CULTURAL HERITAGE TOURISM AT SAGUARO NATIONAL PARK USING THE COMMUNITY CAPITAL FRAMEWORK

by

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Abstract

Community Capital Framework often provides a foundation for analyzing community development in cities and neighborhoods (Flora & Flora, 2008). However, the relationship between cultural heritage tourism and individual community capitals has been little studied in southern, Arizona. Therefore the primary objective of this study is to determine the most influential capitals at a renowned cultural heritage site in Arizona, Saguaro National Park. For this case study an assessment system will be established to assess the most influential capitals. Robert Stake’s The Art of Case Study Research was used as the research model to examine the relationships between cultural heritage tourism and the individual community capitals at Saguaro National Park. Results from this case study indicated that natural and cultural capitals appear to be the most influential because much of the monument’s development and community outreach revolve around the protection of the site’s Sagueros and their importance as a cultural heritage resource to the indigenous people of the Sonoran desert.
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Chapter 1 - Introduction

This case study is intended to illustrate how the community capitals framework shapes cultural heritage tourism at Saguaro National Park using the seven capitals as described by Flora & Flora (Flora & Flora, 2008). These seven capitals were analyzed using Stake’s case study methodology. Primary and secondary research was conducted to assess the applicability of the capital framework and to determine which capitals are the most influential at Saguaro National Park. Research conducted in this case study could potentially be used as a template for studying other cultural heritage sites. The framework of this report will include two major themes; cultural heritage tourism and the community capitals framework. Cultural heritage tourism is based on the theory that tourists visit sites based on their appreciation for culture, uniqueness, and history. These sites are popular in the Southwestern region where a diverse background of cultures exist and is complimented by the natural and unique landscape. The community capitals framework is composed of seven capitals. These seven capitals include: Natural, Cultural, Human, Social, Political, Financial, and Built capital. This framework offers an approach to how community members can develop their community. Cultural heritage tourism and the community capital framework can work together to improve a cultural heritage site such as Saguaro National Park.

In 1933 Saguaro National Monument was created (Saguaro National Park, 2011). Saguaro National Monument was recognized as a national park in 1994 (Saguaro National Park, 2011). Saguaro National Park is known for its beauty and uniqueness and is quite popular amongst tourists from around the world. It is a place where culture and nature come together to form a special place, a place where these resources are protected and admired by hundreds of thousands of people a year.
Chapter 2 - Background

Community Capitals Framework

Community capital is any asset utilized to develop resources within the community (Flora & Flora, 2008). The Community Capitals Framework (CCF) is a rather new subject with recent data and research conducted within the past ten years. Research has been done worldwide and in United States at universities such as Kansas State, North Dakota State, and Iowa State. The Community Capitals Framework (CCF) is composed of seven capitals (Flora & Flora, 2008). These seven capitals include: Natural, Cultural, Human, Social, Political, Financial, and Built capital.

Natural capital is a major portion of Saguaro National Park. Saguaro National Park is an example of a landscape of pristine natural beauty (Flora & Flora, 2008). Natural capital, such as the Saguaro cacti and the pristine natural environment, is very important because without it Saguaro National Park would not be a national landmark.

Cultural capital is the values and approaches that people use every day in their lives as well as language, tradition, arts, and history (Flora & Flora, 2008). This capital is clearly important at Saguaro National Park because of the deep history and traditions upon which this site is founded. The Native American population survived eating the saguaro’s fruit for generations.

Financial capital is money used for investments rather than for consumption (Flora & Flora, 2008). Every site needs financial capital to be successful. As any site is reliant on money, cultural heritage sites are not an exception. Fortunately for Saguaro National Park, it is run by the Federal government. But even the Federal government has its limits, as we are seeing during this current recession. To measure the financial capital one must look at the economic impact of the site.

Human capital is the abilities, experience and education of the individual (Flora & Flora, 2008). Saguaro National Park can track the number of people who visit the site every year. By increasing the number of visitors, the site will improve the awareness of the natural and cultural capital and therefore improve the education of the individual.

Social capital is the networks and mutual trust between groups and communities (Flora & Flora, 2008). Fostering interaction between the community members and the employees will
often result an increase in volunteering. Volunteering is one of the common ways to measure social capital (Mayer, 2003). Volunteering does not necessarily lead to an increase in social capital but it is the development of relationships which are important. Also important is the opportunity for visitors to interact with each other. Opportunities for social interaction may include: recreation, classes and volunteering.

Political capital is the access of power (Emery, Fey, & Flora, 2006). Cultural heritage sites need the ability to transform that power and influence into a positive for their site. Leveraging for money within the government’s budget would be an appropriate use of political capital.

Built capital is the infrastructure or foundation of a site (Flora & Flora, 2008). Every site has some sort of infrastructure, whether that is a trail, restrooms or actual buildings. Saguaro National Park has been examined to show if the upkeep on this infrastructure has properly been maintained. This is important in order to provide a satisfying experience for the sites tourists.

The Community capitals framework has been traditionally used to improve and assess communities. In particular, the majority of research has been conducted on rural communities (Flora & Flora, 2008). To date, there has not been application of this framework to study a culture heritage site such as Saguaro National Park. This report tests the potential for a cultural heritage site to benefit from the community capitals framework. Saguaro National Park will be the community in this research, and the capital framework will help to improve and assess this community.

**Cultural Heritage Tourism in Southern Arizona**

Cultural Heritage Tourism (CHT) development is based upon the assumption that tourists visit sites because of their appreciation for culture, uniqueness, and history (Partners in Tourism: Culture and Commerce, 2010). Because Southern Arizona has a rich cultural heritage history, it is a popular destination. Cultural heritage tourists come from all over North America, such as the Midwest, Pacific Northwest and Canada, to visit Southern Arizona (Arizona Humanities Council, 2007).

Cultural heritage tourism appears to attract a certain demographic. Generally cultural heritage tourists are on average age 56, well educated, travel as a couple, and have no children at
home (Arizona Humanities Council, 2007). Usually they are well mannered and do not cause destruction unlike some of the typical tourists (Clarion Associates, 2005).

Regions with robust cultural history benefit from the influx of cultural heritage tourists through the revenue returns it provides to their economy. The average trip spending for U.S. historical/cultural travel has increased 17 percent from 1996 to 2002. Heritage travelers also tend to travel longer, with an average of 5.2 nights versus 3.4 nights. (Clarion Associates, 2005) According to a study done in Colorado, Heritage travelers spend on average $623 during an overall trip, versus $475 per overall trip for other U.S. travelers (Clarion Associates, 2005). Out-of-state cultural heritage travelers spend an estimated $2 billion annually in Arizona. In-state visitors pump another $6 million or more into the economy every year. (Arizona Humanities Council, 2007) These visitors create a huge economic impact within the state of Arizona.

**Saguaro National Park: A Cultural Heritage Site**

Saguaro National Park surrounds portions of the city of Tucson in Pima County, southern Arizona as illustrated in Figure 1.

![Figure 1: Saguaro National Park Context Source: Saguaro National Park, 2011](image)

There are two districts of the park, one on the west side of the city, and the other on the east side. The two parks are roughly an hour away from each other or 35 miles. In 1933 Saguaro
National Monument was created (Saguaro National Park, 2011). The total of the two sites combined equals 91,327 acres (Saguaro National Park, 2011). The monument was recognized as a national park in 1994 (Saguaro National Park, 2011). Saguaro National Park is known for its beauty and uniqueness. The park gets its name from the giant saguaro as illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Giant Saguaro, Source: Garufi, 2006

There are over 17,000 saguaros in both parks according to the National Park Service who counts them every ten years (National Park Service, 2011). The last saguaro census was completed in 2010 (Saguaro National Park, 2011).

The saguaro is a cultural asset because of the history of this icon. The Tohono O’odham and other Native Americans regard the Saguaro as a staple of their culture. This site protects
cultural and natural assets which are two of the capitals, and is one of the largest tourist attractions in Southern Arizona. Saguaro National Park was chosen for this study because it encapsulates the essence of what makes Tucson, Arizona unique. The Sonoran desert, and mainly the Tucson Basin, is the only place in the world that Saguaro cacti grow (Evans, 2006).

**Case Study Methodology**

The research method for this case study came from Robert E. Stake who wrote a book called *The Art of Case Study Research* in 1995. This book was the foundation for the research accomplished in this report. The outline for the basis of the methodology was as follows: Instrumental case study devoted to one site, state the issue questions, interpretation as method (research), data gathering (both observation and document review) and finally the analysis and interpretation of data using direct interpretation (Stake, 1995, pp. 3-74).
Chapter 3 - Case Study Methodology

Robert Stake’s case study methodology in his 1993 text, *The Art of Case Study Research*, Stake is not the only author to write about the case study research method. Robert K. Yin defines case study research as investigating phenomenon in situations where context is not clear (Soy, 2006). While some authors believe that case study research is too limited in nature and is only useful as an exploratory tool, it does allow for focused research on one particular site. Case study research is very specific and focused on every aspect of the site, and this is the strength of this research. Even with these positive and negative arguments, case study research is still broadly used today within the research environment (Soy, 2006).

As presented in Stake’s, *The Art of Case Study Research*, methodology begins with selecting a “unique” case (Stake, 1995). Case study is the study of the complexity of a single case designed to understand the context within certain situations. After selecting the case, research questions must be developed to outline what is to be proven in the case study. After selection of the research questions, a method such as observation and secondary research must be chosen to collect the data. The next step in the case study research is to collect the data based on the research questions and data collection methods. Using Stake’s methodology, the researcher collects data discretely without interviewing. The last step is to analyze the data and to draw conclusions.

Site Selection

Saguaro National Park was selected for study due to its popularity and uniqueness. Saguaro National Park was the most visited cultural heritage site in Tucson; drawing 699,137 people in 2008. (National Parked, 2011) Nowhere else in the world do Saguaros exist naturally in nature besides the desert of Tucson, Arizona. Saguaro National Park exemplifies not only the natural landscape in the Saguaros but it also represents a portion of the culture of Southern Arizona. As a result of the popularity, uniqueness, and culture displayed at Saguaro National Park, this site was chosen as the basis for this research. Issue questions discussed in this methodology are broad and could be addressed at any site in Southern Arizona. This approach allows this case study to be shaped and molded to any cultural heritage site in Southern Arizona.
Data gathered for this report was conducted on two separate days at two different locations. Saguaro National Park East was the first location on March 12, 2010 and the second visit was to Saguaro National Park West which occurred on March 13, 2011. On both site visits, the researcher pretended to be a tourist and did not make the research for the paper known to the public or the employees at the park. This was done in order to keep within Stake’s method of observing discretely (Stake, 1995, p. 12).

Assessment of the Community Capitals Framework

All of the capitals within the community capitals framework were assessed at Saguaro National Park to determine which were more influential than the others. Using Stake’s research guide, a list of questions and measures were drafted before research at the site began (Table A-1, located in the Appendix). These questions helped to guide the research process in determining which of the capitals were the most influential at Saguaro National Park. An assessment of influence of high, medium and low was given to each capital based on how influential each capital was at Saguaro National Park. A high influence rating means that that the site could not exist without these capitals. A medium influence rating means that the site would be severely limited without these capitals and the overall visitor experience would suffer. A low influence rating means that the site could possibly continue to function normally without a strong presence from these capitals.

Also described in this table was how to measure these questions either quantitatively or qualitatively. Some capitals were easier to measure than others as limited access to data and resources often played a role in the research done at Saguaro National Park.

The following summarizes the questions addressing each capital.

Natural capital can be defined by addressing the following three questions:

- Do buildings stick out from the natural environment? Are there trash cans and recycle bins on site?
- Are the buildings “green”?

The first question was measured by looking at the buildings themselves. These buildings will naturally stick out from the natural landscape. How were they built? Do the materials/color and form of the buildings fit in with the historical architecture of the region? How much of an impact does the site have on the environment will be addressed by observing how many recycling bins are available at the site. Another aspect will be whether the buildings are of a
sustainable design. Have they won any awards for sustainability or being a “green” building? Furthermore, a site must make sure that the impacts of tourism have not disrupted the environment. What would be the possible impact of increased visitation? One way a site can do this is by posting signs about staying on built paths, not littering and leaving the animals alone. These are just some of the ways that sites can make sure that the impact to the environment is minimized as much as possible.

Cultural capital can be determined by addressing the following two questions:

- How many cultural exhibits?
- What different races visit site?

Identifying the number of cultural exhibits displayed can be useful to explore those who used the natural capital in the past in order to tell the whole history of the location. Gathering data on the different races who visit the site can provide insight into the different cultures who visit the site. This information will be very hard to gather unless the site has the data available from other surveys. Noting the races observed at the site from their skin color is about the best that can be accomplished during the site visits in this case study without survey data.

Financial capital can be determined by addressing the following two questions:

- What is the economic impact of the site?
- Are there any signs of financial problems?

The full economic impact of the site includes entrance fees, gift shop sales, tour sales, and hotel and travel costs. A full economic impact in this case study is not feasible given the limited information available. How much money from entrance fees brought in over an annual basis can be determined by multiplying the number of visitors by the average price of the entrance fee. What also can be addressed is if there are any signs of financial problems. These signs could be annual financial reports, limited paid staffing, and a heavy reliance on volunteers.

Human capital can be determined by addressing the following two questions:

- How many people visit site?
- How many educational classes are held at site?

Visitation is a part of human capital at a site but, more importantly, it is about how educated their visitors are after they leave the site. Educated visitors are more apt to support the site via donations or free marketing to their friends and family members. There is a direct relationship between educational classes and attracting people to the site.

Social capital can be determined by addressing the following two questions:

- Are there activities to promote social capital?
• Are volunteers needed from the community? Activities that bring people together at the site could be recreational, tours, classes and opportunities to volunteer. Volunteering can improve social capital by the relationships that are formed from the interactions between staff and volunteers. Volunteering can improve relationships, and this is very important for a site. A strong relationship among staff and volunteers can help improve the educational classes and other functions volunteers participate in at the park.

Political capital can be determined by addressing the following two questions:

• How much political power does the site have?
• How well known is the site?

Political power can be useful to increase budgets. If a site can show that they are necessary and important then this is half the battle in politics. Does the community care about Saguaro National Park or is Saguaro National Park just something for tourists? One indicator for this question could be the number of websites, besides the official park website, that are dedicated to preserving Saguaro National Park. By being influential in the community, a site will bring in more volunteers and tourists.

Built capital can be determined by addressing the following two questions:

• Does site location play into the popularity of the site?
• How well maintained is the infrastructure at the site?

Even a site focused on the natural landscape, without a proper infrastructure, the visitor experience at the site would be very poor. For this reason this capital will look at the number of buildings actually there. A site can have a lot of buildings, but if these buildings are not maintained correctly then this also may cause a poor visitor experience. Also included in the infrastructure are the restrooms. Are there restrooms, out houses or “Port o Potties”? A clean and maintained restroom is essential to an excellent experience for most cultural heritage tourists. Also needing to be addressed is whether or not the roads are maintained properly. If the roads are not paved and prevent access to low clearance vehicles, this may prevent a majority of people from visiting the site. Finally, a site’s location is more important within built capital. A location that is far away from an urban center may not attract as many people as a site that is relatively close to an urban center.
Chapter 4 - Results and Discussion

Each capital was analyzed as to the findings based on the methodology before the research began. Discussion of the findings will result after each capital, evaluating each capital based on its influence on Saguaro National Park. Each capital was influential but for some sites one capital may be more influential than others. A high, medium or low assessment was given to each capital depending upon how influential each capital was to Saguaro National Park. With that being said, all of the capitals must work together for the benefit of the site. It is this author’s belief that each capital must be evident at the site in order to have a successful program that cultural heritage tourists will enjoy visiting.

Natural Capital

Natural capital was assessed by both qualitative and quantitative measures. Qualitative measures included determining how the infrastructure of Saguaro National Park fit in with the natural environment. This study assessed the buildings for color, design and upgraded energy efficiency (LEED rating). Also important to consider was how the site dealt with the constant flow of tourists in and out of their site. Quantitative measures were how many trash cans and recycle bins were available for the public to keep trash away from the pristine natural environment was a very important assessment for this capital.

Saguaro National Park is dependent on natural capital. Everyone that visits the park comes to see the majestic Saguaro in all of its beauty. Architecture of the buildings was very important in order to blend in with the natural environment. The historical architecture of the area comes from the Pueblo Indians dating back to A.D 1150. (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2011) Architecture named after these Indians is called pueblo. Both visitor centers illustrated the appearance of pueblo style architecture. Colors of the visitor centers were tan instead of the traditional reddish brown. Tan, however, is a very popular color for current buildings in the area. The visitor centers were designed accurately however, as the traditional flat style buildings accurately portrayed the pueblo style.

During the site visits, there was no evidence of any solar powered devices on the premises of either of the two visitor centers. Nor was there any evidence of the “LEED” rating which is often given to how efficient a building is at using energy (U.S. Green Building Council,
Even though the buildings were built before the LEED rating was established there are certain ways buildings can become more efficient to gain this rating. For example: installing solar powered energy devices, insulated windows, low water urinals, and sky lights can all cut down energy costs.

Several recycling bins were discovered along with garbage cans scattered throughout each of the two parks. Recycling bins and garbage cans help keep the park clean which is essential in keeping the natural capital preserved. Garbage cans and recycling bins at the site were very noticeable as was the information about not littering. Signs were seen throughout both sites about being cognizant of not throwing trash in the pristine environment. Also available were pamphlets instructing the visitor to stay on the paths provided in order to keep the environment pristine. These signs and pamphlets seem to be very influential at the site.

**Cultural Capital**

Cultural capital was assessed by both qualitative and quantitative measures. Qualitative measures included observing tourists skin color to detect the ethnicity of the tourists. Quantitative measures included counting the number of tourists of ethnic origin and counting the number of cultural exhibits displayed at Saguaro National Park.

During the site visits, Native American exhibits were plentiful at both Saguaro National Park locations. These exhibits showed how Native Americans used the natural landscape to provide shelter, food, and basketry. At both east and west side locations, visitors were able to view a 15 minute video called “Voices of the Desert” by Robin Pinto (Pinto, 2011). This movie showed the history of the area from a Native American point of view. In addition, throughout the book stores there were books about Native American culture.

In addition to presenting the culture of the past, Saguaro National Park demonstrates today’s culture. Every year during March, the park celebrates Hispanic heritage month by hosting on their property Fiesta de Saguaro. This huge festival includes: Hispanic heritage dances, music, and food. It is a time to celebrate the impact Hispanics have had not only at Saguaro National Park but in all of southern Arizona.

A full evaluation of the demographic data of cultural heritage tourists, who visit Saguaro National Park, was not completed. Such an evaluation would require an extensive survey of visitors at the park at different times during the year which would go beyond the scope of this
case study. For this case study the researcher could not find any demographic data from the Park or from an extensive web search. The researcher was able to observe on site that on average there were more white males and females then there were of any other race. Also observed was that the majority of the visitors were elderly perhaps of the retiree age reflecting a prototypical cultural heritage tourist as described earlier in this study. Out of the 75 people observed at both sites perhaps five of them appeared to be other than white. These numbers of course are just preliminary numbers to those that may be determined in a survey of the demographics at Saguaro National Park.

**Built Capital**

Built capital was assessed by both qualitative and quantitative measures. Quantitative measures include how the site’s location can play into the popularity for tourists. Therefore the distance from a major city will be measured for this capital. Qualitative measures include observing the maintenance of the infrastructure such as the roads, buildings and restrooms.

Each site in Saguaro National Park had a visitor center with paved roads leading to the center and throughout the parks. Ramadas, southwestern picnic shelters based upon Native American forms, and outdoor grills were scattered throughout the park at designated picnic areas. No overnight camping was allowed within either district of the park at the time of the site visits. Designated parking off the roads was allowed where picture opportunities can be taken and these were prevalent at both sites. There were restrooms at each visitor center. These restrooms were well maintained and clean from the researcher’s observation during the site visits.

Location is a component of built capital. Saguaro National Park’s built capital benefits by its location from the city. A site’s location is very important in drawing people to the site. Saguaro National Park neighbors a large metro area. Therefore tourists are more apt to visit this site. Although location is hard to change for a site, it can impede the popularity of the site.

**Human Capital**

Human capital was assessed by quantitative measures. Measures included determining the activities available at Saguaro National Park that would promote social capital, and counting the number of volunteers that are involved at the site.
Without people having the desire to visit Saguaro National Park, the park may never have existed in the first place. It was the people in 1933, who convinced Congress to preserve this area of the world from construction and devastation. Visitation has fluctuated in the last ten years from as low as 615,045 to as high 765,195 in 2000 (Table A-2). Despite this fluctuation, Saguaro National Park is still the number one visited cultural heritage site in all of Southern Arizona as of 2009. (Arizona Office of Tourism, 2010) The next popular site, the Sonora Desert Museum, only had 460,000 in 2007. (Arizona Office of Tourism, 2010) Saguaro National Park attracts nearly 200,000 more people a year than the Sonora Desert Museum.

Human capital is more than just visitation numbers. Human capital revolves mainly around how educated the cultural heritage visitors are after they visit the site. Saguaro National Park offers many educational opportunities including: tours, junior ranger programs for children, and live exhibits. Educational opportunities occur every day at Saguaro National Park.

**Financial Capital**

Financial capital was assessed both qualitatively and quantitatively measures. Quantitative measures included the economic impact of the site. Qualitative measures included looking at financial reports if available or even a heavy reliance on volunteers. These measures can indicate if the site is struggling financially.

It was not possible to conduct a full economic impact study of Saguaro National Park was in this case study due to time constraints and the lack of available information. Saguaro National Park is a government run site so financial reports were not available. For a nonprofit site these reports are more readily available due to laws and regulations regarding a nonprofit company. A full economic impact study would normally include items such as entrance fees, gift shop sales, tour sales, and hotel and travel costs of the visitors.

In 2009 the site received 664,000 visitors. Given that the entrance fee is $10 per vehicle one can assume that the money generated from the site is quite substantial. Although it is not clear just how much money the site earns per year, as these numbers were not readily available at this time, what is clear is that the Federal government easily makes over a million dollars in revenue, if not more.

Saguaro National Park was canvassed for signs of financial problems during this case study. As there were no reports to review, observation of staffing levels, and a heavy reliance on
volunteers was considered. Saguaro National Park seemed to have an adequate staffing level with an employee taking entrance fees at the main gate into the park as well as several employees at the visitor centers answering questions and selling items from the gift shop. Volunteers seemed to be in charge of many of the educational classes at the site. This could be a sign of a decreased budget as usually volunteers are not qualified to teach these courses. Employees who are subject matter experts should be teaching these classes.

**Social Capital**

Social capital was assessed by both quantitative and qualitative measures. Quantitative measures included determining the number of activities that may promote social interactions with people. Qualitative measures included the integration of volunteers within the program at Saguaro National Park. Volunteering can help promote social capital.

The activities that bring people together define social capital. Saguaro National Park has many activities at their site. A few of the recreational opportunities consisted of hiking, biking, picnicking, bird watching, and photography. All of which are readily available with the charge of an entrance fee. Tours and educational classes were also conducted on a regular basis.

During the site visits, the researcher noticed a plaque on the wall of Saguaro National Park West. This plaque listed 20 people who had reached 2000 hours of volunteer service at Saguaro National Park. This is quite a feat considering these people are not getting paid for their work on site. To put this into economic benefit, salaries for these volunteers at $10 per hour would be $400,000. Volunteers are needed at the site, as the researcher noticed a sign for an environment education volunteer. It seems that these volunteers are filling positions that are of importance so this would be an incentive to volunteer at Saguaro National Park.

Opportunities for volunteering can improve the relationship between paid employees and the general public. Allowing people to get involved at a site, fosters relationships and thus improves social capital. Most cultural heritage sites will have social opportunities, but it is the relationships that are built between the site and the cultural heritage tourist which are essential.

**Political Capital**

Political capital was assessed by both qualitatively and quantitative measures. Qualitative measures included determining the political power of Saguaro National Park. Quantitative
measures included counting the number of websites to determine the influence within the community.

Political power can help increase budgets and get extra money for projects. As financial reports were unavailable for this case study, one can only speculate on how much political power the park service has with the upper echelons in the government.

Another way political capital was evaluated was to determine how important the site is with the public. There were many websites dedicated to preserving Saguaro National Park. One particular website/group was called Friends of Saguaro National Park. This nonprofit organization looks to collect donations to do the following: protect the fragile environment and unique cultural heritage, provide amenities that make the park more enjoyable, and develop education/cultural programs that enrich the understanding of visitors. (Friends of Saguaro, 2011) Other prominent sites include: nationalparked.com, saguaronationalpark.com, and saguaro.national-park.com. All of these sites are privately owned by individuals intending to either promote or preserve the park.

**Discussion**

**Natural Capital**

A culture heritage site must be aware of their impact on the natural environment especially a site where the main attraction is nature such as Saguaro National Park. Providing recycle bins and garbage cans can go a long way in discouraging people from disturbing the pristine environment.

Natural capital was assessed as high in influence. Without this capital, the site would not exist. Saguaro National Park needs to continue development of natural capital as appropriate and might include LEED certification in the future. For Saguaro National Park protecting and limiting their impact on the environment will improve their natural capital.

**Cultural Capital**

Cultural heritage tourists want to learn about the history of a certain location as well as the cultures both in the past as well as the present cultures of today. These cultures are often what makes a site unique and therefore popular amongst cultural heritage tourists.
Cultural capital was assessed as high in influence. Saguaro National Park draws cultural heritage tourists by improving cultural capital. For Saguaro National Park, cultural capital was assessed as high in influence because of these tourists. Saguaro National Park represented culture very well in this case study by providing cultural exhibits, a cultural movie and by celebrating Fiesta de Saguaro.

**Built Capital**

Built capital is the backbone that holds natural and cultural capital together. Both of these capitals need built capital in order to allow the cultural heritage tourists to fully enjoy the cultural and natural capitals. Without built capital, there would be no visitor center and therefore there would be no cultural capital exhibits or movie.

Built capital was assessed as medium in influence. If there was no built capital, there would be no roads or trails to explore Saguaro National Park. In Saguaro National Park, this capital destroys the serene natural landscape. There needs to be balance between the natural environment and built capital. Natural and cultural capitals are the most influential capitals at Saguaro National Park.

**Human Capital**

There is a direct correspondence between educational classes and attracting cultural heritage tourists to a site. Sites should look at making exhibits come alive for the viewer either by moving/talking exhibits or hands on educational classes.

Human capital was assessed as medium in influence at Saguaro National Park. Saguaro National Park did a good job in bringing these educational opportunities to life for its cultural heritage tourists. This is one of the reasons why Saguaro National Park is the most popular attraction in Arizona.

**Financial Capital**

For a site to operate it is important to have financial capital. Financial capital is influential but for a government run site it is not as influential as it would be for a nonprofit company. The Federal Government will continue to run this park because it is mandated by law to do so.
Financial capital was assessed as medium in influence. Without financial capital, community programs such as the junior ranger program, educational environmental classes, visitor centers, and maintenance of the roads and trails would no longer be possible.

**Social Capital**

Social capital was assessed low in influence. This capital is not as influential as the other capitals as the site’s management would continue. What would suffer are the educational classes and the overall visitor experience. Also the relationships between the public and the full time staff would suffer. Without social capital, Saguaro National Park can still run and operate.

**Political Capital**

Political capital was assessed low in influence. Political capital is hard to measure without essential information. Political capital is all about the amount of power a site has over its financial backers and supports. If people care for your site then this is half the battle with regards to increasing political capital. Increasing political capital can increase financial capital, social capital and often built capital.
Chapter 5 - Summary and Conclusions

The community capital framework is comprehensive, providing guidelines to study a specific site. As demonstrated in this report, not only can the seven capitals be applied to communities and cities but also to cultural heritage sites. The strength of the community capital framework is the way each capital builds upon the other. For example, without financial capital there would be no built capital. The financial capital is needed in order to build the infrastructure such as the roads and visitor centers. Each and every capital needs each other. Flora and Flora suggest that these capitals overlap each other with the end result being a healthy eco system, vital economy and social inclusion (Flora & Flora, 2008, p. 19). If a site were to focus too much on one of the capitals, the other capitals would have negative effects (Flora & Flora, 2008, p. 19). Using the community capital framework at a cultural heritage site will provide a clean energy efficient site, a cultural site, a well maintained site, an educational site, a financially responsible site, a “fun” site, and a politically powerful site. All of which equals a site that a cultural heritage tourist would want to visit.

The community capital framework is a guide to follow. The researcher has to come up with his or her own questions, defining how each capital will be defined and measured in the research. If the researcher does not ask the right questions, aspects of how to improve each capital may be missed. To mitigate this during the observation visits, the researcher must keep an open mind to what he or she sees at the site. There may be ways to improve the site that do not necessarily answer one of the questions drawn up before the site visit.

The influence of capitals at the site was a theme in this case study. The case study assessed that not all capitals are influential as others, depending upon the unique context of the site. For some sites, such as buildings or bridges, built capital would be the most influential capital. In this case study, natural and cultural capitals were the most influential at Saguaro National Park. By determining the influential capitals, provided a way to show that these were the capitals that were influential but that all of them needed to be included at the site. Each of the capitals are relevant to each other (Flora & Flora, 2008, p. 19).

Recommendations

Site Specific
These recommendations are exclusive to Saguaro National Park but may be applicable to other sites based on the context of the site. In the research gathered certain areas were found lacking at the site.

Lack of solar generated electricity and an LEED rating for the visitor centers were found wanting at Saguaro National Park. Conserving energy will save money and may even draw more visitors although drawing more visitors could have a negative effect on the natural environment at Saguaro National Park. Increasing the other capitals should mitigate the effect that increased visitation would have on natural capital. Also the type of visitor will also play into the effects on the natural environment. Portraying a “green” environment will help the natural image of Saguaro National Park and thus attract visitors who appreciate the efforts being made to improve the natural capital.

Another recommendation for improvement would be to increase the cultural diversity amongst visitors at Saguaro National Park. This could be done by outreaching to these groups in the local community. Outreach efforts could include collaborating with the minority chambers of commerce such as the Hispanic chamber of commerce. Collaborating with these groups can improve relations with these minority groups in ways that can increase diversity in the attendance at Saguaro National Park.

A final recommendation would be to strive for an open and strong relationship with the local community members and especially the volunteers at Saguaro National Park. Support amongst the community members is very important for the overall well being and popularity of Saguaro National Park.

Application of the Community Capitals Framework

In order to apply the community capitals framework to other cultural heritage sites, one must look at what makes the site unique. The drawing power of the site is important in order to understand why visitors would want to visit the location. For example at Saguaro National Park the Saguaro and the cultural history is what makes that site unique. Therefore the application of this framework should revolve around preserving the Saguaro and the cultural history at this location. The next important step is to ask the right questions before accomplishing the research. A well written outline is essential in preplanning how to implement the research. The research questions for each capital should be focused on preserving the uniqueness of the site and to
increase the overall visitor experience. For example, natural and cultural capital where unique to Saguaro National Park and the questions chosen for these two capitals were written in a way to help preserve these capitals. The other capitals help to improve the overall visitor experience. By finding out what makes the site unique, preplanning and framing the right questions the community capitals framework can be applied to any cultural heritage site.

**Limits of the Study**

This case study was limited by time given that there were only two site visits conducted, one at each site, and the data is limited to that which could be readily observed or obtained. To be truly effective there should be multiple site visits conducted at different times during the year. This study also lacked statistics and financial reports due to lack of availability. Determining the racial composition of visitors at the site proved difficult given the fact that it is difficult to read ones racial composition by just looking at the skin of a person. Also limited were the views of one researcher at the site. Given more resources, two or three observers could be used in order to make sure not to miss any vital information. Determining political power without financial reports also was a limitation in this case study.

In addition, this study focused on each capital as a discrete entity and did not address the interwoven relationships between capitals. For example, the impact of the unofficial websites supporting the Saguaro National Monument on both the political and social capital of the site is a nuance that was not explored.

**Recommendations for Future Studies**

Two different types of future studies might be contemplated. One is the topic or focus specific study to fill in information that was not obtained in this study. For example, a future study could address the racial makeup of cultural heritage tourists that visit Saguaro National Monument. This study would fill the gap in knowledge about diversity of the tourists. This would allow better research on possible new exhibits and workshops that would entice every racial group to visit the site. Or a study could be conducted on the benefits of solar energy and other “green” related initiatives as they relate to a cultural heritage site. The theory is that “green” initiatives will draw more people to the site as well as lower costs. This has yet to be substantially
determined and would require further studying to determine the cause and effect of such initiatives.

A second type of study would be to explore the second layer of impacts created by relationships between the community capitals. Looking beyond that information readily observed or obtained, such a study would examine the theoretical constructs of the community capitals framework.

Conclusions

For a site to determine the most influential capitals, it takes exploring what has the most impact for the visitors. By answering the question, what draws people to the site will help to explain which capitals are the most influential. From this case study it can be concluded that natural and cultural capital are the most influential capitals within the community capital framework at Saguaro National Park. Natural capital includes the beautiful saguaro that fills this expansive park. In order to keep this park beautiful, natural capital needs to be improved by maintaining the park, conserve resources and making sure buildings blend into the natural environment. Without natural capital, (the saguaros) Saguaro National Park would not exist. Cultural capital includes the history of the park. History lives through the exhibits, artifacts and movie displayed throughout Saguaro National Park. It is these attractions that complement the saguaros and make visitors of all nationalities want to visit Saguaro National Park. Natural and Cultural capital are supported by the other five capitals. With that being said, all seven capitals are necessary at Saguaro National Park. This case study has shown that the community capital framework can be a useful tool to assess and develop a cultural heritage site. Cultural heritage sites are influential to community members. Community members often want to see nature, history and culture preserved for future generations. Saguaro National Park is a community. It may not have people residing within it but it is the author’s opinion from the research presented in this report that the saguaros act as the people in this community. As a community is composed of people, this community is composed of the majestic saguaro. The community capitals framework can be used to preserve and enhance these cacti as the community capitals framework is used today to preserve and enhance the lives of community members.
Bibliography


Pinto, R. (Director). (2011). Voices of The Desert [Motion Picture].


http://www.ischool.utexas.edu/~ssoy/usesusers/l391d1b.htm


## Appendix A - List of Tables

### Table A-1 Community Capital Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Natural Factors</th>
<th>Metric</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Hard to Measure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do buildings stick out from the natural environment?</td>
<td>Compare design, colors to local architecture</td>
<td>Qualitative</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are the buildings “green”?</td>
<td>Look for LEED rating</td>
<td>Qualitative</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are there trash cans and recycle bins on site?</td>
<td>Number of trash cans and recycle bins.</td>
<td>Quantitative</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural Factors</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What different races visit site?</td>
<td>Observe people at site</td>
<td>Qualitative</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many cultural exhibits?</td>
<td>List number of exhibits</td>
<td>Quantitative</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Financial Factors</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the economic impact of the site?</td>
<td>Number of people times the average price for entrance fee</td>
<td>Quantitative</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are there any signs of financial problems?</td>
<td>Signs asking for volunteers, financial reports if available</td>
<td>Quantitative</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Human Factors</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many people visit site?</td>
<td>Current visitation number</td>
<td>Quantitative</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many educational classes are held at site?</td>
<td>Number of classes</td>
<td>Quantitative</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Factors</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are there activities to promote social capital?</td>
<td>Name activities</td>
<td>Quantitative</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are volunteers needed from the community?</td>
<td>Signs that volunteers are needed and recognized</td>
<td>Qualitative</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Political Factors</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How much political power does the site have?</td>
<td>Determine if agency is government funded or not?</td>
<td>Qualitative</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How well known is the site?</td>
<td>Number of websites</td>
<td>Quantitative</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Built Factors</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does site location play into the popularity of the site?</td>
<td>Distance from large city</td>
<td>Quantitative</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How well maintained is the infrastructure at the site?</td>
<td>Observe maintenance of restrooms/buildings/roads</td>
<td>Qualitative</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table A-2 Saguaro National Park Visitation Statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Visitation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>664,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>699,137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>658,477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>619,983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>727,208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>651,464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>643,697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>615,045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>725,874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>765,195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>749,014</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(National Parked, 2011)