A Capital Assets Framework for Appraising and Building Capacity for Tourism Development in Aboriginal Protected Area Gateway Communities

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Abstract: Tourism may constitute an important livelihood option and conservation incentive for communities located near protected areas (PAs). Gateway communities can benefit significantly from the development of tourism through increased employment, financial gains, infrastructure creation, cultural revitalization, and environmental protection. Yet, tourism is not a panacea for PA communities and the development of a local tourism industry often fails to deliver significant economic, social, cultural, and environmental benefits. Clearly defined frameworks for maximizing the benefits from tourism development for PA communities are needed so that tourism can more directly support community development and conservation efforts. This paper presents a framework for appraising and building community capacity for tourism development in protected area gateway communities through the emergent analysis of qualitative results from four different research projects around seven capital assets (i.e., natural, physical and built, financial, political and institutional, social, cultural, and human capitals). Preliminary results from application and testing of the framework will also be explored. The framework presented herein has significant potential for broader application in non-aboriginal, international, and non-protected area communities.

Key words: tourism development; capacity building; capital assets; aboriginal tourism; protected areas; conservation and development

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1.0 Introduction

Various studies have identified a number of perceived and/or real benefits that proximal communities to protected areas may experience, including ecosystem conservation (Ban, Picard and Vincent, 2008; Good, 2000; WWF-International,1999; Agardy, 1994), social and economic development (Good, 2000; WWF-International, 1999; Agardy, 1994), conservation for future generation (Bauer, 2003; Lepp & Holland, 2006), ecotourism development (Lai & Nepal, 2006; Walpole & Goodwin, 2001), and benefits from tourism development more broadly (Makonjio-Okello, 2005; Stein, Anderson, & Thompson, 1999). The development of tourism, in particular, has the potential to provide an alternative to short-term extractive economic activities and an opportunity for long-term sustainable development in gateway communities through, for example, increased employment, financial gains, infrastructure creation, and cultural revitalization, while supporting environmental conservation initiatives (Butler & Hinch 2007; Zeppel, 2006). Additionally, aboriginal and local communities often have high levels of interest in the potential for tourism development resulting from the creation of parks and protected areas (Hitchner et al., 2009; Lemelin & Johnston, 2008; Bennett, Lemelin, Ellis, & Enzoe, 2010).

Yet, the potential and desired economic, social, cultural, political, and environmental benefits that could come with the development of a viable tourism industry often fail to materialize for protected area gateway communities (e.g., Lemelin et al, 2010; Dowie, 2009; Ghimire & Pimpert 1997). Furthermore, a number of authors and documents have discussed the importance of building capacity for tourism development in protected area gateway communities both internationally (e.g., De Lacey & Lawson, 1997; Nepal, 2000; Eagles & McCool, 2002; Wellings, 2007) and in Canada (e.g., Shackley, 1998b; Budke, 2000; The Senate, 2001). In the Canadian context, a number of case studies have been carried out that examine the practical steps and processes that would be required to build local capacity for tourism in aboriginal gateway communities (e.g., Budke, 2000; Nepal, 2004; Koster, Lemelin, & Davar, 2005; Koster & Lemelin, 2007; Metansinine, Koster and Lemelin, 2009; Bennett & Lemelin, 2009; Bennett, Lemelin, Ellis, & Enzoe, 2010; Maher & Lemelin, 2010). These previous capacity building-focused case studies tend to lack a grounding in theory and, for the most part, grounded in a particular context without being generalizable or broadly applicable. Moreover, we feel that a comprehensive and generalizable framework is needed for rapid appraisal and development of community capacity for tourism in Canadian aboriginal gateway communities.

This paper synthesizes some of the lessons learned from a number of the case studies mentioned previously through the application of a capital assets construct for appraising and building community capacity for tourism development in Canadian aboriginal communities near various types of protected areas. The capital assets framework presented herein was developed through the re-analysis of qualitative results from collaborative research projects in Lutsel K'e, NWT (proposed Thaidene Nene National Park), Nain, Labrador (Torngat Mountains National Park), the Weenusk Cree Nation, Ontario (Polar Bear Provincial Park), Lake Helen First Nation, Ontario (Lake Superior National Marine Conservation Area), and various aboriginal communities surrounding the Pacific Rim National Park Reserve, British Columbia. The following

section of this paper reviews the literature on the relationship between protected areas, tourism development, and local and aboriginal communities and the literature pertaining to capitals or assets in community and international development theory and practice. The proceeding section will describe the context and methodologies used in the various case study sites followed by presentation of results and discussion. In closure, we will explore the implications of our analysis and relate it to the literature, examine the use of the framework for rapid appraisal of tourism development initiatives and initial lessons from testing the framework, and suggest a number of ways that the framework can be further developed.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Protected areas, aboriginal gateway communities, and tourism development

As we discuss next, a number of authors have suggested that the development of eco-tourism and aboriginal tourism can potentially lead to conservation of natural areas, protection of biodiversity, and minimization of negative environmental impacts (Honey, 1999; Gerberich, 2005; Zeppel, 2006). In fact, an integral part of the definition of both eco and aboriginal tourism is that they contribute to the conservation of local areas through the incorporation of local knowledge systems (Butler and Menzies, 2007; Lemelin, 2006). The need to maintain traditional sites, landscapes and resources for tourism could inspire or maintain an indigenous 'conservation ethic' (Carr, 2007b). The development of tourism might support conservation, in part, through providing an economic rationale for resisting more harmful forms of development (Valentine, 1993; Langholz, 1999; Notzke, 2006).

Additional to the aforementioned conservation benefits, the development of tourism is often "seen as a way of achieving cultural, environmental and economic sustainability for the community" (Zeppel, 2006, p. 3; Koster, Lemelin, & Davar, 2005). Economic benefits can come in the form of poverty alleviation, economic diversification, provision of local employment, incorporation of fees for licensing or entrance into certain areas, as well as the sale of services and goods (Zeppel, 2006; Lemelin & Bennett, 2010). A review of the literature also shows that the development of aboriginal tourism has the potential to benefit local communities socially, culturally, politically, and psychologically (Table 1; e.g., Butler and Hinch, 2007; Scheyvens, 1999; 2002; Zeppel, 2006; Kakakespan et al. in-press). However, this review also showed that in practice there are often mixed outcomes for local communities from the development of tourism (see Table 1). As Burnham (2000), Gross et al. (2009) and Stronza and Gordillo (2008) suggest "Tourism is notorious for its potential to disrupt, disturb, or otherwise do damage to natural habitats and local communities" (p. 448). This is especially noticeable in rural areas with high visitation rates, in these locations, "tourism has been known to trigger a cascade of social, ecological, cultural, and economic changes not easily managed by local residents" (Stronza & Gordillo, 2008, p. 448).

Table 1 - Potential Benefits and Negative Consequences of Tourism Development

	Potential Benefits	Potential Consequences
Environmental	• provides incentive/rationale for conservation • supports conservation of biodiversity • contributes to local capacity for natural resource management	• degradation of local environment • loss of biodiversity
Economic	• negotiation on tourism contracts • land leases and wildlife quotas • user-fees and protected area revenue sharing • sales of goods and services • increased employment • poverty alleviation • complements traditional economic activities • increased economic self-reliance • diversification of economy • increased access to regional development funding • promotes entrepreneurship	• seasonal cash flows and employment • inequitable sharing of financial benefits • centralization of profits • insignificant levels of visitation • economic expectations not realized • ongoing reliance on outside sources of funding and support • leakage of profit and employment
Social	• heal intercultural social divisions • ownership and co-ownership of businesses • maintains or enhances community equilibrium through cooperative initiative and ventures • social networking between aboriginal groups • recognizes aboriginal values	• crime, begging, prostitution • displacement from traditional territories • perceptions of crowding
Cultural	• reinforcing cultural links with land • promotes respect for local cultures • incorporation of cultural practices and knowledge into tourism • rationale for conservation and documentation of cultural knowledge and artifacts • increased cultural rejuvenation • complementary to traditional practices	• ignorance of cultural resources, practices, and knowledge • damage done to cultural resources and artifacts • inauthentic representations of culture • appropriation of cultural knowledge • incursion of tourists into sacred areas • loss of traditional cultural practices
Political	• supports recognition of legal land title • equitable participation of local people in land and tourism planning and management • increased levels of management and control • recognizes rights to traditional practice • recognition of political history	• local community has little involvement, say in tourism development processes • reduced access to resources • allocation of resources to external tourism operations • loss of traditional rights • continuation of oppressive relationship • local social structures and cultural processes are undermined
Psychological	• local self-esteem enhanced • increasing status of marginalized groups • increased local training, education, • meaningful employment	• increased marginalization through exclusion from management • feelings of powerlessness • confusion, frustration, disinterest, and disillusionment

Sources: Scheyvens, 1999; 2002; Notzke, 1999; Nepal, 2004; 2005; Kapeshesit, Lemelin, Bennett & Williams, in press; Butler and Hinch, 2007; Zeppel, 1998; 2006; Stronza & Gordillo, 2008; Gerberich,

2005; Harkin, 2003; Kirtzoglou & Theodossopoulos, 2004; Mansperger, 1995; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2005; Carr, 2007a; 2007b; Johnston, 2004; 2006; Honey, 1999; Epler-Wood, 2002; Honey, & Thullen, 2003

Of particular pertinence to this paper, a number of studies have questioned the level of benefit that gateway and aboriginal communities have received from the development of tourism (Shackley, 1998a; The Senate, 2001; Lemelin et al, 2010). Research such as Lemelin et al.'s (2010) long-term study in Polar Bear Provincial Park in Northern Canada, and various international studies have shown that significant levels of economic benefit from tourism have often failed to materialize for local and aboriginal communities (see also Dowie, 2005; Ghimire & Pimpert 1997; Martinez, 2006). Even in cases where protected areas have generated income for communities and provisions for the training and hiring of local and aboriginal people have been initiated, involvement in management and development of tourism and employment in tourism tends to be somewhat limited (e.g., Cameron, 2003; Wellings, 2007). And while protected area visitation fees have the potential to contribute to local aboriginal groups (e.g., De Lacey & Lawson, 1997; Wellings, 2007), these revenues are rarely controlled by or returned to local communities (Shackley, 1998b). This is particularly true in Canada where agencies responsible for managing provincial and federal protected areas, are also mandated with a task of generating revenues (i.e., user-fees, sales) in these protected areas (Lemelin & Bennett, 2010).

Despite some of these failures, many protected areas provide significant benefits from the development of tourism, various studies have suggested that there are high levels of market interest in and potential for further development of Aboriginal tourism products and services in Canada (Budke, 2000; Hart, Steadman & Wood, 1996; Pricewaterhouse Coopers, 2000; Williams and Dossa 1996; Williams and Stewart, 1997; ATTC, 2003a) and in the US (Burham, 2000). Additionally, a number of authors have shown that there is often significant interest in Canadian aboriginal gateway communities to participate in tourism development (e.g., Hitchner et al., 2009; Lemelin & Johnston, 2008; Bennett, Lemelin, Ellis, & Enzoe, 2010). Whether self-declared willingness to participate in aboriginal tourism opportunities (usually as a secondary activity) by respondents is an adequate proxy for tourism development potential and interest is still open to debate.

In light of the previous critiques of the levels of benefit that local and aboriginal communities have received from the development of tourism, we concur with a number of authors (De Lacey & Lawson, 1997; Nepal, 2000; Eagles & McCool, 2002; Wellings, 2007; Shackley, 1998; Budke, 2000; The Senate, 2001) who have suggested that greater attention needs to be paid to the development of local aboriginal community capacity for engagement in tourism if the potential for aboriginal tourism development is to be realized in PA gateway communities. This paper posits that a capital assets framework might provide a succinct way to: a) appraise community capacity for tourism development; and, b) guide capacity building actions that will improve tourism development outcomes. To that end, the following section of this literature review will briefly discuss previous research on capacity and capacity building with particular reference to tourism development and explore the emergence of development literature with capitals or assets as a basis for examining community capacity.

2.2 Conceptualizing community capacity for tourism development

In the broader literature on the subject of community capacity for engaging in development, definitions of capacity and capacity building are varied and many, as are the tools for determining a community's capacity and exploring capacity building processes and actions. An extensive number of different concepts have been used to evaluate the capacity of communities and have been suggested as requisites for building local capacity. These include positive attitudes (Murray & Dunn, 1995; Frank & Smith, 1999), knowledge and information (Frank & Smith, 1999; Mabudafhasi, 2002; Cole, 2006; Moscardo, 2008), skills, education and training (Budke, 2000; Victurine, 2000; Weller & Ham, 2002), access to resources (Chaskin, 2001; Hough, 2006; Skinner, 2006), partnerships, relationships, networks and collaborations (Eade, 1997; Chaskin et al., 2001; Monypenny, 2008, Budke, 2000) civic engagement, participation and involvement (Malik & Wagle, 2002; Skinner, 2006), conflict resolution skills and processes (Murray & Dunn, 1995), a shared vision (Murray & Dunn, 1995), local support (Moscardo, 2008), and communication (Cole, 2006). Other authors, writing about tourism development, have emphasized the importance of leadership (Blackman, 2008), training and education (Alexander & McKenna, 1998), planning and coordination (Murphy & Murphy, 2004), tourism infrastructure and facilities (Budke, 2000; Notzke, 2004; 2006; ATTC, 2003b), positive partnerships and collaborative arrangements between NGOs, the private sector (e.g., travel trade organizations), government agencies and local people (Notzke, 2004; Hiwasaki, 2006; Williams & O'Neil, 2007; Forrest, 2008), and a local awareness of tourism (Hiwasaki, 2006; Koster 2008). A relatively strong connection to local cultural heritage has also been identified as an important asset (Budke, 2000; Notzke, 20004; Williams & O'Neil, 2007). Yet, to the best of our knowledge there are no well-established and widely accepted means of assessing a community's capacity for engaging in tourism development.

A potentially integrative approach for defining, appraising, and building a community's capacity for engagement in tourism development is a capitals-based and/or assets-based approach. Our framing of community capacity through a *capital assets* lens stems from two different theoretical and applied traditions within the community and international development literature: the Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) approach; and the Assets Based approach to Community Development (ABCD). The SL approach (i.e., Carney, 1998; Scoones, 1998; Ellis, 2001), which emerged from early works of Amartya Sen on capabilities as freedoms (1984; 1985a; 1985b) and early definitions of sustainable livelihoods by Chambers and Conway (1992), emphasizes the central place of a number of capitals or assets in local livelihood strategies (e.g., tourism) and related livelihood outcomes (i.e., income, well-being, environmental sustainability). The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Development's (DFID) SL framework (see Figure 1), for example, highlights social, human, natural, physical, and financial capital as being important livelihood assets. Other SL frameworks and definitions also stress the importance of cultural capital (Bebbington, 1999) and political capital and offer economic capital as an alternative to financial (see Hussein, 2002 for an exceptional overview of SL approaches, frameworks, and definitions).

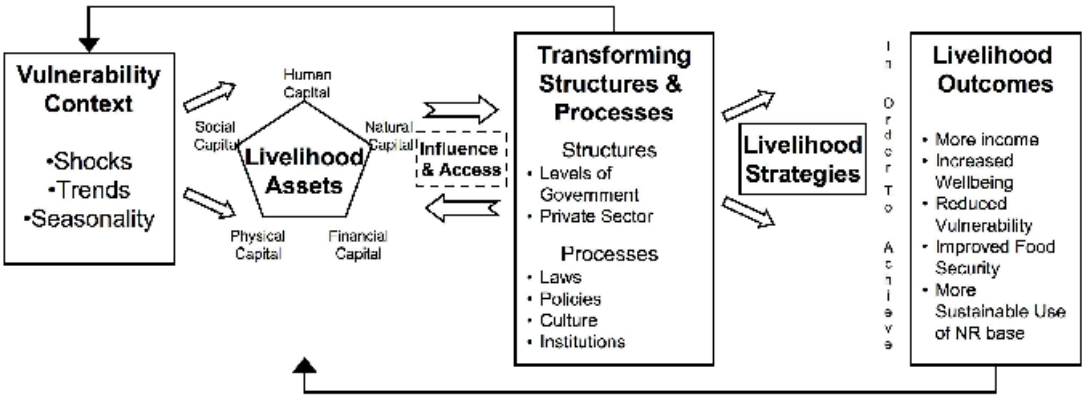

Figure 1 - The Department for Foreign Affairs and International Development's (DFID) Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (Carney, 1998)

The Asset-Based approach to Community Development (ABCD) emerged from community development work in the US as an alternative to the previous needs-based focus of community development practice which was critiqued as being overly negative, deficiency-oriented, and degenerative (e.g., Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993, Green & Haines, 2002; 2008). The ABCD envisions the identification and mobilization of assets as being central to all community development processes. Initially concentrating on assets as the gifts, skills and capacities inherent in individuals, citizens' associations, local institutions, and the physical environment (i.e., Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993), the ABCD has shifted towards examining the same seven assets that can be found in the SL literature: human, social, environmental, financial, physical, political, and cultural capitals (see Green & Haines, 2008) (see table 2 below).

Together these approaches point to the importance of a number of what we shall call *capital assets* (i.e., human, social, natural, financial, physical, political, and cultural capital assets) that are central to supporting local development efforts. Furthermore as Bourdieu (1986) states "Capital…in its objectified or embodied forms, takes time to accumulate and…has a potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form…And the structure of the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represents the immanent structure of the social world, i.e., the set of constraints inscribed in the very reality of that world, which govern its functioning in a durable way, determining the chances of success for practices" (p. 242). It follows that the accumulation and utilization of an indeterminate combination of the various capitals, provides communities with the capability, freedom, or capacity to develop (in this case tourism) successfully (i.e., Sen, 1984, 1985a, 1985b). Based on a review of SL and ABCD literature (Carney, 1998; Scoones, 1998; Bebbington, 1999; Putnam, 2000; Green & Haines, 2002; 2008) and our emergent results, Table 2 provides an overview of the definitions of the seven capital assets that we used in our analysis with particular reference to their transformation and utilization in supporting

successful tourism development. Due to space restrictions, a complete discussion of previous research and the place of each of the capital assets in supporting local development and livelihood outcomes is beyond the scope of the current paper.

Table 2 - Definitional Framework for Capital Assets

Natural Capital	The natural resource stocks that form the basis of tourism products and the level of protection provided to these resources.
Social Capital	The formal and informal social resources, including networks, partnerships, and memberships, relationships of trust and reciprocity, and collective norms, that support the development of tourism.
Human Capital	The skills and education, knowledge and awareness, physical ability and health, and individual attributes that support the development of tourism.
Physical and Built Capital	The physical buildings and infrastructure that enables communities to engage in tourism development.
Financial Capital	The financial resources that are available to individuals and communities and that provide them with the opportunity to develop tourism.
Cultural Capital	The practices, traditions, and resources that are central to a people's identity and the means and processes to maintain these.
Political Capital	The policies and legislations, political supports, governance processes, and formalized institutions that facilitate the transformation of the other capital assets into tourism developments.

3.0 Site Descriptions and Methods

The framework presented herein is the result of a synthesis of research that took place in 5 different study sites at various stages in the creation of protected areas and with various levels of tourism development. These research projects were also conducted by a number of different researchers. The aboriginal communities that were involved in collaborative research projects that led to the development of the framework include 1) Lutsel K'e, NWT, 2) Nain, Labrador, 3) Weenusk, Ontario, 4) Lake Helen, Ontario, and 5) various communities surrounding the Pacific Rim National Park Reserve (Figure 2). The following section will briefly describe each of the communities, the coinciding protected areas, and the methods used in each site. In addition, this section will discuss the qualitative analysis used to synthesize these results and the methods used to conduct initial tests of the framework and verify its usefulness.

Figure 2 - Map of Canada with study sites identified

3.1 Lutsel K'e, NWT

Home to the Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation (LDFN), Lutsel K'e (pop. 400), Northwest Territories, is located on the East Arm of Great Slave Lake. A national park was first proposed in the traditional territory of the LDFN in 1969 but this proposal was met with great opposition locally. However, in the last decade the LDFN and the federal government have signed several agreements and identified an area (locally called "Thaidene Nene" or "The land of our ancestors") of 33,000km^2 for protection as a national park. The two parties are currently negotiating a final agreement. As part of a number of ongoing processes leading up to these negotiations, the Thaidene Nene Working Group of the LDFN initiated a collaborative research project with two of this paper's authors. As part of this project, qualitative interviews (total interviews: 45) were conducted with aboriginal community members (26 interviews), non-aboriginal community members (10 interviews), and external participants (9 interviews) who were experts in northern development, tourism development, or conservation. Although the region is home to a number of tourism operators (primarily fishing and hunting-based

operations) and has significant natural and cultural attractors, the community benefits little from current tourism offerings in the area.

3.2 Nain, Labrador

Established in 2005, Torngat Mountains National Park (TMNP) extends from Saglek Fjord in the south, to the northern tip of Labrador; and from the watershed boundary in the west (bordering the newly created Kuururjuaq Parc Nationale du Québec), to the waters of the Labrador Sea in the east (an area of roughly 9,700 km^2) (Barbour 2008). TMNP has the highest mountains in Canada east of the Rocky Mountains, glaciers, fiords, and a variety of wildlife including caribou, bears (black, polar) whales, raptors, and waterfowl (Lemelin & Maher, 2009; Parks Canada 2009). Currently tourism opportunities are focused upon cruise tourism showcasing the natural landscape and wildlife of the area with brief shore excursions in some locations. Approximately 500 visitors (including researchers, recreationists, and tourists) visit the park on an annual basis (Maher & Lemelin, 2010). Two field seasons (summers of 2008 and 2009) were spent in the community of Nain examining recreational opportunities, the potential impacts from tourism, and tourism management (see Lemelin & Maher, 2009; Maher & Lemelin, 2010 for these results).

3.3 Weenusk, Ontario

The Weenusk Cree Nation (pop. 300) is recognized as the 'gateway community' to Polar Bear Provincial Park. PBPP is a non-operational wilderness provincial park (i.e., non-operating parks charge no fees, have no on-site staff and only limited infrastructures), administered by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR) (Lemelin & Dyck, 2007). Established in 1970, PBPP is Ontario's largest provincial park (2,355,200 ha or 24,087 km^2) (Usher, 1993). Recreational and tourism opportunities are limited to small scale fishing camps, canoeing/kayaking, and viewing of the world's most southerly population of polar bears provided by local and non-local operators (Lemelin & McIntyre, 2010). Lemelin et al. (2010) estimated that about 20-30 specialized adventurers (i.e., canoeist, kayakers) undertook excursions offered in PBPP. If we combine these numbers with other visitors (polar bear viewers), and fishers (Sutton River) there is still only a few hundred people visiting the park on an annual basis. A collaborative research project examining the impacts of climate change and ecosystem well-being was developed in 2007 and completed in 2010. Twenty-two in-depth interviews with community members along with 300 hours of field observations were conducted and logged. In 2010, the partnership published a co-written article.

3.4 Lake Helen, Ontario

The LSNMCA is one of Canada's first marine protected areas to be created under the National Marine Conservation Area Act. The zone covers roughly 10,000 km^2 (3,861 sq mi) of lakebed, the overlaying freshwater and associated shoreline on 60 km^2 (23 sq mi) of islands and mainland (Lemelin et al., 2010). Several communities including Terrace Bay, Schreiber, Rossport, Nipigon, Red Rock, the township of Dorion, Pass

Lake, and Silver Islet; First Nations (Pays Plat, Lake Helen, Fort William), and the city of Thunder Bay are located near or in the NMCA, and are recognized as partners/ stakeholders in the LSNMCA process. Current tourism offerings across this region include fishing and hunting charters, sailing, kayaking and canoeing, hiking, and small cruise ships; tourism developments within Lake Helen (pop. 283) are limited to guiding and seasonal events. Six research projects (four completed, two ongoing) using multiple methods (interviews, content analysis, workshops, hermeneutics, photovoice) all guided by participatory action research have been conducted by two of this paper's authors with Lake Helen since 2006. Various presentations, reports and publications have been co-produced by this collaboration.

3.5 Communities near Pacific Rim National Park Reserve

Pacific Rim National Park Reserve (PRNPR) is located on the west coast of Vancouver Island in the province of British Columbia. The park covers an area of almost 51,000 hectares of land and ocean between the towns of Port Renfrew and Tofino and surrounds the reserves, traditional territories and communities of the Tla-o-qui-aht, Yuʔluʔilʔath, Tseshaht, Hupacasath, Huu-ay-aht, Ditidaht, Pacheedaht First Nations; the Toquaht Nation and Uchucklesaht Tribe are in close proximity. All of these belong to the Nuu-cha-nulth people, who, according to their oral traditions, have lived in this area since time immemorial (Parks Canada 2010). Research on building capacity for tourism was undertaken in these communities during 1998 and 1999 using a case-study approach, with a particular focusing on Aboriginal tourism initiatives in PRNPR while drawing on related examples in other parks and protected areas in Canada (see Budke, 2000a; 2000b). In addition to a literature review, seventy-seven in-depth and key informant interviews were conducted. Since then, aboriginal tourism and aboriginal involvement in PRNPR management has seen significant advances, in part as a result of the Maa-nulth Final Agreement.

3.6 Synthesis and Testing of Framework

The researchers who were involved in the original research projects revisited the qualitative results from each of the aforementioned studies in order to develop the current project. The results were revisited and re-coded around the 7 capital assets and their sub-components in a semi-emergent fashion and were synthesized to create a coherent framework. The framework went through three iterations prior to testing. Areas of overlap were combined and areas of disagreement were clarified between the researchers. Final editing of the framework was also done after the initial field tests.

To verify the analysis and to ensure applicability, the framework was then field-tested by the researchers in four different aboriginal protected area communities that were previously drawn upon to develop the framework. Key informants from each of the communities were contacted and asked to participate in an assessment of their communities using the framework. To facilitate the analysis, participants were asked to rate the indicators on a scale of 0-10 and to provide any additional qualitative comments. These results were then analyzed and returned to the community informant to ask for their perceptions of the assessment provided by the framework. The component scores

were calculated by summing all of the indicator scores in each component and then dividing this number by the number of indicators in that component to come up with a number out of 10. Capital asset scores were calculated by summing the related component scores then dividing by the total number of sub-components in that capital asset to get a number out of 10.

4.0 Results

The qualitative analysis resulted in the emergence of 155 indicators coded onto the 19 sub-components (see Figure 3) of the 7 capital assets (i.e., natural, physical and built, financial, political, social, cultural, and human). Due to its length, the complete version of the Capital Assets Framework for assessing community capacity for tourism is located in Appendix A; however, a brief discussion of the various aspects of the framework is provided here along with an exploration of the results of testing the framework.

4.1 Overview of Capital Assets Framework

In the framework, the components of human capital include the typical considerations of *skills and education* and *knowledge and awareness* but also stress the importance of *ability and health* and *individual attributes*. *Skills and education* includes indicators such as leadership capacity, administrative and financial skills, hospitality skills, and levels of basic education. Indicators that examine general levels of awareness of the tourism industry and knowledge of tourism development are encompassed by the component *knowledge and awareness*. Indicators representing important *individual attributes* include various aspects of entrepreneurialism and presence of tourism role models.

The presence of supportive *policies and legislations*, *political* leaders and organizations, *governance processes*, and *formalized institutions* are shown to be important components of the political and institutional capital that is required to develop tourism. Supportive *policies and legislation* include those that recognize ownership and/or access for tourism purposes, that support local economic development,that ensure tourism is managed in a sustainable manner, and that articulate culturally appropriate codes of conduct. The component *political support* recognizes that supportive leaders (both elected and traditional) and local and external governments are important for the success of tourism development. Across the study sites, participants stressed the importance of *governance processes*, such as political performance, accountability, inclusiveness and participation, control, equity, and communication and conflict resolution strategies. The presence and strength of *formalized institutions*, such as tourism planning organizations, structures for controlling financial resources, and public sector bodies that support economic development, are also important components of political and institutional capital.

Social capital includes the components *networks and partnerships*, *relationships of trust and reciprocity*, and *collective norms*. Results stress the importance of *networks and partnerships* within communities and regions and development networks and between various communities and the private and public sectors. This requires

coordination and active programs of outreach. This component may be the most tangible aspect of social capital. The level of support for tourism and willingness to engage in the market economy as well as the presence of articulated visions and goals are indicators of *collective norms*. Both of the previous aspects of social capital are thought to rely on *relationships of trust and reciprocity* within communities and between communities and outside individuals and organizations.

Capacity for engaging in tourism development also requires *physical and built capital*, which refers to physical *buildings* and other community *infrastructure*. Physical infrastructure, such as roads, buildings, airports, docks, waste disposal and water treatment facilities, and trails and campsites, as well as businesses are required to supply goods, services, and experiences for tourism development.

The framework also teases out the various sources of *financial capital* (*personal, community*, and *external*) that are available for supporting tourism development and the various tourism related projects that these can be used to support. For example, financial capital is required to support training and education, community economic development bodies and processes, infrastructure development, marketing and networking, and documentation and storage of cultural resources.

The final two capital assets, *natural and cultural capital*, form the basis of tourism products and experiences. *Natural capital* consists, in our analysis, of the *natural resource stock* and to the level of *protection and preservation* provided through locally (e.g., community-based protected areas, tribal parks) and/or externally driven (e.g., provincial parks, national parks) and recognized means. The component *natural resource stock* is indicated by the attractiveness, uniqueness, and draw provided by the natural values in a protected area. The level of draw is also determined by the 'brand' recognition of the protected area or natural features (e.g., Mount Robson, Banff National Park, Nahanni National Park). Cultural capital includes the active use and presence of *practices, traditions, and resources*, including stories, languages, traditional activities, cultural artifacts, and sites as well as the level of access provided to artifacts and sites. Additionally, the strength of cultural capital requires ongoing *learning and maintenance* through cultural and language education and inter-generational sharing programs and active programs of research, documentation, and storage of cultural resources.

4.2 Initial Tests of the Framework

As mentioned previously, in addition to developing the framework, we conducted initial tests of the framework with key informants from a selection of the study communities that contributed to the development of the framework. Analyses of the results were returned to the community members for comment and to verify the accuracy of the analysis. For brevity and since our intention was not to compare the capacities of each of the study sites, the results from only one of the study sites will be summarized here as an example (see Figure 3). For the purposes of this article, we have chosen to keep the name of the community confidential until we have had an opportunity to more extensively assess and compare each of the communities using the framework. The results presented here show a community with an overall high rating (>7.5/10) for *natural capital* (8.4), a mid-level rating (5-7.5/10) for *human capital* (5), *cultural capital*

(6.3), *physical and built capital* (5.1), and *political capital* (5.7), and low ratings (<5/10) for *social capital* (4.9), and *financial capital* (4.2). No capital assets were shown to have very low scores (0-2.5/10). An examination of the sub-component scores for each capital asset reveals some variation within each category. For example, in the area of cultural capital *practices, traditions, and resources* (7.1) are fairly strong; however, the practices required for *cultural learning and maintenance* (5.4) score lower. Of the components of social capital, *networks and partnerships* (3.9) is rated slightly lower than relationships of trust and reciprocity (5.6) and *collective norms* (5.1). The capital asset with the widest range is political capital, with *political support* (8) scoring much higher than *policies and legislation* (5.6), *governance processes* (4.8), or *formalized institutions* (4.5).

Figure 3a

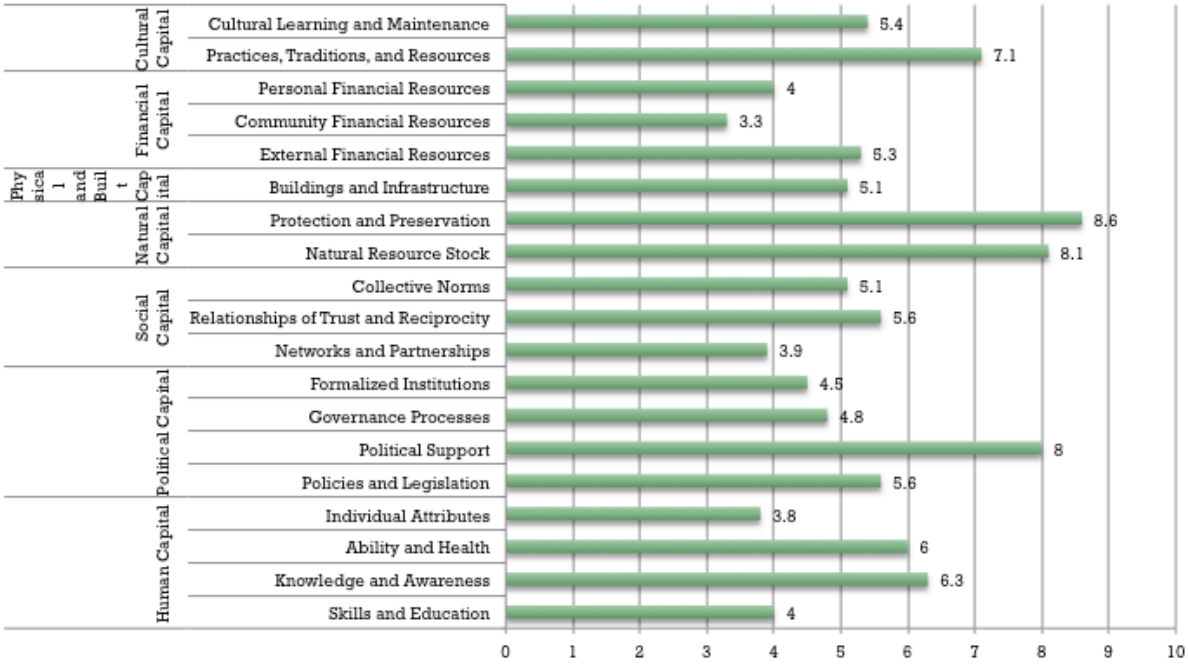

Figure 3b

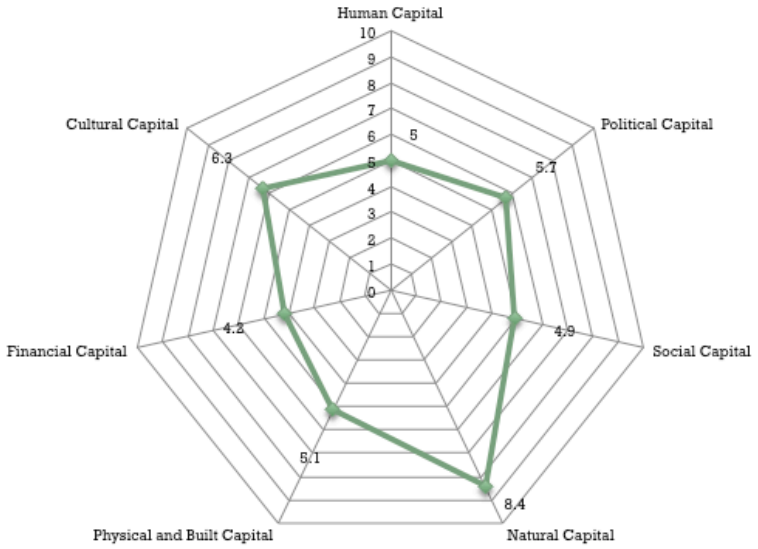

Figure 3 – a) Chart of capital asset component scores and b) radar diagram of capital asset scores shown for test community

When we returned our analysis to key informants, they felt that though the framework was slightly on the long side that it provided a very holistic, if somewhat coarse, measure of community capacity. Key informants suggested the analysis could be used in a number of ways including, communicating with outside agencies, providing the basis for community planning processes, and in particular for identifying courses of action. While the framework was developed through analysis of qualitative information on capacity building, key informants felt that putting numbers to the various aspects of capacity allowed for an easy way to identify deficiencies and necessary actions. One key informant commented that the tool would be particularly useful for re-evaluating community capacity every few years: "The framework is beneficial as it illustrates where you have to build your capacity because you are putting numbers to it, and it allows you to use it to see how you are progressing. For example, you could do it again in 5 years or 10 years and re-evaluate where you are at with regards to tourism…". Key informants also said that it would also be useful to see and compare how a number of different people rated the different indicators, components, and assets and/or to do the process with a group. All key informants stressed the importance of presenting the information to the community for discussion.

5.0 Discussion

This paper has provided an overview of the development and testing of a framework for measuring community capacity for engaging in tourism, with a particular focus on aboriginal communities located near parks and protected areas in a Canadian context. In the following discussion, we 1) review areas where this framework overlaps with other literature on community capacity for tourism, 2) explore some of the potential

applications of the framework, 3) examine some initial lessons from testing the framework, and 4) suggest areas of future research.

Though our analysis was emergent and based on a number of community-based research projects, the framework points to many of the same considerations regarding a community's capacity for engaging in tourism that can be found in the literature. In particular, it re-affirms the importance of human capital, financial capital, and the different aspects of physical and built capital in developing tourism (see literature review). For example, the framework points out the importance of skills and education and knowledge of the tourism industry in the area of human capital. The framework also recognizes the value of natural and cultural resources as important assets for creating tourism products (e.g., Notzke, 2006; Zeppel, 2006). The framework expands on the current literature on capacity building for tourism in terms of social capital and political capital. In the first case, the framework brings together the literatures that point to the importance of partnerships, relationships, networks and collaborations (Eade, 1997; Chaskin et al., 2001; Monypenny, 2008) civic engagement, participation and involvement (Malik & Wagle, 2002; Skinner, 2006), and a shared vision (Murray & Dunn, 1995) under the banner of social capital. Through attaching specific and very tangible indicators to the various sub-components of social capital (i.e., networks and partnerships, relationships of trust and reciprocity, collective norms), the framework also avoids the open-ended and somewhat nebulous treatment of social capital as participation in community groups (Putnam, 2001). In the second case, the framework is unique in showing the particular types of policies and legislations, political supports, governance processes, and formal institutions that are required for supporting tourism development, particularly in an aboriginal community context. Moreover, we found that through situating our analysis within the 7 capital assets we were able to create a more holistic framework for assessing a community's capacity. In addition, the framework provides a convenient bridge between capacity as resource and capacity building as a process.

There are a number of potential applications of the framework in its current format. For example, the framework could be utilized as tool for rapid appraisal of community capacity for tourism through, for example, the interviewing of one or more key informants as we did when conducting our field tests of the framework. As noted by key informant interview participants, the resultant analysis could produce easily communicatable results that can be presented in charts and tables to both internal organizations and outside agencies and organizations. Of course, a more broad application of the framework with a wider group of individuals and stakeholder groups with various perspectives could lead to more robust results. For example, focusing on a combination of «insider» and «outsider» perspectives would provide different insight into community processes and outside opportunity structures (Lockhart, 1982). Second, the results of a quantitative analysis could also provide an interesting basis for community discussions and the identification of aspects of community capacity that need attention and particular courses of action. Third, the various components and bullet points in the framework could provide the structure for a qualitative discussion or focus group examining local community capacity. Finally, the framework can be utilized as a tool for monitoring and evaluating progress on community capacity building processes. Re-analysis every few years can provide feedback to community development processes.

Yet, there is still a need for additional testing and application of the framework and there are also several ways in which the framework could be improved through further research. First, the framework needs to be more broadly applied and tested across a number of case study sites. This should be done in both Canadian and international contexts, in various different types of protected areas, and in communities that are not located near protected areas. Secondly, at the present the indicators, components, and assets are all weighted equally at each stage of the framework leading to the final analysis. However, it is likely that the relative importance of each indicator differs significantly in its contribution to the overall capacity of a community. The application of some sort of ranking and weighting exercise could help to further develop the accuracy of the instrument in determing a community's capacity for engagement in tourism. Third, it is likely that the particular disposition and the relative position (e.g., tourism company operator, elected leader, economic development officer, protected areas agency official) of the individual interviewed using the framework would significanly influence the analysis and results. Though individual differences cannot be accounted for, teasing out the inter-group difference through a multi-community case study comparison would provide additional insights into how various stakeholder groups envisage the capacity of communities for engaging in tourism.

Finally, we learned some important initial lessons from the testing of the framework. These lessons include: 1) recognizing the complexity of the ideas presented in the framework and leaving space for explanation and exchange within the interview process; 2) acknowledging that the capacity of each community within or neighbouring a protected area will be different and thus that separate analyses will need to be completed; and, 3) understanding that some of the indicators are challenging to rate and that it might require having a brief discussion and writing down qualitative comments to provide background information on the ratings provided. It is also important to note that the framework does face one significant limitation. It focuses primarily at the micro (i.e., individual, community political organizations) and meso (i.e., regional bodies, policies, and institutions) levels because this is the level at which the capacity of communities can be leveraged. Thus the framework is limited in its ability to consider macro-level and uncontrollable factors, such as markets, politics, or environmental shocks, that might influence the overall success of tourism capacity building efforts. As such, the framework should be complemented by comprehensive feasibility studies of tourism markets, demand, and assessments of the potential impacts of macro level factors. The framework also includes some indicators, components, or capital assets that are more or less controllable than others and this needs to be considered when deciding what actions to take to build a community's capacity or even if tourism is a suitable development strategy for a community. For example, if the natural and cultural capitals do not provide sufficient draw for tourists or if there is not significant market demand then the development of community-based tourism needs to be reconsidered as a viable option.

6.0 Conclusion

If tourism is to achieve its potential of being able to support community social, cultural, political, psychological and economic development, as well as to support conservation initiatives near aboriginal protected areas, the fundamental issue of local

community capacity needs to be addressed. Yet, we suggest that to date there have been no comprehensive frameworks that adequately deal with the breadth of considerations required to appraise a community's capacity for engagement in tourism development. This paper has used a capital assets construct to develop a framework to fill this gap. Through focusing on the seven capital assets of natural, physical and built, financial, political, social, cultural, and human capital we feel that the framework presented herein is holistic in orientation and aims to ensure benefits across the various spheres of a community's development while also safeguarding the environment. In closure, it is our contention that, with some modification and further research, this framework has the potential for much broader application in both Canadian and international indigenous communities as well as in communities that are not located near protected areas.

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Appendix A - A Capital Assets Framework for Assessing Community Capacity for Tourism

Table 3 - Capital Assets Framework for Assessing Community Capacity for Tourism

Capital Asset Components	Indicators (or Aspects Requiring Initial Development and Ongoing Maintenance)
	Human Capital The skills and education, knowledge and awareness, physical ability and health, and individual attributes that support the development of tourism.
Skills and Education	• Community political leadership capacity • Economic development leadership capacity • Entrepreneurship capacity • Management skills and capacity • Guiding «hard» and «soft» skills • Service and hospitality skills • Coordination capacity (for tourism activities, events, and bookings) • Administrative and financial skills • <<On the land>> and traditional knowledge and skills • Cultural and natural interpretation skills • Levels of basic education (numeracy and literacy) • Conflict resolution skills • Critical mass of skilled and trained people to develop tourism industry • Level of youth involvement in training and capacity building for tourism
Knowledge and Awareness	• Knowledge and awareness of tourism industry (i.e., potential, impacts, tourist expectations, products, needs, assets, strengths, challenges, opportunities, job requirements, and market research) • Knowledge of processes involved in tourism development and implementation • Access to post-secondary and tourism industry training • Levels of knowledge and awareness of local culture and history • Levels of recognition of value of local culture for tourism • Recognition of value of tourism business to community
Ability and Health	• Community levels of physical and psychological health • Amount of the local population who are of working age (i.e., not too many young or too many older people)
Individual Attributes	• Levels of individual motivation, long-term commitment, and patience (entrepreneurialism) • Individual openness to economic diversification and skill development • Presence of individual role models in tourism industry • Individual preferences and willingness to take risk and make personal and financial investment (entrepreneurialism)

Policies and Legislation	● Mechanisms that provide access to and/or ownership (tenure) of land and resources for tourism development (e.g., legislation, completed treaties, Interim Treaty Agreements (ITAs), Interim Measures Agreements (IMAs), IBAs or land claim negotiations) ● Local community policies that support local economic and tourism development ● Policy mechanisms/provisions to ensure economic benefits are maintained locally (i.e., right to first refusal, recognition as gateway, entry fees) ● Environmental Non-governmental Organizations (ENGO) and governmental conservation organization policies that recognize and support local tourism development ● Formal policies and/ or legislation that recognize rights to continue traditional activities (i.e., harvesting, trapping, hunting, fishing) ● Policies and/or informal mechanisms that allow for incorporation of traditional activities into tourism products within protected area (e.g., trapping tourism) ● Formal recognition by governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) of importance of local development outcomes relating to conservation ● Locally articulated codes of conduct for culturally appropriate tourist and tourism operator behaviours, protocols, and travel guidelines and restrictions (e.g., for sacred sites) ● Locally articulated protocols about appropriate aspects of culture to share and means of sharing ● Formalized recognition and use of local place names ● Existence of articulated vision, tourism development plan (experiences, infrastructure, and services), and ongoing management plans ● Local policies and plans to ensure environmental stewardship is considered in management of tourism development
Political Support	● Levels of local political will and support for tourism development among elected officials ● Support by senior and traditional leaders in community, particularly elders and hereditary chiefs ● Levels of external political will and support for tourism as economic development ● Presence of local champions for tourism in community ● Formal support by local government for economic and tourism development (e.g., through economic development offices) ● Supportive relationships exist with local protected areas management and government agency officials
Governance Processes	● Performance of local political organizations (responsiveness, effectiveness, efficiency, fairness, unity, accountability, direction, stability, transparency) ● Ongoing and independent review processes to ensure local government effectiveness and economic accountability ● Inclusiveness of and levels of community participation in tourism development processes ● Levels of involvement of traditional leaders, including elders and hereditary chiefs, in tourism development ● Effectiveness, including breadth and depth, of participatory processes within community ● Levels of satisfaction with governance and planning processes within the community ● Level of local control over tourism development and ongoing management processes ● Level of incorporation of cultural and traditional knowledge in tourism development processes and products ● Level of local control over financial resources available to support tourism (and other) development ● Tourism development processes that ensure appropriate, respectful, and authentic integration and interpretation of culture in tourism products, experiences, services, and infrastructure ● Frameworks, protocols, and agreements for communication, cooperation, or partnerships (clearly defined roles, rights, responsibilities, timeframes, conflict resolution strategies) between the community and outside agencies/organizations ● Processes and mechanisms that ensure equitable benefit (ie, including broader community, various genders, and range of socio-economic classes) ● Allocation of realistic timeframes (i.e., longterm) for tourism planning and development processes ● Level of sharing of decision making power in co-management arrangements ● Mechanisms to ensure effective monitoring, evaluation, and adaptation of tourism industry ● Processes to ensure community level approval of tourism development before proceeding

Formal Institutions	• Local governmental or social economy bodies that support local economic and tourism development (e.g., economic development offices, CED corporations, tourism associations, cooperatives, planning and management boards) • Presence of supportive and active public sector (government) bodies (e.g., regional tourism development organizations, marketing bodies, ministries) • Formalized and financially supported structures for planning and ongoing management of tourism development • Formalized structures (e.g., board run trust fund) that allow for local control of financial resources • Formalized social supports (e.g., childcare) to enable involvement of various facets of community • Presence of effective marketing strategies and initiatives • Presence of or access to skill and capacity building programs for tourism and economic development • Presence of or access to educational institutions at elementary and secondary level in the community • Presence and availability of tourism awareness raising programs • Presence of local programs that support cultural interpretation and stewardship in protected area (e.g., Haida Watchmen)
Social Capital The formal and informal social resources, including networks, partnerships, and memberships, relationships of trust and reciprocity, and collective norms, that support the development of tourism	
Networks and Partnerships	• Presence of regional coordination, regional development strategies, and regional tourism organizations • Presence of community-private-public partnerships for initial development, ongoing training and capacity building, and marketing of products • Memberships in external tourism-related organizations in public (e.g., provincial or territorial tourism bodies) and private sector (e.g., packaging and marketing wholesalers) • Presence of partnerships between NGOs, governmental conservation organizations, and other governmental departments • Level of coordination of activities between private, public, and collective (i.e., tourism cooperatives, associations) organizations within community • Levels of intergovernmental/inter-organizational coordination within community • Levels of intergovernmental/inter-organizational coordination outside community • Processes that support learning from other communities, indigenous groups, and tourism organizations • Active outreach and partnering by community, government, and conservation partners • Partnering of community with similar communities regionally and territorially/provincially on many different issues, including tourism
Relationships of Trust and Reciprocity	• Clear, open, flexible, and transparent channels of communication within community and with outside organizations • Levels of trust and quality of relationships between local and external actors (including ENGOs, government conservation bodies, public sector companies, post secondary institutions) • Levels of trust within the community • Levels of inter-governmental trust and support outside community • Levels of information sharing among partners, stakeholders, and organizations • Levels of mutual support for tourism development efforts within community • Strength of informal social supports within community • Quality or outside perceptions and image of community as tourism destination
Collective Norms	• Levels of collective will, support for, and commitment to community and tourism development • Levels of community openness to economic development and diversification through tourism • Level of community interest in achieving economic self-reliance • Community willingness to engage in market economy • Local consensus on what is best for the community • Community willingness and support to allow the local community government to take risk and make a financial investment

	● United and articulated visions and goals for tourism developments ● Welcoming attitudes and behaviours towards tourism and tourists
	Natural Capital The natural resource stocks that form the basis of tourism products and the level of protection provided to these resources.
Natural Resource Stock	● Level of attractiveness of natural values (e.g., geology, wildlife, waterways) in the region ● Level of uniqueness of natural heritage ● Level of seasonality of tourism products and experiences due to weather and climate ● Level of tourist draw to tourism activities that are enabled by and realistic given the available natural capital (i.e., demand) ● Level of outside knowledge of the natural heritage "brand" of the local protected area or natural features (e.g., Nahanni, Mount Robson) ● Level of health and integrity of natural environment/ecosystem ● Level of visible impacts from other forms of development
Protection and Preservation (Locally and/or Externally Driven and Recognized)	● Levels of preservation provided to tourism-related aspects of wilderness and wildlife ● Levels of protection from more exploitative/destructive forms of development ● Levels of local recognition of need for stewardship of environmental resources ● Existence of environmental stewardship initiatives, strategies, and plans ● Balance between levels of protection and recognition of need for local economic development
	Physical and Built Capital The physical buildings and infrastructure that enables communities to engage in tourism development.
Buildings and Infrastructure	● Tourist infrastructure and businesses to supply services (e.g., accommodations, transportation, food, equipment rentals), goods (e.g., supplies, memorabilia), and experiences (e.g., trails, routes, sites) ● Presence of private sector businesses that can capitalize on providing goods and services to tourism industry ● Community infrastructure to support (community) economic development (e.g., office space) ● Community infrastructure sufficient to support additional pressure from tourism development (water, waste and sewage services, energy supply) ● Infrastructure for communicating with tourists (maps, information, signage, interpretation, visitor centre) ● Infrastructure for storage of cultural, historical, and traditional knowledge and artifacts ● Infrastructure for interpretation of culture and for local cultural education ● Infrastructure to use for meetings, education, workshops, and gathering ● Consideration given to and active programs of community beautification ● Land base for development of tourism experiences and infrastructure
	Financial Capital The financial resources that are available to individuals and communities and that provide them with the opportunity to develop tourism.

External Financial Resources	• Initial funding to support training, capacity building, and infrastructure development • Ongoing access to outside sources of funding to support: ● training and education ● community economic and tourism development ● tourism infrastructure development ● marketing and networking ● cultural and social development initiatives ● protection of cultural resources • Levels of external competition for available funding resources • Access to financial resources and opportunities through aboriginal status
Community Financial Resources	• Strength of traditional sharing economy within the community • Community controlled sources of funding to support : ● training and education ● community economic and tourism development ● tourism infrastructure development ● marketing and networking ● cultural and social development initiatives ● protection of cultural resources
Personal Financial Resources	● Adequate levels of family and personal savings to take risks and make business investments ● Regular remittances from outside family members employed in other communities and industries ● Presence of diverse and flexible opportunities for employment throughout the year ● Available funding resources for private entrepreneurs through outside organizations (e.g., through community futures development corporations)
	Cultural Capital The practices, traditions, and resources that are central to a people's identity and the means and processes to maintain these.
Practices, Traditions, and Resources	● Active use of traditional languages ● Local knowledge of stories, traditions, and history ● Levels of documentation and storage of traditional knowledge ● Levels of engagement in traditional, cultural, and «on-the-land» activities ● Identification and maintenance of historical and cultural sites ● Levels of integrity and protection provided to cultural resources ● Levels of access to and/or ownership of cultural resources ● Accumulation of cultural artifacts by individuals and collective ● Recognition that tourism development provides further opportunity to build cultural assets ● Levels of local knowledge of land base
Cultural Learning and Maintenance	● Active and ongoing community formal and informal cultural education programs and activities ● Spaces and programs for inter-generational cultural sharing ● Traditional language education programs ● Active and ongoing program of research, documentation, storage, and dissemination of traditional languages ● Active and ongoing program of research, documentation, storage of cultural resources