many potential negative consequences of tourism development, while efforts are made to identify potentially useful strategies to mitigate those consequences in order to create greater access to the market economy for Pine Ridge residents.

Finally, Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus and multiple forms of capital are important for understanding the distinct position of the cultural tourism industry in the market economy. Bourdieu argues that economic, social, and cultural capitals are necessary in order to participate successfully in mainstream society in general, and in the economy in particular. Yet his theory allows for the recognition of non-mainstream forms of capital, such as Lakota cultural capital (knowledge of Lakota history, beliefs, practices) that is highly valued in the cultural tourism industry. This insight allows for a clearer understanding as to how Pine Ridge residents who lack mainstream American cultural resources can benefit from the tourism industry, and also how they can be exploited.

These three theories explore different aspects of the same topic to create a more complete understanding of cultural tourism on Pine Ridge. When we can understand how Pine Ridge residents make economic choices, experience the various impacts of tourism development in their daily lives, and their capacity for participating in this industry, we are closer to making more culturally appropriate and long term development decisions that benefit all residents.

Understanding the Pine Ridge Economy: Polanyi

Tourism on Pine Ridge is an economic development strategy designed to increase access to the cash economy through market exchange as a mode of economic integration.

To maximize the benefits of the tourism industry, it is important to understand how economic systems function on the reservation in order to make culturally appropriate development decisions that can be sustained over the long term. The work of Karl Polanyi provides the theoretical foundation necessary to understand how residents in the past and present gain access to resources through four modes of economic integration: householding, reciprocity, redistribution and market exchange. Acknowledging the importance of each of these modes to the mixed economy on Pine Ridge gives us insight into how individuals make the economic decisions that impact themselves, their families, their businesses and their communities.

Polanyi developed the theory of substantivism as a refutation of the assumptions surrounding the free-market economic paradigm that had arisen during the nineteenth century. These assumptions include the idea that individuals act as single entities to maximize individual returns (Popkin 1979:31). Instead, theorists such as Emile Durkheim (1895) and Marcel Mauss (1924) have emphasized that the economy is embedded in society and therefore, societal rules will determine economic behavior. Mauss (1967[1924]:11) examined non-market societies to explain how gift-giving as an economic activity operated within a system of total prestations, in which reciprocal relations formed the foundation for social obligations to one another. While it is easy to see how societal structures determine economic behavior in non-market societies, it is important to recognize that all societies (including market-based societies) conduct economic activities within the context of their social obligations.

In *The Great Transformation* (1944), Polanyi built on this foundation by describing the rise of free-market capitalism in Europe and the United States that resulted

in a conceptual separation of the economy from society. He argued that by examining “the economy” as a separate sphere of social organization, we lack a complete understanding of how different societies exchange resources, make decisions on familial and societal levels, and adapt economic systems to specific cultures. A holistic understanding of the Pine Ridge economy must acknowledge that “...man’s economy, as a rule, is submerged in his social relationships. He does not act so as to safeguard his individual interest in the possession of material goods; he acts so as to safeguard his social standing, his social claims, his social assets” (Polanyi 2001[1944]:48).

Polanyi sought to reveal what neo-liberal economic theory ignored, that market exchange is only one way that societies exchange resources and provide for themselves. While tourism is an industry firmly embedded in mainstream market exchange, the entrepreneurs who participate in tourism on Pine Ridge are embedded in a society that also actively participates in entirely different modes of economic integration, namely householding, reciprocity and redistribution. According to Polanyi (2001[1944]:55), householding “consists in production for one’s own use;” it is all the activities performed that produce resources for one’s household. The simple concept of reciprocity is that the produce of one individual’s activity is shared with others in their community, so that “today’s giving will be recompensed by tomorrow’s taking” (Polanyi 2001[1944]:53). Redistribution makes this process more complex by appointing an “intermediary...who receives and distributes the supplies,” such as a chief or administrator (Polanyi 2001[1944]:53). Redistribution is especially embedded in the social relationships within a community because the redistribution of resources is determined by existing social hierarchies and statuses.

Every society participates in some way in all modes of integration. In many societies, including mainstream American society, market exchange acts as the dominant mode of integration. Within that larger society, however, many smaller cultural networks exist that depend on a mixed economy – greater productivity of all modes of integration - in order to access resources. On Pine Ridge, where a weak market economy and high unemployment coincide with a strong cultural tradition of householding, reciprocity and redistribution, market exchange is not dominant. For many Pine Ridge residents, the job market is not a reliable way to access daily resources (Novak N.d.). Therefore, these other modes of integration act, not only as highly functioning modes within themselves, but also as a safety net for residents who lack sufficient access to the market economy.

A Different Kind of Market Exchange

To view market exchange as only one of many forms of economic integration also allows us to examine how the market economy functions differently on Pine Ridge than one might expect in mainstream American society. It will be argued that Pine Ridge business owners make decisions based on a set of moral principles and motivations derived from their unique cultural history, which results in a different form of market exchange on the reservation than may be found elsewhere. Ong (2006) has referenced *guanxi*, the personal connections and social obligations that influence business practices in Shanghai, as an example of how a conflict between local culture and global capitalism results in a new form of market exchange that accommodates local norms and values. Browne (2009:30) uses this example when she argues that “market economies function according to the moral spheres that differ in scope and content depending on the local political and social context in which they operate.” Despite mainstream pressure to

conform, market exchange on Pine Ridge is not dominated by ideals of individual wealth accumulation or concepts of efficiency and thus effectively alters the mainstream form of market exchange to fit local society. It is important to note, however, that local society is also extensively shaped by outside market forces. While the conflict between two different cultures results in a unique form of market exchange in the larger sense, individual residents may experience a daily struggle to reconcile the many smaller contradictions between mainstream market demands and local cultural norms.

Substantivism allows us to conceptualize forms of market exchange, such as tourism development, as embedded within the larger cultural history of a particular society. It will help us understand that a society in which market exchange does not dominate will have different motivations and priorities, and therefore make different development decisions, than a society where market exchange is the norm. Pine Ridge is neither a non-market nor a market-based society – it is caught in the middle. Residents continually attempt to access the capitalist market that dominates the country, while maintaining the norms and values that characterize Lakota culture. Economic development must account for the unique qualities of the Pine Ridge economy and Lakota society and make the explicit attempt to accommodate local values in development. This theoretical foundation will provide the tools with which we can make culturally appropriate, and therefore more successful, development strategies that will benefit Pine Ridge residents.

The Anthropology of Cultural Tourism

Margaret Swain (1989:85) defines ethnic tourism as “the marketing of tourist attractions based on a population’s way of life.” Cultural tourism, used here as

synonymous with indigenous tourism, heritage tourism and ethnic tourism, is a form of participation in market exchange through the commodification of a culture, by placing a market value on the history, traditions, beliefs and practices of that culture. Cultural tourism is a powerful industry, both in its potential for generating large amounts of revenue and in the potential for misrepresentation and exploitation of residents of the host community. It is essential to recognize the dangers inherent in the sale of a cultural identity in order to mitigate any possible negative consequences of cultural tourism development and maximize the positive outcomes.

It was Buck (1978:110) who first argued that tourism research falls into two distinct schools of thought: business and economic development; and impacts for host communities. Or as Burns (1999:27) recaps, “tourism as business versus tourism as problem (or set of phenomena).” While these two schools focus on very different aspects of tourism development, using both methods together augments the productivity of each (Burns 1999:29). This study focuses primarily on ‘tourism as phenomena,’ an analysis of the social impacts of cultural tourism on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. A purely academic research project, however, is useless until the acquired information is applied to real world situations. Due to the nature of this study as a collaborative effort between Colorado State University and two non-profit organizations on Pine Ridge (Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce and The Lakota Funds), a critical goal is to seek solutions and provide resources to local entrepreneurs on the reservation. Therefore, while the theoretical foundation for this study is steeped in ‘tourism as phenomena,’ this section also explores the strategies and solutions that applied researchers recommend in order to mitigate the negative impacts of tourism development on communities.

The “Ethical” Argument against Cultural Tourism

It is important to note that this study is not concerned with the ethical question of whether tourism is a “blessing or blight” on local communities (Smith 2001:109). As Smith argues, this is essentially an academic question. Academics often tout the value of preserving traditional customs, demonizing the advent of capitalist venture in indigenous communities as disrespecting and ultimately altering the local culture. This focus on the value of heterogeneous cultures, or “alternative modernities,” while important in its recognition of and respect for cultural relativity, ultimately can act to exclude (or condone the exclusion of) local residents from participation in a global economy that may improve their standard of living (Ferguson 2006:167). Despite all its pitfalls, tourism generates income for residents in areas that are desperate for it. For this reason, this study is designed to generate useful data for Pine Ridge organizations and entrepreneurs in order to help maximize the return on investments in the market economy through strategies that minimize the negative externalities of tourism development within the community.

A (Lack of) Concern for Cultural Authenticity

Another issue that must be addressed, but is not a concern of this study, is the concept of authenticity in indigenous tourism products. Just as academics lament the alteration of an indigenous culture in the face of global capitalism, Western tourists are often quick to criticize the rise in a “contrived rather than authentic display of traditions” in tourism destinations (Snow 2000:747). Local culture is accused of becoming “inauthentic;” merely a reproduction of the role they play for tourists (Bruner 2005:5; Cohen 1984:387). This is a flawed argument. First, every culture is in a constant process

of change, having experienced cross cultural contact with other societies (including Western societies) for centuries before the advent of tourism (Crick 1989:336; de Burlo 1996:256; Dransart 2000:147; Cohen 1984:388). Since all societies are in a constant process of defining themselves, or “heritage-making,” at any given moment that cultural definition must be considered authentic (Bruner 2005:5; Smith 2001:113). Second, the construction of a cultural identity by the host community specifically for the tourist can be an important step towards protecting sacred aspects of the local culture from misrepresentation by the tourism industry (this is discussed further in the following sections). Indigenous cultures are indeed changed with the development of tourism, often too rapidly and with the potential for destructive consequences. Yet to place a higher value on an earlier form of cultural definition over the current form in a particular community is highly ethnocentric and unproductive.

The Literature on Cultural Tourism

The anthropology of tourism explores many issues that are not within the scope of this study, including tourists’ motivations for traveling and experiences as an affluent society, tourism as a global system in a global economy, and tourism as cross cultural exchange in the creation of the “global village.” My focus is local in scale and centered on the host community, its motivations and experiences, and impacts of tourism on the local culture. This literature review focuses on the concepts, experiences and recommendations of researchers who work all over the world in a variety of cultural tourism destinations, with a special focus on sources that discuss tourism in rural and marginalized economies, community-based tourism and American Indian tourism. The literature on tourism in developing countries is relevant because, although Pine Ridge is

located in one of the most powerful countries in the world, its economic hardships align more closely to those found in developing countries.

The literature on American Indian tourism development is somewhat limited; most of this research has been performed in the Southwest Pueblo, Hopi, Navajo and Zuni areas where tourism has been an integrative part of the economy for decades (Meyer 2001; Sweet 1991; Smith 1996:283-284). Tourism on Plains Indian reservations in general, and Pine Ridge in particular, is relatively small-scale and desperately lacking in research. For this reason, my strategy has been to analyze the literature relevant to cultural tourism at many stages of development, anticipating that while Pine Ridge tourism today is relatively successful in its small-scale form, it has the potential to experience the greater success and even greater downfalls of other destinations worldwide.

Social Impacts: Tourism as the Newest Form of Colonization

“...the easy-going tourist of our era might well complete the work of his predecessors, also travelers from the West – the conqueror and the colonialist” (Cohen: 1972:182).

Deborah McLaren (2003:63) put it simply, “tourism means turmoil for residents of tourist destinations.” McLaren likens the tourism industry to the newest form of colonization to hit this world. Rapid changes in the local economy, the effects of media, technology and the presence of wealthy tourists invading the daily lives of residents creates rapid sociological changes that have short and long term effects on a community. Each of the researchers referenced below identifies what they have experienced as the greatest negative impacts of tourism on local social organization and community wellbeing. It is unlikely that the worst of these impacts, which often occur in urban communities in unstable political environments, will materialize on Pine Ridge, a rural

and relatively autonomous area, but it is important to recognize the potential dangers in order to anticipate and avoid the worst possible outcomes.

Perhaps the most obvious and immediate impact of tourism occurs in the interactions between host and tourist (Burns 1999; Cohen 1972; McLaren 2003; Nash 1981; Pearce 1982; Sweet 1991; Urry 2002). Two universals occur in these interactions: it is a relationship between strangers; and the host and tourist are “differently occupied,” meaning that the tourist is on vacation, while the host is at work serving the tourist (Nash 1981:467). This “leisure-service distinction” (Nash 1981:467) is an inherently unequal exchange that, in economically and/or socially marginalized areas, almost exclusively favors the tourist. When residents of economically impoverished communities enter the market economy by serving wealthy tourists who appear to have ‘money to burn,’ they are most likely to see their community as ‘lacking’ in something – money, material goods, new technologies, education, etc. The psychological pressures of viewing oneself as ‘poor’ and the tourists as ‘rich’ manifest themselves in behaviors not previously common in the community, such as begging and theft (McLaren 1998:71-72). The initial excitement of increased economic opportunity is often soon lost when profits prove elusive to entrepreneurs, restrictions of traditional land use are established, prostitution, alcoholism and venereal disease increase, and the inherent value of traditional skills is lost to its new market value (McLaren 1998:71).

Megan Wood (2002:38) identifies some of the potential impacts of the rapid social change that often accompanies tourism to include a “loss of local traditions; commercialization of local cultural products; erosion of self-worth; undermining of family structure; loss of interest (particularly among youth) in land stewardship; fighting

among those that benefit from the tourism cash economy and those that do not; crime and adoption of illegal underground economies to serve tourists through prostitution, gambling and drugs.” Cohen (1984:385) includes such impacts as changing migration patterns; changing division of labor (particularly between genders); stratification based upon different criteria (such as financial success); and changing political structures that cause community conflict. When residents attempt to mitigate these impacts, they often find a lack of opportunity for involvement in decision-making processes; inadequate response from governments when mechanisms are established for involvement; lack of financial, social and vocational benefits from projects that exploit their resources; the need for better tools to evaluate socio-cultural impacts; and the short-term rapid development of tourism that accelerates social change (Wearing 1999:74-75).

Although a discussion of the environmental impacts of tourism is more commonly found in ecotourism literature, it is still important to consider the potential impacts of tourism development on the local environment. Impacts can include everything from obvious mismanagement through the overharvesting of hunted game to decreased water and air quality from irresponsible hotel development and increased traffic congestion. The development of a land use policy plan at the onset of tourism development is crucial to maintain the area in the same state that first attracted its development.

Even conflicting conceptions of time can produce stress in a resident population. Among the Lakota on Pine Ridge, wage workers are increasingly expected to move from a more traditional “task-oriented production to labor timed by the clock” (Pickering 2004:85). In tourism, new time-saving technologies speed up life for residents, while the

tourists demand prompt, efficient services that do not value the time and effort put into the development of a craft, meal or other type of tourism product (McLaren 2003:72).

The chance that the above impacts will occur in a destination greatly increases when outside investors claim ownership of the major tourism enterprises, including hotels, restaurants and other companies, leaving local residents to occupy mainly service jobs (maids, cooks, tour guides) that provide no greater benefit to residents than an hourly wage and few investments in the community. The result is the use of local knowledge and landscapes by outsiders who have the financial resources and business know-how to appropriate local knowledge in their cultural tourism products. For residents to truly benefit from cultural tourism, they must own the means of production. This will be discussed further using Bourdieu's multiple forms of capital.

Cohen (1984:385) insists that the greatest impact of tourism on social organization "consists of an expansion of the economic domain: some areas of life that were not primarily regulated by economic criteria become commercialized...Moreover, considerations of economic gain take a more prominent place in locals' attitudes and relationships – not only in their dealings with tourists but also among themselves." In cultural tourism, every aspect of daily life – every cultural trait - (food preparation, lodging, storytelling, spiritual practices, etc.), can become a commodity. As Greenwood (1989:180) points out, "the commoditization process does not stop with land, labor, and capital but ultimately includes the history, ethnic identity, and culture of the peoples of the world." If there is demand for it by the tourist, and someone is willing and able to supply it, it is for sale. The process of selling this cultural trait is termed "heritage-making;" the analysis of a traditional culture to determine what to display and how to

display it (Smith 2001:113). Heritage-making is a crucial and controversial step in developing tourism. The concepts of friction and universals, suggested by Anna Tsing (2005), are useful in understanding how heritage-making causes conflict and shapes culture through these conflictive social processes.

Tsing (2005:4) describes friction as “the awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference.” At the local level, heritage-making for tourism requires individuals to make generalizations about the local culture and create a simplified, standardized version that gives the appearance of unity in the tourism product (Tsing 2005:89). Since any community includes a diverse group of people who have different ideas of which cultural traits make up their culture, heritage-making creates friction across those differences, while resulting is the creation of a universal cultural identity that masks difference, which is marketed to tourists. An additional controversial problem is who has the power to make these decisions and how democratic the process is. Individuals who have the opportunity to perform heritage-making – to create and sell the package of a universal cultural identity – are aptly termed ‘culture brokers’ (Smith 2001:277). The concept of a culture broker has been used in anthropology to discuss culture change, and it is well suited to a discussion of cultural tourism.

Business Owners as Culture Brokers

Culture brokers can be understood as mediators between two cultures, acting as the “primary decision-makers, selectively identifying segments of the culture content to be shared with outsiders” (Smith 2001:277). In tourism, culture brokers are storytellers, tour guides, bed and breakfast owners, brochure creators, travel agents and local, regional and national governments; the “innovative mediators that can control or manipulate local

culture for tourists' purposes" (Burns 1999:100). How does one become a culture broker? Traditionally, it was theorized that a "marginal man" who was considered marginal in their community in some way – either a person of prestige and power, or a socially marginalized individual – would most likely be in a position to act as an innovator in the face of cultural change (Smith 1989:269). These men and women are thought to adapt more easily to the stress of change and take a leadership role in mediating between two cultures, acting as culture brokers.

An important portion of this study focuses on Pine Ridge tourism business owners and how they act as culture brokers when operating their businesses. In cultural tourism, anyone can be a culture broker, simply by describing their own version of an aspect of their culture to a person with different cultural origins. However, those who possess the greatest power and the most responsibility for selecting cultural traits are successful business owners, organization directors, and government officials. The concept of a culture broker is useful in identifying exactly what happens when a business owner decides whether to lead horseback riding tours or sell tickets to a spiritual ritual. These business owners/culture brokers "are in a position to manipulate local culture for tourist purposes," and how they go about it will determine how they impact the collective and individual cultural identities of community members (Mathieson and Wall 1982:163). Nowhere is the manipulation of local culture for tourism more volatile than in the commodification of indigenous spirituality.

The Commodification of Culture: The Case of Spiritual Tourism

Interest in indigenous spirituality is an international phenomenon and a potentially profitable market, as Johnston (2006:5) notes, "Globally, it is Indigenous ancestral

territories that industry finds most marketable.” Placing a market value upon a culture with a history of violent genocide and a combined agenda of forced cultural assimilation and economic and social exclusion presents enormous possibilities for further exploitation of Indian cultural identity. Tourism activities that target spiritual practices are particularly risky development methods because by putting a dollar value on sacred aspects of a culture (commodifying the culture), it effectively alters the meaning of those traits. This is occurring to some degree on Pine Ridge, as Pickering (2000:61) states, “as Lakota religion grows in its appeal to outsiders, it continues to become more commodified.”

There is a great deal of interest in indigenous spirituality in Western society. It is common in this postmodern era for mainstream, Western individuals to romanticize indigenous peoples as more noble, wiser and less wrapped up in the fast-paced, materialistic society most of us live in today (Hollinshead 1996:311). These individuals seek to experience the “Other” as cultural tourists; to pretend for a little while that they are part of this romanticized culture by collecting cultural handicrafts, attending public rituals and participating in spiritual ceremonies. While some residents of indigenous communities facilitate these experiences for the tourist, many “resent the purchase and practice of Native cultures and religions by outsiders” (McLaren 2003:77). In the 1980s, the American Indian Movement (AIM) even denounced the adoption of indigenous spirituality by non-Natives (McLaren 2003:77).

In communities like Pine Ridge, that have welcomed tourism as an important source of revenue, there are major distinctions between benign tourism activities and highly controversial ones. For example, tourists are encouraged to camp in tipis, eat

traditional Lakota foods, and purchase as many buffalo hide moccasins and quillwork earrings as possible. However, when a tourist inquires about participating in a Sundance ceremony (a Lakota spiritual ceremony), most residents refuse to provide them with information.

Taking Geertz's (1972) view on culture, public rituals and ceremonies act to reaffirm and develop the cultural meanings that unite a community under a common culture (Greenwood 1989:173-174). The presence of outsiders, particularly tourists, at these rituals can have a range of impacts on the meaning ascribed to those rituals. At its best, the tourists are welcomed to enjoy the performances along with the residents. At its worst, a ritual can become so altered by its commodification that its meaning completely disappears for residents, leaving only a shell of "staged authenticity" for the tourist to enjoy (de Burlo 1996:256). I believe certain criterion exist that can help us determine whether the presence of tourists at a ritual will have a negative impact: if the tourists are considered welcome by the majority of residents; the ritual's degree of commodification (do the tourists pay to watch?); and finally, the main purpose of the ritual (is it performed for the residents or the tourists?).

For example, it is very common for tourists to be present at Lakota pow wows. Pow wows are considered public gatherings where families come to watch family members and friends perform various dances, listen to drum circles, and socialize. There is no admission fee, although entrepreneurs welcome the dollars spent by tourists on food and local crafts. Most critically, the dances are performed *by the residents, for the residents* (Greenwood 1989:179). Nearly all of the participants in this study approved of the presence of tourists at pow wows (see chapter four). At the other side of the spectrum,

Sundance ceremonies are considered a very sacred aspect of Lakota spirituality. Sundances are invitation-only and few are open to non-Lakota participants, although there is a small but important distinction between non-Lakota friends who participate, and tourists, who *pay* to participate. A very small number of residents charge large amounts of money for tourists to participate in Sundances, and an even smaller number hold Sundances *exclusively* for tourists. These practices are generally disapproved of within the community and present the most danger for altering the meaning behind spiritual rituals for residents.

When the presence of tourists at social rituals and spiritual ceremonies is unwelcome, when a long-held tradition is suddenly being paid for by outsiders, residents begin to feel dispossessed of their traditions and no longer feel connected to their cultural meanings. To center a ritual around a performance *for the tourists* marks a change in which “local people alter their lives to suit the demands of tourists” (de Burlo 1996:256). In the fragile balance between welcoming tourist dollars and avoiding damaging invasions of cultural privacy, it is crucial that this sort of tourist activity be avoided. If tourists are only allowed to attend rituals in which they are felt generally welcome; if they remain simply guests at a ritual performed primarily for the residents, tourism can have the effect of generating income for entrepreneurs, providing a venue for communication between locals and outsiders and encouraging pride in local heritage. As Smith (1996:287) argues, “the common goal is therefore to make tourism profitable *and* a mechanism to reinforce the traditional cohesive elements of their culture.” The reinforcement of “cohesive elements of their culture,” however, is further complicated by

the common assumption that a local community maintains a solid and uncontested common cultural identity, which is rarely, if ever, true.

The Heterogeneous “Local Community”

The phrase ‘local community’ often fosters an image of some homogeneous group of native residents who have experienced the same rapid social change from outside tourism interests. Despite the tendency to group the ‘community’ together, the reality is that individual stakeholders possess very different resources, have different interests in the use of those resources and benefit very differently from their use. Some local residents are financially secure and influential in local decisions. Their experiences with the tourism industry may be one of profit or political advantage. Other families lack the resources and knowledge to take advantage of tourist dollars, but are still forced to deal with the seasonal onslaught of tourists invading their daily lives (Cohen 1984:184). Still others may refuse to participate in the tourism industry on principle, yet they cannot escape the increased traffic, higher prices for local goods, commodification of traditional practices, and the inescapable “tourist gaze” (Urry 2002). As in any form of development, most residents will hope to see a rise in the general standard of living such as fresh, quality food; adequate and clean water; affordable health care; rewarding work for equitable pay; education and recreation; respect for cultural traditions and taboos; and the opportunity to make decisions about the future (Wearing 1999:75-76).

To increase this complexity, there is immense diversity within any community regarding cultural identity. Residents do not share all of the same elements of their own culture, and they do not understand the elements they do share in the same way (Greenwood 1989:183). This is particularly evident in areas like Pine Ridge, where

significance is given to blood quantum, so that a “full-blood” Lakota may have (or is assumed by others to have) a very different worldview than a “mixed-blood” (Pickering 2000:82-83). These differences manifest themselves in political, social and economic conflicts in every community. However, they can become truly dangerous to residents’ cultural wellbeing, and intensify local conflict, in the process of defining an all-encompassing, “representative” Pine Ridge culture for tourism development.

The development of local cooperatives and non-profits can sometimes unite otherwise disparate groups of local residents to work together and find common goals in tourism development. However, it is also possible that powerful individuals and families who control “the ownership of land, financial sourcing, input from local people, and the relations of local traditions to tourism development” (Hall 1994:53) can overpower others in these non-profits and cooperatives, effectively obscuring the unequal power balance present in these communities. The result is the appearance of a well-managed and egalitarian business community that gains outside recognition and managerial and financial support that may benefit only those in power. The danger inherent in (any) community development is an unequal distribution of benefits that “seems to exacerbate existing cleavages within the community” (Greenwood 1989:171). Efforts must be taken to provide opportunities for all individuals who wish to participate in some way in tourism development, and to provide some small benefit to those who do not wish to participate. In this effort, and despite these dangers, the creation of cooperatives and non-profits allow residents to combine resources, provide training, and accomplish goals that would otherwise be impossible alone.

Mitigating the Negative Consequences of Tourism Development

Butler and Hinch (1996:9) have defined indigenous tourism as a “tourism activity in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction.” The most critical way to avoid the negative consequences of cultural tourism development is **local control and local ownership** (Colton 2005:188-189). Development should be born of a community’s wishes to commodify their local resources to improve their standard of living. In this sense, cultural tourism is more accurately described as community-based tourism, and is not considered a branch of conventional tourism because the need to develop arises from local community decisions, instead of the interests of the tourism industry. Local ownership of all businesses, as well as local funding and training for new entrepreneurs is especially vital in the development of poor, remote areas where any financial benefits must be retained within the community (Cohen 1984:384).

Jill Sweet (1991) recommends the use of two important tools – secrecy and regulations – that allow residents of the host community to maintain control of the host-guest relationship. Secrecy involves determining as a community which aspects of the local culture will be made available to tourists while creating private space in which to conduct daily life (Sweet 1991:292; Smith 2001:111). The process of ‘heritage-making’ is central to determining what is appropriate to display and how it should be displayed (Smith 2001:113). For example, in Pueblo communities, entire sections of the city are closed to tourists, and several dances and ceremonies, as well as knowledge of their cultural significance, are limited to community members. Regulations include restricting tourists’ privileges to use photography, take notes, or remain on the grounds after curfew.

Sweet (1991:299) maintains that “controlling members of the wider society represents a reversal of the usual power structure,” providing a sense of strength to community members and assurance that they are able to obtain the financial benefits of tourism without sacrificing a loss of control in their daily lives.

Another critical aspect of the development of responsible cultural tourism is **slow growth**. Conventional tourism destinations are often plagued by a sudden rise in popularity, causing the creation of substandard infrastructure and training of residents and a lack of planning that leaves residents unprepared for major social and economic change. Joseph Stiglitz (2001:xi) explains that, “rapid transformation destroys old coping mechanisms, old safety nets, while it creates a new set of demands, before new coping mechanisms are developed.” The rapid development of a new form of participation in the cash economy may entice residents to abandon other methods for obtaining resources, altering familial and community structures of reciprocity and redistribution as some individuals experience success in the tourism industry, while others do not. Insufficient planning can result in a boom and bust tourism cycle, leaving residents who invested in the new tourism economy at a loss when tourists move on to the ‘next best thing.’ Swift, short term growth prevents a community from developing new methods for managing the long term success of a new economic activity. Slow, measured development of tourism allows residents to gain the preparation necessary to control the level of development as a community and plan for long term success.

The development of **small-scale economies** within the community is essential to preventing economic leakages and increasing the multiplier effect within the community. Wood (2002:30) cites an example from San Pedro in Belize where more than forty

percent of community members see benefits from the local marine reserve due to the wide variety of small, locally owned businesses that attract the diving tourists. This is compared to Tortuguero National Park in Costa Rica where less than ten percent of households benefit from visitors. This park is characterized by all-inclusive lodges owned by outside investors, while little opportunity exists for independent participation in the tourism economy. Destinations that contain more “micro-enterprises” and encourage local entrepreneurship (including opportunities for training and funding) will increase local community benefits. Communities who do not wish to change their social and economic structures to accommodate the tourism economy can reduce leakages by using “lease fees, land rental fees and other per person usage charges that return to local residents” (Wood 2002:30).

Additionally, tourism development must occur on the small scale in order to account for the unique characteristics of every individual community. One must consider the local government structure, local and regional private business owners, residents, and non-profits that influence growth and change in a community. This is different everywhere, so that only small scale development plans that do not attempt to replicate other destinations can account for these differences and maintain a healthy and culturally appropriate development plan.

Experienced tourism destinations have learned two important lessons: tourism is seasonal and unreliable. It is vulnerable to global trends in travel and popular culture’s changing interest in indigenous cultures. On the Northern Plains of North America, tourism activity occurs almost exclusively during the summer months, leaving tourism entrepreneurs without a regular source of income for most of the year. Although tourism

can be a powerful economic stimulus, it is best used as a **supplemental income** in a balanced, mixed economy where other economic activities provide at the very least an important safety net during slow seasons. In his work with First Nation peoples, Colton (2005:186) has argued for using tourism to “augment their existing mixed economies supported by both wage labor and domestic production.” In this way, individuals can maximize the benefits from tourism activities, while retaining the existing mixed economy structures that provide multiple sources of income.

The establishment of **indicators** to monitor progress, positive and negative, can be very useful in a community. Employment and income are general indicators, but impacts such as escalating prices for local goods, inflation of land prices, antagonism towards visitors, increasing arrests, change in youth activities, and evidence of drug, prostitution or other illicit activities are important indicators in truly understanding what kinds of changes a community is undergoing (Wood 2002:39).

The identification of the **characteristics of tourists** attracted to a certain destination is also a useful way to anticipate local impacts and create well-accommodated tourism products. Where ‘ecotourists’ seek natural landscapes over human ones, many cultural tourists seek locally owned, inimitable services for food, lodging and opportunities to learn about the cultural history of a particular area. Most of these tourists can be classified as “non-institutionalised” tourists, “only very loosely attached to the tourist establishment” (Cohen 1972:169). Although they do not require the mainstream chain restaurants and hotels that conventional tourists demand, it is important to consider the additional amenities they do require, including comfortable accommodations, the

importation of fresh and different types of food, additional transportation, and the availability of popular services like horseback riding, tours, community events, etc.

Incentives of Cultural Tourism

Some of the potential benefits of tourism for communities include an increased market for local products, employment of local labor and expertise (in the form of guides, sales assistants, local culinary artists, etc.) and additional revenue to local businesses, including those unrelated to the tourism industry (mechanics, convenience stores, etc.). It provides a source of funding for protection and maintenance of natural and cultural attractions, funding for research associated with community health and wellness, and heightened community awareness of the value of the local culture.

It is the increased awareness of the ‘value of the local culture’ that is often touted as the greatest non-economic incentive of the cultural tourism industry; the **education** of both the host and tourist concerning cultural history, beliefs and traditions. For both host and tourist, cultural education may bring greater understanding across cultural difference, which promotes tolerance. Even Valene Smith’s newest edition of ‘Hosts and Guests’ quotes Mark Twain to say “travel is fatal to prejudice, bigotry, and narrow-mindedness” (Smith and Brent 2001:i). While it is likely that this sort of tolerance is routinely produced, the unequal power relationship and transitory nature inherent in tourism makes true understanding between host and tourist difficult at best (Burns 1999:33; Pearce 1982:69-70).

For the hosts, under the right conditions, tourist interest in the local culture can produce a positive response in the form of pride, an increased sense of cultural worth and renewed enthusiasm to explore their own cultural history and traditions (Colton 2005:197;

Greenwood 1989:185; Sweet 1991:299). Residents know that tourists travel great distances to visit their communities and are intensely interested in their cultural history and beliefs. The counterargument to an assertion that tourism trivializes the cultural significance of local arts and crafts is that it promotes the survival of some nearly lost languages and art forms, as well as stimulates the development of new art styles (Cohen 1984:387-388). Colton (2005:197-198) agrees that there is potential for host education in tourism, arguing that “tourism products associated with travelling and working on the land may provide a new medium for perpetuating the traditional practice of teaching.” However, Colton (2005:198) counters this argument by recognizing that the significance of these teachings surely changes in the context of tourism, where “the teaching of traditional knowledge through a tourism experience may diminish its relevance and worth.” When and how cultural understanding and local pride are nurtured in tourism development is difficult to predict and dependent upon the complex interactions between locals and tourists.

There are many potential pitfalls related to the commodification of Lakota culture for the tourism industry, and only a few major benefits. However, these benefits can be quite significant in providing Lakota residents with a way to participate in the market economy that is symbiotic with the current mixed economy on Pine Ridge. Cultural tourists on Pine Ridge seek to learn about traditional cultures, experience Lakota practices, and become acquainted with a way of life different from their own. For Lakota individuals with very few financial assets but a large amount of knowledge of traditional practices, the cultural tourism industry presents an opportunity to use that knowledge to

gain financial benefits. This assertion is best explained through Bourdieu's theory of multiple forms of capital, explored in the next section.

Using Bourdieu's Multiple Forms of Capital to Understand Cultural Tourism

Many Pine Ridge residents who have limited access to the cash economy also lack the resources to participate in entrepreneurial activities that may improve their standard of living. While these residents lack the social networks, financial assets, and/or knowledge of mainstream business practices, they do sometimes possess other assets in the form of Lakota cultural knowledge. Although this knowledge does not normally translate into financial benefits, in the context of cultural tourism, there is potential for residents to utilize this knowledge to gain access to the cash economy. Pierre Bourdieu has explored the concepts of habitus and multiple forms of capital in order to understand how individuals with social and cultural resources, in this case Lakota cultural knowledge, can translate those resources into financial capital.

Bourdieu sought a way to understand economic, cultural and social processes outside of an economically deterministic perspective. He asserts that every individual lives within his own habitus, which are "systems of durable, transposable dispositions" (Bourdieu 1977:72). Habitus is a result of the objective social structures (an individual's field) that form that person's experience in their subjective consciousness. Understanding the habitus of Lakota individuals and cultural tourists is important because, as Kelly and Lusic (2006:834) explain, "habitus is the framework within which the value associated with various forms of capital is established."

The multiple forms of capital conceptualized by Bourdieu provide tools to understand how different economic practices are valued and utilized. Bourdieu (1983:183)

argues that the structure and functioning of the social world can only be understood by looking beyond the purely economic capital identified in neoclassical economic theory, in order to recognize the purposes of social and cultural capital. Social capital is essentially the possession of a network of relationships between people; membership in a group or groups that provide access to necessary resources and institutions. Bourdieu (1983:189) explains that “the volume of social capital possessed by a given agent depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected.”

Cultural capital is more complex. Cultural capital exists primarily in an embodied state, in the “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” that that are gained primarily (and most efficiently) through one’s family (Bourdieu 1983:184). As opposed to the transmission of economic or social capital, cultural capital is less obvious, and less easily transmitted, appearing as non-economic, legitimate competence. Because of these conditions, cultural capital is also more likely to function as symbolic capital. Objectified cultural capital is material objects, defined by their relationships to embodied cultural capital, such as Lakota paintings or quillwork.

Bourdieu writes of cultural capital that is traditionally possessed by the upper class; those who possess the economic capital to get into the best schools and to prolong the ability of their children to acquire cultural capital through higher education because there is less need for economic productivity. His view is that a lot of cultural capital coincides with a lot of economic capital, which have the same roots, at least “at the root of their effects” (Bourdieu 1983:190). When comparing the economic conditions of Pine

Ridge with the greater American economy, in terms of the mainstream market paradigm, Lakota residents have very little economic, social, or cultural capital. Yet it is possible to recognize a different type of social and cultural capital unique to the reservation.

Exploring Lakota Cultural Capital in Cultural Tourism

The use of Bourdieu's multiple forms of capital allows us to develop a more in-depth sense of how tourism creates opportunities and barriers to participation in the market economy on Pine Ridge. The existence of Lakota social capital is evident in the importance given to reciprocal social relationships on the reservation in order to obtain, exchange and distribute resources through social networks. Lakota cultural capital includes knowledge of the Lakota language and Lakota culture and traditions, including history, artisan work and traditional means of hunting, gathering and preparing food. If a distinction may be made between Lakota forms of capital and mainstream American culture's forms of capital (described here as "mainstream capital"), the potential for Lakota individuals to participate in the cultural tourism industry may become clearer.

The cultural tourism industry is a market activity in which Lakota cultural capital is highly valued, and can convert readily into mainstream economic capital. Bourdieu (1983:186) is confident that individuals who possess cultural knowledge that is considered scarce (such as the ability to speak Lakota, or preside over traditional spiritual practices) will yield material and symbolic profits back to that owner. Based upon this argument, an individual's ability to profit from their cultural knowledge should depend on the scarcity of their skill, such that beaded jewelry (a common form of artisan work) might sell for twenty dollars, quillwork (a less common and more traditional form of artisan work) might sell for fifty dollars, but presiding over a Sundance that is friendly to

tourists might yield hundreds of dollars for the possessor of that Lakota cultural capital. If an individual possesses a high level of Lakota cultural capital, they may benefit from the cultural tourism industry on the reservation, despite a lack of mainstream forms of capital that are usually necessary to participate in the market economy.

Cultural tourists seek cultural capital. Given the flexible and informal structure of the tourism industry on the reservation, it is possible for individuals with limited economic means to participate. For example, an individual who has the knowledge to create beaded jewelry and the small amount of cash necessary to purchase the supplies, can sell that jewelry to tourists at pow wows or to stands or gift shops along the highway. Similarly, a Lakota resident may offer his or her Lakota cultural capital in the form of historical tours of the reservation, or by preparing a traditional Lakota meal. Valuing Lakota cultural capital has the potential to give Lakota individuals the ability to control the manner in which they produce and sell their products to tourists. Most importantly, it gives individuals the ability to control the transmission of cultural capital into an objectified form that tourists can purchase. The ability to control what forms objectified cultural capital take can moderate the misrepresentation of Lakota identity and the commodification of sensitive areas of Lakota culture, such as spiritual practices. It also gives Lakota individuals power over the tourists to whom the cultural capital is transmitted, despite a lack of mainstream economic capital.

On the other hand, an individual with more mainstream capital may be able to purchase a business license, build a website, or rent or own business space to sell their products. They can buy other people's jewelry and sell it in their gift shops. They can also hire individuals to give tours of the reservation and prepare traditional meals for the

guests at their bed and breakfast. Does the possession of Lakota cultural capital unequivocally give Lakota individuals control over that capital? When determining whether, and how much, Lakota individuals will be able to profit from their Lakota cultural capital, a crucial factor to consider is whether that individual is able to convert that capital into mainstream economic capital. In the cultural tourism industry, "...the owner of the means of production must find a way of appropriating either the embodied capital which is the precondition of specific appropriation or the services of the holders of this capital" (Bourdieu 1983:5). A tourism business owner does not necessarily need to possess Lakota cultural capital in order to profit from it. They need only to appropriate the knowledge of others who do possess it. This increases the likelihood of misrepresentation and exploitation of the holders of Lakota cultural capital.

Despite this danger, it is important to remember that this situation is not necessarily one of exploitation. One of the strengths of the mixed economy on Pine Ridge is that any individual can participate partly and randomly in the market economy, and in the tourism industry. Not every individual who is interested in profiting from his or her cultural knowledge desires to own a business, or make the commodification of their Lakota cultural capital a full-time job. Yet in the effort to develop responsible and respectful cultural tourism, each individual should own the means of their production. To appropriate the knowledge of Lakota individuals and convert their cultural capital into economic capital that is not returned to the owner, except in an hourly wage, is to head down the wrong path. It opens the door to allow any business owner with mainstream cultural, social and economic capital to appropriate Lakota knowledge in ways that may be exploitative of the possessors of that knowledge.

It is also important to recognize the complexity involved in the identity of a business owner. Several successful business owners on the reservation profit from the cultural tourism industry, sometimes by explicitly appropriating Lakota cultural capital, but they are not Lakota themselves. Here is the most obvious potential for exploitation of those who possess Lakota cultural capital. Yet should a non-Lakota business owner be prohibited from selling Lakota tourism products? Can we assume that Lakota business owners will not misrepresent or abuse Lakota culture in some way? Like any community, individuals on Pine Ridge do not share a homogeneous sense of identity and there will inevitably be conflict and disagreement concerning the appropriation of Lakota cultural identity by whom and for what purpose.

Identifying **cultural tourism as the appropriation of Lakota cultural capital** allows us to understand how any individual with Lakota knowledge may profit in the tourism industry. However, those individuals will have only limited success without access to mainstream culture's social networks, business know-how and financial assets necessary to have a viable business. Tourism provides an intriguing example of a market activity in which Lakota cultural capital readily converts into mainstream economic capital. It is a particularly personal incidence of the appropriation of Lakota cultural capital in the market economy, potentially without the consent or control of those who possess this knowledge, by those with mainstream economic capital. An aspiring business owner needs mainstream economic, cultural and social capital to have significant success in tourism, yet while these resources are important, when it comes down to it, the cultural tourist arrives in pursuit of cultural capital.

Conclusions

This section has explored three different angles for understanding the Pine Ridge economy and the potential for improving the quality of life of Pine Ridge residents through cultural tourism. Polanyi's theory of substantivism allows us to consider the appropriateness of cultural tourism as an economic activity in a mixed economy like Pine Ridge. Acknowledging that tourism is a form of market exchange firmly embedded in Lakota society will help us understand how Pine Ridge residents will function as participants in tourism, while making an explicit effort to remain true to their cultural morals and values. The body of literature on cultural tourism explores a variety of topics relevant to Pine Ridge, including a conceptual understanding of the impacts that may occur when an indigenous culture becomes commodified. Making a distinction between mainstream forms of capital and Lakota cultural capital provides the theoretical foundation from which to understand how Lakota individuals can profit from the tourism industry with little investment and how business owners can appropriate the knowledge of others to make their profits.

The literature on cultural tourism gives an endless list of the negative social impacts of irresponsible tourism development. In order to discover which of these impacts have come to fruition on Pine Ridge, a series of questions were developed within the context of this study. The survey and interview data discussed in chapter four explores residents' opinions regarding the presence of tourists at various locations, perceptions of business owners and their motivations and successes, conflicts between community members, and the representation of Lakota culture in tourism products. Additionally, the assertions that tourism development generates revenue for local

entrepreneurs while promoting cross-cultural understanding and pride in local culture is explored. Finally, my own interest in the historic division between conservative full-blood and liberal mixed-blood residents guided the analysis to see if that division manifested itself in any significant differences between Pine Ridge residents and business owners.

Cultural tourism research is severely lacking in studies that attempt to understand the perceptions and experiences of Plains Indians regarding tourism on reservations. This study takes a small step towards rectifying that situation by surveying a sample of residents of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in order to understand how indigenous tourism on the Northern Plains differs from other locations and cultures around the world. It is also important in its attempt to apply the information gathered to benefit the organizations and entrepreneurs on Pine Ridge.

The theories explored here cannot be applied to this study without a closer examination of Lakota culture and the Pine Ridge economy. A review of Lakota cultural history and current economic, social and political practices within the context of substantivism, multiple forms of capital, and the complex dynamics of cultural tourism development will help us to understand the opportunities that Pine Ridge residents have, the economic choices they make, and their responses to the survey and interview questions in part two.

The Pine Ridge Indian Reservation: Past and Present

The theories reviewed in the previous section must be considered within the context of Lakota history on the reservation. This section begins with a brief review of pre-reservation Lakota economic, political, spiritual and social organization. With reservation settlement and crippling of the Lakota economy, attempts to integrate Lakota residents into the market economy continued to fail, leaving the Lakota unemployed and dependent upon the federal government. Continual attempts at economic integration emphasize individual accumulation of wealth, efficiency and other values of the contemporary capitalist system, while devaluing traditional values of generosity and egalitarianism.

The contradictions between traditional Lakota culture and the mainstream market economy create conflict between community members who struggle to reconcile these different worldviews. The result is often a superficial division between full-blood conservatives and mixed-blood liberals that causes dissension within reservation communities. For business owners, these conflicts are often internalized and impact their ability to succeed either as a mainstream business owner or as a leader in their community. While the result of this friction between two worlds is often conflict, it also produces creative forms of syncretism that inform a unique style of market exchange on the reservation.

The process of reservation settlement, federal assimilation agendas, economic hardship and disease contributes to contemporary poverty and a painful collective memory that informs Lakota sentiments regarding cultural tourism. A brief description of the social impacts of tourism, a snapshot of tourism businesses and some characteristics

of common tourists are provided to prepare the reader to understand the words of study participants as they describe their own interactions between Lakota culture, the market economy, and cultural tourism. Reviewing Lakota history and present circumstances is essential to understanding how the Lakota economy functions today within a global system and will inform our understanding of current perceptions of tourism on Pine Ridge.

A Brief History of the Oglala Lakota

The Oglala Lakota people (referred to as the ‘Lakota’) are located primarily on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in the southwestern corner of South Dakota. There are approximately 28,787 people living on the reservation, according to 2005 HUD census numbers (Pickering N.d.:3). The Oglala Lakota traditionally speak Lakota, a dialect derived from the Siouan language family. Other names for Lakota include the Teton-Dakota, Teton Sioux, Plains Sioux and Western Sioux (Hassrick 1964:6). The Lakota on Pine Ridge represent one subdivision of seven that share the linguistic dialect known as Lakota. The seven subdivisions of Lakota combine to make one division of seven that constitute the Great Sioux Nation, in which two other major dialects exist, known as Nakota and Dakota. The seven divisions of the Great Sioux Nation were known as the ‘Seven Council Fires’ and were essentially political distinctions within the Sioux tribes, although the informal and fluid nature of Siouan politics did not accord these seven divisions much influence in Sioux history (Walker 1982:14). The smallest unit of Lakota social organization is an extended family unit called the tiyospaye. This includes a fluid congregation of kin, in-laws and adopted members. Traditionally, each member had responsibilities within the tiyospaye, in which a headman, usually of the grandparent

generation, acted as the leader (Hassrick 1964:11). Through one's tiyospaye, members interact with larger groups according to Lakota cultural traditions that involved interrelated religious, social, political and economic practices. In the past, political organization among the Lakota was based on egalitarian principles, fluid and changing, with few recognized leaders.

While the foci of the arguments in this paper are not centered on Lakota spirituality, many of the most important questions regarding tourism development are concerned with spiritual practices. Therefore, a summary of traditional Lakota spirituality will be described. Royal Hassrick (1964:246) states of the Sioux perception of the universe, "science and religion were not separate-they were one." Wakan Tanka is the name given to the Great Spirit, Chief God, Creator and Executive, who permeates the complex hierarchy of Sioux gods, known both as one god and many gods (Hassrick 1964:245-247). The Sioux creation story involves many gods, subordinate gods and spirits that play a part in individual destinies. Tatanka, the Buffalo, is the patron of generosity, industry, fecundity and ceremonies and acted as overseer of the successful hunter (Hassrick 1964:254). The Sun, as all-powerful chief, is honored through the Sundance, the greatest of ceremonies (Hassrick 1964:256).

There are a variety of rituals and ceremonies in Lakota spirituality, including vision quests, naming and adoption ceremonies, healing and spirit-summoning ceremonies, sweats and Sundances (Bucko 1998:15). The sweat was and is an important part of Lakota spirituality, performed for physical and spiritual purification, petitioning for blessings or material help, thanksgiving, healing, and in preparation for other ceremonies (Bucko 1998:59). The Sundance is among the most important of Siouan

rituals, in which members dance for three days without food to fulfill a vow to the gods, to pray for visions, or to achieve supernatural aid for oneself or another (Hassrick 1964:280; Jorgensen 1972:177). Individual spiritual exploration and interpretation is valued, while the role of a shaman or medicine man in Lakota society is to understand Siouan mythology and possess the knowledge of appropriate ceremonies and rituals (Bucko 1998:13).

From the establishment of the reservation, the Lakota were prohibited from practicing their traditional religion and were forced to adopt Christianity. It was not until 1978 that the ban on American Indian religions was lifted with the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) (Harjo 2004:130). Today, according to survey data gathered by Pickering's longitudinal study (see chapter three), Lakota on Pine Ridge practice a variety of faiths ranging from exclusively Christianity (~41% of those surveyed), including Catholic, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, Pentecostal, Lutheran, Evangelical and Seventh Day Adventist affiliations, to exclusively traditional Lakota spirituality (~29%), while approximately 28% practice a form of syncretism between the two (Pickering and Jewell 2008:141).

Economic Integration

The holistic nature of Lakota economic, political and social organization makes the separation of economic practices from the rest of Lakota life essentially arbitrary, but a distinction will be made here for analytical purposes. With the introduction of the horse by the 1770s at the very latest (Roe 1955:93), the Lakota economy centered on the nomadic hunting of buffalo, foraging, and trade networks between other groups. Kinship reciprocity was the norm in this subsistence economy, and leaders were respected for

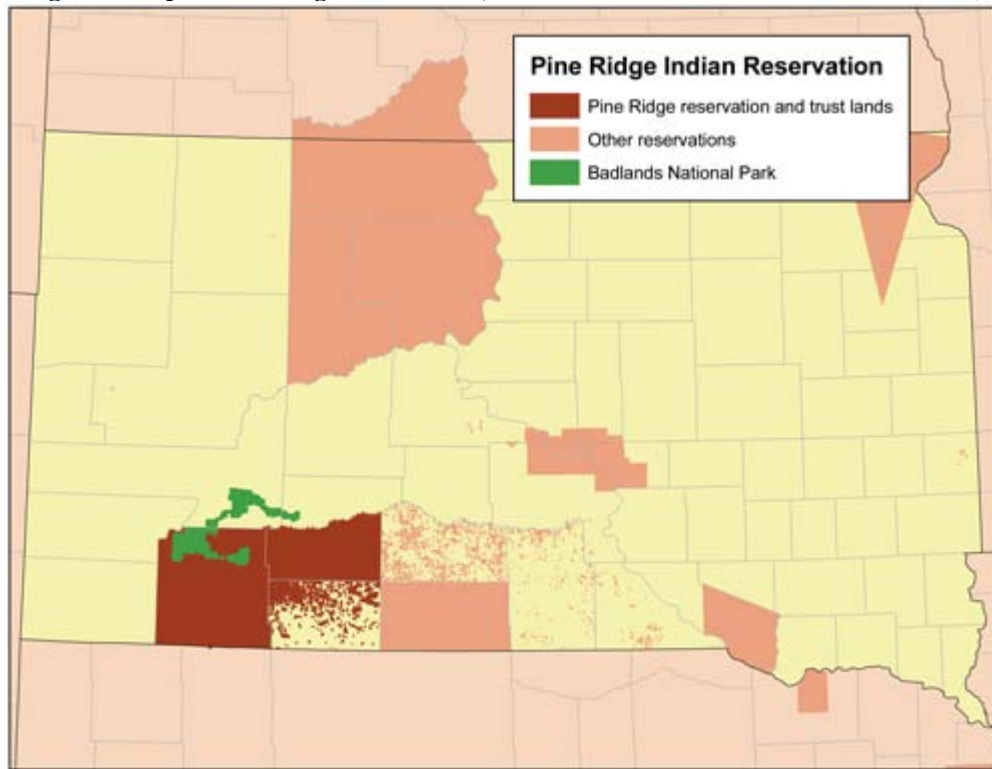
their generous redistribution practices, including give-aways that reinforced Lakota egalitarian principles. Generosity was an important characteristic in leaders (Hassrick 1964:14). The horse and gun increased the Lakota's ability to subsist on buffalo and trade their furs for other Euro-American commodities (Roe 1955:269, 332). By the mid-1800s, buffalo herd populations had declined due to the over-harvesting of hides for American and European fur markets and Lakota became increasingly dependent upon American trade goods (Pickering 2000:4; Roe 1955:191-92). Pressure from the government to sign treaties that delineated Lakota territory and provided rations coincided with the eradication of the buffalo and a consistent drop in Lakota population numbers through disease and warfare.

The fluidity of Lakota social and political organization conflicted with American ideas of proper member organization. In negotiations with the United States government, chiefs were considered the proper avenue for treaty negotiations and their decisions often affected many Lakota groups who did not recognize them as their leaders (Biolsi 1992:38-39). The desire of U.S. diplomats to deal with only a few Indians who represented entire nations had major implications for the loss of land and autonomy without public consensus (Biolsi 1992:5). Lakota were first placed onto The Great Sioux Reservation with The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, which delineated an area that included all of South Dakota west of the Missouri River, as well as hunting territory in Nebraska, Wyoming, Montana and Kansas, although treaty violations quickly followed that resulted in the loss of most of these areas, including the Black Hills that lie West of current reservation boundaries (Biolsi 1992:5).

In 1887, the General Allotment Act, also known as the Dawes Act, partitioned reservations lands into 160 acre allotments and distributed them to the heads of each nuclear family (Village Earth 2008). This was an attempt to break-down tribal relations and nomadism and conflicted with the traditional family formation of the tiyospaye. Agriculture was considered the appropriate economic system for the Sioux, who were viewed as lazy individuals who did not understand how to utilize land appropriately. As nomadic hunter-gatherers, agriculture was extremely culturally inappropriate, as well as ecologically impracticable due to the dry, short-grass prairie and extreme temperatures of the Northern Great Plains (Poole 1988:36-39). Despite these realities, and although agriculture was never adopted by most Lakota, government programs continued to pressure Lakota to labor over fields that did not produce any yields, in the attempt to ‘civilize’ the Indians (Poole 1988:37; Jewell 2007:288).

In 1889, the Great Sioux Agreement partitioned the Great Sioux Reservation into six smaller reservations. Eleven million acres of the reservation were not included in this partitioning and became U.S. public property (Biolsi 1992:6). This agreement established the Pine Ridge Reservation which, after the General Allotment Act ceded 78% of reservation “surplus” lands to the U.S., became one of the largest reservations in the country with 2.7 million acres (Village Earth 2008).

Figure 1 Map of Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota (Wikimedia Commons 2009)

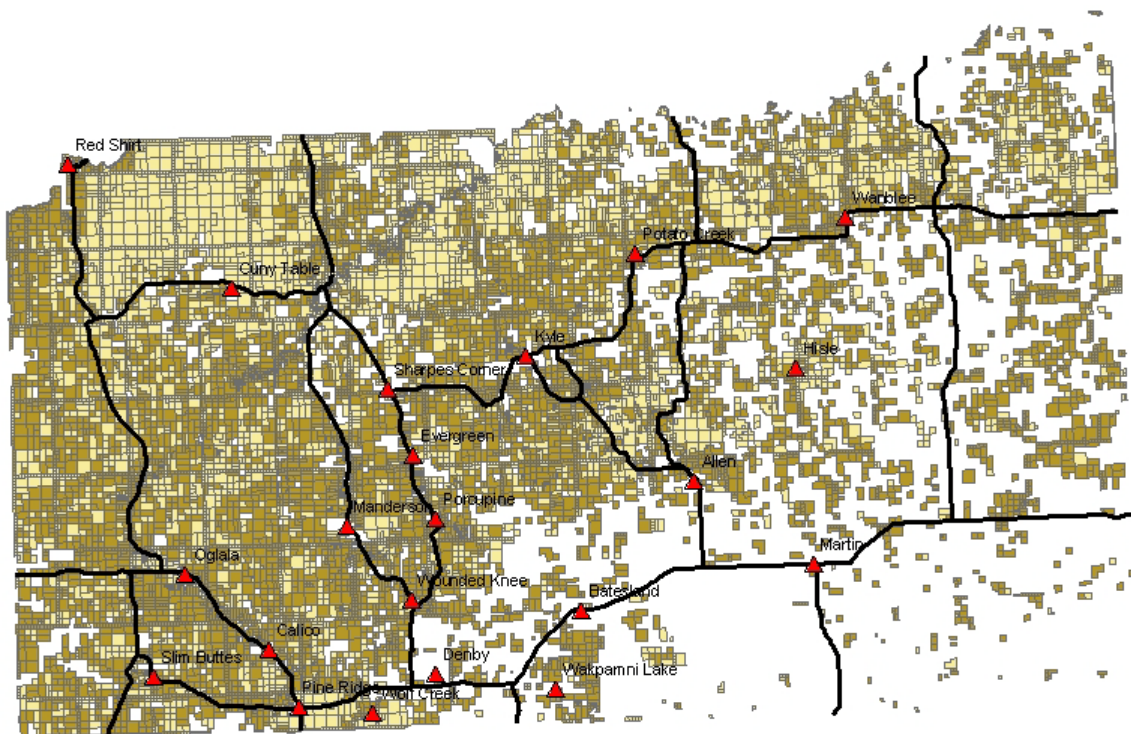


During this social, economic, political and spiritual upheaval, the ghost-dance religion became a source of comfort for some Lakota. In the ghost-dance religion, it was believed that the Son of God, the messiah, would come to restore the world to its previous state, bring back deceased relatives, and banish the white man from Indian lands. The ghost-dance and general feelings of rebellion on Pine Ridge created tension between the Lakota and their Indian agents, who sought the support of the U.S. military (Mooney 1965:41-42). In the year following the Great Sioux Agreement, this tension culminated into an attack of U.S. forces on a Lakota band, in which an estimated one hundred forty-six Lakota men, women and children were killed. The Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890 marks an end to outright Lakota resistance and the Oglala Lakota settled permanently on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. Severe assimilation agendas forced upon the Lakota

over the next century placed dominant American culture in direct conflict with Lakota traditions.

The Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), and its many Indian agents, exercised a number of actions to control and regulate behavior on Lakota reservations over the next decades, including trust restrictions on Indian land, withholding of Individual Indian Money (IIM) accounts, and the ration system (Biolsi 1992:11-19). The Competency Commission was enacted by the OIA to determine whether allotment owners were ‘competent’ enough to control their land (Biolsi 1992:11-12). In 1915 alone the superintendent reported that 56% of land owners had been deemed incompetent. The remaining competent land owners had to pay taxes on their land, and many lost rights due to back taxes (Village Earth 2008). This process, and the slow sale of lands to non-Lakota ranchers, has resulted in severe fractioning of Lakota lands over the years.

Figure 2 Fractioning of Lakota Lands (Village Earth 2007)



With the economic reform of Roosevelt's New Deal came the reorganization of Lakota politics in the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) in 1934. The U.S. government intended that tribal governments take over the responsibilities of the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) in reservation administration. The IRA required these new, democratically-elected tribal governments to mirror American political administrations, including representative government and the creation of federally-recognized constitutions. Many Lakota felt that these tribal councils were incompatible with Lakota traditions and violated their treaty rights, asserting that the previous Treaty Council better recognized Lakota tradition (Biolsi 1992:xxi). Traditionally, speaking for another or representing their views was avoided in political discourse, actions that are necessary in representative government (Jewell 2007:285). The creation of tribal governments violated the previous three-fourths majority rule enacted in the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, and appointed comparatively few Lakota to represent all Lakota people (Biolsi 1992:33).

The establishment of tribal government caused a division between Lakota people on Pine Ridge. Those who preferred the previous three-fourths majority rule were considered "Old," conservative Indians, while those who favored tribal governments were considered "New," liberal Indians. With the intermarriage of Americans into the tribes and the creation of a blood quantum system to determine tribal membership, these divisions took new forms as full-blood conservatives and mixed-blood liberals (Pickering 2000:82-83). This division came to a head with the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973, a 71 day standoff between federal officers and members of the American Indian Movement (AIM), with Pine Ridge residents supporting different sides (D'Arcus 2003:416). Although full-blood and mixed-blood residents were aligned on both sides of

the conflict, the racial division manifested as full-bloods who supported AIM efforts to return to more traditional forms of government, the recognition of treaty violations, and the right to be free of federal government interference in Indian affairs, while the mixed-bloods were believed to support economic development through the efforts of the federal government and controversial tribal chairman Dick Wilson (Pickering 2000:88-89). This division based on racial identity is still a basis for economic and political contention and will be discussed within the context of the Pine Ridge business community.

To analyze the colonization of the Oglala Lakota from an economic perspective provides interesting insights. With Europeans came market exchange based upon the principles of free market capitalism. In theory, trade between Europeans and American Indians would have simply expanded the equal and open trade relationships growing throughout the world. But these two groups were not equal in their political or economic relations (Polanyi 2001[1944]:217). When outright war had finally ended between the Oglala Lakota and the United States, Lakota populations had been decimated by disease and warfare, their economic system was destroyed, and the allocation of rations placed the power in American hands.

American Indian policy in the twentieth century focused on the assimilation of American Indians into dominant American society. Those in power determined that the development of capitalism on the new reservations was the best way to both improve conditions and sever the dependence they had created of the Lakota on federal aid. As previously mentioned, agriculture was the first attempt to replace previous economic structures with the new capitalist economic system. Other attempts to incorporate the Lakota into market exchange as the dominant mode of integration have similarly failed.

Factories were built throughout the middle of the twentieth century in an attempt to foster economic growth on reservations, but all closed within a few years (Pickering 2000:17-18). Throughout the twentieth century, agricultural wage work and other forms of manual labor, while unstable, formed the most reliable types of employment for many families.

Drastic and painful culture change, a weak market economy and a lack of recognition or respect for traditional ways of life by outsiders resulted in extensive poverty and ill health through the twentieth century on Pine Ridge. This kind of upheaval has caused theorists like Karl Polanyi (2001[1944]:171) to hypothesize that the liberal economic foundation of capitalism—once it was transplanted into un-developed regions—would mean that “traditional institutions [would] be destroyed, and prevented from reforming.” While it is true that previous means for obtaining resources were severely diminished and residents had few avenues for participating in the capitalist system that dominates American culture, Polanyi was not entirely correct. Despite more than a century of forced assimilation, the attempted destruction of previous economic, political and social structures, and a traumatic social memory, Lakota social, cultural and economic systems continue to exist and even thrive. Efforts continue to be made, not only to increase the ability of Lakota residents to participate in the market economy, but also to recognize the importance of householding, reciprocity and redistribution as central to Lakota culture.

Pine Ridge Today

The economic climate on Pine Ridge today is characterized by a high unemployment rate of 37.11% for adults (18 and older) and fluctuating, seasonal and temporary employment (Pickering N.d.:4). Market-based activities occur mostly through

wage work, small business and microenterprise. The federal government supplies the most – and most reliable – employment, followed by the tribal government, and then the combined efforts of the many non-profit organizations on the reservation (Pickering 2000:16, 31). Military service is also a reliable option for employment (Pickering 2000:20). Adults are often forced to leave the reservation to find work, and many families depend upon some form of federal aid (Pickering 2000:13, 18). The home-based production of goods that are sold to family, friends, tourists, and others is also a common way to participate in market exchange, although the goods produced from these microenterprise activities are just as frequently bartered for or given as gifts (Pickering 2000:49). The consistent poverty on Pine Ridge is indicative of the fact that in a world now dominated by market exchange, the Lakota are in need of greater access to market based activities. Tourism is one avenue that may increase opportunities for employment and access to the market economy on the reservation.

Several economic activities provide resources where the market economy is lacking (Pickering 2005:4; 2000:13). Householding on Pine Ridge involves subsistence activities such as hunting and gathering of a variety of animals and plants, including deer, elk, tinsila (turnips) and chokecherries, as well as other forms of home-based production which are used within the household (Pickering 2000:45). Reciprocity is a part of daily obligations and benefits of reservation life. Examples of reciprocity include funding the education of grandchildren as a form of future life and health insurance, and babysitting the children of your relatives to ensure childcare for your own. Redistribution occurs through give-aways in which large quantities of goods are collected and given away to family and friends during special events like memorials and graduations (Pickering

2000:57). Householding, reciprocity and redistribution are more than simply social safety nets of market exchange. They are the foundation for the traditional Lakota economic system and are central to Lakota social identity and culture.

The result of the intense interaction of these four modes of economic integration is a mixed economy that utilizes market exchange, householding, reciprocity and redistribution in a way that is both complimentary and contradictory. It is complimentary because it provides the social safety nets necessary to avoid the most damaging effects of a fluctuating market while giving individuals the freedom to try different entrepreneurial activities. It is contradictory because the basic premise of the market is profit maximization to accumulate wealth, which contradicts with the basic egalitarian principles of Lakota society. This contradiction creates conflict within the community as Lakota culture both influences mainstream market exchange and is influenced by it.

Market influences on Lakota culture impact collective and individual cultural identities. In a culture where principles of egalitarianism and generosity are highly valued, increased market activity can create social stratification based upon new criteria such as financial success. The commercialization of local products causes an “expansion of the economic domain” (Cohen 1984:385) so that some residents begin to value economic gain more prominently in their social relationships. Whereas traditional political leaders were identified for their experience, bravery and generosity (Hassrick 1964:14), leaders today may be recognized for their economic success and connections to the outside world that bring more resources to family and friends. Differing perceptions of the true value of these resources and who has greater access to them creates new sources of conflict within communities.

For example, pow wows today sometimes offer cash prizes to the best dancers and drum circles. There is disagreement on the appropriateness of this practice because some perceive cash prizes as conflicting with traditional Lakota values. Additionally, it is now more common for the hosts of giveaways to buy goods from the market, such as televisions, instead of making them or slowly collecting goods from relatives and friends (Pickering 2000:58-59). In these cases, the economic domain has expanded to encompass traditional Lakota practices, increasing the potential for community contention. Locals also recognize that residents have unequal access to credit, business knowledge, health care, material goods, and most importantly, jobs. This unequal access is perceived as full-blood/mixed-blood divisions. Full-blood residents sometimes complain that mixed-bloods have the best jobs and the most mainstream social and economic resources. Interestingly, mixed-blood residents often have the same complaints; that full-bloods have greater access to jobs, while residents with white ancestry are denied positions because of their weaker tribal status. It is difficult to ignore these divisions when one considers that the average earned income (not including government support) for full-bloods is \$857 per month, while mixed-bloods report a much higher average earned income of \$1508 per month, as obtained through Dr. Pickering's longitudinal study (Schwartz N.d.: 78-79). The complications that arise from these conflicts are many and varied. Lakota business owners present an interesting case for analysis.

Entrepreneurship on Pine Ridge

Entrepreneurial activities on the reservation are everywhere. They vary from the multitude of residents engaged in forms of micro-enterprise to a smaller number of formal small business owners struggling in a highly unstable business environment. The

demands and benefits of each vary greatly, as Pickering (2000:35, 44) notes, “for small business owners, only one in five last longer than three years, while 83% of households engage in some form of micro-enterprise business.” While many individuals participate independently in some way in the market economy, obstacles coming from both traditional attitudes regarding business, and the market economy itself, make the business environment on Pine Ridge extremely volatile (Pickering 2000:14).

Successful business owners are presented by mainstream development efforts as an example of the innovative entrepreneurial spirit of the Lakota. The market paradigm places business owners as leaders of the economy, which requires individuals to act “rationally,” with the interest of profit maximization taking priority over social obligations. Hiring families and friends to work beside them brings accusations of nepotism, a serious issue in tribal governance, non-profit organizations and local businesses (Pickering 2000:28). Providing the benefits of business to individuals in order to return a favor, the basic function of reciprocity, is considered corruption. Business owners are expected by dominant market institutions to have business training, have access to credit, adopt the customary circulation of debt, reinvest profits into their business, and be available during typical business hours regardless of family obligations.

In Lakota culture, a perceived accumulation of wealth is considered inappropriate and business owners are often expected to adhere to traditions of kinship reciprocity and redistribution (Pickering 2000:39). The egalitarian principles of Lakota society require that leaders redistribute their profits generously to their kin, instead of accumulating wealth to invest in themselves and their business. Jealousy among community members leads to accusations of selfishness, a serious judgment in a culture that places a great deal

of value on generosity. The old divisions between supposed full-blood and mixed-blood Lakota arise with accusations that those who are successful (or perceived as successful) in business are abandoning the cultural traditions of their people to become more like their selfish, self-promoting 'white' neighbors. On Pine Ridge, business owners are expected to operate their businesses within the context of their social obligations.

All at the same time, business owners feel the pressure to follow in the Lakota tradition of generosity, pressure to conform to mainstream business practices, and the pressure to stay in business in a very difficult environment. In this contradictory atmosphere, business owners cannot do everything right and often struggle to succeed. One very instructive example involves a conversation I had with a former restaurant owner on Pine Ridge. This business owner's small restaurant was very popular and almost always busy. When I entered the building to ask for an interview in the summer of 2008, he denied me the opportunity to speak with him. Upon exiting the building, I found that he had followed me out to explain that he could not participate in the study because he would not be in business much longer. This man had operated the restaurant with his wife, who was recently deceased. I was told by others that she had been a charismatic and popular figure in the local community and a cornerstone of the restaurant. Her widower told me quietly that he could not possibly keep the restaurant in business because his deceased wife's relatives continued to expect free food on a daily basis and he could not afford to feed them all. The restaurant was closed a week later and did not open for at least several more weeks.

Thomas Biolsi (1995:30) argues that the Lakota "had to be forced to conform to a certain minimum definition of modern individuality. In this way, they would be

constituted as social persons who could fit into the American nation-state and the market system of metropolitan capitalism.” As Lakota business owners (and their employees) struggle to maintain an appropriate level of capitalist “modern individuality” in the market system, they also make decisions based on a set of moral principles and motivations derived from their unique cultural history, which results in a different form of market exchange on the reservation than may be found elsewhere. For example, many business owners operate a scaled pricing system that charges Lakota individuals based upon what they can afford to pay, or “Indian pricing,” while maintaining a standardized price for non-Lakota (Pickering 2000:39-40). A death in the family may cause owners to close down his or her shop for weeks, postponing all obligations and transactions, while employees simply may not come to work. To the astonishment of some who ascribe solely to practices of the free market, individuals often choose to leave scarce employment because it is unsatisfying, unhealthy, or they feel philosophically opposed to the work, because they have other avenues in their social networks for getting by (Pickering 2000:14, 26). Like the personal connections and social obligations of *guanxi* in Shanghai (Ong 2006), the moral principles of Lakota culture create a different picture of market exchange on Pine Ridge than more economically integrated areas in the United States. One particularly telling example of this is the large role that non-profit organizations play in the market economy on the reservation.

Over the years, economic development on Pine Ridge has been aided by a multitude of different non-profit organizations. The non-profit Lakota Funds (TLF), a community development financial institution (CDFI), was established in 1987 to provide micro loans to entrepreneurs in order to facilitate small business ownership. Over the

years, TLF has served over 1600 individuals with various programs related to financial literacy and entrepreneurship, and lent 325 people a total of \$4,184,554, as of July 2008 (Langholz N.d.). As a long-standing non-profit organization on the reservation, TLF has played an important role in creating greater access to the market economy for Pine Ridge residents in a more culturally appropriate manner. The Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce (PRACC) was founded in 1999 as the first American Indian chamber of commerce in the country. PRACC is “a voluntary non-profit corporation whose purpose is to create, sustain and enhance Indian Owned Businesses, therefore improving the quality of life on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation” (PRACC 2009). Both TLF and PRACC are members of the SAGE Collaborative, whose goal is to create a “systematic approach to business development centered on the specific needs of Native entrepreneurs” in order to lessen poverty on American Indian reservations (Sage Collaborative 2008). These organizations play crucial roles in the development of a market economy on Pine Ridge. Other organizations, such as Re-Member, invite outsiders to the reservation as a service learning experience in order to volunteer their labor and spend their money on Lakota products (Re-Member 2009).

These non-profit organizations offer a major portion of employment opportunities and contribute to an increasingly grant-based economy on the reservation. Their reliance on grants to run their programs means they deal with the same conflicts as business owners, stuck between an expectation by residents to reflect Lakota morals and expectations by the federal government and other sources to adhere to grant requirements that reflect Western morals (Pickering 2000:14, 30-31).

Browne (2008:19) has recognized that when the market economy enters new areas, the moral premises of that market (individual choice, profit maximization, free market policies, efficiency) do not necessarily follow. Instead, those moral premises are replaced with (or more likely altered by) locally meaningful morals. In the struggle of for-profit and non-profit groups to reconcile the differences between the Western morals of mainstream market exchange, a unique form of market exchange emerges on Pine Ridge. This new form is fraught with contradictions and conflict, but it attempts to account for important cultural differences between Lakota and mainstream American culture. The result is a daily struggle by local residents to reconcile the many contradictions between mainstream market demands and local cultural norms. This phenomenon is not new, as Pickering (2000:83) notes, the Lakota have been “struggling for generations to determine the proper balance between cultural tradition and participation in the global economy.”

Cultural Tourism on Pine Ridge

As I have discussed, business owners must engage in a complex dialogue between outside business practices and local culture in their work. Now imagine taking that emotionally charged dialogue and adding Lakota culture itself as the commodity to be sold! This intense interaction involves business owners and community members, Lakota and non-Lakota in a struggle to harness the revenue of cultural tourism and maintain the integrity of traditional Lakota values at the same time. While tourism complicates the interactions of market exchange and Lakota culture by commodifying that culture, it also has the potential to respect and revive traditional values by increasing their value in mainstream cultures.

Participation in tourism ranges from informal microenterprise activities to formal business ventures. In addition, many tourism business owners are non-Indian, who own a disproportionate number of the few established, successful businesses. While all participants have the power to “identify...segments of the culture content to be shared with outsiders” (Smith 2001:277), the more successful a business owner is – the more tourists they work with – the greater impact their version of Lakota culture has on tourists and local residents. The success of a business owner depends in large part on their access to business knowledge, credit, marketing resources, and social networks both on and off the reservation, in short, the mainstream economic, social and cultural capital of Bourdieu’s (1983) theory. Those who are active on the board of the chamber of commerce, for example, are likely to have better marketing resources than those who are not. Although having access to these resources is important, there are other avenues for success in cultural tourism on the reservation, so that each business owner has the power to act as a culture broker in their business and commodify benign and/or sensitive areas of Lakota culture for tourism purposes.

The prohibition of Lakota language and spirituality, coupled with an agenda of genocide, forced cultural assimilation, economic deprivation and disease for nearly a century has left its scars on the collective Lakota memory. The next section will outline the basic negative and positive impacts of cultural tourism identified in earlier sections and examine which impacts are more likely to be seen on Pine Ridge. In part two, a deeper analysis will include accounts of survey and interview participants regarding their own experiences of the impacts of cultural tourism on Lakota culture.

Social Impacts

Tourism on Pine Ridge is relatively small-scale. Many individuals participate at all levels ranging from established business owners in motels and restaurants to microenterprise jewelry-makers who spend their Saturday mornings making earrings to sell to the visitor stand down the road. The small-scale economy allows many different individuals to benefit from the visiting tourists and input from so many individuals creates a collection of activities and crafts that are unique for Pine Ridge residents. Tourism development has also progressed slowly, growing gradually as individuals gain access to training and credit to start their own businesses. This slow growth allows families to become accustomed to the increasing presence of tourists each summer and to prepare to participate if they wish.

Nearly all of the tourism businesses are locally owned. However, this does not mean that all of them are Lakota-owned. Non-Lakota reservation residents own many of the more formal businesses, such as gas stations, bed and breakfasts and gift shops. These residents represent the mixed-blood and white populations in these communities and Lakota individuals vary in their sentiments towards these business owners. They are often an integral part of the community, yet they are sometimes perceived as taking tourism revenue from other competing Lakota businesses. Outside development interests, however, are very few, which increases the potential for reinvestment by business owners in the community, instead of losing profits to stakeholders who live outside the reservation. The lack of outside investors is one upside of a weak, rural market economy.

There are, however, a few major negative impacts that residents have identified over the years. One of greatest of these surrounds the commercialization of Lakota

spirituality. Arvol Looking Horse, Keeper of the Sacred White Buffalo Calf Pipe and a spiritual leader on Pine Ridge, estimates that each summer about one-third of the 300 Sundances in the United States occur in South Dakota. The last count on Pine Ridge numbered Sundances at fifty-six (Rave Lee 2003), of which some are performed for non-Indians. Individuals like Looking Horse believe that the presence of tourists at sacred Lakota prayer alters, found at sweats, Sundances, and other ceremonies, corrupts the integrity of the ceremonies and threatens their ability to keep their culture intact for future generations. The strength of this sentiment led to the official banning of non-Indians from ceremonies through an ordinance passed by the Pine Ridge Tribal Council in 1997 (Rave Lee 2003). Six years later, Looking Horse and other Sundance chiefs and medicine bundlekeepers from Lakota, Dakota, Nakota, Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes issued a directive forbidding non-Indians from Lakota prayer altars (Rave Lee 2003). While these actions have no enforcement capacity, taking these measures sends an important message to residents and outsiders that these activities are discouraged and likely suppresses activities that may otherwise flourish on the reservation, while uniting the community under a common goal.

There are some structural inequalities on the reservation that are sources of exploitation of micro-enterprise participants. The ability of local artists to obtain the resources necessary to purchase large quantities of supplies, access marketing networks and travel long distances greatly increases the potential for gaining significant revenue. Most residents do not possess these resources, and as a result, reservation residents and outsiders who *do* possess them can profit from the efforts of others, as Pickering (2002:127) explains:

“Lakotas who produce traditional items create significant wealth for non-Indians dealing in the resale of Indian arts and crafts. Without capital for marketing beyond reservation boundaries, Lakota artisans must sell their products to local reservation shops that pay only one-quarter or less of the ultimate sales price but are always prepared to buy.”

While beadworkers working with local markets make less than an average of three dollars an hour, significantly better prices can be made at the regional, national and international level (Pickering 2000:128). Individuals from California, Italy, Germany and everywhere else travel to the reservation and purchase mass quantities of goods to take home and sell for a substantial profit. Local artisans are aware of these inequalities, but without the necessary resources, cannot do much about it.

The mixed economy on Pine Ridge is somewhat suited for tourism development, because the social safety nets in place can account for the seasonal and unreliable popularity of tourism development, while taking advantage of the supplemental income available through tourism activities. There are opportunities to participate in tourism at multiple levels through The Lakota Funds (TLF), which provides training, resources and access to credit for Lakota individuals. However, no benefits of tourism development exist for residents who cannot or do not wish to participate, such as entry or camera fees, beyond general investment in community infrastructure.

Scholars have listed a multitude of negative impacts of tourism development on local communities and families, including a loss of tradition, erosion of self-worth, undermining of family structure, increase in crime, alcohol and drug abuse (McLaren 1998:71; Wood 2002:38). In the centuries since the onset of colonization, these impacts have most certainly occurred. Thus far, however, tourism has not appeared to cause any of these impacts of its own accord, likely due to the small scale, slow growth and local

ownership of these businesses that reduces the likelihood of massive and rapid cultural change that encourage these impacts.

These impacts will be explored in more depth in the context of spiritual tourism, community conflict, and the economic and social benefits of tourism based upon the first-hand accounts of local residents and business owners in part two. The remainder of this section will outline a description of tourism businesses and the characteristics of Pine Ridge tourists, in order to orient the reader to the information analyzed in part two.

A Snapshot of Formal Tourism Businesses on Pine Ridge

It is useful to describe tourism on Pine Ridge the way one would experience these areas from a vehicle, the most common way to travel on the reservation. There are major points of interest at every corner of the reservation. Along the northern border stretches Badlands National Park, a miniature Grand Canyon. In the summer, visitor stands sit at a particularly photo-worthy look-out point on highway 41, selling crafts to passing tourists. Continuing east along the northern border, the White River Visitor Center welcomes visitors to the southern unit of Badlands National Park, a unit maintained jointly by the National Park Service and the Oglala Sioux Parks and Recreation Authority, where information on Badlands and Lakota history can be found (National Park Service 2009). Following BIA 27 to BIA 33 from the visitor center, one discovers one of the largest and most successful consignment shops on the reservation. Stores like this one provide residents with convenient access to the materials necessary to create tourism souvenirs that supplement many Lakota households. The store also purchases finished souvenirs to sell to tourists.

A few miles south of the consignment shop is Manderson, home of a popular restaurant that attracts both locals and tourists. Heading south, and then west on highway 18 is Pine Ridge, the largest town on the reservation. This town has several private businesses, including a coffee shop with free wireless internet, two restaurant chains and the largest grocery store on the reservation. North of town is the Red Cloud Heritage Center, school, cemetery and gift and consignment shop. Northwest of Pine Ridge, past the town of Oglala, sits Prairie Wind Casino.

A bed and breakfast and gift shop sits on the southeastern border of the reservation. North from there on BIA 27 is the Wounded Knee Massacre Site, perhaps the most famous place on the reservation. At this site one finds the Wounded Knee cemetery, a privately-owned visitor center, and several semi-permanent stands. North from here is the town of Porcupine and “Sharps Corner,” then BIA 2 to a new, large motel that sits across from the Oglala Lakota College. Another bed and breakfast is located before Kyle, the second largest town on the reservation. Here one finds the PRACC, TLF, a grocery store, restaurants and a gift shop. There is also a grocery store and gas station on the east side of the reservation in Wanblee, SD. There are many businesses that cannot be seen from the highway, including artisans, outfitters, video stores, tour guides, and a host of other businesses related to tourism. Part two reports on the variety of tourism businesses among survey participants (see table 21).

A Snapshot of Tourists on Pine Ridge

Between the months of May and September, thousands of tourists flock from every state and several foreign countries to visit Pine Ridge. In 2006 and 2007, Native Discovery, a partnership of nonprofit organizations, launched a project to survey tourists

on three South Dakota reservations, the Cheyenne River, Rosebud, and Pine Ridge reservations. The goal of Native Discovery and its partners is to “grow the tourism industry...by promoting special events, attractions, historic sites and talented artists while preserving the unique history and culture of the Lakota people” (Native Discovery 2009). The principal partner with Native Discovery on Pine Ridge is the Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce (PRACC). Native Discovery performed 527 surveys in 2006 and 187 surveys in 2007 that help provide a basic idea of the type of tourists that are attracted to Pine Ridge each year. The 2007 results are summarized here.

The survey designed and administered by Native Discovery is a nonscientific, non-representative marketing survey designed to “gain a better understanding of **who is visiting** the Cheyenne River, Pine Ridge, and Rosebud Reservations, and **why they are coming**” (Native Discovery 2007 N.d.:1). The survey was placed at six locations frequented by visitors ranging from local restaurants to memorial sites. A star quilt was offered as a prize incentive. The results of the survey are not conclusive; they are meant to provide a snapshot of visitor behavior to allow us to get an idea of who these tourists are and what they are seeking.

In 2007, the largest age bracket (34.2%) of respondents was of the baby boomer generation, between 46 and 60 years old. Nearly half of respondents reported an income over \$50,000, while 30% earned between \$25,000 and \$49,000 per year. Forty percent had visited the reservation previously. When asked how likely the visitor was to venture “off the beaten path” when on vacation, a full 95% reported doing so at least sometimes (Native Discovery 2007 N.d.:8). When respondents were asked to select from a list which activity was most important for their vacation (shopping, cultural/historical experiences,

sightseeing, outdoor activities, etc.), 66% responded that cultural/historical experiences were the most important. When asked if the visitor had purchased, or planned to purchase, souvenirs on Pine Ridge, 88% agreed, while 42% specified that they wanted to purchase Native jewelry. Other responses included star quilts, beadwork and Native art. Most respondents had heard about the reservation through friends or family, while AAA publications, church groups, volunteer workers and the Air Force also represented a small number of respondents. The largest number of visitors had origins in California and South Dakota, with a small number of visitors from the U.K., Australia and Italy.

When asked if the visitor is staying overnight on the reservation, 60% responded yes. Those who had visited previously, and those whose primary destination was Pine Ridge were more likely to stay overnight. This question is important because those who stay overnight are likely to spend more money on the reservation in a greater variety of businesses. The report speculates that the proximity of the Black Hills, complete with a multitude of hotels, RV campgrounds and familiar restaurants may draw day visitors away from the reservation.

To summarize, a healthy portion of visitors to the reservation are middle-aged with a higher than average annual income who visit to experience the local culture and purchase local crafts. The results here may be skewed due to a variety of extraneous variables and sampling problems and should be taken with a grain of salt. For example, I believe the number of foreign tourists is underrepresented, possibly due to language barriers on the written survey. A brief description of tourists from the perspective of the business owners is provided in part two (see table 21). Information on the characteristics of tourists not only allows local businesses and organizations to improve their marketing

schemes, it also allows residents to anticipate local impacts and improve their abilities to provide visitors with desired services. Most importantly, it prepares residents to deny tourists certain services that they deem inappropriate, such as requesting to attend a Sundance, and to discuss on a community level what are considered appropriate tourism activities.

Conclusions

Traditional Lakota economic, political, spiritual and social organization, a painful past, contemporary poverty, and mainstream market practices all inform the worldviews of individual Lakota residents. Traditional values of generosity and reciprocal social relations continue to dominate daily interactions. A weak market economy and rampant unemployment and underemployment turn these social obligations into social safety nets to protect families from the most severe impacts of market exchange. Yet pressure from the outside demands that residents adhere to the values of the mainstream market economy. The contradictions between these two worlds cause conflict between residents who are caught between cultural customs and contemporary demands. The result is a daily existence that is conflicting and confusing, but also determinedly and uniquely Lakota.

These contradictions are intensified in cultural tourism, where the emphasis of market activity is to create a market value for traditional Lakota culture. While this creates a new deluge of potential problems in the commodification of Indian identity, it also creates a context for respecting traditional values within the market. Due to the small-scale nature of tourism currently in action on the reservation, and the ability of local residents, their non-profit organizations and the tribal government to determine the

type and scale of tourism development, it is possible that responsible and culturally appropriate strategies for tourism development can be carried out to some degree of success on Pine Ridge.

Armed with an understanding of the ethnographic background of the study site, and the theoretical tools to analyze new data, we can begin a discussion of the current study. Chapter three will describe the methodology implemented during the summer of 2008 on Pine Ridge, discussing the validity of chosen sampling methods, instrumentation, data collection and analysis. The information discussed thus far will inform our understanding of study participants' perceptions of and participation in cultural tourism on the reservation.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Research Design

From May 28th to July 9th of 2008, a group of students led by principal investigator Dr. Kathleen Pickering administered surveys to residents on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in the southwestern part of South Dakota. This research was performed, in part, to evaluate programs led by the SAGE Collaborative, whose goal is to create a “systematic approach to business development centered on the specific needs of Native entrepreneurs” in order to lessen poverty on American Indian reservations (Sage Collaborative 2008). Lakota Funds, a micro-lending organization on the reservation, as well as the Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce (PRACC), are members of the SAGE Collaborative and were the main subjects in our assessment. A smaller part of this research involved my own study, in which I was interested in discovering the perceptions of Pine Ridge residents regarding cultural tourism on the reservation, as well as how residents participate in the industry.

This study employs a non-experimental, mixed methods research design. A survey forms the core of the study procedure and produces both quantitative and qualitative information. In addition to the survey, structured and semi-structured interviews produce mostly qualitative information. In a study site like Pine Ridge, the population can be very dynamic, operating within the tenets of both Lakota and mainstream American culture. In order to grasp the complexity of daily life for

reservation residents, a research design that allows qualitative data to support quantitative data and vice versa allows for a more holistic understanding of the contradictions inherent in cultural tourism on an American Indian reservation.

The overall population of interest for this study is residents of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. Within that population, the research team was interested in retrieving information from two different groups: household participants and business owners. For households, the larger focused on household consumption patterns, employment history, and attitudes towards TLF and PRACC programs. In my smaller portion of the study, I sought to learn about the positive and negative perceptions that household residents have regarding cultural tourism development on the reservation. For business owners, the larger study asked owners to evaluate TLF and PRACC programs based on their personal experiences in the business community. Within this survey, I focused on tourism business owners' perceptions of cultural tourism, as well as their personal motivations, experiences and successes in the tourism industry. A full description of the sampling methods used to retrieve the current sample of households (n=47) and business owners (n=43), as well as a description of the study procedure, instrumentation and data analysis techniques, follows below.

Sampling Methods

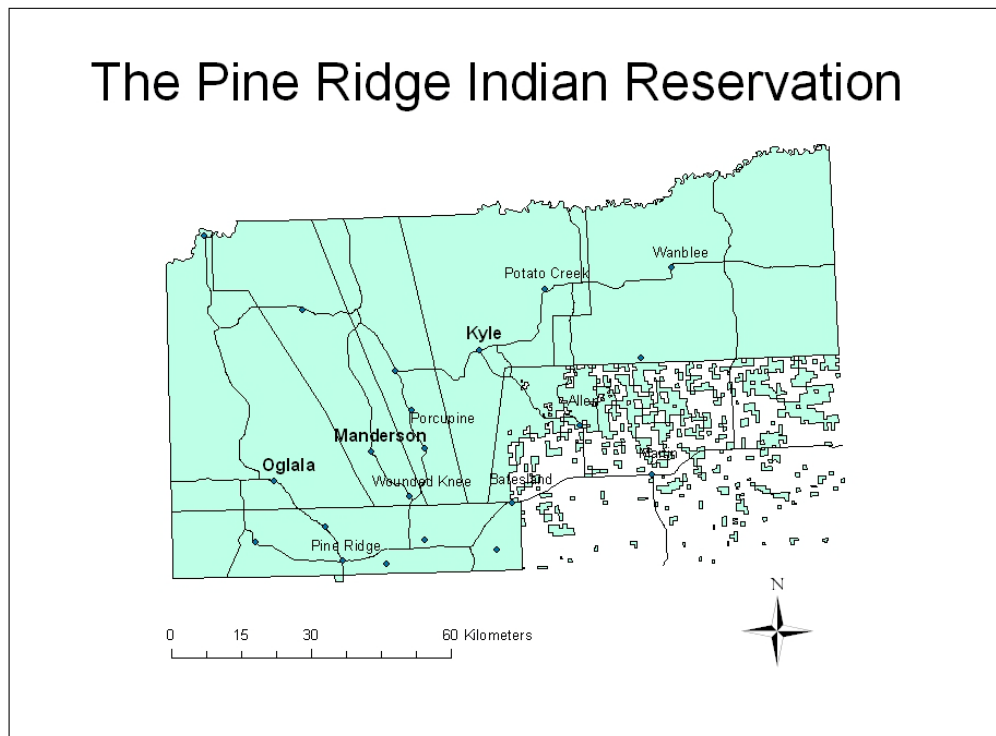
This study attempts to evaluate two groups: household participants from Dr. Pickering's 2001-2007 longitudinal study; and business owners, with a special emphasis on business owners who had worked with Lakota Funds in the past. The sampling method for the household participants will be described first.

To understand the household sample in the summer of 2008, it is necessary to review the sampling strategy used in Dr. Pickering's 2001-2007 longitudinal study. For this study, a sample of 300 households was selected over the course of five years (2001-2005). The sample was derived using aerial photographs of GIS quadrants within reservation boundaries in order to identify residential structures, which were then modified with ground level observations of new and abandoned housing units (Pickering, N.d.). A set of computer-generated numbers was used to randomly select a household sample, stratified by population size in each district of residence. GPS coordinates were then recorded for households who agreed to participate in the study so that the correct households could be found in the following years. Beginning in 2001, 60 new households were introduced into the sample each year, with the final 60 participants being selected in 2005. These 300 participants were then given follow-up surveys in 2006 and 2007. This randomly selected sample, proportionate to each district, is considered a representative sample of Pine Ridge residents (Bernard 2006:151-154).

In 2008, the research team set a goal of 50 surveys from the original 300 households and performed non-random cluster sampling by choosing three villages based upon their varying proximity to the micro-lending organization: Kyle (within the same village), Manderson (halfway across the reservation), and Oglala (the farthest village from the organization). The team approached household residents from the 2001-2007 study who lived in and surrounding these villages to participate in the survey. An effort was made to survey approximately equal numbers of village and rural households. The sample was obtained based on whether a household participant was home and willing to do the survey. The number of individuals surveyed in each village was determined by the

size of the population within and surrounding that village, resulting in a non-random stratified sampling method with different proportions (Gliner et al. 2009:122). Although the team surveyed a total of 51 households, three of these households were not part of the 2001-2007 study and therefore were not obtained using an acceptable random sampling method. One additional survey was lost before all the responses could be entered into the database. For this reason, these four surveys were excluded from this analysis. For the remaining 47 participants, demographic information includes ages ranging from 20 to 77 years, with a mean age of 46, and 28 females (60%) and 19 males (40%). Gender distribution can be compared to the broader reservation census of 52.3% females and 47.7% males (Pickering 2005:3).

Figure 3 Map of Pine Ridge Highlighting the Three Surveyed Towns



Forty-three business owners were surveyed, ages ranging from 25 to 74, with a mean age of 48. There were 24 females (56%) and 19 males (44%). The sampling of

business owners was highly erratic, due to the difficulty of obtaining a list of businesses on the reservation. The majority of the businesses owners were surveyed because they had worked with Lakota Funds in the past and they were willing to participate. However, some business owners were surveyed simply because we saw a sign off the highway, or stopped at a stand to chat with them. While there is some hope for the external validity of the household survey data, there is no generalizing power in the business owner data. Future research would benefit from a concerted effort to account for every business on the reservation, but due to the volatile business environment, many businesses are short-lived and this antagonizes efforts to create a representative sample of business owners.

When households and business owners are combined, a total of 94 participants were surveyed. Ninety of these are included in the analysis, with ages ranging from 20 to 77, with a mean of 47 years; 52 females (58%) and 38 males (42%).

Strengths and Weaknesses: Internal and External Validity

Both groups (business owners and households) in this study are residents on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. Business owners are a subset of the larger population and separate themselves from their fellow residents by their choice and ability to own and run a business. There were no attempts to match participants on any characteristics, including age or gender. There was also no attempt to control extraneous variables. This non-experimental study has low internal validity.

There is very little generalizing power from this study. The convenience sampling strategy used for the business sample does not include any of the requirements necessary to obtain an acceptable level of external validity. The household sample does maintain a medium level of external validity. From the original sample of 300 randomly selected

households, the sample derived for this study of 51 households was taken using non-probability sampling through a non-random cluster sample of three villages at varying distances from the micro-lending organization for which this research was being conducted. The sample size of each group is acceptable for statistical analysis (Gliner et al. 2009:129) and relatively equal, with 47 households and 43 business owners.

A major weakness of this study is the lack of data on tribal membership or blood quantum of the participants. For the household participants, blood quantum and tribal membership are available from the 2001-2007 study. This information was not collected for business owners. The analysis suffers from this lack of data for a couple of reasons. One, it would be useful to illustrate the difference in blood quantum and tribal membership between household and business owner participants in order to show that many of the most successful formal business owners are non-Indian. Second, it is impossible to compare attitudes towards tourism between Lakota and non-Lakota business owners based upon ethnicity. This results in an over-generalization of business owners' attitudes towards aspects of tourism that deal specifically with Lakota identity, such as the commercialization of Lakota spirituality, without taking into account differences between Lakota and non-Lakota business owners, potentially obscuring an important distinction. Ethnicity has major potential as an extraneous variable.

Procedure and Instrumentation

The majority of surveys were administered in the homes or businesses of these participants. Each participant was approached and asked to participate. Surveys lasted between thirty minutes and two hours, depending on the length of responses from the participant. To increase consistency, each survey was read aloud by the survey

administrator, who recorded the participants' responses. If the participant gave permission, interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder. Household participants were compensated ten dollars. Business owners were not compensated. All participants signed a consent form (Appendix C).

Depending upon personalities and length of responses from participants, these surveys ranged from semi-structured to structured interviews (Bernard 2006). A total of six students, in addition to Dr. Kathleen Pickering, administered the surveys. While care was taken to be consistent in our field methods, individual differences in experience and personality may have resulted in uneven recordings of participant responses in field notes and audio files.

Two surveys were used during the summer 2008 field research session. Appendix A was given to individuals representing households across the reservation, appendix B was administered to business owners. The surveys covered several topics, primarily dealing with consumption patterns, a social marketing campaign, the business environment on the reservation, and the effectiveness of Lakota Funds and PRACC programs to help entrepreneurs develop and sustain their businesses. The questions that pertain specifically to tourism were placed near the end of each survey. Both business owners and households were asked the same ten Likert-scale questions, an ordinal question and one open-ended question in their surveys. Note that the business owners were given three additional Likert-scale statements that pertained more specifically to the actions of business owners and the business community. Business owners who did *not* consider their business to be a tourism business were also asked one additional open-ended question, while those who *did* consider themselves tourism business owners were

given eleven open-ended questions that explored their motivations and methods in the tourism sector on the reservation.

Strengths and Weaknesses of Procedure and Instrumentation

Very little effort was made to test the measurement reliability and validity of this survey. The overwhelmingly positive response to many of the tourism questions may suggest problems with social desirability, or a deference effect, in the responses. Bernard (2006:241) defines the deference effect as what happens “when people tell you what they think you want to know, in order not to offend you.” A group of non-Indian researchers asking questions that are specific to non-Indian involvement in Lakota identity and culture (i.e. tourism) should be aware of a possible deference effect in the responses.

Discriminant evidence based upon relationships to other variables in the study shows some strong support for the validity of two variables, ‘It is ok to market spiritual practices’ and ‘It is important to keep some aspects of culture out of the tourism product’, which have a correlation coefficient of $r(75) = -.555, p < .001$. There is an inverse relationship here between these variables in that participants generally had negative feelings towards marketing spiritual practices, while responding positively to keeping aspects of Lakota culture out of the tourism product. Other variables have some support for measurement validity through convergent evidence, such as ‘It is important to share Lakota culture’ and ‘Tourism is good for Lakota culture’ ($r(75) = .545, p < .001$), or ‘I am comfortable with the presence of tourists at Sundance’ and ‘I am comfortable with allowing tourists to participate with sweats’ ($r(75) = .628, p < .001$). All but two of the ten scaled questions are strongly correlated to at least one other variable, but this is not

enough to claim strong support for measurement validity. A correlation matrix of all scaled variables is included in appendix D.

Quantitative and Qualitative Data Analysis

All survey data from the 2008 field session was entered into a Microsoft Access database. The data relevant for this analysis includes all tourism-related questions, as well as the basic demographic information of gender, age and whether the participant was a business owner or household participant. This relevant data were exported into SPSS 17.0 where the quantitative variables were coded. All independent variables are attribute variables, meaning they are “*preexisting attributes of the persons or their ongoing environment that do not change during the study*” (Gliner et al. 2009:36). Independent variables (IV) include the two dichotomous variables of type of resident (business owner or household) and gender (male or female), as well as the scaled variable age, which satisfied assumptions of normality. A fourth independent variable is a recode of age into five categories which are also normally distributed. Thirteen quantitative dependent variables (DV) resulted from the Likert-scale statements, nine of which are scaled variables. The other four variables violated assumptions of normality (had a skew value greater than 1) and are defined as ordinal variables. A final ordinal variable completes the quantitative survey questions. The table below gives the name, mean, standard deviation, skew value, measurement and level of each variable.

Table 1 Variable Codebook

Name of the Variable	N	Mean	SD	Skewness	Measurement	Level
IV: Type of resident	94				Dichotomous	2
IV: Gender	90				Dichotomous	2
IV: Age	85	46.91	14.16	.008	Scale	
IV: Age recoded into 5 categories	85	3.11	1.31	-.168	Scale	5

DV: Tourism brings economic growth to the reservation	81	3.93	.803	-1.053*	Ordinal	5
DV: Tourism is good for Lakota culture	83	3.76	.759	-.937	Scale	5
DV: It is important to share Lakota culture and history with tourists	83	3.94	.687	-1.079*	Ordinal	5
DV: Tourism products on the reservation accurately represent Lakota culture	82	3.30	.952	-.388	Scale	5
DV: It is important to keep some aspects of culture out of the tourism product	82	3.84	.808	-.994	Scale	5
DV: It is ok for tourism businesses to market Lakota spiritual practices	81	2.15	.882	.936	Scale	5
DV: I am comfortable with allowing tourists to observe pow wows	81	4.05	.312	-1.193*	Ordinal	5
DV: I am comfortable with allowing tourists to participate with sweats	80	2.75	1.049	.118	Scale	5
DV: I am comfortable with allowing tourists to attend Sundance	79	2.37	1.088	.565	Scale	5
DV: There are tourism business owners on the reservation that misuse Lakota culture in their tourism product	79	3.53	.798	-.650	Scale	5
DV: Tourism on the reservation has the potential to exploit Lakota culture	37	3.46	.900	.355	Scale	5
DV: The way a tourism business owner creates a tourism product can impact Lakota identity	37	3.81	.701	-1.768*	Ordinal	5
DV: There's enough precautions in place to avoid the misuse of Lakota identity through tourism on the reservation	37	2.86	.948	.076	Scale	5
DV: Tourists have a positive/negative/no effect on Lakota culture	62	2.60	.586	-1.150*	Ordinal	3

*Skew value greater than one, defining the variable as ordinal.

This study utilizes non-experimental comparative and associational approaches designed to identify differences between groups and relationships between variables.

Independent Samples *t*-Tests were used to identify differences between the type of resident (business owner or household) and gender, regarding the normally distributed scaled questions. A 95% confidence interval was used, meaning that the interval reported for each test will include the population mean difference 95% of the time, giving the results a greater practical significance (Morgan et al. 2007:93). The non-parametric Mann-Whitney test was used for the four scaled questions that had a skew value greater than one, as well as the ordinal variable ‘tourists have a positive/negative/no effect on Lakota culture.’ Pearson Correlation was used to identify any significant associations between age and the scaled dependent variables, while the non-parametric Spearman’s Rho explored associations between age and the remaining dependent variables. A Factorial ANOVA was also used to investigate potential interactions of age and gender regarding variables that indicated a significant relationship to one or both of those variables in earlier tests.

Null Hypothesis Significance Testing (NHST) was used to identify statistically significant differences between groups in this analysis, with a *p*-value of .05, unless otherwise specified. Effect size, or *d*, is also reported to understand the strength of the difference between two groups on the dependent variable when the relationship is statistically significant (Gliner et al. 2009:237). The strength of *d* is accessed using Cohen’s (1988:25-26) guide, where a small *d* = .20, a medium *d* = .50, and a large *d* is greater than .80. It is uncommon to have a *d* greater than one.

The mixed methods approach I used in this study begins with the acquisition of quantitative data through survey questions, and then leads into the use of qualitative information to support it. For every survey question, the research team and I attempted to

gather as much qualitative information as possible in order to gain a deeper understanding of the meaning behind the numbers reported in this analysis. When participants provided additional comments in response to the Likert-scale survey statements, they were recorded in field notes and audio files. The length and substance of qualitative responses to survey questions depended upon whether the participant felt inclined to elaborate, meaning that those participants who did not elaborate on their responses are not represented in the qualitative analysis. Besides the thirteen Likert-scale survey statements and one ordinal question, each participant was asked one open-ended question ('what are the main results of tourism development on the reservation?'), which produced qualitative responses. Non-tourism business owners were asked one additional open-ended question and tourism business owners were asked several open-ended questions. The research team recorded these responses in field notes and entered them into narrative fields in the Access database. When the interviews were voice recorded, those audio files were transcribed, providing a wealth of qualitative data in response to these questions.

Bernard (2006:475) states simply that "in narrative analysis, the goal is to discover regularities in how people tell stories." Where it was useful, similar responses to open-ended questions were grouped together into appropriate categories. Through this process, it is possible to gain quantitative data from qualitative responses. For example, when business owners were asked what kinds of services they provide to tourists, their responses varied greatly. It was possible, however, to group those responses into the basic categories of tours, crafts, lodging and restaurants. The qualitative responses themselves

are invaluable, as they support quantitative data with examples that reflect the emotions and experiences of the participants.

Strengths and Weaknesses of Data Analysis

No inferences can be made in this analysis regarding cause and effect. Results of the statistical tests reported here can only identify relationships between different variables and attempt to quantify how strong those relationships are. While a test may identify a statistically significant difference between two groups regarding a survey response, it is still very possible that an extraneous variable is responsible for that difference. For example, a statistical test might report that younger residents dislike spiritual tourism more than older residents, leading one to argue that age determines (or causes) how residents feel about the commercialization of Lakota spirituality, when the true reason for the difference might be that more of the younger participants in the sample are Lakota, while many older participants are non-Lakota. Ethnicity of a resident is an example of an unaccounted for, extraneous variable. The nature of this study examining attribute independent variables in a non-experimental setting restricts us from making causal arguments.

Additionally, the surveys were administered, and data entered into the Access database by several different students. While attempts were made to be consistent in both survey methods and data entry, inconsistencies are inevitable. This results in potential data distortion in the analysis. It also results in inconsistencies in how much qualitative information was gathered from each participant, so that those who did not give any additional comments to the survey questions may be less represented in the qualitative

analysis because some interview styles may not have encouraged participants to elaborate on their survey responses.

The use of mixed methods acknowledges the ability of both quantitative and qualitative data to support each other, strengthening the assertions made in the analysis chapter. Mixed methods also enable us to gain a more holistic picture of the attitudes regarding tourism development. These insights are essential when working with a phenomenon as dynamic as cultural tourism on Pine Ridge. My approach in mixed methods, however, is skewed towards quantitative data. Although I do include descriptions of interviews I conducted and events I witnessed, most of the qualitative information is embedded within the quantitative survey questions. The implications of obtaining quantitative data from these participants before extensive qualitative information is gathered is that it restricts my ability to gain the deeper understanding of residents' experiences with tourism that comes through in-depth interviews; and to develop informed survey questions and understand the subsequent results of the quantitative analysis. This study would benefit from many more in-depth interviews and analysis of the subsequent information to develop a more sophisticated analysis and a more informed understanding of the cultural phenomena evident in this study.

Conclusions

The methodology employed in this study is designed to gain an understanding of the opinions and experiences of Pine Ridge residents. This is done by surveying households and business owners using both quantitative and qualitative techniques. However, the information gathered, particularly from business owners, can only be applied to the study participants. Although the household sample has some generalizing

power to all reservation residents, I am not comfortable calling these representative samples. Nonetheless, the responses of these study participants have value in and of themselves as complete and sometimes passionate accounts of cultural tourism development from the residents' perspectives. Valuing both quantitative and qualitative information allows the study participants to contribute valuable information to this study, despite the lack of a representative sample.

I began this study with the bias that, in most cases, tourism does much more harm than good to local communities. I believe that even where economic benefits are realized, they are usually so meager that the experience is more disappointing than empowering. Additionally, I have regarded with distaste non-Indian tourists who like to “play Indian” by attending spiritual ceremonies and wearing traditional garments, and I have considered their activities disrespectful of the centuries of hardship that American Indians have suffered. My motivation in this research was to identify how tourism and tourists have negatively impacted Pine Ridge and how the community is working to mitigate what I believe are the inevitable negative consequences of this form of development. While this research has allowed me to appreciate a more complex view of tourism development wherein many positive benefits can result from good management, I acknowledge my biases in viewing tourism development from a generally unfavorable perspective.

Equipped with a detailed understanding of relevant theoretical perspectives, an ethnographic background of the study site, and the methodology discussed here, we are now able to examine the questions this information has produced, analyze the resulting responses, and discuss the conclusions I have made regarding cultural tourism on Pine Ridge.

Part II: Analysis of the Pine Ridge Cultural Tourism Industry from the Residents' Perspectives

Chapter 4: Households and Business Owners: Perceptions of Cultural Tourism and Entrepreneurship

Question 1: How do Pine Ridge residents view tourism development and its potential impacts on the Pine Ridge economy and Lakota culture?

Assertion #1: Pine Ridge residents express a generally positive attitude regarding tourism development on the reservation.

Assertion #2: While economic benefits are the strongest motivation for participating in or supporting tourism development, other important motivations are represented in the survey data.

Assertion #3: Residents agree that the negative impacts of tourism mainly involve the commercialization of Lakota spirituality, which can be mitigated through accountability of business owners and management of tourists.

Assertion #4: Business owners do not express a significant difference in opinion from other Pine Ridge residents.

Question 2: How does participating in tourism act as a viable way to access the cash economy for tourism business owners?

Assertion #5: Tourism promises financial support for entrepreneurs, but without mainstream social networks, cultural knowledge and business know-how (and often even with it), rarely provides financial stability

Question 1: How do Pine Ridge residents view tourism development and its potential impacts on the Pine Ridge economy and Lakota culture?

How do Pine Ridge residents view tourism development and its potential impacts on the Pine Ridge economy and Lakota culture? Tourism development has a complex set of impacts on residents and communities, both positively and negatively. An important step towards maximizing the positive impacts and minimizing the negative ones is to understand how different residents perceive different forms of tourism development. A

survey was conducted with ninety Pine Ridge residents in the attempt to understand their general attitude towards tourism and tourists; what the greatest motivations are for participating in, or supporting, tourism development; and where the negative impacts most commonly occur. These results and analysis will follow a short description of the survey questions that were asked of different participants.

Business owners (n=43) and households (n=47) were asked the same ten Likert-scale questions and two open-ended questions in their surveys. Business owners were given three additional scaled questions that dealt specifically with the actions of business owners and the business community. Business owners who did *not* consider their business to be a tourism business (n=23) were also asked an additional open-ended question, while those who *did* consider themselves tourism business owners (n=20) were asked eleven additional questions that explored their motivations, methods and experiences in the tourism sector on the reservation.⁴ It is critical to recognize that the majority of business owners in this sample are semi-formal and formal business owners and do not adequately represent informal microenterprise participants, who maintain a very important role in tourism development on the reservation.

Three major independent variables were identified in this analysis in the attempt to identify differences in the sample: age; gender; and type of resident (business owner or household). There are very few significant differences between any of the independent variables revealed in the survey analysis. An Independent Samples *t*-Test was used to reveal a statistically significant difference between business owners and households regarding the statement ‘tourism brings economic growth to the reservation,’ while a Mann-Whitney U test revealed a statistically significant difference between men and

⁴ See chapter three, Methodology, for a more detailed explanation of the survey.

women in whether they think ‘tourists have a positive, negative or no effect on Lakota culture.’ A significant interaction of age and gender was also identified using a Factorial ANOVA. Pearson Correlations revealed significant differences between age groups regarding two statements designed to assess how comfortable residents are with the presence of tourists at various locations.

I am interested, in part, in determining if Pine Ridge residents who choose to open a business, particularly a tourism business, have different concerns, motivations and beliefs regarding tourism development than residents who do not own businesses. This question is guided by the stereotype in Lakota society that individuals who are more incorporated into the market economy – namely, business owners – are wealthy, liberal, mixed-blood individuals that shirk the social obligations and traditional morals of full-bloods who are more embedded in their social networks and traditions. Contrary to this assumption, the survey results reveal very few significant differences between business owners and other residents. For this reason, the following analysis includes the results for each group both separately and combined. While significant differences will become evident, for the majority of these survey questions, the combined data provides a more holistic perspective of residents’ attitudes regarding tourism development on Pine Ridge.

Several basic questions formed the foundation for beginning to explore the attitudes of Pine Ridge residents regarding tourism development on the reservation. What do residents see as the major benefits of tourism development? Who, if anyone, is receiving the financial benefits of tourism? Are there other benefits beyond an increased income that make residents more ambivalent towards the industry? How do residents feel about a potential increase in interest from outsiders in Lakota history, traditions and

spirituality? Do residents find tourism activities to be invasive of their privacy? Are there certain tourism activities that residents find more inconvenient, offensive or invasive than others? How does the presence of tourists affect the daily lives of residents? For those who experience certain benefits from tourism development, are the pitfalls worth the benefits? Can residents, the business community, the tribal government, and other entities mitigate the negative outcomes that may result? How might this happen? For business owners in particular, how do they perceive their participation in an industry that places a market value on their own, or their neighbors' cultural identity?

It is important to explore these types of questions in the effort to encourage responsible and culturally sensitive tourism development that is informed by the residents. Through these surveys and semi-structured interviews performed by myself and other members of the 2008 field school, I was able to obtain quantitative and qualitative information on participants' attitudes towards several facets of tourism development. This information is organized below in order to best describe participants' responses to these questions.

Assertion #1: Pine Ridge residents express a generally positive attitude regarding tourism development on the reservation.

Several survey questions were designed to assess the general attitudes of participants regarding tourism development on the reservation. One question asked participants (business owners n=33, households n=43) to identify the main results of tourism development on the reservation. The results of this open-ended question were analyzed and placed in appropriate categories. Both business owners (34%) and households (19%) most frequently named the financial benefits of tourism, citing an improved economy and increase in income as major results of tourism. Business owners

emphasized that tourism development was a seasonal improvement, with one participant stating that tourism is “positive because...it makes the economy better. A lot better. After August, it just...stops.” Additionally, business owners and households tended to acknowledge that tourism improved business, and gave artisans opportunities to sell beadwork and other items as souvenirs. Fourteen percent of business owners expressed a desire to see more tourism on the reservation, citing a need for improved management and experience. Some business owners (10%) and households (6%) mentioned the potential for greater cultural understanding through tourism, bringing awareness and respect of Lakota culture. One household participant stated that tourism has the effect of “positive information getting out...people don’t know anything about Lakota culture.” Some households (17%) stated that they had not experienced any results of tourism.

A primary concern of responsible tourism development is how tourism impacts the cultural identity of residents. To gain a general perspective on participants’ attitudes regarding the impact of tourism on Lakota culture, one scaled question asked participants to respond to the statement ‘tourism is good for Lakota culture.’ Seventy-four percent of both business owners and household participants agreed with this statement. One business owner went on to explain that it is good, “in the sense that it teaches tourists about the culture, which feeds a better attitude.”⁵

Table 2 Description of 'Tourism is good for Lakota culture'

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std Dev
Tourism is good for Lakota culture	Households (n=44)	0%	14%	14%	68%	5%	3.64	.780
	Business Owners (n=39)	0%	5%	15%	64%	15%	3.90	.718
	Total (n=83)	0%	10%	15%	66%	10%	3.76	.759

(Mean: 1=Strongly Disagree, 3=Neutral, 5=Strongly Agree)

⁵ This excerpt is paraphrased from notes; the interview was not voice recorded.

How does the independent variable of age interact with the scaled statements? A Pearson Correlation revealed that only a few of the statements were statistically significantly associated with age. In particular, the age of a participant is significantly associated with their response to the statement 'tourism is good for Lakota culture,' ($r(77) = .324, p = .004$), with a typical effect size. Older participants are more likely to agree that tourism has a positive impact on Lakota culture. To see if age interacted with gender in this statement, a Factorial ANOVA was performed. Table 3a shows the means and standard deviations for this response separately for gender and age, which was divided into five categories in order to satisfy the assumptions of the test. Table 3b shows that there was not a significant interaction between gender and age on the survey response ($p = .562$). However, there was a significant main effect of gender on the survey response ($F(1, 69) = 5.86, p = .018$). Eta for gender was about .28, which is a medium effect size. There was also a significant main effect of age on the survey response ($F(4, 69) = 2.60, p = .044$) with an eta of about .36, a large effect. It appears that the older a participant, the more likely they will feel positively about tourism's impact on Lakota culture, while males express a more positive attitude than females. Because there is not a significant interaction between gender and age, the 'effect' of age is about the same for both genders, meaning that there is a roughly parallel increase in positive response for both men and women as age increases (see Figure 2). Other significant associations with age will be discussed later.

Table 3 Means, Standard Deviations, and *n* for 'Tourism is good for Lakota culture' as a Function of Gender and Age'

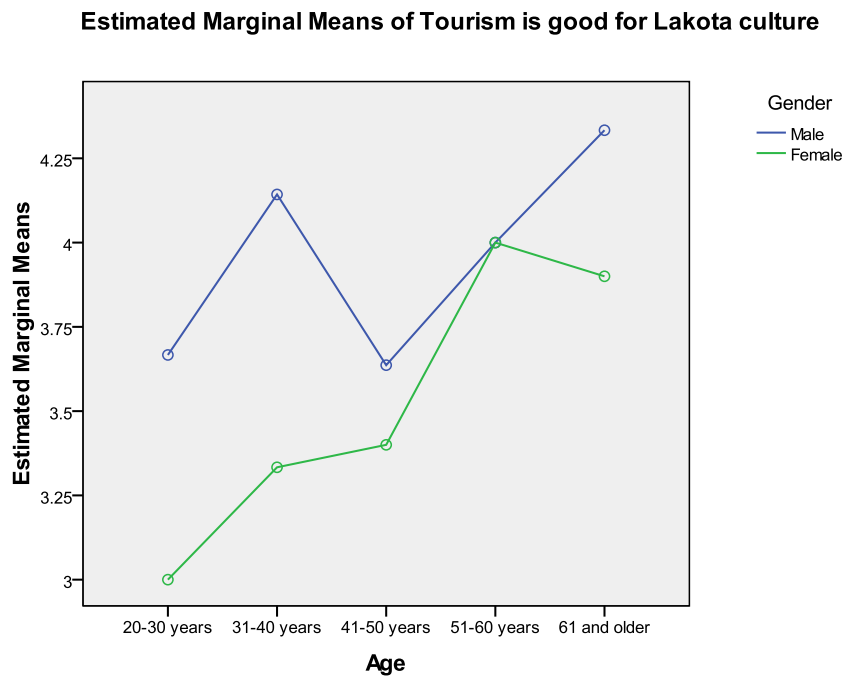
Age	Males			Females			Total		
	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
20-30	6	3.67	.816	6	3.00	.894	12	3.33	.888
31-40	7	4.14	.690	6	3.33	.816	13	3.77	.832
41-50	11	3.64	.809	10	3.40	.699	21	3.52	.750
51-60	6	4.00	.000	14	4.00	.679	20	4.00	.562
61 and older	3	4.33	.577	10	3.90	.738	13	4.00	.707
Total	33	3.88	.696	46	3.63	.799	79	3.73	.763

Table 4 Analysis of Variance for 'Tourism is good for Lakota culture' as a Function of Gender and Age

Variable and source	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>n</i> ²
Tourism is Good for Lakota Culture				
Gender	1	3.059	5.86*	.078
Age	4	1.355	2.60*	.131
Gender*Age	4	.391	.749	.042
Error	69	.522		

* $p < .05$

Figure 4 Estimated Marginal Means of 'Tourism is good for Lakota culture' (Strongly Disagree=1, Strongly Agree=5)



Qualitative interviews have provided some speculation into why older participants express a more positive view of tourism development than younger participants. Two major explanations are available. Over the past several generations, many Lakota residents have converted to Christianity and some do not associate themselves with traditional spirituality. For them, the commodification of Lakota culture is less personal and presents fewer obstacles to cultural wellbeing. The second explanation deals with the revival of Lakota spiritual practices by a younger generation, after the legalization of Lakota religion in the 1970s (Harjo 2004:130). These ceremonies are not practiced in the same way that older generations remember so that segment of the population may not consider today's practices to be traditional, and therefore feel less inclined to protect them. On the other hand, the younger generations who seek to revive Lakota religion do feel protective of their practices and are wary of tourists who seek to participate in and corrupt their efforts.

Assertion #2: While economic benefits are the strongest motivation for participating in or supporting tourism development, other important motivations are represented in the survey data.

The most direct benefits of cultural tourism development are economic, by providing additional income to Pine Ridge residents who participate on some level in the tourism industry. A large majority of survey participants acknowledge the economic benefits of the tourism industry. Eighty-four percent agreed or strongly agreed that 'tourism brings economic growth to the reservation,' with a full 97% of business owners positively responding to that statement. The question of just how economically viable tourism is for business owners is explored further in question two.

Table 5 Description of 'Tourism brings economic growth to the reservation'

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std Dev
Tourism brings economic growth to the reservation	Households (n=44)	0%	16%	11%	68%	5%	3.61	.813
	Business Owners (n=37)	0%	3%	0%	62%	35%	4.30	.618
	Total (n=81)	0%	10%	6%	65%	19%	3.93	.803

(Mean: 1=Strongly Disagree, 3=Neutral, 5=Strongly Agree)

While a belief that tourism development brings economic benefits is evident, it is important to realize that there are other strong motivations for Pine Ridge residents to support tourism on the reservation. An increase in cultural understanding and a desire to dispel negative stereotypes regarding American Indians is a strong sentiment among some participants. A majority of business owners (82%) and households (89%) agreed with the statement ‘it is important to share Lakota culture and history with tourists.’

Table 6 Description of 'It is important to share Lakota culture and history with tourists'

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std Dev
It is important to share Lakota culture and history with tourists	Households (n=44)	0%	9%	2%	75%	14%	3.93	.728
	Business Owners (n=39)	0%	3%	15%	67%	15%	3.95	.647
	Total (n=83)	0%	6%	8%	71%	15%	3.94	.687

(Mean: 1=Strongly Disagree, 3=Neutral, 5=Strongly Agree)

What leads these tourism business owners into their individual types of business? A survey question that asked self-identified tourism business owners (n=18) why they chose their particular tourism business reveals that financial incentives are often far from the most important reason. Twenty-eight percent of participants claimed that personal enjoyment was their primary reason for choosing their tourism business, with one business owner saying it was “something I always loved to do, can’t seem to stop so I might as well make money.” Another 22% cited a desire for greater cultural education and a need to dispel stereotypes, with statements such as “tired of half-truths about

culture” and “they get a better understanding of who we are beyond the stereotype.”⁶ An equal number (22%) responded that their tourism business was a product of family assets and experience, with one respondent stating, “I’ve been doing this since I was seven years old and I really comfortable with it...I know how to do it. Selling, it’s...it’s really easy for me to do. Nobody out here, you know, wants to do it because they’re shy. I’m not shy.” Demand from tourists for particular products and services pushed seventeen percent of participants to choose their business, saying it was what “people said they wanted...something off the beaten path,” and “it’s the kind of stuff [tourists] are lookin’ for...our culture is based on our...riding high, promoting ourselves as a Warrior Society.”

Only one participant cited financial incentive as the reason for choosing their tourism business. Based upon the information provided in chapter two and Dr. Pickering’s (2000) own work, we have learned that market exchange is not the dominant mode of integration in Lakota culture. It should be unsurprising, therefore, that economic gain is not the only, or even most important in some cases, reason to engage in cultural activities in the tourism industry. It is also important to recognize a distinction between why a person chooses to start a business, where financial incentives may become more evident, and why they choose a particular type of business, which may reflect their own personal talents and passions.

Assertion #3: Residents agree that the negative impacts of tourism mainly involve the commercialization of Lakota spirituality, which can be mitigated through accountability of business owners and management of tourists.

The development of responsible, sustainable cultural tourism necessitates a strong emphasis on the impact that tourism businesses, products, and tourists have on individual

⁶ These two excerpts are paraphrased from notes; these interviews were not voice recorded.

residents. When a business owner creates a tourism business, they must determine what aspects of Lakota culture to include in their product. The activities involved in a tourism business can range from the creation of tourist souvenirs to guidance through a Lakota spiritual ceremony. How a business owner decides to portray Lakota culture can impact how both tourists and local residents understand Lakota cultural identity. In addition, one should consider the discretion and privacy due to Pine Ridge residents who have experienced generations of poverty, illness and forced cultural assimilation. While some tourism products can be relatively harmless, others may cause a great deal of controversy. Similarly, the expectations and behavior of tourists can be disruptive and disrespectful of daily life. Several survey questions explored the potential negative impacts of tourism development to determine what most concerns local residents. Survey results indicate that there is a marked gradation in appropriate tourism products ranging from fairly benign activities such as pow wows or camping to controversial activities surrounding the commercialization of Lakota spirituality.

The following table lists the results from three statements that explore residents' concerns regarding the need to avoid the potential misuse of Lakota culture and spirituality. A majority of participants (80%) agree that 'it is important to keep some aspects of Lakota culture out of the tourism product,' with business owners maintaining a slightly more positive position on the topic. Both business owners and households who agreed with this statement specified that the ceremonial aspects of Lakota culture should be omitted from tourism activities. When addressing the potential for misrepresentation of Lakota identity, the statement 'tourism products on the reservation accurately represent Lakota culture,' received a mixed response, with 54% of participants agreeing, but a

quarter disagreeing with the statement. One participant who agreed with the statement pointed out that the “decorations” sold on the reservations are mostly locally made. Two participants also emphasized that local artists can be more creative in representing “modern culture” with new forms of art, which recognizes that the Lakota are constantly changing and avoids the stereotyping of Lakota culture as a static nineteenth century Plains Indian culture. Two business owners who disagreed referenced that dream catchers are often sold on the reservation, even though they are not traditional Lakota crafts. Another respondent argued that he did not think that “a product can depict Lakota culture.” Many respondents also seemed unsure and responded neutrally. One of the strongest negative responses on the survey came from the statement ‘it is ok for tourism businesses to market Lakota spiritual practices,’ where a full 80% disagreed with the statement. The Sundance, considered one of the most sacred of Lakota spiritual ceremonies, is cited by two participants as an inappropriate tourism activity.

Table 7 Description of Three Statements Regarding Representation of Lakota Culture in Tourism

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std Dev
It is important to keep some aspects of Lakota culture out of the tourism product	Households (n=44)	0%	14%	11%	64%	11%	3.73	.845
	Business Owners (n=38)	0%	8%	5%	68%	18%	3.97	.753
	Total (n=82)	0%	11%	9%	66%	15%	3.84	.808
Tourism products on the reservation accurately represent Lakota culture	Households (n=44)	2%	25%	25%	48%	0%	3.18	.896
	Business Owners (n=38)	0%	26%	13%	50%	11%	3.45	1.01
	Total (n=82)	1%	26%	20%	49%	5%	3.30	.952
It is ok for tourism businesses to market Lakota spiritual practices	Households (n=43)	16%	61%	5%	19%	0%	2.26	.954
	Business Owners (n=38)	21%	63%	8%	8%	0%	2.03	.788
	Total (n=81)	19%	62%	6%	14%	0%	2.15	.882

(Mean: 1=Strongly Disagree, 3=Neutral, 5=Strongly Agree)

Business owners were asked three additional scaled statements, one of which was ‘tourism on the reservation has the potential to exploit Lakota culture.’ While 20% disagreed that tourism could exploit Lakota culture, another 57% agreed that there was potential for exploitation. Very few qualitative responses were available for this statement.

Table 8 Description of 'Tourism on the reservation has the potential to exploit Lakota culture'

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std Dev
Tourism on the reservation has the potential to exploit Lakota culture	Business Owners (n=37)	0%	19%	24%	49%	8%	3.46	.900

(Mean: 1=Strongly Disagree, 3=Neutral, 5=Strongly Agree)

To determine what forms of tourism are more likely to exploit Lakota culture, business owners who did *not* consider themselves tourism business owners (n=15) were asked if there were specific types of tourism that might be disrespectful of Lakota culture and in what forms this occurs. Fifty-three percent of the fifteen non-tourism business owners agreed that there are types of tourism that are disrespectful of Lakota culture, most often citing the commercialization of Lakota spirituality. One participant considered visitor stands an example of disrespect, saying, “...the booths that sit out by the gravesite...the Wounded Knee gravesite. Kind of weird. I don’t know, I think they could’ve picked a different spot for their arts and crafts.” A need for culturally sensitive tourism education is also often emphasized. The following quotations indicate the belief among some that certain organizations, such as the tribal government or the Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce (PRACC), should play a leading role in educating tourists on proper etiquette on the reservation.

“Outside people need to be educated about our culture...let’s say a bus load of people comes down, the chamber could be a speaker too, tell them this is what you’ll see if you go to a pow wow; know you can’t go waltzing into a Sundance...”⁷

“A lot of it we can tolerate, but...the tribe...needs to come out with more pamphlets, like I don’t see enough of it, how to act around cultural things. I think you need some signs and...pamphlets to hand out, stuff like that. It seems like you’re getting too commercialized with them, but you need it, you need to educate. Because some people, you know, they want to live one way, and when people come in, they’re corrupting those ways.”

Business owners who *did* consider themselves tourism business owners were asked a more specific question than the one above, ‘in your experience, have you seen any negative impacts of tourism or tourists on Lakota culture?’ While more than half of *non-tourism* business owners agreed that there was potential for negative impacts in tourism development, 67% of tourism business owners (n=17) had not personally seen any negative impacts. This difference between non-tourism and tourism business owners may be a result of the difference between potential and actual experiences of negative impacts, although it is possible that tourism business owners would be less likely to perceive the negative impacts of their own businesses. Of the 29% of tourism business owners that reported having seen negative impacts, nearly all cited the presence of tourists at Sundance ceremonies. Two participants recognized that people travel from great distances looking to participate in a Sundance. One woman claimed that some tourists pay up to \$10,000 on the neighboring Rosebud Reservation to participate. This same participant explained that the presence of tourists at a Sundance ceremony corrupts the integrity of the ceremony, saying that “...when you’re at Sundance, you’re dealing with spirits from the past coming to see their relatives and they don’t come because they see white people, and then they pass [by].” The only other negative impact was mentioned by one owner of a tourist stand at Wounded Knee who cited a lack of sufficient income from tourists who do not spend enough money on the reservation,

⁷ This excerpt is paraphrased from notes; this interview was not voice recorded.

saying “some just get out, read the sign [at the Wounded Knee Massacre Site] and leave.” It is argued by many, including the PRACC and the South Dakota Office of Tourism, that tourism revenues would benefit from better roads and road signs, more lodging and restaurant opportunities, and better advertising of current activities and amenities that will entice visitors to plan longer stays on the reservation, putting more money into the economy (State-Tribal Tourism Roundtable meeting, June 17, 2008). These efforts, of course, would also mean an even greater need for proper etiquette among tourists and accountability among business owners.

Business owners play an important role in mitigating the negative consequences of tourism development on the reservation and a few survey questions specifically addressed this role. A total 62% of all participants (n=79) agreed that ‘there are tourism business owners on the reservation that misuse Lakota culture in their tourism product.’ Here again, sweats and Sundances are specified by four participants as a form of misuse. It is important to note that these participants emphasize the **exchange of money in ceremonies** as a serious form of misuse by business owners. Business owners can charge high prices to perform sweats for tourists, or request expensive gifts in order to attend a Sundance. The involvement of money and business in Lakota spirituality increases the potential for altering the meaning of these traditions for Lakota residents and is a cause of concern for participants. One participant commented, “yes...selling sweats and Sundances. It’s not sacred to them if they’re selling it; they just want to make money.” Another participant who agreed to this statement added,

“I haven’t really seen much, cuz everyone’s pretty mellow on the rez. I know there’s some abuses. Probably minor abuses...someone’s doing it. There’s some Sundances that just cater to white people, I don’t know if you’d call them tourists, you know, and some of them guys run it as a business. That’s an example.”

Some residents tend to compare tourism activity on Pine Ridge to the Rosebud Reservation, where “spiritual tourism” is perceived to attract a larger number of tourists. One bed and breakfast owner enjoyed mimicking his version of a German speaking broken-English by saying, “Eh! We go Rosebud. Sundance!”⁸ Personally, I met at least a couple groups of Italian and German tourists who traveled to Rosebud specifically to participate in a Sundance. It seems that Rosebud offers more opportunities to participate in Lakota spiritual ceremonies, which has the effect of keeping the number of tourists interested in participating in spiritual ceremonies lower on Pine Ridge, less than 200 miles away from Rosebud. While a majority of participants believe there is always potential for misuse of Lakota culture, the general attitude is that the misuse that is occurring is on a small scale and mitigated by an array of pressures from family, friends and the business community, as will be seen below.

Table 9 Description of 'There are tourism business owners on the reservation that misuse Lakota culture in their tourism product'

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std Dev
There are tourism business owners on the reservation that misuse Lakota culture in their tourism product	Households (n=42)	0%	12%	19%	62%	7%	3.64	.791
	Business Owners (n=37)	0%	16%	30%	51%	3%	3.41	.798
	Total (n=79)	0%	14%	24%	57%	5%	3.53	.798

(Mean: 1=Strongly Disagree, 3=Neutral, 5=Strongly Agree)

The two additional scaled statements that were given only to business owners also dealt with the role of business owners in tourism development. Eighty-six percent of business owners (n=37) agreed that ‘the way a tourism business owner creates a tourism product can impact Lakota identity,’ although, when asked, very few expanded on this topic or gave examples.

⁸ This excerpt is paraphrased from notes; this interview was not voice recorded.

Table 10 Description of 'The way a tourism business owner creates a tourism product can impact Lakota identity'

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std Dev
The way a tourism business owner creates a tourism product can impact Lakota identity	Business Owners (n=37)	0%	11%	3%	81%	5%	3.81	.701

(Mean: 1=Strongly Disagree, 3=Neutral, 5=Strongly Agree)

Responsible tourism development goes beyond the actions of individual business owners. Organizations such as the tribal government, the PRACC and other non-profits, as well as social and familial networks also have an important role. These groups can put pressure on individual business owners to avoid certain tourist activities that are considered inappropriate by the majority of local residents. They can also put effort into educating tourists on the proper etiquette necessary to be respectful of Lakota culture and spirituality. One statement asked business owners (n=37) if ‘there are enough precautions in place to avoid the misuse of Lakota identity through tourism on the reservation.’ The responses were mixed, with 43% disagreeing and 35% agreeing with the statement. Participants also had differing opinions on where these precautions should come from, citing social networks or “other people getting after them,” self-regulation, and the tribal council, who one participant suggested should charge camera fees for taking photos at particular sites, something that is done elsewhere, including in the Pueblo regions of the southwest (Sweet 1991:298). A few emphasized that bureaucracy and big government is ideally avoided, instead focusing on self-control and pressure from their peers to avoid misuse. The following quotation from the owner of a bed and breakfast expresses this sentiment.

“There are cultural precautions. Not necessarily the laws and binds and red tape. But you know, there are cultural ones in place where people say, ok, photographs aren’t allowed, you can’t bring cameras, no food in the Sundance, you know, people know because they tell other people. So as

far as bureaucracy, maybe not, but as far as cultural ones go, I think people have that pretty well handled.”

This same participant went on to say:

“Then again, I’ve known some people from around here who have charged people to go to a sweat. Big money... Our guests say, well, what can I do, do they want money? And we say, no, maybe bring some wood. A nice iced tea is nice after a sweat. People are thirsty.”

Table 11 Description of 'There are enough precautions in place to avoid the misuse of Lakota identity through tourism on the reservation'

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std Dev
There are enough precautions in place to avoid the misuse of Lakota identity through tourism on the reservation	Business Owners (n=37)	3%	43%	19%	35%	0%	2.86	.948

(Mean: 1=Strongly Disagree, 3=Neutral, 5=Strongly Agree)

The attitudes of tourism business owners regarding their own businesses were also addressed. Not one tourism business owner (n=17) reported including Lakota spiritual practices in their business. One question asked tourism business owners if they ‘take special precautions to avoid any potential misuse of Lakota cultural identity.’ Of those who replied that they did (71%), the most common method for avoiding misuse was by avoiding Lakota spirituality altogether in their tourism products. Others mentioned that they encourage respect and cultural understanding by teaching their customers and guests proper etiquette. For example, one informant who owns a bed and breakfast explains to his guests that if they come upon a group of residents gathered together, they should not approach or take pictures of the group but keep a respectful distance and value the group’s privacy.

Another owner of a bed and breakfast was a unique case in this research. A non-Indian business owner, this woman emphasized proper etiquette with her guests, but also was the only participant who reported providing avenues for her guests to contact

spiritual leaders on the reservation. I think that living in a relatively isolated area of the reservation and very near a small Lakota community provided the unusual situation that occurs there, as she describes it here and in the following discussion:

“Our neighbors are very nice to visitors. They welcome them and, for those with a really deep interest in the culture, I would call the medicine man and he’ll come over and talk to people. And we have two people who will do sweat lodges for my guests, and we have people who come especially for the Sundance that we have right down here. And they’re welcome.”

Perhaps the most obvious and consistent impact of tourism development on local residents is the presence of tourists in different facets of reservation life. The degree and type of that impact can be determined in part by where and how tourists participate in activities on the reservation. Three questions attempted to understand what arenas were considered acceptable for tourists to be present at, and which were not. These three questions asked participants if they were comfortable with the presence of tourists at three locations: pow wows, sweat lodges, and Sundances. Among this sample it is very acceptable for tourists to be present at pow wows; not one single participant disagreed with this statement (n=81). The presence of tourists at pow wows is uncontroversial because pow wows are Lakota social gatherings and have less connection with spirituality than sweats or Sundances. The responses were much more mixed when participants were asked if they were comfortable with tourists at sweats, with 34% agreeing that it was comfortable, and 51% feeling uncomfortable with tourists at sweats. Where Sundances were concerned, a majority (68%) reported being uncomfortable with the presence of tourists, while about 24% were comfortable.

Responses concerning the presence of tourists at both sweats and Sundances were similar. Six participants, who mostly responded neutral to these statements, argued that it is up to the individual officiating over the ceremony, with one participant stating, “that

depends on who's doing the sweat. That's their decision. Some of them around here do, and some don't." Five other participants made a distinction between tourists who purchase services and non-Indian individuals with statements like, "if it was individuals instead of tourists, you know, I would agree. But since it's tourism, it'd be more commercialized, so I disagree." There's also an important distinction between residents who simply allow non-Lakota individuals to participate in their sweats or Sundances, and those who take money from those individuals:

"It's probably ok as long as they can't take pictures. And it depends on the frame of mind of that person having the Sundance, if they're trying to sell it to them, or if you're just letting the people attend, that's a big difference. There's a lot of people selling just to sweat, you know, and I don't think that's right. You know, I think it's ok for tourists to sweat. But if you're paying \$500 then it turns into **selling your religion.**"

Five participants responded that it was ok for tourists to observe Sundances, but not participate, because they do not speak Lakota and cannot truly understand what is occurring. Others considered the sincerity of the individuals the determining factor, believing that it is wrong to deny a person a spiritual experience that should be between an individual and their creator. The non-Lakota business owner mentioned previously articulated her experiences below:

"It depends. It's by invitation only. And the people, the Native people here...are uh, I invite people to the Sundance because the people here know that they are seriously interested in it. And not just a spectator. They're respectful and they have an acute love of it, and they approach it in a respectful manner. And in a manner in which it should be approached and not, 'oo, I want to take pictures.' But we help them, too, with knowing what to do, what's expected of a visitor to a Sundance. Or to a sweat." B13

Table 12 Description of Comfort with Tourists at Three Locations

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std Dev
I am comfortable with allowing tourists to observe pow wows	Households (n=44)	0%	0%	5%	91%	5%	4.00	.305
	Business Owners (n=37)	0%	0%	0%	89%	11%	4.11	.315
	Total (n=81)	0%	0%	3%	90%	7%	4.05	.312
I am comfortable with allowing tourists to participate with sweats	Households (n=44)	11%	41%	14%	34%	0%	2.70	1.069
	Business Owners (n=36)	6%	44%	17%	31%	3%	2.81	1.037
	Total (n=80)	9%	43%	15%	33%	1%	2.75	1.049
I am comfortable with allowing tourists to attend Sundance	Households (n=43)	23%	51%	5%	21%	0%	2.23	1.043
	Business Owners (n=36)	17%	44%	11%	25%	3%	2.53	1.134
	Total (n=79)	20%	48%	8%	23%	1%	2.37	1.088

(Mean: 1=Strongly Disagree, 3=Neutral, 5=Strongly Agree)

Figure 5 Sign before Sundance Grounds (Graham 2008)



A Pearson Correlation (or non-parametric equivalent) was performed to determine the associations between these three questions. A Spearman rho was used (because

comfort with pow wows was skewed at -1.93, which violates the assumption of normal distribution) to reveal that there are no statistically significant associations between comfort with tourists at pow wows and sweats ($p = .373$), or pow wows and Sundances ($p = .869$). However, there is a statistically significant positive correlation between whether an individual is comfortable with the presence of tourists at sweats and Sundances ($r(77) = .615, p < .001$), with a larger than typical effect size. Those who are uncomfortable with the presence of tourists at sweats are also uncomfortable with tourists at Sundances. R^2 indicates that approximately 40% of the variance in a participant's comfort with tourists at sweats can be predicted from their comfort with tourists at Sundances.

Table 13 Pearson Correlation Analysis of Attitudes Regarding the Presence of Tourists at Sweats and Sundances

	N	M	SD	r	df	p
Pearson Correlation				.615	77	.000
Comfort with sweats	79	2.76	1.053			
Comfort with Sundances	79	2.37	1.088			

Here again, age plays a role in how comfortable a resident is with the commercialization of Lakota spirituality. A non-parametric Spearman rho shows that the degree of comfort that a participant felt with tourists at pow wows was statistically significantly associated with age, ($r(74) = .227, p = .049$), with a typical effect size. Older participants report feeling more comfortable with the presence of tourists at pow wows than younger participants. R^2 indicates that approximately 5% of the variance in comfort with tourists at pow wows is accounted for by the age of the individual. Similarly, a Pearson Correlation revealed a statistically significant association between age and comfort with the presence of tourists at Sundance, ($r(74) = .280, p = .014$), with a less than typical effect size. While the presence of tourists at sweats was not statistically

significantly associated with age ($p = .083$) it does show the same trend in which older participants feel more comfortable with the presence of tourists than younger participants.

Table 14 Spearman Rho Analysis of Age and Attitudes Regarding the Presence of Tourists at Pow Wows

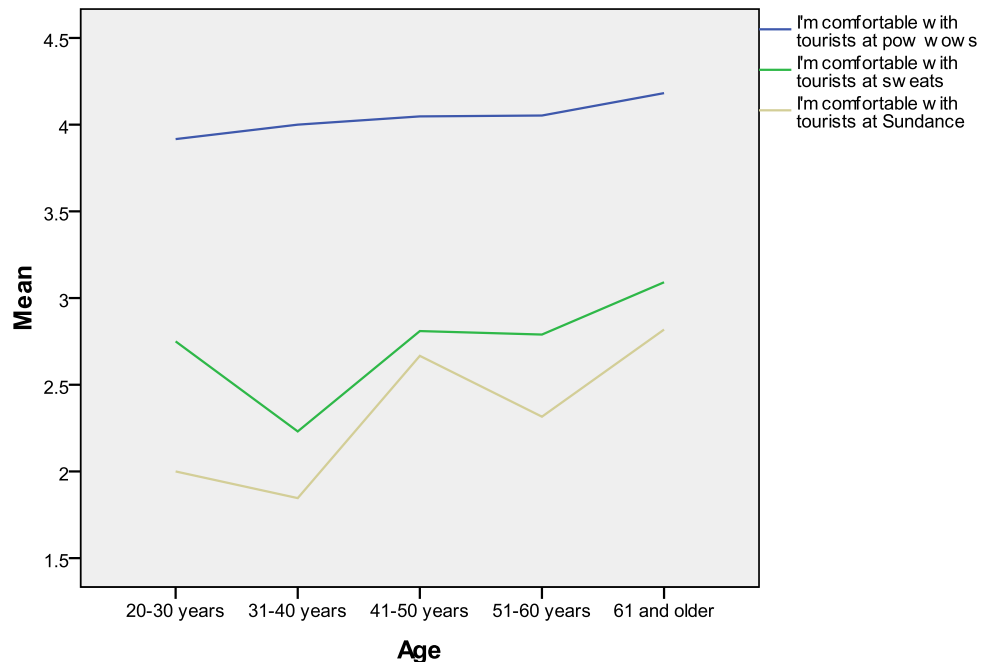
	N	M	SD	r	df	p
Spearman Rho				.227	74	.049
Age	76	46.49	13.68			
Comfort with pow wows	76	4.04	.303			

Table 15 Pearson Correlation Analysis of Age and Attitudes Regarding the Presence of Tourists at Sundance

	N	M	SD	r	df	p
Pearson Correlation				.280	74	.014
Age	76	46.49	13.68			
Comfort with Sundance	76	2.36	1.055			

Figure 6 Distribution of Age and Comfort with the Presence of Tourists at Three Locations (1=Strongly Disagree, 5=Strongly Agree)

Distribution of Age and Comfort With the Presence of Tourists at 3 Locations (1=Strongly Disagree, 5=Strongly Agree)



It is important to note that none of the other Likert-scale variables were statistically significantly associated with age, with the exception of the statement ‘tourism is good for Lakota culture,’ which was described previously.

Another question designed to understand the impact that tourists have on Lakota culture asked tourism business owners ‘what kinds of pre-existing ideas or expectations do tourists have regarding your business?’ The responses here were mixed; those business owners with websites and brochures reported having tourists who know what to expect from their business. Others mentioned that tourists expect good food; or lessons on Lakota history. Six participants, however, indicated that tourists often expect to see uncivilized, undereducated, lazy and impoverished residents on the reservation. Several mentioned that “[tourists] all think we live in tipis.” The archetype of the “noble savage” draws tourists to the reservation each year and some are disappointed at the obvious contradictions between their imaginary conception of a nineteenth century Plains Indian and the realities of reservation life today. One participant explained that some tourists even leave the reservation believing that Lakota culture has been destroyed. These kinds of preconceived notions about Lakota residents can be insulting and hurtful for some, and over the long-term may have a negative impact on an individual’s cultural identity.

One last question on the subject of tourists asked participants to decide if ‘tourists have a positive, negative, or no effect on Lakota culture.’ Very few (7% of households) believe that tourists have a negative effect on Lakota culture. A significant portion of business owners (21%) and households (31%) think that tourists have no effect. Business owners (64%) and households (51%) report that the presence of tourists has a generally positive effect on Lakota culture. The non-Lakota businesswoman mentioned earlier also made the same claim that some proponents of indigenous tourism development adhere to, that teaching tourists about Lakota culture and history creates a greater desire among Lakota residents to learn more about their own culture, and provides a source of pride in

that culture (Colton 2005:197; Greenwood 1989:185; Sweet 1991:299). Although it is difficult to test this assertion in a quantitative way, her quotation is included here as an example of the positive effect that tourists might have on Lakota culture:

“I know plenty of our neighbors who, maybe there was something they hadn’t thought of, or they hadn’t taught before, and they had to go ask the elders or other people in the community, ‘well, I’ve never thought about that, what is this.’ And so they become more knowledgeable about their culture because people were asking questions and they didn’t know, so they had to go out and find out.”

Table 16 Description of 'Tourists have a positive, negative, or no effect on Lakota culture'

		Negative	No effect	Positive	Mean	Std Dev
Tourists have a positive, negative, or no effect on Lakota culture	Households (n=38)	8%	34%	58%	2.50	.647
	Business Owners (n=24)	0%	25%	75%	2.75	.442
	Total (n=62)	5%	31%	65%	2.60	.586

*Does not include the 11% of respondents who gave multiple responses to this question. (Mean: 3=Positive, 2=Negative, 1=No effect)

It should be noted that approximately eleven percent of participants gave multiple responses to the question above, because they acknowledged the complexity of interactions between tourists and residents that cannot be classified as either entirely positive or entirely negative. However, in order to test whether there were differences among the type of resident, age groups or gender and these responses, this category was eliminated to create an ordinal variable that can be examined using the non-parametric Mann-Whitney (for type of resident and gender) and Kruskal-Wallis (for age groups) tests. While there were no significant differences between business owners and households ($p = .134$) or age groups ($p = .907$), there is a statistically significant difference between men and women in whether they think tourists have a positive, negative or no effect on Lakota culture ($U = 335.0, p = .029, r = -.26$), with a medium effect size. Women express a more negative attitude towards the presence of tourists than

men. It is important to note that no other statistically significant differences between genders were revealed in the survey responses.

Table 17 Mann-Whitney Analysis of Gender and the Effect of Tourists

	N	Mean Rank	U	p	r
Positive/Negative/No effect of tourists			335.0	.029	-.26
Male	25	36.60			
Female	37	28.05			

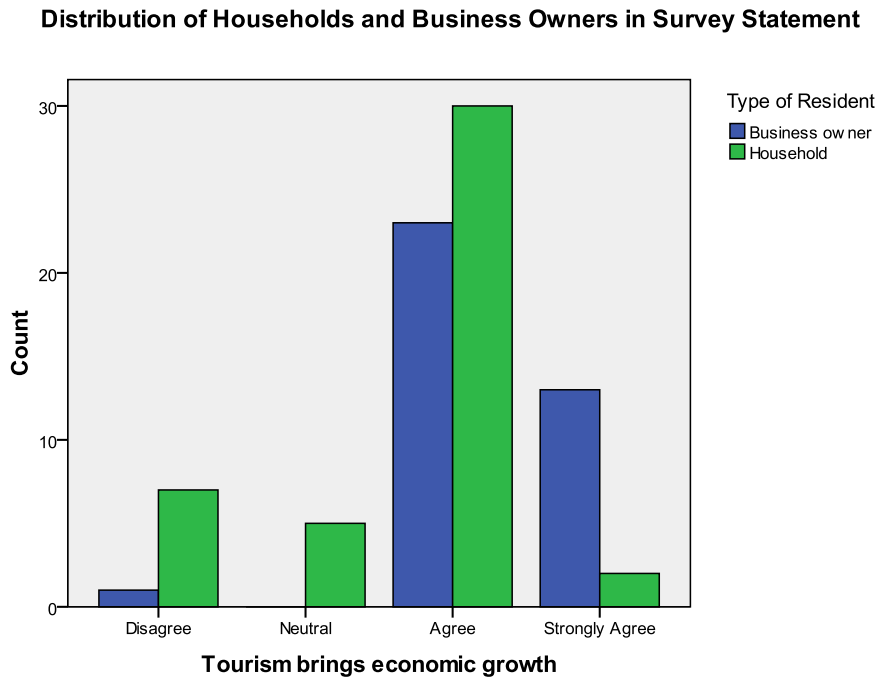
Assertion #4: Business owners do not express a significant difference in opinion from other Pine Ridge residents.

One goal of this study was to identify any major differences between business owners and other residents on the reservation regarding their attitudes toward tourism development. While Independent Samples *t*-Tests (or non-parametric equivalent) were performed for each scaled statement, only one statement revealed a statistically significant difference between business owners and household participants (at $p = .05$). It is perhaps unsurprising that the only difference would become evident in the statement ‘tourism brings economic growth to the reservation,’ where business owners are likely to experience the economic benefits of tourism more directly than other residents. A Mann-Whitney test was used because ‘tourism brings economic growth’ was slightly skewed at 1.06. Although both groups had generally positive responses, there was a statistically significant difference showing that business owners more strongly agreed that tourism brings economic growth to the reservation ($U = 444.5$, $p < .001$, $r = -.46$), with a typical effect size.

Table 18 Mann-Whitney Analysis of Type of Resident in Whether 'Tourism brings economic growth'

Variable	N	Mean Rank	U	p	r
Tourism brings economic growth			444.5	.000	-.46
Household	44	32.60			
Business Owner	37	50.99			

Figure 7 Distribution of Households and Business Owners in ‘Tourism brings economic growth’



The research questions for this survey were designed to identify significant differences in this sample through age, and type of resident (household or business owner). While these independent variables all have one or two significant differences regarding the scaled questions, any major differences that may exist within this population regarding tourism development have not been identified through these variables. It is my argument that business owners do not express a significantly different attitude regarding tourism development than other residents because the motivations and rewards for business ownership on the reservation are not the same as mainstream motivations and rewards. Business on Pine Ridge does not reflect the formalist assumptions of profit maximization and wealth accumulation common in other areas of the country. Business owners are embedded within Lakota society, just like other Pine Ridge residents.

The residents of Pine Ridge Reservation are a very diverse group of people with different experiences, opportunities and perspectives on both Lakota and mainstream culture and how tourism development impacts their lives, both positively and negatively. Yet the survey results here do indicate some level of unity in their attitudes towards tourism and where the positive and negative aspects lie. One possible explanation for this consensus is that cultural tourism activities that enter the reservation from the outside may tend to unite community members, both in their attempts to gain the benefits, and in their desire to avoid the commercialization of Lakota spirituality. As tourism develops, unequal divisions of the benefits and negative impacts may result in greater disagreement and contention among community members regarding the industry. Responsible tourism development would benefit from further study into how different residents are impacted by tourism and how individuals, families, and the business community can maximize the benefits and minimize the negative consequences for all residents.

The next section explores in greater detail how tourism business owners and others participate in tourism development, how it impacts their lives and businesses, and whether tourism is a useful industry for residents in general on the reservation. The analysis draws from conversations I shared with residents and applies Pierre Bourdieu's (1983) theory of multiple forms of capital to understand how different resources and forms of knowledge affect whether and how much residents can benefit from tourism. My goal is to illustrate that Pine Ridge residents do stand to gain from tourism development, but even with responsible management, the opportunities to succeed in the market economy are unequal and often divided between those who have the resources and knowledge of mainstream society, and those who do not.

Question 2: How does participating in tourism act as a viable way to access the cash economy for tourism business owners?

How does participating in tourism act as a viable way to access the cash economy for tourism business owners? Beyond understanding how Pine Ridge business owners participate in cultural tourism, I was interested in understanding the potential for tourism entrepreneurship to improve (or diminish) the quality of the lives of entrepreneurs. Qualitative responses on surveys, interviews, and my own observations were used to explore this question. The conclusion seems mundanely simple: tourism provides a flexible, convenient avenue into the “petty” cash economy, yet is rarely truly profitable and sometimes exploitative of both the physical labor and cultural identity of Lakota residents.

The degree of participation in tourism on the reservation varies greatly, from formal, established businesses to very informal microenterprise activities. Formal participation could include owning a gift shop, restaurant, bed and breakfast, or hotel. Less formal enterprises are the semi-permanent stands along the highway at major tourist stops, such as the Wounded Knee Massacre Site or Badlands National Park. Individuals and families who participate at this level in the tourism industry typically have purchased business licenses and employ family members and friends. They may make their own products, purchase items from others reservation residents and from outside the reservation. Informal microenterprise activities can occur regularly or infrequently and are used to barter or trade for other goods or sell for cash (either immediately or on consignment) to tourists, local stands and gift shops. Items sold as souvenirs to tourists are created and sold by individuals ranging all levels of participation in the industry and

include jewelry, buffalo hides, moccasins, clothing, dream catchers, spirit wheels, sweetgrass and tobacco bundles and more.

This study was designed to administer two different, but similar surveys, to two separate populations: households and business owners. The majority of business owners surveyed were those who had worked with the micro-lending organization, The Lakota Funds, in some capacity in the past. While several of those participants could be considered informal participants in the tourism industry, I believe that formal business owners are still overrepresented in the survey data presented in this chapter. I have tried to account for the underrepresentation of those involved in tourism microenterprise by providing some qualitative accounts of my daily interactions with Pine Ridge residents regarding cultural tourism in the following descriptions.

Forty-seven percent (n=20) of 43 business owners considered themselves to be tourism business owners. An additional eleven open-ended questions were asked of these tourism business owners in order to gain a deeper understanding of the motivations, concerns and experiences of tourism business owners on the reservation. Some regarding these business owners is provided in the following tables.

Table 19 Description of 'Percentage of your clients that are tourists'

What percentage of your clients are tourists? (n=35)			
Percentage of clients that are tourists	All Business Owners (n=35)	Tourism Business Owners (n=20)	Non-Tourism Business Owners (n=15)
Average	39%	64%	4%
0-33%	60%	30%	100%
34-66%	9%	15%	0%
67-100%	31%	55%	0%

Table 20 General Information for Business Owners

Is your business a cultural tourism business? Y / N (n=20)
65% Yes 35% No
Are you satisfied with the success of your business? Y / N (n=17)
82% Yes 18% No
What kinds of services do you provide to tourists? (Informant could provide more than one answer) (n=18)
56% Tours (n=10) Trail rides, hiking; visitor information, story-telling; hunting 50% Crafts (n=9) Beadwork, quillwork, pottery, paintings, ledger art; local, handmade, custom designs; gift shops 33% Lodging (n=6) Motel, B&Bs; camping 11% Restaurants (n=2) Meals
On estimate, what types of clients do you attract? (Informant could provide more than one answer) (n=17)
Geographic Origin of Tourists (n=10) 30% Everywhere 80% International 75% Europe (Germany, Italy, Switzerland, France) 13% Other (Japan, Australia) 40% Domestic Age Bracket of Tourists (n=9) 44% All ages 33% Young to middle aged; (20s-50s) 33% Retired Education/Occupation of Tourists (n=3) Professionals: business people, doctors, lawyers, educators, professors Highly educated; well read Other Characteristics of Tourists (n=6) Groups; missionaries/churches; educational institutes; interest in Indian culture and art
Please identify anything that could improve your ability to be a successful tourism business on the reservation. (Informants may provide more than one answer) (n=18)
41% Expansion through Credit Business loans; New buildings/additional space; More production of goods 29% Advertising

Road signs; Websites

18% Other

Satisfied with the way things are; Just want to get out of the village

12% Change Community Image

Emphasize reservation beauty; Ensure tourist safety

6% Road Improvements

Tourist-friendly roads

6% Dependable Employment

Hard to find appropriate people for appropriate job

Assertion #5: Tourism promises financial support for entrepreneurs, but without mainstream social networks, cultural knowledge and business know-how (and often even with it), rarely provides financial stability.

Tourism cannot offer a steady income to most residents on the reservation. It is mostly a seasonal activity, occurring during the warmer half of each year. As an informant described earlier states, tourism helps the local economy, but “after August, it just...stops.” It is unreliable, as travel patterns are impacted by a changing national and global economy and fluctuating interest in Plains Indian culture. Like other market-based activities, tourism entrepreneurship conflicts with basic Lakota values that cause residents to feel uncomfortable charging prices for goods, especially when those goods have cultural significance, while the real or perceived accumulation of wealth in a traditionally egalitarian society causes community conflict and jealousy (Pickering 2000:39).

In some ways, however, tourism is an appropriate economic activity within the mixed economy on Pine Ridge. It allows for a flexible range of participation in formal and informal entrepreneurship for residents. In an area with limited access to wage labor jobs and the cash economy, tourism is a way to participate in microenterprise activities that provide an important supplemental income for many residents (Pickering 2005:4;

2000:13). Additionally, the mixed economy already in place on the reservation provides the necessary safety nets when tourism activities prove unreliable or unrewarding.

Tourism also gives Lakota residents who do not possess the mainstream cultural knowledge, social networks or economic capital to participate in formal business ventures the opportunity to use their unique knowledge of Lakota culture to earn extra cash. On many occasions, I witnessed how residents participate informally in tourism. To depict this experience, I will recount an afternoon in June 2008 that I spent sitting at a “visitor stand” (I’m told that tourists find the word “tourist stand” insulting) at the Wounded Knee Massacre Site. As I talked with the woman who owned the stand, a niece or neighbor would occasionally stop by and drop off a few necklaces or earrings they had made. They would discuss pricing and the woman would either purchase the souvenirs immediately, or sell them on consignment based on a previous arrangement. The business owner explained to me that if a person needed some extra cash, they could spend an evening creating some souvenirs and then sell them to one of the local stands or gift shops. Some of these artists have tourism products scattered all over the reservation in a variety of gift shops. This woman also explained that in the long, cold months of winter, many residents spend their time in the kitchen making dozens or hundreds of souvenirs to sell in the spring (also noted in Pickering 2000:44-45). I soon recognized that the quality and variety of souvenirs was much greater in spring than in late summer, when the products had been picked over. Beyond souvenirs, I met residents who participate informally in tourism by offering their other talents, including storytelling, tipi camping, preparing traditional meals, and as a trail or tour guide.

For residents who are uneducated in business practices and lack the social networks and financial collateral to run a formal business, there are many opportunities to participate in cultural tourism and obtain resources through microenterprise. Yet while these activities provide support, they rarely provide financial stability. As one informant explains, “in a rural economy, when you’re self-employed, you need 5-6 avenues of income.”⁹ The volatile business climate on Pine Ridge is such that even established businesses often struggle to survive, and most informal participants cannot rely on tourism activities alone to make ends meet. There are others, however, who find success in tourism ventures at the expense of these microenterprise entrepreneurs.

In chapter two, I make the argument (with the help of Bourdieu 1983) that those who possess the ability to convert Lakota cultural knowledge into economic capital through tourism also control how that knowledge is packaged and sold to tourists. This conversion is ideally performed by the owner of the cultural knowledge, so that the appropriation of that knowledge for tourism purposes (by another) does not take advantage of the often marginalized position of the owner. This is a crucial aspect of responsible tourism. There are, however, many instances in which business owners that do not possess Lakota cultural knowledge profit greatly from other residents’ knowledge, because they possess the necessary tools to convert that knowledge into economic capital.

For example, on several different occasions, I met individuals on the reservation who were purchasing bulk quantities of Lakota goods (beads, quillwork, buffalo hides, quilts, etc.) in order to sell those goods outside of the reservation for a substantial profit. In one instance, I was sitting at a tourist stand talking with a businesswoman when three Italian tourists pulled up in a minivan. The man who approached us was wearing several

⁹ This excerpt is paraphrased from notes; the interview was not voice recorded.

layers of beaded jewelry around his neck and wrists and sported a tanned leather vest. His hair was long and braided and he had an eagle's feather tattooed on his arm. He gave an appraising look to the table full of jewelry and said in a thick Italian accent, "one hundred dollars for everything." The woman I had been talking to looked at him skeptically and rejected his price, instead offering him smaller quantities for fifty dollars apiece. After some bartering, the Italian man walked away with three-quarters of her goods for \$250.

For these individuals, who have the resources to travel and access markets and the buying power to purchase large quantities of goods, their prices increase dramatically the greater the distance from the reservation. For example, Pickering (2000:127-128) notes that local shops purchase goods from artists at only one-quarter of the price they sell them for, while regional shops like Rapid City and Denver pay about fifty percent of the ultimate price and national and international markets can yield thousands of dollars where local shops will only pay hundreds. Most Lakota artists, however, do not have the resources to travel and market their products, nor the ability to purchase the supplies necessary to produce large quantities of goods. When these artists sell their goods for a deflated, bulk price to others who sell them for a much larger price to distant "armchair" tourists, they no longer control the means of their own production. This is a form of exploitation common in cultural tourism.

In the case of the Italian tourist, another point should be made. Occasionally I have heard complaints that outsiders take advantage of the discomfort Lakota residents feel charging standardized prices for cultural products. I have even heard cases of non-profit and church groups who fail to pay full price for services on the reservation, leaving business owners feeling exploited and bitter. The businesswoman who refused to be

taken advantage of by the Italian gentleman has an unusually straightforward and boisterous personality for a Lakota woman, as she attests herself, “selling, it’s...it’s really easy for me to do. Nobody out here, you know, wants to do it because they’re shy. I’m not shy.” This woman avoided receiving the incredibly unfair prices that many others are pressured into accepting. Even so, I expect that the Italian tourist received much more than \$250 for his goods in Italy.

Tourism business owners and microenterprise entrepreneurs at all levels of participation benefit to some degree from the tourism industry. Those who possess the tools (social networks, cultural knowledge and business know-how) to maximize their entrepreneurial efforts have a chance to find some financial stability in tourism. Organizations like The Lakota Funds (TLF) recognize this, and have been offering business classes and loans for years in an attempt to provide these tools. But as Bourdieu (1983:184) argues, cultural capital (i.e. business knowledge) is difficult to transmit, a truth that TLF experiences each month as they watch businesses struggle and fail in a very difficult and complex business environment. Still, even those who lack these tools and are charged unfair prices for their goods do, at least, have some avenue for obtaining extra cash when they need it. This is perhaps the greatest merit of the cultural tourism industry: it provides a source of extra cash for residents, if nothing else.

It is time now to consider all the information presented here and draw the major conclusions of this study of cultural tourism on Pine Ridge.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusions

This thesis has reviewed the theoretical foundations, ethnographic background and methodology of this study, as well as the study results and subsequent arguments I have made regarding cultural tourism on Pine Ridge. Here, I will summarize the above results and rearticulate what I believe to be the major findings. I will then discuss the implications of this study and how it contributes to the body of knowledge on Plains Indian cultural tourism. I will identify the missing elements that would improve this study, as well as areas where new research is needed.

Operating within the Pine Ridge economy is a perpetual task of complex negotiations between a culture which places enormous value on reciprocal social relationships, generosity and egalitarianism and a market economy which values individual accumulated wealth. The result is a confusing and constantly evolving set of expectations from within and outside the reservation that residents must come to grips with on a daily basis. This situation is only further complicated by placing Lakota culture directly in the market through cultural tourism. While there is enormous potential for hosts of cultural tourism destinations to experience a wide variety of negative impacts, the results of this study indicate that, for this sample at least, these impacts have not been experienced on Pine Ridge. An articulation of the main results of this study regarding residents' perceptions of tourism, and their participation in it, follows below.

Perceptions of Cultural Tourism

For the most part, tourism on the reservation seems to have developed in a culturally appropriate, decentralized and responsible way. Most of the many potential negative impacts of tourism outlined in chapter two were not identified by the participants of this study. Tourism businesses are locally owned and controlled. Although some are not owned by Lakota residents, they are owned by non-Lakota who are invested in the local community. The difficult business environment, while not a blessing in itself, has resulted in slow, small-scale growth that has allowed residents to become accustomed to the presence of tourists on the reservation. Participants even reported that tourists have a positive effect on Lakota culture. The mixed economy already present on the reservation suits the seasonality of the tourism industry, allowing residents to use tourism activities as supplemental source of cash, without needing to make risky business investments. Participants even identified on several occasions, and through several survey questions, that beyond an additional source of cash, tourism has the benefit of increasing cultural understanding and dispelling the stereotypes surrounding Lakota society. It appears that, for the general Pine Ridge community, spiritual tourism possesses the only major potential for creating negative experiences for local residents.

Considering that this study sample is coming from a community as dynamic and complex as Pine Ridge, the results regarding the commercialization of Lakota spirituality are remarkably similar. Participants agree that Lakota spirituality does not belong in the tourism product. They recognize that business owners are in a position to market spiritual practices and potentially misuse Lakota identity, and they agree that these activities should be restricted. It was truly interesting to hear different people continue to identify

the role of the community, friends and family in putting pressure on business owners to avoid the spiritual aspects of Lakota culture.

Additionally, several times participants mentioned the role that the nearby Rosebud Reservation, who more actively conducts spiritual tourism activities, plays in reducing the frequency of these activities on Pine Ridge. Over and over again, residents made it clear that it was the exchange of money and the presence of outsiders who could not truly understand or appreciate the rituals so deeply steeped in Lakota identity, which altered the meaning of the ceremony. Nearly all the residents, including those who did not follow Lakota spiritual practices, recognized these activities as corrupt and dangerous. These participants are fully aware of the dangers inherent in tourism development, and know precisely where and how these dangers manifest within the community.

It is important to remember that while this sample reports a generally positive opinion regarding tourism development and its impacts on their communities, it is not representative of the entire reservation. Additionally, residents who have negative sentiments regarding tourism and tourist may have been less likely to speak with our research team (mostly white outsiders), while those who did speak with us may have felt pressured to give us positive feedback, known as the deference effect (Bernard 2006:241). A representative sample of Pine Ridge residents would greatly improve my ability to draw meaningful conclusions from this study.

Participation in Cultural Tourism

Participation in tourism includes individuals of all ages, in a wide range of activities and levels of investment. Both households and business owners participate in microenterprise activities, and the fluctuating nature of business ownership on the

reservation means that the identity of an individual as a household or business owner can change from one year to the next. I believe there is no practical difference between the two samples in this study. Polanyi (2001) and Pickering (2000) provide the framework for understanding that business owners on the reservation will not act any different than other residents, because they are embedded in Lakota society and have the same or similar social obligations and values as their peers. In addition, Browne (2009) has shown that, although business owners operate within the mode of market exchange, their roots in a culture significantly different than the one in which market exchange originated effectively alters how market exchange operates on the reservation. While it is important to recognize that business owners and others can feel enormous pressure to conform to mainstream market expectations, they also have the agency to maintain important Lakota characteristics in their business practices. Finally, as Pickering (2000:88-89) argues, the old divisions between mixed-blood and full-blood Lakotas may exist, but they do not manifest themselves in differences between business owners and households in this study. These are long-held stereotypes that, while continually operating in Lakota society, have no practical significance here.

The many opportunities available to Pine Ridge residents to participate in tourism, and the stringent barriers to full participation, are evident in participants' responses and in my own experiences. Microenterprise activities offer residents a flexible and convenient avenue into the cash economy, but rarely provide substantial financial benefits. In order to truly benefit from tourism entrepreneurship, one must make risky investments of time, expertise and money. Organizations like The Lakota Funds (TLF) have made great strides to provide business education and loans to residents, but as they have seen, the

volatile business environment on Pine Ridge, as well as the difficulty of acquiring the necessary mainstream cultural knowledge, keeps many talented entrepreneurs from succeeding. In the midst of this, entrepreneurs who lack the resources to succeed in business are exploited by those who do possess them.

Some potential solutions to this problem come to mind. If individuals wanted to travel outside the reservation to receive better prices for their goods, The Lakota Funds could create travel funds for those activities. Groups of entrepreneurs could form cooperatives to combine their efforts and amass large quantities of products, as well as financial resources, to travel and access the necessary marketing networks. Most importantly, organizations like the Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce (PRACC) and the tribal government could put pressure on local gift shops to pay residents fair prices for their goods. Yet, as I offer these as suggestions, it is likely that these solutions have been conceived of by many, and may be complicated to implement. If I have learned anything about community development, I have learned that the one-dimensional suggestions of outsiders not only have already been tried, but can have enormous political, social and cultural implications that are impossible to conceive of without real, extended and humble personal investment in the community.

This study is an attempt to recognize the importance of residents' voices in development decisions regarding tourism; to understand their experiences, and how tourism impacts their daily lives. It contributes to the literature on indigenous tourism by providing on-the-ground accounts of these impacts in an area rarely discussed by cultural tourism discourse. I have been unable to find any other attempts to explore the general framework for cultural tourism development on Plains Indians reservations, and I hope

that others looking for such information come across this thesis and find it useful. The results of this study do appear to agree with the literature on cultural tourism, both with the scenarios that result in negative impacts, and the strategies to avoid them.

Three major areas would vastly improve this study. The first is data on the ethnicity of these participants. Without that information, I am missing a critical variable when identifying differences between participants' opinions of cultural tourism related their own identity. The second is a representative sample. The ability to generalize these results might provide useful information to groups on the reservation who are interested in how residents perceive and participate in cultural tourism. As it stands, the experiences of these ninety participants cannot be generalized to the broader population. Third, a stronger and more in-depth methodology for obtaining qualitative data would help me to further understand the results of these survey responses and allow me to provide stronger evidence for the assertions made here.

The results of this study point to more applied research that uses the suggestions of these participants to help the ongoing efforts of reservation individuals and organizations to improve the viability of small business entrepreneurship. For example, better road signs and marketing to the tourists who frequent the Black Hills and Badlands regions are recommendations that would not require major financial investments, but may greatly increase tourism dollars spent on the reservation. Additional theoretical research might explore unanswered questions in this study, such as the reasons behind why women and younger generations express more negative attitudes regarding tourism than men and older generations.

I came to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation from an ecotourism background, which I gained during my undergraduate research on community based tourism in the rural hills of Costa Rica. Although both of these study locations are “off the beaten path,” they are dramatically different in other ways. In Costa Rica, the emphasis is on nature tourism – and business is big. Even on the rocky highways along palm oil farms and cattle grazing lands, the ecotourism market is saturated with butterfly gardens, zip line companies and eco-lodges of every shape, size, and price. The competition is high and despite a national effort to promote socially responsible tourism development, sufficient economic returns are difficult to achieve for the average Costa Rican.

Tourism on Pine Ridge is miniscule in comparison. Although the business environment is very difficult, opportunities for expanding this market do exist and the competition is not nearly as steep. The much more significant difference between these two locations, however, is that the emphasis of the tourism industry on Pine Ridge unequivocally surrounds Lakota culture and spirituality. For this reason, the potential for tourism to cause significant damage to individual and collective cultural identities is much greater, making the development of responsible tourism critical to the wellbeing of community members. It also means that my research has dealt with more sensitive issues with a more marginalized community than any research I have done before. The work has provided me with the richest and most challenging experiences of my life. I truly hope that this work is one of many future efforts towards the responsible management of tourism development across the Plains and everywhere cultural tourism occurs.

This thesis has explored cultural tourism development on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation from the residents’ perspectives. It attempts to understand how residents

experience the positive and negative consequences of tourism; knowledge that is crucial for maximizing the benefits while mitigating the negative impacts of development. Additionally, it explores the motivations and priorities of business owners, which are different in Pine Ridge than they are elsewhere, and align closely with their neighbors as individuals firmly embedded in the fabric of Lakota society. The study identifies where entrepreneurs are exploited and how structural inequalities create barriers to truly benefiting from the industry, while allowing others to profit from their lack of resources. The generally positive perceptions of tourism reported by these participants suggest that cultural tourism may be a viable development option for Pine Ridge, at least for now. While the Pine Ridge economy is confusing, continually evolving and difficult to navigate, the ingenuity and integrity of Lakota society has undoubtedly resulted in a tourism sector on the reservation that is responsible, accountable and undeniably Lakota.

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APPENDICES

- Appendix A: 2008 Household Survey
- Appendix B: 2008 Business Owner Survey
- Appendix C: Survey Consent Form
- Appendix D: Correlation Matrix of All Scaled Variables
- Appendix E: Variable Codebook

APPENDIX A: 2008 PINE RIDGE HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

Name of Interviewer: _____

Name of note taker: _____

Interview ID P FU08

Date: _____ Consent Form _____ Receipt _____

Location: _____

GPS Coordinates: _____

Zone: _____

Northing: _____

Easting: _____

Age: _____

Male / Female

Lakota Funds Questions:

Have you heard of the Lakota Funds?

Have you ever used the services of the Lakota Funds?

If yes, for what purpose?

If not, why not?

Are people hesitant to open a business on the reservation? Why?

Are people hesitant to approach the Lakota Funds for assistance? Why?

Lakota Fund Recipient Employee ADDENDUM

(If not TLF client employee, go to p.4)

Please provide your employment history:

Who is your current employer?

What is your job? What kind of things do you do at work?

How did you hear of the job?

How did you get the job?

What is your relationship to your boss?

How long have you worked there?

Is this job temporary, seasonal or permanent?

How many hours per week do you work?

How much do you get paid per hour, or what is the salary?

What other benefits do you get from this job (health insurance, wellness benefits, etc)?

Did you loose any government benefits in taking this job?

What impact has your job had on your family, in particular, have there been any impacts on your children?

What impact has this job had on your financial security and your social relationships?

Are there any social activities you cannot participate in because of your job?

Rate your health before getting this job?

Rate your health after getting this job?

Have you received any on the job training?

What costs do you incur with having this job (transportation, babysitters, lunch away from home, etc.)?

What is the minimum amount of pay you would take for a job?

What amount of money do you think would allow you to live comfortably?

What is your ideal job, in terms of tasks and responsibilities?

How does this differ from your current job?

Ideally how many hours would you like to work per week? Why?

Where would your ideal job be located?

How do you feel the Lakota Funds has impacted your job?

(CONTINUE HERE for those not TLF client employees)

Do you have a computer in your home? Y / N Do you have access to the internet? Y / N

How often do you purchase items off the internet?

Never A few times a year Monthly Weekly Daily

Do you compare prices on the internet before making a purchase? Y / N

Is there a refrigerator or freezer available in your household for food? Y / N

Do you or someone in this household own a car? Y / N

When you go shopping, do you ever get a ride from someone else? Y / N

How do you get rides to go shopping?

How much do you pay to get a ride?

How many years of education did you complete? _____

What's your household's annual income? \$ _____

Does anyone in your household receive TANF? Y / N

What is your religious affiliation? _____

Social Marketing Questions:

How do you feel about your community?

List three things that make Pine Ridge a good place to live?

Where is your favorite place to go on the reservation? Why?

What do you miss most when you're away from the reservation?

What positive message do you think people need to hear about this community?

Do you think men and women would agree about this message, or would there be a different message for men or for women? Explain

If you were to see a poster about pride toward the reservation, what would it look like? (Describe)

Male / Female

Child / Elder

Hand Drawn / Computer graphic design

Mostly Text / Mostly pictures

Historical Images / Contemporary Images

What clothes would they wear?

Do you remember an advertisement more if there is a person of color in the picture? Explain

Are you more likely to respond to an ad that has a person you know in the picture? Explain

What do you think is the best way to reach young people with a message?

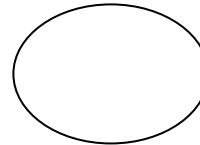
Do you do most of your shopping on the reservation or off the reservation? On / Off

If this pie is everything your household buys, how big of a piece would be the amount you buy:

A. in stores on the reservation

B. from people selling items out of their home or door-to-door

C. in stores off the reservation



We are interested in where you shop most often. Can you please tell me where you ...

9.1 shop at the most ON the reservation	9.1a How often?	9.1b Amount spent on average?	9.1c Why do you shop there?	9.1d What do you shop for?

9.2 What are the two places you shop the most OFF the reservation?	9.2a How often?	9.2b Amount spent on average?	9.2c Why do you shop there?	9.2d What do you shop for?

How do you pick between two comparable products when you're shopping?

What does quality in a product mean to you? How do you determine the quality of one product over another?

Shopping and Businesses

We would like to know your feelings about shopping and businesses. Please say if you agree or disagree with the following statements (attitudes)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
People should shop on Pine Ridge	SD	D	N	A	SA

I think highly of people who shop on the reservation	SD	D	N	A	SA
Shopping off the reservation is more fun because there is more entertainment like movies and restaurants	SD	D	N	A	SA
I get more done than just shopping when I go shopping off the reservation	SD	D	N	A	SA
Money spent at local businesses only benefits the business owner	SD	D	N	A	SA
When I have a choice between two items, I look for quality over price	SD	D	N	A	SA
Locally owned businesses creates jobs on the reservation	SD	D	N	A	SA
There are enough types of businesses on the reservation that I don't need to shop off the reservation	SD	D	N	A	SA
When purchases are made at locally owned businesses, more money is kept in the community	SD	D	N	A	SA
Most new jobs are provided by local businesses	SD	D	N	A	SA
Stores on the reservation reflect Lakota culture	SD	D	N	A	SA
Local business owners invest in the community	SD	D	N	A	SA
Local business owners are invested in the reservation's future	SD	D	N	A	SA
Customer service is better in store on the reservation	SD	D	N	A	SA
Smaller, more specialized stores are better than stores with a variety of products and services	SD	D	N	A	SA
I am more willing to buy a product if there is a native design on the packaging	SD	D	N	A	SA

Media Evaluation

What is your most important source for information?

Do you watch the local college public access channel produced by OLC? Y / N
If Yes, how often, and for how long?

We would like to know feelings toward local media sources. Please say if you agree or disagree with the following statements. (attitudes)

The Lakota Country Times is a reliable source for information	SD	D	N	A	SA
Indian Country Today is a reliable source for information					
KILI is a reliable source for information	SD	D	N	A	SA
The Internet is a reliable source for information	SD	D	N	A	SA
PRACC is a reliable source for information	SD	D	N	A	SA
The local college public access channel is a reliable source for information	SD	D	N	A	SA

Which local media source do you feel is the most credible?
Second most credible?

We would like to know feelings toward local businesses. Please say if you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Businesses should buy goods/services from other PR businesses (sn)	SD	D	N	A	SA
Businesses should buy goods/services from other PR businesses, even if they cost more than if buy off the reservation (sn)	SD	D	N	A	SA
Consumers should buy from businesses that buy from other PR businesses (sn)	SD	D	N	A	SA

We would like to know feelings toward buying locally grown food. Please say if you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Buying food grown locally is good for the environment(att)	SD	D	N	A	SA
Buying locally produced products does not effect the environment (att)	SD	D	N	A	SA
People should buy food grown locally (norm)	SD	D	N	A	SA

We would like to know your feelings about if you should or should not do the following activities. Please say if you agree or disagree with the following statements. (norms)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
When I shop on the reservation, it is because my family expects me to	SD	D	N	A	SA
When I shop on the reservation, it is because people in the community expect me to	SD	D	N	A	SA
When I shop on the reservation, it is because my friends do	SD	D	N	A	SA

We want to know if you do the following activities. Please say yes or no if you do these activities (behaviors) If Yes, # Hours per week

I use social networking websites (My Space, Face Book, etc)	No	Yes
I listen to KILI	No	Yes
I read Lakota Country Times	No	Yes
I visit businesses I hear about on the radio (What station?)	No	Yes
I visit businesses I see on TV (What stations?)	No	Yes
I visit businesses I hear about from my friends	No	Yes
I visit businesses I read about in the newspaper (Which newspaper?)	No	Yes
I visit businesses I see ads for in the newspaper (Which newspaper?)	No	Yes
I use coupons when I go shopping	No	Yes
I listen to telemarketers if they call my house	No	Yes
I make lists before I go shopping	No	Yes
I stick to the shopping lists I make	No	Yes
I use gift cards	No	Yes
I give gift cards to my friends and family	No	Yes
I reuse bags when I go shopping	No	Yes

To what degree to you agree or disagree with the following statements about the quality of items available in stores on the reservation? Please say if you agree or disagree with the following statements: (attitudes)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
The quality of the things I buy is better in stores off the reservation	SD	D	N	A	SA
Stores on the reservation are only useful when I need something right away	SD	D	N	A	SA
I get a better deal for my money in stores off the reservation	SD	D	N	A	SA

We would like to know your willingness to do some actions when you shop on the reservation, please identify the extent to which statement describes this willingness (I will; I never, sometimes, most of the time, all of the time) (behavioral intentions)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I will pay more in stores on the reservation if I know it helps the community	SD	D	N	A	SA

I will pay more in stores on the reservation if I know it helps create jobs for community members	SD	D	N	A	SA
I will pay more in stores on the reservation if I know it helps create jobs for youth on the reservation	SD	D	N	A	SA

Tourism on the Reservation

In your experience, what are the main results of tourism taking place on the reservation?

Tourists have a positive / negative / no effect (circle one) on Lakota culture

Please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Applicable
Tourism brings economic growth to the reservation	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
Tourism is good for Lakota culture	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
It is important to share Lakota culture and history with tourists	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
Tourism products on the reservation accurately represent Lakota culture	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
It is important to keep some aspects of Lakota culture out of the tourism product	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
It is ok for tourism businesses to market Lakota spiritual practices	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
I am comfortable with allowing tourists to observe pow wows	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
I am comfortable with allowing tourists to participate with sweats	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
I am comfortable with allowing tourists to attend Sundance	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
There are tourism business owners on the reservation that misuse Lakota culture in their tourism product	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A

Health and Wellness Awareness

We would like to ask you a few questions about health issues on the reservation. Please say if you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Applicable
Rape is common on the reservation.	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
Domestic abuse is common on the reservation.	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
When a rape is reported the police investigate fairly.	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
If you or someone you knew were raped would you feel comfortable reporting it to the police? Why or why not.	Yes	No				

How do you feel about the women's shelter in Kyle?

Are you aware of what programs and services are offered at the shelter?

Do you feel that the services provided are helpful to women who go there for protection?

If someone you knew were in an abusive relationship or were raped, do you think they would go to the shelter? Why or why not?

Do you feel that the location of the women's shelter is accessible for people to get to?

What are some changes needed within the shelter?

How do you feel about traditional healing?

How likely are you or anyone in the household to go to a traditional healer?

When are you more likely to use Lakota medicine?

For what kind of health conditions do you use Lakota medicine?

For what kind of health conditions do you use Western medicine (Hospital, doctors)?

How often do you seek Lakota medicine for spiritual healing?

If you were ill, what would you do to get better?

Do you differentiate between physical and spiritual healing?

Are you more likely to seek a male/female healer?

Do you think young people are interested in traditional Lakota healing methods?

ARE there any other things you would like to talk about that these questions made you think of?

THANK YOU for your help!

APPENDIX B: 2008 PINE RIDGE BUSINESS SURVEY

B Number (B + Number + RQ+08): _____ RQ08 Name of Interviewer: _____
 Date: _____ Name of note taker: _____
 Location of business: _____ Consent Form _____
 GPS Coordinates: _____ Zone: _____
 Northing: _____
 Easting: _____

TAKE A PICTURE!!!

Are you the owner/operator of the business? (IF NO, MAKE APPOINTMENT WITH OWNER/OPERATOR)

Name of Business: _____
 Type of Business: _____
 Age: ____ Male / Female

Have you worked with Lakota Funds before? Y / N / What's that?

Do you have any employees? Y/ N

If so, how many? _____

(If YES to Lakota Funds) May we contact your employees? _____

(If YES to contacting employees) Can you provide us with their contact information?

What percentage of your clients live on the reservation? _____%

Do you consider your business to be a tourism business? Y / N

What percentage of your clients are tourists? _____%

Education Level / Vocational

Training: _____

Please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Applicable
Being a small business owner comes into conflict with my Lakota values	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
Businesses should buy goods or services from other entrepreneurs on Pine Ridge	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
Businesses should buy goods or services from other entrepreneurs from Pine Ridge, even if they cost more to buy than off the reservation	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
The PRACC is effective in increasing business activity	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
PRACC is a credible source of information on issues of concern to businesses on the reservation	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
I am a member of PRACC	Yes	No				
I would like my business information to be included on the PRACC website	Yes	No				
Everyone who applies to the Lakota Funds will be treated equally	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A

Lakota Funds is a credible source of information about how to run a business SA A N D SD N/A

What was your motivation for opening your business?

What is your definition of success as a business?

Using your definition, to what degree has your business enjoyed success?

Are people hesitant to open a business on the reservation? Why?

Are people hesitant to approach the Lakota Funds for assistance? Why?

In your experience, what factors lead a business on Pine Ridge to succeed or fail?

How did you get the money to open your business?

Have you ever applied for a business loan through a bank? Y / N

If yes, did you get the loan?

How large was the loan?

How long ago?

Interest Rate?

What was the loan for?

If you were turned down, why?

Have you ever applied for a business loan through Lakota funds?

If yes, did you get the loan?

How large was the loan?

How long ago?

Interest Rate?

What was the loan for?

If you were turned down, why?

Have you ever received technical assistance to help with your business (for example, accounting, legal, personnel, etc)?

What forms of technical assistance do you feel like you need to succeed as a business?

Where would you go to get that assistance?

Did Lakota Fund ever provide technical assistance to your business?

Section 2: Lakota Funds

If YES, You received services from Lakota Funds...

How did you hear about Lakota Funds?

Did you receive a Lakota Funds

Loan? _____

If yes, how long

ago? _____

Amount of

loan: _____

Interest

Rate: _____

What were the two hardest things about the loan process?

When you first became involved in Lakota Funds, did you have a business or were you hoping to start one?

Did your Lakota Fund loan help you receive a loan from a different source? Y/N
If yes, which source?

Did you have a business plan in place before applying to the Lakota Funds for a loan?

- a. Did Lakota Funds help you draft or revise your business plan?
- b. Was it helpful?

Have you received assistance from Lakota Funds Success Coaches (WBI coaches)? Y/N

How many times did they assist you? _____

Please rate how helpful they were on a scale from 1 to 5 (1 being not helpful, 5 being very helpful)

1 2 3 4 5

Please explain.

Do you feel that your participation with Lakota Funds then benefits the reservation? If so, in what way?

How do you think Lakota Fund could be improved?

Please rate the quality of services you received from Lakota Fund from 1 to 5 (With 1 being bad services and 5 being very good)

1 2 3 4 5

Please comment

Have you attended any educational classes with Lakota Funds? Y/N

If so, which classes? Please rate how helpful these classes were on a scale from 1-5 (1 being not helpful, 5 being very helpful)

_____ 1 2 3 4 5

_____ 1 2 3 4 5

_____ 1 2 3 4 5

1 2 3 4 5

Please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N/A
Receiving a Lakota Funds loan was a positive experience	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
I received adequate assistance during the loan process	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
The loan process met my expectations	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
Receiving a Lakota Funds loan has helped increase my costumers and profits	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
The business support I receive from Lakota Funds is effective	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
I would attend these classes						
Core Four or other entrepreneurship classes	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
Artist career building and planning	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
QuickBooks training	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
Financial planning and savings	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
Finding new costumers						
Lakota Funds is flexible if a loan payment can't be made	SA	A		N D	SD	N/A
I would prefer to go to LF for my next business loan	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A

Marketing Questions

What marketing tools are you using?(circle all that apply) Radio TV website brochure rack cards
billboards newsletters/newspapers bulletin boards word-of-mouth
other _____

Do you have a computer? Y / N

Do you use a computer for running your business? Y/ N

What software do you use?_____

Do you have access to the internet? Y / N

Where?_____

Where are you advertising?

Are your marketing your business to other business on the reservation?

yes

No

Do you buy goods and materials from other businesses on the reservation?

yes

No

Explain:

Section 3: Tourism and tourism Businesses on the Reservation

General Tourism Questions

Please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N/A
Tourism brings economic growth to the reservation	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
Tourism is good for Lakota culture	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
It is important to share Lakota culture and history with tourists	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
Tourism products on the reservation accurately represent Lakota culture	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
It is important to keep some aspects of Lakota culture out of the tourism product	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
Tourism on the reservation has the potential to exploit Lakota culture	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
It is ok for tourism businesses to market Lakota spiritual practices	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
I am comfortable with allowing tourists to observe pow wows	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
I am comfortable with allowing tourists to participate with sweats	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
I am comfortable with allowing tourists to attend Sundance	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
The way a tourism business owner creates a tourism product can impact Lakota identity	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
There are tourism business owners on the reservation the misuse Lakota culture in their tourism product	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A
There are enough precautions in place to avoid the misuse of Lakota identity through tourism on the reservation	SA	A	N	D	SD	N/A

In your experience, what are the main results of tourism development on the reservation?

Tourists have a positive / negative / no effect (circle one) on Lakota culture

If NOT a tourist business owner ...

Are there any specific types of tourism on the reservation that you feel are disrespectful or exploitative of Lakota culture or spirituality? Y / N Why?

If you have more to say on the topic of tourism, please let me know, Melanie would be happy to talk to you further.

If YES a tourist business owner ...

Is your business a cultural tourism business? Y / N

What kinds of services do you provide to tourists?

Why did you choose that particular tourism business?

On estimate, what types of clients do you attract? (Age bracket, Income, Geographical origin)

What kinds of pre-existing ideas or expectations do tourists have regarding your business?

Do you shape your product to accommodate those ideas and expectations? Y / N
How?

Does your business take special precautions to avoid any potential misuse or exploitation of Lakota cultural identity or spirituality? Y / N
What are they?

In your experience, have you seen any negative impacts of tourism or tourists on Lakota culture? Y / N
Explain.

Are you satisfied with the success of your business? Y / N

Does your business include Lakota spiritual practices? Y / N

Please identify anything that could improve your ability to be a successful tourism business on the reservation.

If you have more to say on the topic of tourism, please let me know, Melanie would be happy to discuss this further!

THANK YOU!!!

APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY INFORMED CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A LAKOTA FUNDS AND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE RESEARCH PROJECT

TITLE OF PROJECT: Survey of Businesses, Employees and Households on the Pine Ridge Reservation Evaluating the Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce and Lakota Funds

NAME OF PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Kathleen Pickering

CONTACT NAME AND PHONE NUMBER FOR QUESTIONS/PROBLEMS: Dowell Caselli-Smith, Lakota Funds, (605) 455-2500 ; Ivan Sorbel, Pine Ridge Area Chamber of Commerce, (605) 455-2685; Kathleen Pickering, (970) 491-5962

This study involves research about how Business members manage the cash economy on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. Information about experiences and needs of local businesses will help identify culturally appropriate economic opportunities and obstacles on the reservation. The questions take about one hour to answer. You will be one of approximately 350 participants in this study.

All of your responses will be held confidential. Your name will not be connected with your responses. There will probably be publications about the results of this research. These publications will not identify you directly unless you specifically request to be identified by checking the box below.

If you have no objection, your answers will be tape-recorded. The tapes will be stored at Colorado State University and used for purposes of this research only. The tapes will be labeled by number and date without reference to your name.

Your participation is completely voluntary. You may stop participating at any time.

There are no experimental aspects to this research. There are no known risks inherent in this research. It is not possible to identify all potential risks in research procedures, but the researcher has taken reasonable safeguards to minimize any known and potential, but unknown, risks.

The Colorado Governmental Immunity Act determines and may limit Colorado State University's legal responsibility if an injury happens because of this study. Claims against the University must be filed within 180 days of the injury.

I will be pleased to answer any questions you may have about this research now or later. You may call or write Professor Kathleen Pickering with questions at Colorado State University, Department of Anthropology, Ft. Collins, CO 80523, (970) 491-5447.

Your signature acknowledges that you have read the information stated and willingly sign this consent form. Your signature also acknowledges that you have received, on the date signed, a copy of this document containing 1 page.

Participant name (printed)

I agree to having the interview tape recorded.
 I do not want to have the interview recorded.

Participant signature Date.

I request to be identified in the study.

Participant signature Date.

APPENDIX D: CORRELATION MATRIX OF ALL SCALED VARIABLES

		Tourism brings economic growth	Tourism is good for Lakota culture	It is important to share Lakota culture	Tourism products represent Lakota culture	Keep some aspects of culture out of product
Tourism brings economic growth	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	1.000	.276 .015	.149 .196	.110 .341	.213 .064
Tourism is good for Lakota culture	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.276 .015	1.000	.545 .000	.308 .006	.137 .234
It is important to share Lakota culture	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.149 .196	.545 .000	1.000	.153 .183	.284 .012
Tourism products represent Lakota culture	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.110 .341	.308 .006	.153 .183	1.000	.101 .384
Keep some aspects of culture out of product	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.213 .064	.137 .234	.284 .012	.101 .384	1.000
It is ok to market spiritual practices	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.205 .073	-.003 .981	.011 .923	.023 .845	-.555 .000
Comfortable with tourists and pow wows	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.210 .066	.264 .020	.296 .009	.117 .313	.033 .774
Comfortable with tourists and sweets	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.049 .670	.140 .225	.035 .766	.006 .956	-.217 .058
Comfortable with tourists and Sundance	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.088 .448	.130 .260	.064 .580	.045 .698	-.289 .011
Business owners misuse Lakota culture	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.020 .860	-.130 .261	-.031 .788	-.211 .066	.082 .480

		It is ok to market spiritual practices	Comfortable with tourists and pow wows	Comfortable with tourists and sweets	Comfortable with tourists and Sundance	Business owners misuse Lakota culture
Tourism brings economic growth	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.205 .073	.210 .066	-.049 .670	-.088 .448	-.020 .860
Tourism is good for Lakota culture	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.003 .981	.264 .020	.140 .225	.130 .260	-.130 .261
It is important to share Lakota culture	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.011 .923	.296 .009	.035 .766	.064 .580	-.031 .788
Tourism products represent Lakota culture	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.023 .845	.117 .313	0.006 .956	.045 .698	-.211 .066
Keep some aspects of culture out of product	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.555 .000	.033 .774	-.217 .058	-.289 .011	.082 .480
It is ok to market spiritual practices	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	1.000	-.074 .521	.442 .000	.479 .000	-.379 .001
Comfortable with tourists and pow wows	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.074 .521	1.000	.118 .306	.056 .630	.085 .465
Comfortable with tourists and sweets	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.442 .000	.118 .306	1.000	.628 .000	-.144 .211
Comfortable with tourists and Sundance	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.479 .000	.056 .630	.628 .000	1.000	-.142 .216
Business owners misuse Lakota culture	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.379 .001	.085 .465	-.144 .211	-.142 .216	1.000

APPENDIX E: VARIABLE CODEBOOK

Name of the Variable	N	Mean	SD	Skewness	Measurement	Level
IV: Type of resident	94				Dichotomous	2
IV: Gender	90				Dichotomous	2
IV: Age	85	46.91	14.16	.008	Scale	
IV: Age recoded into 5 categories	85	3.11	1.31	-.168	Scale	5
DV: Tourism brings economic growth to the reservation	81	3.93	.803	-1.053*	Ordinal	5
DV: Tourism is good for Lakota culture	83	3.76	.759	-.937	Scale	5
DV: It is important to share Lakota culture and history with tourists	83	3.94	.687	-1.079*	Ordinal	5
DV: Tourism products on the reservation accurately represent Lakota culture	82	3.30	.952	-.388	Scale	5
DV: It is important to keep some aspects of culture out of the tourism product	82	3.84	.808	-.994	Scale	5
DV: It is ok for tourism businesses to market Lakota spiritual practices	81	2.15	.882	.936	Scale	5
DV: I am comfortable with allowing tourists to observe pow wows	81	4.05	.312	-1.193*	Ordinal	5
DV: I am comfortable with allowing tourists to participate with sweats	80	2.75	1.049	.118	Scale	5
DV: I am comfortable with allowing tourists to attend Sundance	79	2.37	1.088	.565	Scale	5
DV: There are tourism business owners on the reservation that misuse Lakota culture in their tourism product	79	3.53	.798	-.650	Scale	5
DV: Tourism on the reservation has the potential to exploit Lakota culture	37	3.46	.900	.355	Scale	5
DV: The way a tourism business owner creates a tourism product can impact Lakota identity	37	3.81	.701	-1.768*	Ordinal	5
DV: There's enough precautions in place to avoid the misuse of Lakota identity through tourism on the reservation	37	2.86	.948	.076	Scale	5
DV: Tourists have a positive/negative/no effect on Lakota culture	62	2.60	.586	-1.150*	Ordinal	3