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PASCN Discussion Paper No. 2003-07

Contested Space : Tourism Power and Social Relations in Mactan and Panglao Islands

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October 2003

CONTESTED SPACE: TOURISM, POWER AND SOCIAL RELATIONS IN MACTAN AND PANGLAO ISLANDS

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Submitted to:

August 15, 2003
Cebu City

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

This is a study about local communities in the midst of varying levels of tourism development. Using the anthropological perspective, two resort communities in two islands have been scrutinized using the triangulation method of survey, focus group discussion and key informant interview, in order to elicit information on the dynamics brought about by this form of development. A total of 137 households comprising 14 in Danao, 42 in Tawala and 81 in Maribago were surveyed in this study for the Knowledge, Attitudes and Perceptions Survey (KAPS) section. Four focus group discussions were then carried out composed of 7 Panglao residents; 8 Panglao farmers/fisherfolks; 11 Maribago residents; and 12 Maribago fisherfolks. For the key informant section of this study, 16 stakeholders across the two study sites were interviewed regarding their opnions on aspects of tourism development.

The important findings in this study can be understood only when considered against the backdrop of important questions raised at the beginning of this report that shall now be considered in this section. These major questions are: (1) What is the local meaning of space and landscape? How do individuals and their community maximize the benefits from available space and landscape? (2) How is space appropriated for tourism development? What are the major conflicts that have sprung up because of this? (3) What are the historical forces that have contributed to the dynamics of local response to tourism development? (4) How has tourism development reconfigured social relations in the community? This study discusses these questions against the backdrop of current literature that address them.

Findings

- Space and landscape are seen differently by locals in Panglao as in Mactan. For the former, space is constitutive not just of its physical dimensions but also its capacity to provide subsistence and livelihood for those occupying them. This

conception of space is very pronounced in Panglao where locals see much value in land for farming and the sea for fishing---and hence the potential for conflict when forms of development overlap traditional views of resource utilization.

- In Mactan, on the other hand, the absence of farms and boat landing sites has now meant that for local residents space is congruent to a mere place of residence, although the sea is still seen as a valuable source of subsistence.

- Since space in Panglao is perceived in terms of the agricultural value of land despite the presence of resorts, the sample population in this study is almost evenly divided among those who see its development in terms of tourism and those who see it as fit for agriculture.

- There is no such division of opinions among respondents in Mactan where tourism is seen as the major form of development there. While there is strong attachment to their community, the locals in Mactan see the value of space only insofar as it is able to support their livelihood, which in this case, is tied in some way to tourism---whether these are vendors, unaccredited/illegal *hupo-hupo* tour guides, boatmen, or resort employees.

- Place in Mactan has become nothing more than habitat. The sense of place which marks the essence of being in a community in this regard has been expanded to include tourists. Without tourists, this conception of place simply becomes senseless for tourism and tourist life now pervades the local communities there (or at least, in Brgy. Maribago).

- The appropriation of space for tourism in both Panglao and Mactan came independent of local interests and perceptions of land/sea use by local residents. In both study sites, tourist resorts emerged not from the initiatives of locals because of two things: lack of capital and the inability to see the value of privatizing space for profit.

- Both local and national government had no role in initiating the emergence of resorts early in the history of tourism development in both study sites.

- Government interest in spatial appropriation, while very much pronounced now in Panglao with the tourism estate project, was absent when the first resorts catering to foreign tourists emerged there in the early 1980's. Such absence is much more pronounced in Mactan, where violations of the 20-meter salvage zone law evince the almost lack of government participation, even supervision, of development when resorts were first built in the early 1970s and grew into high-end international resorts by the late 1980s. By the time the comprehensive land-use plans for the city of Lapu-lapu were approved in 1995, most if not all of the Mactan's beaches had by then been teeming with resorts marked by seawalls or concrete jetties.

- Spatial appropriation in Mactan (as in Panglao) has reduced the majority of non-landowning locals into doing petty services, menial jobs and vending to tourists and resorts following absence of farms and boat landing sites. Because localities in Mactan have been incorporated into the urban (and global) sphere of the economy, one's location in the tourism enterprise now determines once position in the community.

- The dynamics of tourism is such that the social structure of local communities now includes tourists who now form part of the everyday life and imaginings of locals, both in Mactan and Panglao.

- Tourists are seen as helpful, with individual cases cited to show the benefits of derived from friendships with them. There is, however, some apprehension for whether resorts care for the communities around them. This concern is largely a result of problems related to local residents's access to the shorelines and beachfronts in Mactan and Panglao.

- The form and timing by which the two study sites saw spatial appropriation for tourism vary and provide some important insights into the type of tourism development that was pursued in the study sites. In Mactan, beachfront properties then as now are largely owned by wealthy urban Cebu-based families with titles to their properties. Thus, resort development emerged without much fuss from community residents around.

- Unlike Mactan, tourism development in Panglao happened in an island where landowners held only tax declarations and not land titles. Moreover, such development appeared in a very rural environment, started by backpacking tourists who stayed away from the expensive resorts of Mactan and elsewhere. The presence of other forms of economic development (like the Mactan Export Processing Zone) as well as an international airport also meant that pressure on land and sea as source of livelihood did not appear as strong there as in Panglao.

- With much wealth, private resort developers in Mactan created an enclave of sorts, cordoning their properties off from the surrounding community. The locals, powerless because they held no title to beachfront properties, could only complain to their barangay officials who were also as powerless as they were. This, coupled with a seeming lack of political will on the part of past city chief executives so sadly confided to us by a city government development planner exacerbated the situation to the point where the courts are now called upon to provide legal remedy.

- The local government in Mactan is now taking steps toward a solution to the problem of salvage zone violations by resorts with the current first-ever survey undertaken by the local City Fisheries and Aquatic Resources Management Council (CFARMC). The survey, which began in May 2003, will concern an inventory of coastal structures and determination of whether these are illegally-constructed or not.

- The rallies and mass actions that occurred in Panglao between 1992 and 1995 may have resulted in sharpening local residents' awareness and concern for their community in the midst of spatial appropriation and the increasing commoditization of place by outsiders. Whereas Mactan has seen the essence of "placeless power and powerless places", Panglao demonstrates a different scenario altogether because of this period of active opposition by locals.

- The development of tourism in Panglao was attended by conflict and struggle in the early 1990s owing to the active involvement of the church and resorts there. While craft-type resorts had existed in Alona prior to this period, government decision (an "outsider" initiative) to accelerate development in the form of the proposed Panglao Tourism Estate, caused the coalescing of community aspirations with the moral position of the church regarding tourism. This has made locals acutely aware of their place in the economic progress of Panglao which is not evinced in the data from Mactan.

- Almost a decade has passed since this period of turmoil in the development of Panglao and this study has shown that locals now see development by way of tourism as inevitable. With local residents in Panglao finding potential for economic benefit for the community down to the individual level, a conspicuous alteration of earlier evaluations of tourism may have emerged.

- There is still much cautiousness with regard to demonstration effects as expressed in the key informant interviews in both Mactan and Panglao.

- Panglao is still undergoing the transition from rural to urban life via tourism and presents a slightly different scene altogether, one which may have been **about** Mactan once before it was subsumed into the urban and global scheme of things. Kinship ties and the essence of community still pervade the environment of

Panglao. With the increasing financial value of land as result of tourism, however, these ties are beginning to loosen.

- The arena of conflicts in Panglao over tourism has, therefore, now shifted from the community level to the family and individuals. With land titling an inevitable event, many families are now undergoing internal stress as members begin to assert their right to land. Hitherto absentee family members, long settled elsewhere, now want to be involved in the apportionment of benefits from sale of lands to resort investors and real estate brokers.

- In Mactan, the arena of conflict revolves around accessibility for locals, a conflict which has simmered for almost two decades now. Powerless fisherfolk and other locals whose claims to place and space have been superseded by rapid economic development and increasing urbanization, have forced the conflict into the legal front, pitting wealthy private entrepreneurs (and important city taxpayers, if I may add) against the local government. This is a conflict that, in the words of one key informant, requires the political will of the chief executive.

- Mactan's incorporation into the global economy (with two export processing zones, the international airport and international-class tourist resorts now in place) means that the power to decide the future trajectory of the island's development is now out of the local residents, as it now resides in the global players who have a stake in its future. As a hub of international transportation, export commodity production and tourism, the time when local residents would have had a say in its future has long receded into the horizon. The mobilizations of locals as had occurred in Panglao will not happen anymore in Mactan. Even the Catholic church has not been active here at all. For as long as economic growth is ensured by these global players, locals have no recourse but to participate in whatever way they can. For the local government unit, Lapu-lapu city, such growth translates into much-needed revenues for more infrastructure to make the city truly world-class.

Conclusions

In conclusion, this study has sought to investigate how rapid and accelerated change brought about by the appropriation of space has reconfigured local power and social relations in two resort communities. It has compared the emergence and growth of tourism amidst local communities in two islands of varying levels of tourist development. In Mactan, tourism has become one of three factors that have placed the island within the orbit of the global economy (the others are commodity production for export and international transportation). The appropriation of space there has resulted in the erosion of local power as the island's economy has now been tied to global forces. Local communities in the study site now depend almost entirely on tourism as a source of revenue, thus muting local power and subsuming it to state and global interests. In a sense, there is no more contest over space in Mactan.

Panglao on the other hand, can learn from the experience of Mactan as it embarks on the road to development. A past characterized by an active struggle for the institutionalization of local decision-making and participation in tourism development and the craft type or small scale form of resorts (in Alona) have resulted in a different outcome thus far in the contest over space there, where local power is now expressed in the communities' heightened sensitivity to development in their midst.

Recommendations

Based on this study, the following issues need to be addressed:

1. Accessibility problems in the form of fencing and access roads in Panglao and concrete jetties in Mactan need to be seriously solved by local government units with the support of national line agencies. This requires coordinated and concerted effort as well as political will on the part of local executives and the vigilance of local residents.

2. The problem of the so-called double-selling resulting in multiple claimants to real property in Panglao requires serious consideration by government units from the barangay level up to the nationally-mandated line agencies dealing with land surveys and titling. This necessitates coordination and the setting up of a multi-sectoral body or a task force composed of all stakeholders in order to regulate the sale of land. In the case of the Caribbean (see Apostolopoulos and Gayle 2002:26-27), citizen-led conflict resolution channels have been put in place to guarantee speed in resolving such problems. This can be adapted at the barangay judicial level so as to avoid exacerbating kin fragmentation due to land disputes. At the same time, a simple information dissemination program right at the community or barangay level would help in providing correct information to outsiders regarding the status of lands they intend to purchase.

3. A proper information, education and communication system across all the government agencies coordinating tourism development, both in Mactan and in Panglao, as well as other tourist destinations, should be put in place so as to avoid further confusion at the ground level with regard to tourism-related projects. This requires constant exchange of information even at the barangay level between local community officials and government tourism agencies. Confusion starts right at the level of the community, which must be remedied with intensive information, education and communication campaigns as has been done in the health sector. A simple information bulletin board, for starters, coupled with constant community consultations and meetings will help in ensuring that the communities surrounding the tourist resorts are made aware of the tourist trade, how it benefits them and, more importantly what inputs they can contribute to creating a 'social comfort zone' between communities and the tourism sector in their midst. It is not enough that barangay chairs are made conduits of information as there is no guarantee that they in turn will relay this to their constituents. Traditional power structures in

the communities should also be tapped for this purpose. Such structures usually include farmer/fisherfolk leaders, teachers, and church leaders.

4. Government agencies and local government units should seek avenues for coordinating activities so as to avoid implementing tourism programs or issuing policies at cross-purposes. This requires once again the setting up of a task force where all agencies, both national and local, are able to meet and coordinate to achieve synergy in tourism development and community management. Such a task force must also incorporate local community leaders to ensure community participation in the decision-making processes.

5. Due to the varying trajectories of tourism development in Mactan and Panglao, other localities and islands that intend to pursue tourism development as a means of economic growth should learn from the rich experiences provided by these two study sites. In Malapascua Island, northeatern Cebu, for example, land surveys and eventual titling of real property is currently being undertaken together with a comprehensive land use plan by the municipality of Daanbantayan. The planning phase should now include community participation in order to avoid the problems encountered in both Mactan and Panglao islands.

6. Finally, the study recommends that small-scale, craft type resort development in lieu of the organized mass tourism-type be also given due consideration by tourism policy planners for small islands. While the latter type of development has been proven to infuse much-needed foreign exchange revenues to the economy, it has its drawbacks in terms of its tendency to create exclusion zones or tourist enclaves as is found in Mactan, which physically cordon off local communities. In Mactan, one sees high-end and high-rise tourist establishments in stark contrast with low-income residential sprawl beyond its borders. Moreover, despite its economic potential, large-scale, organized mass tourism-type development falls prey to the fluctuations of seasonal tourist

arrivals. As a result tour operators will cut costs by reducing the laborforce, thereby causing a ripple effect on the local employment situation. The evidence provided by Alona Beach is that craft-type development has prevented the creation of an enclave, as it were, that effectively prevents community participation in tourism (other than employment). In Alona, local residents from the surrounding communities long steeped in the culture and tradition of a rural environment interact more with tourists, which over time, has helped them see tourism in better light. This has facilitated government and community cooperation so that the latter are incorporated into the tourism enterprise. Demonstration effects on locals can then be minimized as locals are able to communicate their opinions and perceptions directly to tourists, resort owners, and managers. I believe that problems of tourist revenue fluctuations are much more minimal in craft-type resorts which, due to the low cost of accommodations, can also cater to domestic tourists when international arrivals are low or absent. In addition, Blijleven and van Naerssen (2000) have shown that European tourists prefer the quiet and unhurried pace of Panglao over that of Mactan, which also allows tourists to have more control over their preferences and more time to rest and relax in comparison to the hectic schedule of mass-based organized (package-deal) tourism that is found in Mactan. In short, craft-type tourism is low-key and allows for resorts to merge almost seamlessly with the local community and its environs, often allowing tourists to stray into these communities and learn as much about the local culture.

CHAPTER I

Contested Space: Tourism, Power and Social Relations

I.   Introduction

How does rapid and accelerated change brought about by the appropriation of space reconfigure local power and social relations?

This study intends to find answers to this question by looking at tourism development in two islands in Central Philippines. Specifically, it will look at the political dynamics of tourism development in the Philippines at the local level, which involves the study of how space is appropriated and developed, and how this relates to tensions or stresses in local social relations. It also focuses on the dimensions of power and how these are exercised locally.

While tourism policy has been generally elite-driven in most countries including the Philippines, everyday struggles and conflicts that ensue at the local level as a result of policy implementation reveal the culturally-mediated manners in which issues are disputed and resolved. They also show the kind of claimants for social and political influence. Such conflicts reveal the degree of community cohesion and the type of social relations that in turn are implicated in local understandings of tourism, the tourist-host encounter and the attendant appropriation of space for tourism development.

II.   Research Overview

With the use of the anthropological perspective, this proposed research looks at the intrusion of tourism into the socio-economic and socio-cultural structure of two island communities: one with little prior exposure to external-driven and large scale forms of development and the other currently hosting an export processing zone and an international airport.

Specifically, this research agenda develops around an anthropological approach to understanding tourism development in the Philippines, shaped within a critical position that looks at the appropriation of space for tourism development as a product of the distribution of power over policy and decision-making in tourism.

It is important to look at the political organization of power (i.e. tourism agencies, national and local government units, non-government and peoples' organizations as well as local residents) and how this is expressed within a specific locale vis-à-vis the emergence of tourism both as a means to economic growth by some and as a source of tension and active resistance by others. Equally important is the task of investigating which players are maximizing the potentials of tourism as a medium of development, who are not and why.

Anthropology looks at tourism as an element of culture, as part of some way of life. It provides a holistic, cross-cultural approach to the phenomenon, the study of which was not long ago considered a frivolous exercise by many scholars (Nash 1981). The anthropological study of tourism formally emerged as a legitimate area of study during the late 70's when anthropologists began to seriously consider the study of the social and cultural dimensions of the phenomenon (see for example Smith 1979; 1989). Whereas tourism in the social sciences was a domain of economics, the entry of anthropology has provided a different perspective focused on what Nash and Smith (1991) describe as the "forces that generate tourists and tourism, the transaction between cultures and subcultures that are an intrinsic part of all tourism, and the consequences for the cultures and the individuals in them."

The early anthropological interest in tourism grew out of a long-standing tradition in acculturation studies embedded in culture theory and social change. Recent studies have gone beyond this level and are now delving into the nature of tourism itself. In addition, the post-modernist conceptions of culture as unbounded have begun to cast new light on the way tourism both engenders and is eventually implicated in a broad range of

cultural politics, bringing attention to domestic stratification and conflict up front in tourism studies (Wood 1993). Contested tourist space is where cultures begin to appear problematic.

My interest in tourism studies from an anthropological perspective began with an ethnographic study of the social relations attendant to beach resort tourism in the island of Panglao, Bohol province, in Central Philippines. The emergence of a social organization involving not only members of an otherwise subsistence farming and fishing community but also international tourists was looked into. Moreover, in 1995 and 1996, I participated in short studies and had made brief forays into tourism enclaves in Mactan Island, Cebu, where part of this study was undertaken (Bersales 1999). Additionally, a yearlong stint at the University of Bielefeld in Germany under a Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) grant allowed me to further develop the methodological and bibliographic aspects of this study.

III.   Research Sites

This study is to be undertaken in two island communities hosting varied scales of resort tourism development. Mactan Island, just off the eastern coast of the bustling metropolitan city of Cebu, is home to a combination of five-star and business class hotels as well as craft type beach resorts. Panglao, on the other hand hosts bungalow tourism (here I use Cohen's (1983) classification), although it too hosts an international resort hotel.

Mactan Island, which occupies a total land area of 67.69 sq. km., is the site of the city of Lapu-lapu, with a total population of 217,019 (2002 Census) located in 30 barangays. As mentioned, the island is not only home to tourist resorts but also a thriving export processing zone and an international airport, all found in the city of Lapu-lapu. Since 1974, Mactan Island has been connected to the main island of Cebu by a kilometer-long bridge spanning the Mactan Channel. In 1999, a second one, this time a single-span,

cable suspension bridge funded by Japanese overseas loans, was inaugurated to handle increasing traffic to and from the island.

Panglao Island is 13 km. long and 4 to 8 km. wide, and has a total population of 21,337 (2000 Census) located in 10 barangays. It belongs to the island province of Bohol and is connected to it by two short and narrow concrete overflow bridges that connect to Tagbilaran City, the provincial capital. The island, located southwest of the city, is home to the towns of Panglao and Dauis. It hosts a number of beach resorts, mostly owned by foreigners who have married Boholanas, not necessarily from the island of Panglao. Panglao town also administratively controls the island of Balicasag, where resorts have been in existence for some time.

While both Panglao and Mactan are coraline with a few patches of clay, the former boasts of large strips of sandy beaches; the latter is dotted with craggy beaches with a few patches of white sand. A common feature is the existence of subsistence fishing communities (including dynamite or blast fishers) and the presence of coral reefs that beckon tourists. To illustrate the lack of sandy beaches on Mactan, consider the case of the five-star Shangri-la Resort. During construction, it was decided to import sand from an island near Bohol to the shoreline fronting the hotel. The source island, as a result, almost disappeared from the map. Beach authenticity notwithstanding, tourist arrivals in Mactan have been increasing. The Department of Tourism, for example, reports a 30 percent rise in foreign tourist arrivals over an 11-month period in the Central Visayas, the region to which both Bohol and Cebu belong, with Japan accounting for the main bulk of arrivals (Lim 2003).

Both islands have been subjects of development efforts, with the government undertaking the drafting of development master plans for each (cf. Schema Consult 1995; U.P. PLANADES 1990). In both plans, tourism, among others, has figured prominently.

Two barangays in Panglao, Barangays Tawala and Danao, and one in Mactan, Barangay Maribago, have been selected as study sites. This is due to their proximity to

beach resort clusters. The two barangays of Panglao straddle Alona Beach with some 30 resorts, dive shops and restaurants. Almost half of these are managed by European tourists and their Filipina partners. The beach is named after Alona Alegre, erstwhile movie actress who starred in the film *Esteban* shot around the late 70's on the beach where the resorts now stand. Back then, the place was nothing but an empty expanse of sand.

Of the three sites, Brgy. Maribago on Mactan Island has the largest concentration of resorts that cater to both local and mostly foreign tourists. It has about seven high-end, international class beach resorts and a number of dive shops, run either by Filipinos or foreigners with Filipino partners.

Based on the 2002 Census of Population, Brgy. Tawala has a total population of 2,425 in 419 households, while Danao has 2,635 in 506 households. Brgy. Maribago has a total population of 7,235 in 1,452 households.

IV.   Review of Literature

The study of tourism has been claimed by anthropologists as largely falling within the subject of development and acculturation (Nash 1996), which began when Nuñez (1964) investigated the socio-cultural impacts of tourists coming to Cajititlan, Jalisco in Mexico, for weekend respites. Since then, there has been a steady flow of anthropological and sociological studies on the impacts of the tourist-host encounter and the whole process of tourism itself. These impacts were defined by Pizam (1983) as the "ways in which tourism contributes to changes in value systems, individual behavior, family relationships, collective lifestyles, creative expressions, traditional ceremonies and community organization." De Kadt (1979), meanwhile, posited that tourism is an important mechanism for increasing international understanding. However, numerous studies have challenged the validity of such a position (Nash 1996). The impact of tourism on subsistence communities, for example, can be seen in Robbens' (1982) report

of the complaints of Coqueiral fisherfolk in Northern Brazil, accusing tourists of taking charge of their traditional fishing village.

In the Philippines, there have been minimal research attempts to relate tourism to social phenomena. Indeed, tourism as a research interest in the country appears quite recent. In fact, what may be considered the first definitive study of tourism in the Philippines came out only in 1979 as a discussion paper (Arroyo and Cunanan 1979). This may seem rather awkward since the Philippines has been touted as a tourist destination for over 60 years (Damaso and Castañeda-Rivera 1993). In their discussion paper, Arroyo and Cunanan reported that the process of beach resort development can create situations of exclusion. They saw that while development of certain beach resorts would not render the shoreline beyond the reach of barangay residents, the facilities available would increase in price, effectively dropping the lower-income consumers out of the potential market(s).

In 1983, perhaps the first socioeconomic study of tourism was undertaken in Pagsanjan, Laguna, and subsequently published. Among the findings, the authors (Arroyo and Buenventura 1983) concluded that while income in that town had increased rapidly when compared with other towns, tourism did not improve the size distribution of income since employees were not recruited from the poorer sections of the community. In addition, while opportunities for female entrepreneurship and employment were generated, they were not outside of traditional gender-determined occupations. Moreover, tourism's impact on the income of residents in the area was not large.

Another socioeconomic study of rural beach resort development, this time in Cebu, was undertaken in 1989, which compared two types of resort development (Olofson and Crisostomo 1989). The study found that tourism in one of the two resorts they evaluated was developed with little participation from locals or "insiders". This they referred to in the literature as "induced" or "industry" type of tourism. The other type of resort was referred to as "craft tourism" because it was composed of small firms established by individuals from the immediate vicinity, province or region. It was in the

latter that the chances for local firms/households to supply goods and services to resorts were greater. They found out, however, that on both types of resort development, there was little evidence of the "historical participation of (the) local government in (the) regulation and planning of the (induced type of) resort."

This study has much to bear on the role of space and spatial analysis in social relations, especially with regard to problems of power and representation, which has been increasingly recognized as a productive endeavor within anthropology (Van Beek 1995). Here space, expressed in landscape, is seen not as a neutral entity but as the result of social production; for the way space is planned and developed expresses the existence of power (Vincent 1995). Hence, landscapes represent social differentiation: "They are the site and stake of struggles over power," (Smith and David 1995). An important element of this notion is the convergence between space and power, between cultural production and reproduction.

Adam Smith and Nicholas David (1995), in presenting a critical analysis of space present four tenets central to the theoretical link between space and power useful to this study. First, specific forms of landscape and built space are shaped by the historical development of social relations. Second, space is not only defined by the exercise of power but also constraints and directs its use ("space conditions the exercise of power). Third, these principles are insignificant unless applied in particular cases. And, finally, spatial practice must be viewed beyond simple ties to architectural details that define spatial experience but encompass how spaces are perceived.

A strategy of spatial practice is the appropriation of meanings and resources via the establishment of particular relations in physical space (a more detailed discussion can be found in Lefebvre 1991). This is done through both exclusion and proximity. In tourism development, enclaves are usually created near spaces where infrastructure is modern yet locals are physically separated from tourists and the tourist enterprise. This is largely a result of policies designed to create niche markets, where spaces are designed around a series of "implicit and explicit boundaries" which redefine space and alter the

function of the locality from "serving the needs of its inhabitants to that of serving the leisure needs of others" (Meethan 2001). This physical demarcation in tourist space also results in social demarcation, controlling the circulation of people and creating situations of privilege and domination (Olofson and Crisostomo 2000). This then is the way in which tourism becomes part of the struggles over symbolic representations of reality. An unpublished social acceptability study undertaken in one barangay of Mactan already noticed this scenario when it noted two possible disadvantages from tourism in Mactan: eviction from home sites and the blocking off of access to the sea (Bersales *et al* 1996). The study further noted that,

> (f)or local residents, tourism is seen…as an opportunity for increased family incomes. However, such opportunities are seriously constrained by lack of capital, education and skills, and what is perceived as a preference for hiring outsiders in tourism. (Bersales *et* al: 68)

The German sociologist Erhard Berner (2001) describes this phenomenon as the result of the creation of what he called "(excluded) citadels and (includ which he noted in Mactan, where accelerated economic growth has not resulted in a sustainable form of development for the majority and instead has sharpened divisions and conflicts. He describes such citadels as places where access is severely restricted in terms of both the physical (through security measures like fences, gates, walls and the use of IDs) as well as the economic (through high resort entrance fees and prices of consumables therein).

Seen from the perspective of globalization, tourism, like all capitalist enterprises deterritorializes (Kearney 1991) by commodifying local space, appropriating it from locals and reconstituting power relations. One of the key aspects in the political arena of tourism is the manner in which space (or place) is commodified. Hall (1994), for example, describes the dynamics of the tourist production system as,

> "sell(ing)" places in order to attract tourists…. Within this setting, place is commodified and reduced to an experience and image for consumption. The

production of "leisure spaces" (Lefebvre 1976), which are discrete and categorized landscapes that actively maintain and consolidate prevailing production relations…is a functional given (Hall 1994: 18).

The production of leisure spaces becomes most contentious when considered against the backdrop of subsistence communities. Tourism is one of many enterprises that integrate spaces into the global economy. This integration is, however, problematic for many, where tourism becomes part of the struggle for the control of space in which social groups are continually engaged in this, resulting in what Castells and Henderson (1987) term as "placeless power and powerless places" for the disenfranchised. Denise Brown's (1999) study of a five-country tourism project called Mundo Maya (Maya World), developed around areas where Maya archaeological sites are located, helps elucidate this. The study traces the evolution of the Maya landscape from its *use value* to its *value in exchange*, where a different landscape has emerged, one that has become a commodity in which the Maya (as hosts) have to negotiate a new identity in a newly constructed space that is outside of their control. The ensuing attribution of importance and significance (by outsiders) to what was seen before as an empty or non-meaningful landscape has resulted in an imagined or artificially constructed cartography vying for meaning with locally constructed space and local conceptions of landscape. For Brown, the act of reconstructing these landscapes is a product of spatial appropriation, with power struggles resulting from challenges to such a cultural landscape. Wilson (1988) refers to this as the struggle in which the "dominant group seeks to legitimate, through statute and administrative fiat its understanding of the appropriate use of space…and the subordinate groups resist through individual rebellion and collective action." Nash (1996), in his very important review of weaknesses in the anthropological study of tourism, calls this the "power trail of the touristic process". Appadurai (1996, cited in Winslow 2002) sees this from the perspective of a *postmodern* world, which is marked by fragmentation, heterogeneity and discontinuity. He describes this as a world where a variety of global forces and the state pull people in an increasingly intrusive manner as they struggle to retain control in the midst of competition from other global entities, which in this case, happens to be tourism.

It is the task of anthropology, according to Pertierra (1995), to understand the ways in which external structures are experienced locally, as well as the responses to these external structures. Tourism is one external structure that falls under this category. Necessary to understanding this is the consideration of the community in society. A community is not simply a "group of people who share common goals or opinions" (Williams and Lawson 2001). A community is something within which members share issues (usually symbolic) about which they agree *or* disagree (Cohen 1985). For example, land or space could be a symbol of the community. Its use can be a focus for community cohesion, with the community as a structure of regular and stable interaction of significant others. But it is also in the community where the "fragmentation of power" (Richter 1993) can be witnessed, where the distribution of political influence in spatial appropriation by interest groups from both within and outside the community is evident. Usually, real power and decision-making is outside of community control and influence (Reid and Sindiga 1999) or such control passes from the local community into the local government with vested interests in tourism development (Faulkenberry *et al* 2000). This is an important point to consider since ultimately, the success of tourism development depends on the acceptance of the host population. This realization can be linked to how the host population perceives tourism and what roles they see (and perform), if ever, in the tourist enterprise. Citing Appadurai, Winslow (2002) writes:

> (P)eople do not just go with the flow, abandoning their own places and the feelings of connection that come with them. Because locality, as a sense of social immediacy, is a fundamental human quality, people fight to maintain the local neighborhoods and landscapes that produce it (p. 160).

Besculides *et al* (2002) elaborate on the role of the community in tourism by pointing out that community attachment, seen in terms of the level of social bonds such as "friendships, sentiment and social participation" (Gursoy *et al* 2001), can affect the way residents perceive and deal with tourism in their midst, as do length of residence, and economic dependence on tourism. Thus, those who derive economic benefit from tourism are expected to have a more positive attitude towards it than those who do not

(Williams and Lawson 2001). Local community support for tourism is an important factor because a friendly, hospitable local population is critical to the success of the tourism industry. This is especially true in that despite the positive economic impacts it brings on local communities, tourism as an industry and as a phenomenon also brings "an undeniably dark side" which is mostly seen and felt by the local community (Faulkenberry *et al* 2000).

Nowhere is this truer than in Panglao whose residents experienced during the early 1990's the problems of lack of community consultation in planned tourism development. In October 1990, the Provincial Government of Bohol, together with U.P. Planning and Development Research Foundation Inc. (UP PLANADES 1990) drafted the Panglao Island Development Project (PIDP) ostensibly to develop the island into a center for economic growth. The PIDP called for the establishment of a tourism estate, an international airport, agriculture and fisheries development and urban-rural infrastructure improvement, among others. The ambitious project called for a comprehensive overhaul of land utilization and a new development framework for the island and its residents.

Absent from this project was the crucial component of community consultations and participation in the planning phase. In the ensuing confusion and apprehension among residents over the project (heightened in part by the active intervention of the Social Action Center of Diocese Tagbilaran), the Philippine Tourism Authority commissioned the University of San Carlos Area Research Training Center (USC ARTC) to conduct a social acceptability study there (Alburo and Olofson 1992). The rationale of the study is most telling in the way the authors approached the task before them:

> "Since the project will most likely impose the total restructuring of their life styles (*sic*)…the success of the project hinges on how well the project and the community can integrate with each other, and on how well the community adapts to change.

To achieve this tall order, the study presented overwhelming evidence based on focus groups discussions, public meetings and surveys among local residents that the concept of community in Panglao did exist, with members tied closely by kinship, and linked by the abundance of local associations and organizations. Hence, tourism development had to be denominated by community development and not community dissolution. This called for incorporating community needs (water, sanitation, model household resettlement areas, etc.) and aspirations (employment and general well-being) into the tourism framework plan. The study also noted, however, that local residents around the area of the planned tourism estate (i.e., Libaong and Danao) saw many factors that worked against then-current forms of development outside of tourism: significant outmigration of young people for jobs in urban centers, median education, decline in agricultural production, low agricultural income and employment, low crop diversity, land fragmentation through partible inheritance and the low value of land. These observations may well hold true for the entire island itself, thus allowing for tourism development to provide an alternative vehicle for economic growth. Over ten years later, the same problems of land fragmentation and low agricultural productivity for those in traditional crops continue to be noted by the municipal planning officer in Panglao (Jovencia Asilo, personal communication 2003). The current land use plan of Panglao (CLUP 2001), in fact, calls for a reduction of agricultural areas from 3,950 hectares to just a mere 770 hectares with a corresponding increase in built-up areas from 709 hectares to 2,472 hectares, apparently in response to growth brought about by the Panglao tourism estate.

A report by the Department of Tourism Region VII (2002) shows what have been achieved from the time of the USC ARTC study and the present, which include among others, the delineation of 2,000 hectares for the Panglao Island Tourism Estate (PITE) in 1999-2000; the drafting of the Panglao Island Comprehensive Land Use Plan in 1995, the inventory of cadastral and landowners mapping in 1996 and 1997 as well as the partial acquisition of about 64.98 hectares for a new airport. The PITE itself will be composed of a 120-hectare tourism estate in the barangays of Tawala, Libaong and Bolod in Panglao

town and Dao, Biking, San Isidro and Tingao in Dauis town. Together with this is the alternate airport, an urban service area, a nature tourism zone, a golf course, an agricultural area and a conservation zone (Seastems 2001: 228). A joint DOT and PITE inter-agency task force has been formed to supervise the Panglao Craft Village and the conduct of a study to determine the ecological profile of the island and the re-classification of lands there. With regard to the airport, both the Department of Tourism and the Department of Transportation and Communication have contributed P7.6 million and P230 million respectively for the acquisition of lands. However, the ecoprofile study commissioned for the PITE (Seastems 2001) mentions that the building of a new airport has been shelved. Instead, the upgrading of the Tagbilaran airport would now be pursued.

Unfortunately, no parallel studies have been undertaken in Mactan, which has hosted tourists as far back as the late 1960's, long before the advent of tourism master plans and the concept of sustainability became almost a common household keyword. The Mactan Island Integrated Master Plan prepared by Schema Konsult Inc (1995), in fact, notes the advanced state of tourism facilities on the island. The tourism development section of the plan, however, gives due notice to the existence of squatters around the tourist sites and recommends adequate resettlement carried out by government in cooperation with local community groups.

Tourism development follows its own dynamism, what is referred to as the resort cycle; that is, tourist destinations tend to pass through successive stages, from discovery, to growth, to maturity and then on to decline (McElroy and Albuquerque 2002). It is the task of tourism planners and policy makers to ensure that a given tourist destination avoids reaching the impasse brought about by boom-bust cycles by factoring in not just the economic and ecological side of development but also the social and cultural aspects, thus forging a more sustainable future for tourism.

In the Central Visayas context, sustainability is the main catchword expressed in, among others, the Regional Development Plan prepared by the National Economic Development Authority (NEDA). The plan envisions that by 2025, Central Visayas

(comprising Cebu, Bohol, Negros Oriental and Siquijor) shall be a leading growth center in Southeast Asia, with its economic growth based broadly on a "sustainable and more equitably shared" region which will be a major center for transportation, communications, trade, tourism, knowledge, professional services, finance and shipbuilding (NEDA Regional Office Central Visayas 1999). This ambitious and comprehensive plan is predicated by an emphasis on socio-economic equity that translates to *everyone* in the region profiting from such growth. Achieving this is a two-fold strategy: protecting nature and culture, and spreading the benefits of tourism through a well-organized spatial-functional system (Department of Tourism Region VII 1997).

A key to determining the strategy's success may lie in determining the types of tourists who come to the region and their resort preferences. These were precisely the subjects of a study undertaken in Central Visayas (Blijleven and van Naerssen 2001). The study found that the tourists in the region are, on the one hand, organized mass (or package-deal) tourists of East Asian origin who tend to stay in Cebu City and Mactan island, and, on the other hand, North American and European drifter or explorer type. The latter tend to stay longer (up to two weeks), travel throughout the whole region and are more interested in the local culture, which brings them to places beyond the major urban centers. Based largely on Cohen's tourist typologies, the study recommended that tourism policy be matched with tourists' preferences, suggesting the importance of the strategy offered by non-governmental and private sector stakeholders who provide tourism facilities outside of major economic centers. In terms of policy-making, the study revealed that the organization of tourism in the region was marked by a lack of fine-tuning or agreement in the direction of policies from the national to the local level and the low level of cooperation among tourism stakeholders, both in the public and private sector. The authors of the study suggested more responsibilities and opportunities for participation, influence and policy direction be given to stakeholders to make them more accountable in the execution of policy.

It is important to add the concepts of intragenerational and intergenerational equity in the strategy of sustaining tourism. Intragenerational equity refers to the creation

and strengthening of opportunity, income equity and the redistribution of power within the host population (McCool, Burgess and Nickerson 1998), of creating "equality and economic and social welfare of the local community" (Aronsson 1994) and meeting the needs of the host population by way of improved living standards in both the short and long term (Cater 1993). Intergenerational equity means securing the same abovementioned benefits for future generations. This is a tall order for sustainability, both in the present as well as the future, one that requires what McCool, Burgess and Nickerson refer to as resiliency. In discussing resiliency, these authors move the notion beyond its usual biophysical connotations to embrace social, economic and environmental systems---systems which contain the capacity to be resilient. In this instance, tourism, to be sustainable, must be transformed into a tool to enhance a given community's capacity to cope with change. Such an approach sees the type of tourism development as dependent on what the community needs to be resilient, increasing or decreasing in scope according to community preferences.

VI.   Major Research Problem and Sub-Problems

How has rapid and accelerated change brought about by the appropriation of space reconfigured power and social relations in the study communities?

Sub-problems:

1.   What is the local meaning of space and landscape? How do individuals and their community maximize the benefits from available space and landscape?

2.   How is space appropriated for tourism development? What are the major conflicts that have sprung up because of this?

3.   What are the historical forces that have contributed to the dynamics of local response to tourism development?

4.   How has tourism development reconfigured social relations in the community?

VII.   Major Research Concepts

The major concepts to be tackled in this study will be the following:

1.   Local perceptions of space and landscape
2.   Local understandings of tourists and tourism
3.   Extent and history of local participation in tourist enterprises
4.   Political and social conflicts related to tourism development
5.   Social differentiation that results from tourism
6.   Impacts of tourism on local social and power relations.

VIII.   Methodology

This study is descriptive in nature and will utilize both quantitative and qualitative methods of research in pursuit of its objectives. A necessary phase involved literature survey and collation of periodical articles revolving around the subject of this study.

The triangulation method applied in rapid ethnographic studies was utilized in this study. This involved the use of three important research methods: the survey, the key informant interview and the focus group discussion. While the original proposal did not call for the conduct of a Knowledge, Attitude and Perception Survey (KAPS), it was deemed necessary to conduct one using a mostly closed-choice instrument in order elicit initial information with which to guide the drafting of key informant and focus group questions.

A purposive sampling method was applied in the recruitment of interviewees for the survey. This involved the random selection of a starting point in each of the target

research sites (in this case, two barangays in Panglao and one in Mactan). From this identified point, interviewers were sent out in different directions following the road network with instructions to seek out every house near or adjacent to the tourist resorts and interview the household head alone (not in the presence of a spouse or partner). Outright refusals were noted and replaced with the next available house. In cases of clusters of households, interviewers were instructed to interview every third house from where he or she started.

The key informant interview also involved purposive sampling to locate specifically named persons considered influential members of the community (i.e., traditional leaders, barangay officials, church laypersons, etc.) government officials (i.e., local government officers, tourism officers) and heads of non-government organizations operating in Panglao and in Mactan, if any. The interviews were conducted with the use of an instrument containing questions that served to guide the interview and allow for probing of responses in order to elicit important and deeper information that could not otherwise be elicited in the survey.

The focus group discussions (FGDs) of local stakeholders were undertaken using a purposive recruitment procedure that involved local contacts. These contacts were briefed of the study and its objectives as well as the maximum number of participants and the types of sectors/groups that were to be recruited into each FGD. Two sectors were identified as targets for the FGD sessions in this study, namely: community residents and farmers/fisherfolk. In Mactan, the absence of farmers around the tourist sites resulted in an adjustment of the focus group composition to cover two sectors: community residents and fisherfolks. Because all lands around the tourist resorts as well as most of the properties on the island of Mactan have been converted to residences and commercial use, no farmers could be located to participate in the FGD. The case was different for the two focus group compositions in Panglao, where one FGD was conducted for participants recruited from among community residents and one for fisherfolks and farmers. The idea of mixing the farming and fishing participants was resorted to as a result of a simple inquiry which elicited the information that in Panglao (as in many rural coastal

communities in the Visayas), farming communities are also fishing communities, in which households engage in both fishing and farming as a subsistence strategy.

An FGD guide was prepared to elicit in-depth information on the topic of this study. The FGDs were mostly composed of a mixed group of both men and women.

Definition of Terms

To guide the study, the following operational definitions are utilized:

Space – The physical set-up of a given area, which includes both land and sea. It may be part of the public domain or may be privately owned.

Landscape – Humanly-modified or designed landforms.

Understandings – A person's perception of some part of reality, in this case, of tourism and the touristic enterprise.

Power – The ability to impose one's will or advance one's own interests.

Knowledge, Attitudes and Perceptions of Tourism:

Data from the Survey of Community Residents

This chapter presents results of a Knowledge, Attitude and Perception Survey (KAPS) involving households located within or adjacent to tourist resorts in two barangays in Panglao and one in Mactan. Analysis and comments are given at the end of each section.

Household Sample

The sample of households surveyed for this study is shown on Table 1 which details this sample in comparison to total household size of the sites under study.

Table 1. The Sample of Households and Household Size

Barangay	Sample Universe (Hhs)	Number and Percentage of Households in Sample		Total Population of Sample Households
Danao, Panglao	**506**	**14**	**2%**	**2,635**
Tawala, Panglao	**419**	**42**	**10%**	**2,425**
Maribago, Mactan	**1,452**	**81**	**5.6%**	**7,235**

It must be noted that the small sample sizes are a result of the sampling strategy, which required that only households in or adjacent to the resorts were surveyed. Hence, the small sample sizes may not be reflective of the opinion of the general populace. They are representative, however, of the opinions of households living in or adjacent to the resorts.

Respondent Profile

A total of fifty-six households in Brgys. Tawala and Danao in Panglao and eighty-one from Brgy. Maribago in Mactan were surveyed for this study. Selected socio-

demographic data of these respondents are shown in Table 2. As can be gleaned from the
Table, of the 56 Panglao respondents, the youngest was 18 years old and the oldest, 75

Table 2. Distribution of Respondents by Selected Socio-Demographic Characteristics

SELECTED SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS	PANGLAO (n=56)		MACTAN (n=81)	
	F	**%**	**F**	**%**
1. Age Group				
18-24	3	5	16	20
25-30	9	16	13	16
31-40	21	38	17	21
41-50	11	20	15	19
51-60	6	11	8	10
61-70	5	9	10	12
71-75	1	1	2	3
Mean Age	40		39	
Median	39		38	
2. Gender				
Male	15	27	13	16
Female	41	73	68	84
3. Educational Attainment				
None	0	0	2	3
Elementary	32	57	29	36
High School	14	25	30	37
College	8	15	19	24
Post Graduate	2	3	1	1
4. Civil Status				
Single	7	13	27	33
Married	45	80	48	59
Widow/er	3	6	5	6
Separated	1	1	1	1
5. Number of Children	(n=52)		(n=59)	
None	6	16	5	9
One	10	19	5	9
Two	6	11	7	12
Three	6	11	6	10
Four	10	19	7	12
Five	6	11	10	17
Six and above	8	15	19	32
6. Religion				

Roman Catholic	56	100	78	96
Protestant	0		2	3
Iglesia Ni Kristo	0		1	1
7. Occupation				
Self-Employed	19	36	27	33
Employed	12	21	21	26
Unemployed	25	44	33	41
8. Type of Occupation	(n=31)		(n=47)	
Tourist-related	18	58	17	36
Non-Tourist related	13	42	30	64
9. Birth Origin				
Born in here	25	44	52	64
Born in same town	6	11	6	7
Born in another town in	6	11	3	4
Panglao/Mactan	7	13	2	3
Born in Tagbilaran	9	16	3	3.7
City/Lapu-lapu	3	5	15	19
City				
Born in the province				
(Bohol/Cebu)				
Born outside Bohol/Cebu)				
10. Residential Tenure				
One year or less	1	1	3	4
2-5 years	7	13	6	7
6-10 years	6	11	8	10
10-15 years	4	7	5	6
16-20 years	6	11	14	17
Over 20 years	32	57	45	57
11. Farm ownership				
Yes	36	64	34	42
No	20	36	47	58

years old. For the Mactan respondents, the youngest was 18 years old and the oldest, 73 years old. Mean age for the Panglao respondents was 39 years, for Mactan, 40 years. Among the Panglao respondents, the majority or 73 percent were female. The same was also true for Mactan, with 84 percent composed of females.

In terms of educational attainment, majority of the respondents from Mactan had either elementary education (36 percent) or high school (37 percent), while a much larger

majority from Panglao had only elementary education (57 percent), although another or 25 percent reached high school.

Eighty percent of the Panglao respondents were married, while almost 60 percent had the same status for those from Mactan. The number of children for those in Panglao ranged from a low of one to a high of 10. In Mactan, the number ranged from one to nine. The number of children per family was fairly spread from one to five among more than half of Panglao and Mactan respondents, with many having either just one or four (19 percent each) for Panglao and two or four (12 percent each) for Mactan.

The religion of all the Panglao respondents was Roman Catholic, the same held true for 96 percent of the Mactan respondents.

A large number of respondents from both research sites were unemployed, with 45 percent for Panglao and 41 percent for Mactan. The self-employed among the respondents from both sites were the same at 33 percent, while just over 20 to 25 percent were employed.

Among the types of occupation of respondents, 58 percent were tourism-related for Panglao while only 36 percent were for Mactan.

The majority of respondents from both Panglao and Mactan were born in the barangay where they where interviewed. The number increases if respondents who were born in another barangay of the same municipality are included. The overwhelming majority of respondents from both sites had also been living in the same place for over 20 years (i.e., 57 percent for Panglao and 56 percent for Mactan). Only 42 percent of respondents in Mactan owned farmland while 64 percent did in Panglao.

Tourism and the Local Economy

In this section, respondents were asked to look into tourism's contributions to the local economy, especially with regard to providing jobs for local residents. Respondents were also asked to determine what role they thought tourism occupied in the local economy and to rank its desirability as a form of economic development from among a set of other potential industries. They were also queried whether their business or livelihood depended on tourism.

Table 3 shows us that over sixty percent of households surveyed in Panglao had members who were holding tourism-related jobs or livelihood. Of these, the majority or 74 percent had at least one member holding such a job. Sixty-five percent of respondents in Mactan, on the other hand, indicated that they too had at least one member of the household holding a job related to tourism in the area.

Table 3. Tourism and Jobs

QUESTIONS	Panglao (n=56)		Mactan (n=81)	
	F	**%**	**F**	**%**
1. Do you have household members working in tourism?				
	35	63	49	60
Yes	21	37	32	40
No				
2. If yes, how many?	(n=35)		(n=49)	
One	26	74	32	65
Two	7	20	10	20
Three	2	6	2	5
Four	0	-	3	6
Six	0	-	1	2
Eight	0	-	1	2

These jobs and the number of holders in a given household are listed below. The list shows that the majority of jobs held by household members in this survey from both Panglao and Mactan are manual in nature, i.e., as carpenters, gardeners, laborers, cooks, waiters/waitresses and laundrywomen.

Table 4. Types of Job in Tourism by Household

Jobs	PANGLAO F	MACTAN F
Boatman	5	7
Carpenter/Handyman/Mason	6	1
Cashier/Bookkeeper	2	1
Compressor man	2	2
Cook	6	2
Dive instructor		8
Driver	2	3
Electrician	1	
Entertainer/Cultural Dancer		2
Gardener/Laborer	7	4
Laundrywoman	3	4
Room girl/boy/Chambermaid		2
Resort Owner	1	
Resort Manager	1	
Saleslady of souvenir shop		4
Security guard		1
Shell vendor	2	2
Shooting instructor		1
Store owner	2	
Tour guide		6
Waiter/Waitress		13

Note: Multiple responses.

As mentioned earlier, respondents were asked to ascertain what role they thought tourism played in their community. Table 5 indicates that there is an almost even division among Panglao respondents in this regard, with 30 percent seeing a minor role for tourism and 32 percent indicating that tourism played a dominant role in the local economy. In comparison, almost 60 percent of respondents in Mactan saw a dominant

role for tourism in their economy. The data seems to indicate that the majority of Panglao respondents do not depend as much on tourism as the Mactan respondents.

Table 5. Role of Tourism in the Local Economy

What role does tourism contribute to the local economy?	PANGLAO		MACTAN	
	F (n=56)	%	F (n=81)	%
No role	8	14	3	4
Minor role	17	30	17	21
A role equal to other industries	13	23	14	17
Dominant role	18	32	47	58

It may be significant to note this ambiguity with which Panglao respondents saw tourism's role in their economy despite a high percentage of household members working in tourism-related establishments. This ambiguity is borne out further by the next data set where respondents were asked to rank a set of industries to determine which for them best fit the community as a desired form of economic development, with 1 (or 1 st) being the highest and 5 (5th) being the lowest. The results are listed on Table 6a for Panglao and Table 6b for Mactan.

That data shows that Panglao respondents ranked the tourism industry as the first most desired form of economic development with 39 percent, although nearly an equal number (38 percent) would prefer agriculture. Panglao is still very much an agricultural place as many landholdings beyond the resorts are still family-owned farms, mostly for subsistence. Where one member works in a tourist establishment, the rest may be working in farms or doing fishing. This may account for the number of respondents who still desired agricultural development as a priority over that of tourism.

For the Mactan respondents, on the other hand, there was no ambiguity between agriculture and tourism since the former was ranked last by 54 percent with the latter

ranked first by over 60 percent. Clearly, the absence of farms on the island, long converted to tourism, air transportation and export processing meant that agriculture is no longer a desired form of economic development. There is, however, some ambiguity with the ranking for third, since manufacturing was placed in that position by 33 percent and cottage industries by 34 percent of respondents. This is probably because Mactan is still home to various shellcraft, stonecraft and furniture woodcarving and other artisanal subcontracting activities that have been a source of livelihood for a number of locals since the export boom began in the late 70's.

Table 6a. Most Desired Form of Economic Development (Panglao n=56)

Rank	Agriculture		Trade		Manufacturing		Tourism		Cottage Industries	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
First	21	38	9	16	1	2	22	39	3	5
Second	15	26	22	39	3	5	13	24	3	5
Third	6	11	16	29	9	16	12	21	13	24
Fourth	6	11	5	9	16	29	3	5	26	46
Fifth	8	14	4	7	27	48	6	11	11	20

Table 6b. Most Desired Form of Economic Development (Mactan n=81)

Rank	Agriculture		Trade		Manufacturing		Tourism		Cottage Industries	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
First	6	7	11	14	11	14	50	62	3	4
Second	12	15	32	40	9	11	12	15	16	20
Third	8	10	19	24	21	26	9	11	24	30
Fourth	11	14	11	14	27	33	4	5	28	34
Fifth	44	54	8	10	13	16	6	7	10	12

When respondents in Panglao were asked to ascertain the degree of dependence of their livelihood and businesses on tourism (Table 7), 43 percent reported that majority of their community's products and services went to tourist resorts. An equal number, however, also stated that only part of these went to tourism. For the majority of Mactan

respondents, only part of their products or services went to tourism. These results once again bear out the significantly different economic activities on the two islands. In Panglao, there is an amalgam between the resorts along the beach and farms beyond these, where part of farm produce and available human resources go to the resorts. In Mactan, however, where family farms and much of fishing activities have long given way to residential, tourist, and export processing activities, one does not expect as much of whatever produce or resources other than human to be availed of by the resorts.

Table 7. Business/Livelihood Dependence on Tourism

How dependent on tourism are businesses and livelihood here?	PANGLAO		MACTAN	
	F (n=56)	%	F (n=81)	%
Majority of our products or services go to the tourism industry.	24	43	29	36
Part of our products or services go to the tourism industry.	24	43	45	56
None of our products or services go to the tourism industry.	8	14	7	8

When it came to employment dependence on tourism, the majority of both Panglao and Mactan respondents reported that employment was only somewhat dependent on tourism as shown in Table 8. However, a significantly large number of respondents (44 percent) in Mactan stated that employment was very dependent on tourism. This may be due to the fact that, while in Panglao, respondents reported having only at least one to three household members working in tourism-related jobs, there was a high number of Mactan respondents who had between four to eight household members holding such jobs (five out of 49 respondents reported this, see Table 3).

Table 8. Employment Dependence on Tourism

How dependent on tourism is local employment here?	PANGLAO		MACTAN	
	F (n=56)	%	F (n=81)	%
Very dependent	22	39	36	44
Somewhat dependent	30	54	40	50
Not dependent at all	4	7	5	6

Tourist-Host Interactions

What is the extent with which community residents come into contact with tourists? What is their attitude toward the presence of tourists in their midst? These questions were posed to respondents in this section in order to elicit the degree of interaction and the vantage point by which locals hold tourists coming into contact with them since the degree of contact may affect resident opinions and attitudes regarding tourists.

Table 9 tells us that almost 60 percent of the respondents from both Mactan and Panglao reported a frequent degree of contact with tourists in the community.

This was followed by almost 20 percent and 25 percent from Panglao and Mactan, respectively, who reported a somewhat infrequent contact. These data clearly indicate that tourists do not only spend their times inside the resorts but also stray into the community.

Table 9. Frequency of Contact with Tourists in the Community

Degree of Frequency	PANGLAO		MACTAN	
	F (n=56)	%	F (n=81)	%
Frequently	32	57	47	58
Somewhat frequently	11	20	20	25
Somewhat infrequently	10	18	13	16
Infrequently	3	5	1	1

Table 10 reveals data on respondent attitudes toward tourists. Almost two-thirds (64 percent) of the respondents from Panglao indicated that they enjoyed meeting and interacting with tourists, while over two thirds (69 percent) of those from Mactan felt the same way. Such interactions are inevitable especially since the survey sites are adjacent to the resorts. The data suggest that respondents from both sites are receptive of having tourists in their midst as they would most likely interact and communicate with tourists who do come or stray into the community around the resorts. However, another 33 percent of the Panglao respondents and almost 30 percent of those from Mactan were indifferent to the presence of tourists. This may be the opinion of those respondents who do not have household members who work in resorts (38 percent for Panglao and 40 percent for Mactan, see Table 2). Or, they may be indicative of a significant percentage of the respondents who do not see any benefit to such interaction or who have been so used to having tourists in their midst as to find such meetings a very ordinary affair.

Table 10. Attitude Toward Tourists Visiting the Community

Attitude	PANGLAO		MACTAN	
	F (n=56)	%	F (n=81)	%
Enjoy meeting/interacting with tourists.	36	64	56	69
Indifferent to the presence of tourists.	19	34	24	30

Avoid meeting/interacting with tourists.	1	2	1	1

Community Attachment

Two questions were posed to respondents to determine how attached they were to the community where they lived. The level of community attachment may indicate how members react to changes and developments that affect their community. Where community members feel strongly attached to their community, active stakeholder participation, even resistance to, decisions regarding any introduced or induced type of development may be expected.

As shown in Table 11, the majority of respondents from both sites agreed to statements indicating attachment to the community. This is most especially true when it came to the statement, "I'd rather live here than anywhere else", which over 90 percent of Panglao respondents and nearly 80 percent of Mactan respondents agreed with. Such a very significantly large number of respondents who feel attached to the community where they lived is a result of long residential tenure (see Table 2, item #10). To repeat the findings from Table 2, eighty-six percent of Panglao and eighty-three percent of Mactan respondents had lived in the community for between 6 and 20 years.

Such attachment by community members would in turn necessarily reflect a strong desire to be consulted in future decision-making activities, as the next section would show (see Table 13).

Table 11. Statements of Community Attachment

Statements	PANGLAO F (n=56)	%	MACTAN F (n=81)	%
I'd rather live here than anywhere else.				
Agree	52	93	64	79
Disagree	4	7	17	21
I would not be happy if I were to leave this place.	38	68	51	63
Agree	18	32	30	37
Disagree				

Land Use and Decision-Making Issues

In this section, respondents were asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement to statements concerning the use of land and issues lumped together with these, vis-à-vis tourism development.

Table 12. Statements of Community Attachment

Statements	PANGLAO (n=56)				MACTAN (n=81)			
	Agree F	%	Disagree F %		Agree F %		Disagree F	%
Adequate undeveloped open space is still found in my community.	40	71	16	29	52	64	27	33
I am concerned with the potential disappearance of open space in my community.	43	77	13	23	52	64	28	35

I will support land use regulations in order to help manage growth in my community.	40	71	16	29	62	78	18	22
My access to the sea is limited because of the presence of resorts.	20	36	36	64	43	53	38	47
My access to opportunities for leisure and recreation are now limited due to the presence of tourists.	20	36	36	64	40	50	41	50

Over 70 percent of Panglao respondents agreed that there was still adequate open space in their community. A slightly lower number (64 percent) of Mactan respondents also agreed with them. The same number of Mactan respondents also agreed with the statement expressing concern for the potential disappearance of open space. This concern was echoed by more than three-fourths of Panglao respondents. Over 70 percent of respondents from both sites support regulation on land use. The problem of access to the sea is more pronounced among Mactan respondents, with over half expressing this problem, while only 36 percent said so in Panglao. Almost 65 percent of Panglao respondents did not feel that their leisure and recreation opportunities were now limited by the presence of tourists. For the Mactan respondents, however, there was an almost even division between those who felt that such access to opportunities were now limited as with those who did not feel so.

Table 13 lists respondents' agreement or disagreement to two statements concerning decision-making in tourism and tourism development. Across both sites, there was overwhelming agreement that community residents need to be consulted regarding decisions that have to do with tourism. A slightly lower but nonetheless equally significant number of respondents from both Panglao and Mactan also agreed that decision-making cannot just be left to government and business interests.

Table 13. Tourism Decision-making Statements

Statements	PANGLAO (n=56)				MACTAN (n=81)			
	Agree		Disagree		Agree		Disagree	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Community residents should be involved in decision-making in tourism.	55	98	1	2	78	96	3	4
Such decision-making in tourism is best left to the government and tourist entrepreneurs.	7	12	49	88	14	17	67	83

Tourism's Influence on Quality of Life

Respondents were asked in this section what influence tourism had on selected aspects of quality of life in the community. The concept of quality of life is taken here to mean several variables that contribute to livability and include the availability of quality public services, certain infrastructure, peace and order, as well as sanitation and cleanliness. Residents' opinions on the quality of life were elicited in order to determine whether tourism had an influence on overall livability of the communities covered in this study. The results are shown in Table 14a for Panglao and Table 14b for Mactan.

In general, majority of both Panglao and Mactan respondents saw tourism as a positive influence on quality of life factors. That is, except for cost of living, where the respondents from both sites perceived tourism as a negative influence (41 percent and 43 percent for Panglao and Mactan respondents, respectively). In Panglao, an overwhelmingly large number of respondents indicated that tourism was a positive influence on the condition of the barangay road (91 percent), which was asphalted a few

weeks before the start of this survey. This was followed by cleanliness and overall appearance (71 percent) of the place and infrastructure (64 percent).

It may be significant to note that a large number of respondents in Panglao indicated that they did not see any influence on the part of tourism on education (39 percent), although the other 41 percent saw tourism as a positive influence in this regard. In Mactan, the three f actors which ranked highest in terms of tourism's positive influence were overall cleanliness of the place (73 percent), road condition (69 percent) and job opportunities (69 percent).

These data imply that respondents are quick to appreciate the visible signs of positive changes resulting from tourism, especially in terms of infrastructure, although they are also aware that prices of commodities increase because of tourism.

Table 14a. Tourism's Influence on Quality of Life (Panglao, n=56)

CATEGORIES	Positive Influence		Negative Influence		Positive and Negative Influence		No Influence		Don't Know	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Overall community livability	27	48	4	7	15	27	8	14	2	4
Recreation areas	24	43	8	14	12	21	11	20	1	1
Safety from crime	24	43	5	9	5	9	19	34	3	5
Education	23	41	2	4	4	7	22	39	5	9
Overall cleanliness and appearance	40	71	2	4	3	5	11	20	0	0
Traffic congestion	31	55	4	7	5	9	15	27	1	2
Infrastructure	36	64	1	2	4	7	14	25	1	2
Conditions of roads/highways	51	91	1	2	3	5	1	2	0	0
Cost of living	15	27	41		5	9	12	21	1	2
Job opportunities	45	80	3	5	7	13	1	2	0	0

Table 14b. Tourism's Influence on Quality of Life (Mactan, n=81)

CATEGORIES	Positive Influence		Negative Influence		Positive and Negative Influence		No Influence		Don't Know	
	F	**%**	**F**	**%**	**F**	**%**	**F**	**%**	**F**	**%**
Overall community livability	42	52	5	6	16	20	7	9	11	14
Recreation areas	33	41	14	17	14	17	16	20	4	5
Safety from crime	27	33	14	17	11	14	21	26	8	10
Education	48	59	4	5	9	11	13	16	8	10
Overall cleanliness and appearance	59	73	7	9	7	9	5	6	3	4
Traffic congestion	47	58	8	10	5	6	15	19	6	7
Infrastructure	45	56	5	6	11	14	11	14	9	11
Conditions of roads/highways	56	69	13	16	7	9	4	5	1	1
Cost of living	19	24	35	43	12	14	8	10	7	9
Job opportunities	56	69	10	12	12	14	3	4	0	0

It must also be noted, however, that only less than half of Panglao respondents (48 percent) and slightly over half of Mactan respondents (52 percent) saw tourism as a positive influence on overall community livability. In fact, one-fourth of Panglao respondents and one-fifth of Mactan respondents found tourism as both a positive as well as negative influence on overall community livability. This may be due again to the same appreciation for new or improved infrastructure and at the same time, the increase of the prices of commodities that are seen by respondents as resulting from the influx of tourists.

Perceived Benefits and Disadvantages of Tourism

To determine further whether respondents perceived certain advantages and disadvantages of tourism, certain categorical statements that indicate tourism's disadvantages were drafted and read to respondents for them to agree or disagree with. One statement outlining a perceived advantage of tourism (i.e., the helpfulness of tourists on locals) was included as a check to the list of disadvantages. As shown on Tables 15a

and 15b, Panglao and Mactan respondents were clearly divided regarding perceived benefits and disadvantaged brought about by tourism.

The majority of Panglao respondents agreed that jobs open to locals were those that pay low wages. Only forty percent of Mactan respondents, however, agreed with the statement while the majority or 51 percent disagreed. On whether resort owners cared for the well-being of the surrounding community, the majority of Panglao respondents were somewhat ambiguous in their response. Thus, an equal proportion of 48 percent each indicated agreement and disagreement among these respondents. Over half of Mactan respondents agreed with the statement, however, while 38 percent of them disagreed.

The helpfulness of tourists in both Mactan and Panglao were clearly perceived by an overwhelming number of respondents from both sites and almost in similar proportions (around 84 percent). This is also the only statement where only very little disagreement existed among the respondents from both sites. A large majority of both Panglao and Mactan respondents also perceived that tourism was an influential factor in the migration of outsiders to their community. Twenty percent of Mactan respondents, however, did not agree with this statement while, on the other hand, only slightly over ten percent of Panglao respondents disagreed. It may be worthwhile to note that the number of Panglao respondents who agreed that tourists were helpful to locals is also the same number who agreed that too many non-Panglaoanons were settling down in the community due to the influence of tourism.

Panglao respondents were almost evenly divided on the issue of crowding in the community due to too many tourists, with 53 percent agreeing that this was occurring, while 44 percent disagreed. For Mactan respondents, overcrowding due to tourists was perceived by almost 43 percent, with the majority of 46 percent disagreeing. When it came to the statement blaming overcrowding due to foreigners settling down in the community, over half the Panglao respondents agreed with the statement but another 44 percent disagreed. The opposite was happening with the Mactan respondents, as almost

52 percent disagreed that foreigners deciding to live in the community were causing the overcrowding.

Limited access to recreation and leisure spaces as well as to livelihood opportunities brought about by the presence of resorts was perceived by nearly 60 percent of Mactan respondents but only by 40 percent of Panglao respondents, with the majority (54 percent) disagreeing. Almost the same number of Panglao respondents (55 percent) also did not agree that their access to livelihood opportunities were now limited due to resorts proliferating on the beach. But for Mactan residents, the majority or 48 percent agreed that this was happening to them.

Table 15a. Advantages/Disadvantages of Tourism (Panglao n=56)

STATEMENTS	Agree		Disagree		Don't Know	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Most jobs open to community residents in the tourism industry pay low wages.	32	57	21	38	3	5
Resort owners do not care for the well-being of the communities around the resorts.	27	48	27	48	2	4
Some tourists want to help improve the condition of people in the community around the resorts.	47	84	5	9	4	7
Tourism in Panglao has influenced too many non-Panglaoanons to move to this town.	47	84	7	13	2	4
In recent years, my community has become too crowded because of more tourists.	33	59	22	39	1	2
In recent years, my community has become too crowded because of foreigners who have decided to live in my community.	30	54	25	45	1	2

STATEMENTS						
My access to recreation and leisure opportunities is limited because beaches are now full of expensive resorts.	24	43	30	54	2	4
My access to livelihood opportunities is limited because beaches are now full of resorts.	21	38	31	55	4	7

Table 15b. Advantages and Disadvantages of Tourism (Mactan n=81)

STATEMENTS	Agree		Disagree		Don't Know	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Most jobs open to community residents in the tourism industry pay low wages.	33	41	42	52	6	7
Resort owners do not care for the well-being of the communities around the resorts.	38	47	31	38	12	15
Some tourists want to help improve the condition of people in the community around the resorts.	68	84	4	5	9	11
Tourism in Mactan has influenced too many non-Mactan residents to move to this town.	60	74	15	19	6	7
In recent years, my community has become too crowded because of more tourists.	35	43	37	46	9	11
In recent years, my community has become too crowded because of foreigners who have decided to live in my community.	34	42	42	52	5	6
My access to recreation and leisure opportunities is limited because beaches are now full of expensive resorts.	48	59	27	33	6	7
My access to livelihood opportunities is limited because beaches are now full of resorts.	35	43	39	48	7	9

It is important to note the near-equal number of Panglao and Mactan respondents who either saw tourism as advantageous or disadvantageous when it came to three things: resorts caring for the community around them, overcrowding and limited access.

Respondents are apparently aware of the glaring difference in terms of the appearance of their community and those of the resorts. This may also indicate that they already perceive problems of carrying capacity and problems of access in these resorts.

A second set of statements, this time overwhelmingly supportive of tourism development, was drafted and read to respondents for them to agree or disagreed with.

The results of this section of the survey are presented in Table 16a for Panglao and Table 16b for Mactan. Over fifty percent of respondents in Panglao disagreed that government should promote tourism and encourage more tourist arrivals while around 43 percent would like the government to do so. This is the only statement where the majority of Panglao respondents are in disagreement insofar as support for tourism is concerned.

In comparison, the majority of Mactan respondents agreed to all the tourism support statements in this section although the numbers vary. The statement with the highest number of Panglao respondents agreeing to was with regard to the opportunities for economic advancement through jobs brought about by tourism, with 94.6 percent in agreement. This statement only ranked third or 86.4 percent in terms of number of Mactan respondents in agreement. For those in Mactan, the statement that had the highest number of respondents agreeing concerned the help that increased tourism would render to make the respondents' community grow in the right direction, with 90 percent in agreement.

Sixty-nine percent of Panglao respondents and 88.9 percent of Mactan respondents believed that their community was a good place for further investment in tourism. Sixty-seven percent of Mactan and 64 percent of Panglao respondents agreed that the overall benefits of tourism outweigh negative impacts. Across both sites, it is significant to note that this statement had the lowest majority in agreement.Two statements carried a more personal tone in that these had to do with whether tourism would personally benefit the respondent. On the first of these, about 80 percent of Panglao and 69 percent of Mactan respondents agreed that if tourism increased in their

community, their personal incomes would also increase or be more secure. Seventy percent of Mactan and 71 percent of Panglao respondents agreed with the second statement that the respondents would personally benefit if tourism increased in their community.

How are we to make of the above data in light of the previous statements regarding certain disadvantages perceived by respondents? Clearly, the respondents across both study sites appreciate the economic benefits that tourism brings about to individuals as well as the community. However, the respondents are also wary of the problems attendant to tourism development like access and the uncaring attitude of resorts to the condition of their community (beyond offering menial jobs, as previous sections show). This may explain the ambivalence exhibited mostly by Panglao respondents who would rather not encourage tourism promotion and yet see their place as a good place to invest further in tourism. For the Mactan respondents, being in a community along a fully-developed resort enclave (with no more farms and fishing ventures to pursue), the rest appears to be a *fait accompli*, despite awareness of some of tourism's disbenefits.

Table 16a. Support for Tourism (Panglao n=56)

STATEMENTS	Agree		Disagree		Don't Know	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
The government should undertake continued tourism promotion and advertising to encourage more tourist arrivals.	24	43	29	52	2	(4)
My community is a good place to invest further in tourism.	39	70	15	27	2	(4)
Increased tourism would help my community grow in the right direction.	41	73	12	21	3	(5)
The overall benefits of tourism outweigh the negative impacts.	36	64	17	30	3	(5)

STATEMENTS	Agree F	%	Disagree F	%	Don't Know F	%
Tourism promotion by the government benefits my community economically.	44	79	9	16	3	(5)
I believe jobs in tourism offer opportunity for economic advancement.	53	95	2	4	1	(2)
If tourism increases in my community, my income will increase or be more secure.	45	80	5	9	6	(11)
I will benefit financially if tourism increases in my community.	40	71	10	18	6	(11)

Table 16b. Support for Tourism (Mactan n=81)

STATEMENTS	Agree		Disagree		Don't Know	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
The government should undertake continued tourism promotion and advertising to encourage more tourist arrivals.	62	77	17	21	2	3
My community is a good place to invest further in tourism.	72	89	7	9	2	3
Increased tourism would help my community grow in the right direction.	73	90	5	6	3	4
The overall benefits of tourism outweigh the negative impacts.	55	68	22	27	4	5
Tourism promotion by the government benefits my community economically.	73	90	4	5	4	5

Cont. Table 16b. Support for Tourism (Mactan n=81)

STATEMENTS	Agree F	%	Disagree F	%	Don't Know F	%
I believe jobs in tourism offer opportunity for economic advancement.	70	86	5	6	6	7
If tourism increases in my community, my income will increase or be more secure.	56	69	12	15	13	16
I will benefit financially if tourism increases in my community.	57	70	8	10	16	20

Tourism and Community Information

Is information on tourism and its contribution to the local community available to local residents? Are local residents adequately provided with venues to learn about the benefits (or disbenefits) of tourism on the community? These were questions that were sought in this section in the form of statements where respondents were asked t o agree or disagree with. Access to information may help the community residents to understand tourism development and to find their place in the scheme of things, as it were.

As shown on Table 17, no overwhelming majorities can be found on all three statements concerning exposure to certain tourism information. Thus, Panglao respondents are fairly divided into those that were very well informed, somewhat informed and not at all informed (39 percent, 25 percent and 20 percent, respectively) on the tourism and travel industry. The same holds true for Mactan respondents on this statement, with almost 40 percent reporting that they were well-informed, 36 percent somewhat informed and 25 percent not at all informed.   On exposure to information concerning the impact of tourism on the local economy, almost 40 percent of Panglao and 44 percent of Mactan respondents felt they were well informed but a significant 29 percent in Panglao and 22 percent in Mactan also reported they were not at all informed.

Table 17. Tourism and Community Information (Panglao n= 56)

STATEMENTS	PANGLAO						MACTAN					
	Not at all Informed		Somewhat Informed		Very well informed		Not at all Informed		Somewhat Informed		Very well informed	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Exposure to information on the tourism and travel industry.	20	36	14	5	22	39	20	25	29	36	32	40
Exposure to information on the impact of tourism on the local economy.	16	29	18	32	22	39	18	22	27	33	36	44
Exposure to information on the influence of tourism on the quality of life in your community.	21	38	20	36	15	27	19	24	30	37	32	40

Regarding the respondents' exposure to information on tourism's influence on the quality of life in their community, 38 percent of Panglao respondents were not at all informed while another 27 percent were, with around 35 percent only somewhat informed. This can be contrasted with the Mactan respondents where almost 40 percent reported being well-informed about this, together with another 37 percent somewhat informed and only about 23 percent not at all informed.

Between Panglao and Mactan, thus, it is obvious from the data that information dissemination is present in the latter in all aspects of the tourism industry and its effects

on the community. Panglao respondents, however, still need adequate information on how tourism affects their life and well-being.

Additional Comments by Respondents

Space was given to survey respondents to elicit their own opinions and comments regarding what they perceived to be the benefits or disadvantages of tourism through an open-ended format. These comments have been assigned to general categorical statements for purposes of comparison. These are listed on Table 18 for the advantages and Table 19 for disadvantages. While most are not necessarily indicative of the general opinion of the sample they are presented here to show the variety of concerns of the minority of respondents. Some may be related to the statements already presented in the previous sections.

Table 18. Perceived Advantages of Tourism

General Comments	Panglao F	Mactan F
Employment/livelihood opportunities	25	36
Exposure to other cultures; learning other languages	1	2
Educational opportunities	1	1
High wages	2	
Cleanliness	4	1
Helpfulness/Friendliness of tourists	4	3
More places for leisure and recreation	1	1
Sense of pride that foreigners are visiting the place	1	
Development/modernization of the community	1	7
More investment opportunities	1	3

Table 19.Perceived Disadvantages of Tourism

General Comments	Panglao F	Mactan F
Tourists are abusive especially when on jet ski where they disturb swimmers		2
Fencing of the beaches, limited access to swimming areas	2	4
Foreigners owning real estate	2	
Only the rich benefit from tourists		2
Destruction of corals		1
Proliferation of drugs and prostitution and other vices	4	6
Increase in prices of commodities	1	3
Change in social relations		1
Some tourists are thieves		1
Increase in crime rate	1	1
Opportunities for economic improvement are limited		2
Demonstration effects on the youth	2	2
Overcrowding	1	
Pollution	4	

Cont. Table 18 Perceived Advantages of Tourism

General Comments	Panglao F	Mactan F
Dislocation	2	
Tourists seem to rule the beaches like sovereigns (*murag hari*)		1
Increase in real estate prices		1
Limited access to fishers	1	1

It is important to note that a significantly large number of respondents generally identified the livelihood and job opportunities that tourism brought to their lives as advantageous. This is true for both Panglao and Mactan respondents, many of whom commented that without tourism, they would find it hard to eke out a living for themselves and their families.

Summary of Findings

At this point, it is important to reiterate the important findings of this section of the study. In general, there appears to be strong awareness of the benefits of tourism in both Panglao and Mactan. This awareness is fundamentally rooted in the respondents' appreciation of the economic rewards that they have enjoyed because of the presence of resorts. The fact that there is a large majority of the respondents from both Panglao and Mactan who have household members who hold tourism-related jobs helps elucidate the positive opinions on tourism that have been obtained. This is despite the fact that the jobs reported by respondents are generally low paying and labor intensive.

Panglao respondents, however, are almost evenly divided between seeing tourism as playing a dominant role and a minor one in their economy. Such ambiguity is absent among the Mactan respondents who see tourism as dominating their economy. As a result, Mactan respondents rank tourism as the most desired form of economic development in their locality, with manufacturing ranked next. In contrast, a near-equal number of Panglao respondents rank either tourism or agriculture as their most desired form of economic development. The majority of Panglao and Mactan respondents, however, are in agreement that employment opportunities are not totally dependent on tourism.

Almost 60 percent of respondents from both Mactan and Panglao are frequently in contact with tourists in the community. Moreover, 60 percent of the respondents from both Panglao and Mactan enjoy meeting and interacting with tourists. Despite this positive attitude toward the presence of tourists, a near-equal majority of Panglao and Mactan respondents are concerned about the resorts caring (or not caring) for the community around them, overcrowding by tourists and limited access to beaches. Respondents are apparently able to see the glaring difference with the physical

appearance of their community and those of the resorts. They also seem to already perceive problems of carrying capacity and access in the future.

Thus we see that while the respondents across both study sites appreciate the economic benefits that tourism brings about to individuals as well as the community, the respondents are also wary of the problems attendant to tourism development. This may explain the ambivalence exhibited mostly by Panglao respondents who would rather not encourage tourism promotion and yet see their area as a good place to invest further in tourism. For the Mactan respondents, being in a community along an enclave of sorts for tourism, the rest appears to be a *fait accompli*, despite awareness of some of tourism's disbenefits.

It is important to note further that very large majorities of both Panglao and Mactan respondents indicate their attachment to the communities where they have lived, in many instances, for over 20 years. This helps to explain why there is also an overwhelming agreement from both sites that community members should be consulted regarding decisions that have to do with tourism.

Finally, exposure to information regarding tourism appears to be a personal initiative in both Panglao and Mactan, which show near-equal numbers of respondents who are either well-informed or only somewhat informed about tourism in their midst.

CHAPTER III
Tourists, Tourism Development and Local Perspectives:
Data from Focus Group Discussions

This chapter discusses results gathered from four focus group discussions (FGDs) that were undertaken in Panglao and Mactan. Each session lasted from one hour and a half to two hours and was carried out with the use of an FGD Field Guide composed of general questions.

FGD Composition

As shown on Table 20, the sizes of the focus groups varied from 7 to 12 participants. The genders of the participants were quite evenly divided for the Panglao focus groups but not for those in Mactan, with more males attending the session. For the fisherfolk group in Mactan, no female participant was recruited simply because no women fishers were found. In contrast, there were women among the farmer/fisherfolk group in Panglao but they were farmers and not fishers. The average age of participants across all four groups was 40 years old, with the youngest at 18 years old and the eldest at 73 years old.

Table 20. FGD Participants

Group/ Sector	N	Gender Composition		Mean Age
		Male	Female	
Panglao Community Residents	7	4	3	40 yrs.
Panglao Farmers/Fisherfolk	8	4	4	54 yrs.
Mactan Communtiy	11	8	3	34 yrs.

Residents				
Mactan Fisherfolk	12	7	0	30 yrs.

A total of six questions were prepared to serve as the FGD Guide with further probing undertaken to elicit additional information. The next sections discuss in detail the results of the FGDs based on specific categories as gleaned from the responses of participants.

Land/Sea and Its Use

In general, FGD participants from among the community residents of Panglao saw the landscape as comparable to hilly-lands, despite its flatness. The majority of participants agreed that farming in Panglao was not advisable because of low soil density and the general karst landscape of the island. Moreover, according to one participant, the planting season in the island was highly irregular because rains come only during tropical depressions or typhoons; otherwise when the planting season is affected by too much sunlight, plants wilt fast because of the low soil density. Yet farming has to be resorted to for subsistence especially with regard to corn and the famous *kinampay* ube. The seas were different, according to the participants, because there were still plenty of resources from the sea. One can still go to the shores at low tide and get shells to cook and eat for free, one participant cited. The participants, however, mentioned the problem of dynamite fishing as an issue in their midst, which affects the divers who get jarred when the blasting is near their dive spots. But they also mentioned that a small marine sanctuary developed by the government and local fisherfolk groups was in existence to help reduce the problems of blast fishing and educate fisherfolk about its ill-effects.

The FGD participants composed of farmer/fisherfolk, on the other hand, identified the landscape of Panglao as good for planting fruit trees, ube and corn. Thus, they did not see landscape in terms of geography but in terms of its usefulness to their lives. Insofar as

the sea was concerned, the respondents still valued it as a source of food and livelihood. According to them, before the onset of resorts, fishing was a major livelihood of residents but this changed starting in 1980, when fisherfolk from the other islands and even from as far as Cagayan de Oro and Negros began encroaching on municipal fishing grounds. Two participants stated that local fishers have had to compete with large-scale fishing operations like the so-called Superlite coming from Camotes islands. Now, more and more fishers, especially those that can speak English, would rather work as boatmen for local resorts. These fishers can get a fixed commission of P100 even just by watching over resort pumpboats beached along the shoreline, according to one participant. The presence of resorts has helped local fishers somewhat because their daily catch can sometimes be sold directly to resorts, especially when the quantity is low. Otherwise, large quantities of fish catch have to be delivered to buyers at the local market in Tagbilaran City.

The focus group of Mactan community residents, the land around them was now useful only for residences and no longer for farming as in the past. They saw resorts and community residences as the only use for the land where they lived. They all agreed that farming was long gone in Mactan, with landowners selling their agricultural properties in the early 70's for residential and commercial use. For them, the only option was now either to work in the resorts or elsewhere, or to sell souvenir items to tourists. The participants who did own land did not see it as fit for agriculture anymore as it would earn more money if sold to people looking for subdivisions to develop.

The group of fishers from Mactan echoed the statements of the group of community residents. For them too, farming was long gone in Mactan. The sea, however, was a different thing altogether for them. All of the participants viewed the sea as a valuable resource, even for those who worked as boatmen for the resorts. According to them, in times of low tourist season, the sea was still a source of subsistence. They admitted, though, that rampant dynamite fishing was already taking a toll on the fish catch of local fishers. What makes it worse, according to them is that dynamite or blast

fishers do not actually come from Mactan but from the other islands like Olango, Camotes and Bohol.

Evaluations of Tourists

When asked about their evaluation of tourists coming to Panglao, the group of residents agreed that there is no single stereotypical picture of a tourist. Accordingly, a tourist is always different (*lahi*) and looks different from locals. At least one participant looked at tourists in terms of whether these are nice or rude (*buotan o maldito*). Another participant explained that tourists get nasty and rough only when they get drunk. The same participant also saw tourists in terms of their helpfulness to locals, mentioning that some tourists have helped send locals to school and even built a house as a friendly favor. Another added that tourists were helpful especially when it came to families with many children.

The group of Panglao farmers/fishers viewed tourists in terms of being the reason why the lands around them were already being "developed". They saw tourists as people different from them but who stray into their communities. They found their presence tolerable (*maayo ra man pod*) as the tourists they have met have so far been nice to them. Some participants also mentioned that they often see tourists when they join in community dances during the fiesta. Tourists even eat the food they serve and also drink *tuba* with the locals. The participants expressed amazement that tourists eat and drink with locals living beyond the resorts. Other participants saw tourists as helpful to people who are in need. One participant from this group of farmers/fishers specifically mentioned that she knew of a family who was given a nipa hut by tourists. Other tourists also help the community financially especially during the preparation for the annual barangay fiesta.

For the group of Mactan fishers, tourists were people who spoke a different language, who were of different blood (*lain ug dugo*), and were very visibly different because they had different skin color. One participant mentioned that tourists were those

who were Japanese or Korean, alluding to the fact that most of the tourists they have met or worked with (as resort boatmen) came from the two nationalities just mentioned. A few of the participants saw tourists, especially the Japanese, as helpful to the poor. One participant even admitted that the house and lot where the focus group discussion was being held was actually given to him by a gay Japanese tourist who later befriended him and kept on coming back. Even though he has since married, his friendship with this Japanese tourist has continued now for over a decade. The boatmen among the participants particularly mentioned some difficulties they had with Koreans. According to them, unlike the Japanese, Koreans have now set up their own dive shops and training schools run by Koreans, thus, causing much competition from locals.

The group of Mactan residents echoed the same opinions that their counterparts among the group of fishers had of Japanese tourists. They found tourists different in terms of they way they talked and behaved. Because most of the residents in this group were also vendors of souvenir items for tourists, they stated that they were always in contact with tourists during high tourist arrivals in the resorts around Brgy. Maribago. This constant contact with tourists gave them the opportunity to learn bits and pieces of the tourists' language, Japanese (*Nippongo*). They stated that it was important to learn basic Japanese words of greeting like *konnichiwa* (hello) to be able to get the attention of a potential Japanese customer. Other participants in this group who were tour guides agreed with the vendors. In fact, one participant among this group, himself a barangay councilor, pointed to his big two-story house and a brand new Toyota Hi-Ace van near where the focus group discussion was held as testament to the helpfulness and the money of Japanese tourists. As a tour guide, he had befriended many Japanese tourists who often visited him at his house (which on inspection after the end of the FGD session, was full of Japanese videodiscs and DVD discs). He had apparently began as a simple tour guide who made big by starting his own tour guide outfit, together with his wife, also a tour guide, and some Japanese contacts in Japan.

All told, the participants had nothing bad to say of the tourists they had met. The majority, however, also mentioned that occasionally there were tourists who misbehaved,

especially those who were drug addicts. Two participants mentioned an American tourist and another mentioned a Japanese tourist who have both overstayed in Cebu and could no longer return to their countries of origin because of drug addiction. All the participants from this group of Mactan residents agreed, however, that such cases were unusual and unique to each person.

Historical Development of Resorts

In this section, participants were asked to recall how resorts first began to appear in their midst and what followed afterwards. For the group of Panglao residents, the resorts first began to appear around 1980 when the first cottages were built in Alona Beach to serve as private rest houses of the owners. Prior to this, according to them, many people would come to swim at the shores but there was never any attempt among the locals to see that there was some value in the sea other than fishing. In fact, participants mentioned they found it difficult to understand at first why people would charge others to go swimming on the beaches. It never occurred to them that one could make money from this. When asked if they would have invested in beach resorts, they all responded that they still would not be able to do so since they had no capital to start with.

The group of Panglao farmers/fisherfolk admitted that the beach resorts never came to their attention until they were approached by government in the 1980s when the idea of an airport was first presented to them. It was then that they became concerned about their future that they began to be aware about tourism and the development of the resorts. Some participants among the fisherfolk did notice changes in the landscape when cottages were built in the 1980s. Many of them had to start beaching their outrigger boats (*banca*) and pumpboats at other places because tourists began to appear in their midst. The first thing they noticed was the skimpy attire tourists wore, which were totally different from the ones they wore when going out to sea. The old folks, according to them, began to comment about the bikinis that tourists wore which they found were too loud and lewd (*luod*).

For the group of Mactan fishers, tourism began in the early 1960s when Americans from the nearby U.S. airbase (where the international airport is now located). One participant mentioned 1964 as the year he could recall when Americans started going to the beaches in Mactan. The participant revealed that way back then, there were a few private rest houses along the beaches but these were very few and far between. Even road networks going to the beaches were still non-existent then as there were still very few houses, mostly owned by fisherfolks and farm tenants. He was able to recall the time when even the lands were still planted to corn while a few just remained idle because of the thin soil density. The group mentioned that fishing was still actively pursued by most of the few residents along the beaches then.

The group of Mactan residents mentioned 1972 as the year when tourists began to arrive in noticeable numbers in Brgy. Maribago. At least one referred to this period as the time of Martial Law and Pres. Ferdinand Marcos, thereby marking time in terms of a parallel event. Way back then, according to majority of the participants, the first tourists were Americans from the nearby airbase. According to them, way back then, properties were not fenced in yet, there were only very few roads leading to the beaches. At least one mentioned that the Borromeo family in Cebu was one of those that started developing a beach resort in Sitio Buyong, Brgy. Maribago. This resort, according to him, was later sold to Anos Fonacier, a friend of Pre. Marcos and his wife Imelda, who turned the resort into what is now called Tambuli Beach resort. Back then, according to him, the resort was called Buyong Beach Resort. Pres. Marcos figured prominently in he discussion because, accordingly, it was he who turned Mactan into a tourism reserve in the 1970s, which began the growth of resorts in their midst. This was, for them, a time of active buying of lands near the shoreline at very cheap prices, especially since locals only had Tax Declarations to show and not actual land titles. This was also the time, according to the participants, when Japanese tourists began to arrive in droves and stayed at Tambuli. One participant was able to recall that he was still young when his mother went to work in the resort around the time.

Perceived Advantages of Tourism

When asked to cite the advantages they enjoyed because of tourism, the group of Panglao residents pointed to the jobs tourism offers to locals. While they found these jobs menial, they still believed people were better off having jobs than staying at home idle. One participant mentioned that a local resident could earn money just by watching over the pumpboats that were beached along the shores facing the resorts. The same positive response concerning jobs in tourism was mentioned by the group of Panglao farmers/fisherfolk, as did the two other groups from Mactan. At least one participant from among the Panglao residents hinted at the dependency of locals on jobs in the resorts when he stated that when the Abu Sayyaf kidnappings occurred in Palawan, locals working in resorts had difficulty earning a living when tourists failed to arrive in large numbers in Alona.

From among the group of Panglao farmers/fisherfolk was one mention of fish catch being bought by the resorts when fresh, otherwise these would be brought to Tagbilaran to be sold in the local market. According to her, the fish would fetch a higher price in the resorts and she would be able to earn more money.

All of the souvenir vendors from among the Mactan group of residents agreed that tourism gave them a living, allowing them to send their children to school from the money they earned. They admitted it would be hard to imagine life without tourists who will buy the shells and costume jewelry they were selling. The tour guides among this group also mentioned the money they earned from providing tours to Japanese tourists, guiding them around Cebu, telling them which places are safe to go, and even providing them with anything they needed during their stay. Some of the participants from this group who were vendors also mentioned earning money by providing cooked food to tourists who go island hopping. It appears that, while resorts discouraged tourists from going out of their resorts and talking with locals, souvenir vendors were able to entice tourists to make arrangements with them regarding island hopping complete with diving equipment and food at prices cheaper than those offered by the high-end resorts. This has

apparently resorted in some tension between non-accredited tour guides and the resort owners and managers. Still, according to the vendors, the tourists were able to compare their package deal favorably over those offered by the resorts. The discussions at this point elicited information on the networks that have been established by local unaccredited (illegal) tourist guides-cum-tour brokers called *hupo hupo* who not only speak *Nipponggo* to Japanese tourists but also provide a network of other services that fulfilled their needs. Such services even included, according to the participants, providing escorts, male or female, to tourists who need them.

The group of Mactan fishers mentioned as an advantage the friendships they made among the tourists, especially when they work as boatmen for diving schools. They mentioned that they not only made money working as boatmen but also from the tips that tourists gave. Others revealed things that tourists give them like watches, sandals and other items when the tourists depart.

In general, then, the four focus groups saw the economic advantages to be derived from tourism in the form of jobs and additional monetary remunerations that accrue from the friendships they make with tourists. In return, they advised tourists which places would be dangerous to them and actively discouraged them from straying into these places.

Perceived Disadvantages and Problems with Tourism

At this point, participants where asked to evaluate and assess the presence in their midst of tourist resorts and tourism in general and present whatever disadvantages they saw as a result.

The majority of the group of Panglao community residents cited two issues that have cropped up resulting from tourism. One was the issue of access to the beaches and the other was the problem of multiple land claimants. The issue of access to the shorelines, they said, was also related to the problem of fencing of beachfront properties

that have been made by resorts. They expressed apprehension that they may not be able to pass through the beaches the way they do now if the resorts keep on fencing each others' properties resulting from competition. One participant recalled how it was very difficult to pass through the beach fronting the Bohol Beach Club (in nearby Brgy. Bolod) during the 1980's. According to him, security guards were posted on the beach to warn locals not to pass through as a measure to protect the privacy of tourists. Security guards would routinely fire their guns in the air to warn fisherfolk not to beach their bancas in front of the large resort. (The issue was eventually resolved with the intervention of the local government and the Philippine Tourism Authority.)

The problem of multiple claimants to real estate was echoed by all the participants as the most contentious issue now confronting locals not just in their barangay but also all over Panglao. Apparently, the conversion of the island into a tourism estate, according to one participant, made land more expensive than it used to be. The problem, however, was that all lands in Panglao have not been titled as yet, although Pres. Gloria Arroyo had reportedly ordered that surveys be undertaken for the purpose of issuing land titles. The participants said that this order has been stopped temporarily because of multiple claimants to properties, claimants who hold on to old Tax Declarations. The oldest participant among the group related the problem of fake titles that are being offered in the real estate market today in Tagbilaran. He said that there were many anecdotes of people coming over to Panglao to fence in property they just bought only to learn that someone who had also bought the sane property earlier had already fenced the property. Two participants mentioned their problems with relatives in Mindanao who in the past declined to claim any share of family-owned farming property on the island. But now, according to them, with real e state prices going up as more and more people want to buy properties near the resort, even these relatives who are already well-off and living in Mindanao or elsewhere, have expressed their desire to lay claim to part of the family properties. All the participants stated that there are now many families with internal conflict among siblings as a result. Some are not even talking to each other and are letting the courts decide. They found it sad that old ties were being broken down all because of money.

Speaking of ties, two participants among the Panglao community residents cited changes in some friends they had who had married foreigners. They stated that these friends have now become haughty and boastful but do not even celebrate the fiesta. They found this hard to understand especially since these were their *kababata* (childhood friends) who used to romp around in dirty clothes with them and celebrate the fiesta with them. Now that they have big houses, they stated, they seem distant (*di na ma* reach) and hard to communicate with. They said they would expect them to celebrate the fiesta with much fanfare but the opposite has occurred instead.

The participants of the farming/fishing group in Panglao also echoed the same problems of access and land ownership presented by the group of residents. But their greatest worry was with regard to the planned airport that they said was going to be built. According to them, the provincial government had already begun buying lands for the airport. They said the plan was presented to them in an assembly and they had to agree because there was no use in disagreeing. What they have resorted to now, according to them, is to wait and see what happens before selling their lands to the government. The topic of the airport took the most time to discuss in the session with this group, showing the deep concern with which farmers and fisherfolk had regarding the plan. (At one point, one participant even frankly inquired if the University of San Carlos could help them get the assurance that the airport would not be built, something that we could not guarantee, of course.) It was apparent from the way this issue was discussed that there was only some vague idea among participants regarding the feasibility of the airport. The discussions appeared to show that very little information coming from the government ever reached the participants who included, among others, a barangay councilor and the head of the local farmers association. The participant could only recall that they were called to an assembly where the plans for the airport were presented to them. When asked whether there was a timetable for the construction of the airport, none of the participants knew anything about it. All that they were aware of was that the government was busy buying land where the airport might be located. The participants could not even state where the location of the airport would be. The information coming from at least one

PITE-commissioned study (Seastems 2001: 229) is that the airport project has been shelved altogether.

A few of the farmers from among this group complained that they have no one now to follow their footsteps as more and more of the young people refuse to do farming. Instead, they spend their time along the beaches looking for odd jobs at the resorts because this would bring money faster than farming. It was a problem that they felt would result in the selling of their farms once these are handed down to the young.

The fishers among this group in Panglao presented the problem of access for their *bancas* on the beaches fronting the resorts. They felt that the time would come when they would have to either stop fishing altogether or move elsewhere where they could beach their outrigger canoes. They also found it annoying that the fish traps they leave on the seafloor are destroyed by tourists who dive and free whatever fish are trapped in them. They stated that some tourists are only concerned about the environment and not about whether the locals who fish have something to eat or not. They have already complained to the resorts about this practice by divers and still it continues. Thus, they felt they would eventually have to stop this or move elsewhere where no divers would go.

For the group of Mactan residents, access to the beaches was a big problem, especially with the vendors and tour guides. They said that resorts had put up dikes (actually, concrete jetties) and reclaimed land beyond the shoreline, effectively blocking access to non-tourists like fisherfolks and other locals who want to walk along the beaches across the resorts. They said access by foot was no longer possible because of the fences on land and the dikes/jetties extending well into the sea that also serve as fences of the resorts. As a result, one has to use a *banca* and paddle across the shores to reach one's destination since the dikes have now effectively cordoned off the shoreline. One participant, a barangay councilor, stated that these structures are clearly illegal and that the barangay had for a long time now, already made representations with the local government to have the structures removed but to no avail. Knowing that the FGD was also being done in Panglao, he suggested to the research team that the people of Panglao

had better learn the bitter lessons of resort development from Mactan so they would not repeat the mistakes that could no longer be corrected here in Mactan.

The group of Mactan fisherfolk mentioned the problem of road access to the places where they work. According to one participant, the problem stemmed from the fact that many properties near the resorts have been fenced in by other private properties and that the only recourse was to open a section from each of the adjoining properties to make a private road. But some property owners were unwilling to donate part of their land so that the makeshift private road now obtaining could be donated to the government and be paved. As it appeared during the session, the private road remained rutted and muddy as the rains had just poured the day before. The fisherfolk group also claimed about having no places to beach their *bancas* and pumpboats so that some of them have sold their boats off to others. They revealed that there were now very few places around Mactan where docking can be had for free. These places were those where the launches to and from Olango island could dock and have been designated small public wharfs. They still found this a problem especially when typhoons came since these places were very much in the open. One solution a participant found was to bring his pumpboat over to Olango island, which faces Mactan island from the east.

In sum, this section has elicited the following problems related to tourism as identified by the participants: 1) access to the beaches; 2) multiple claimants to real estate property; 4) breakdown of kinship ties; 4) uncertainty over the planned airport in Panglao; 5) illegally-constructed dikes in Mactan; and, 6) places to beach pumpboats and *bancas*.

Suggestions to Enhance/Improve Tourism

A sense of helplessness pervaded the discussion of this section among both the group of residents and the group of farmers/fisherfolks in Panglao. The participants admitted that they could not do anything to stop development in its tracks. "*Sa mosugot ta o dili, mopadayon gyud na*" (Whether we like it or not, it will push through), as one participant put it. Across both groups, there was some opposition to the putting up of the

airport. They felt that this would really threaten their future, especially their livelihood. This feeling of uncertainty, they said came as a result of the lack of information regarding what was going on with regards to plans the government had for them. That is why the majority suggested that consultations and meeting should be held with them before anything else would happen. One participant recalled the time in the early 1990's when they joined protests against the planned Panglao Island Tourism Estate (PITE) because they felt it was threatening to them. Yet in the same vein, many participants from both groups were willing to have tourism in their midst but only for as long as their numbers would not exceed allowable limit. That limit, accordingly, would have to be the point where the locals would still be able to ply their trade and pursue their lives without fear of being dislocated if not totally eradicated from their place.

The Mactan residents and fisherfolks agreed that the government should continue to promote more tourism in the area. They cautioned, however, that the problems of access needed to be addressed soon. One participant again reiterated his earlier warning that Panglao should learn from the lessons of Mactan in tourism development so that mistakes would not be repeated.

The Role of Locals in Tourism

Across all the four groups, locals admitted they had only one role in tourism and that this was to provide available labor and services to the resorts. When asked the question of what role they saw in tourism, the group of Panglao residents answered that by spelling out who among their household members were working in tourism: a husband, a daughter, a son, etc. The same was true for the farmers/fisherfolk group in Panglao who were ready to admit that it could not be denied that they or their close relatives had found jobs in tourism where they otherwise would have been idle. But a few of them also complained that because of tourism many young people refused to do farming and had instead roamed the resorts looking for jobs (as discussed in the previous section).

The Mactan group of residents as well as the fisherfolks also echoed the statements of their counterparts from Panglao. They saw no other role but to offer their services, either as vendors, boatmen or tour guides to tourists. A few of the vendors jokingly stated that they would have married tourists and left their husbands if there were any offers. They even cited one case where this had happened. But it is clear from the discussions in this section, that locals perceive their roles in terms of what economic benefits can be derived from tourism. There is, however, some level of concern for the future from the two groups of Panglao participants, perhaps because, unlike in Mactan, tourism development is still gradually creeping the landscape, as it were.

Summary of Findings

Panglao residents and farmers/fisherfolk groups still believe that agriculture and farmlands have a definite place on the island, despite the presence of resorts and plans to develop tourism as a potential economic resource. Mactan residents and fisherfolk groups no longer see land as potential for agriculture or farming. They see this as fit for residential, commercial and tourism development.

The development of resorts in Mactan and Panglao began from outside, that is, not from those who lived near the beaches. For Mactan, resorts began to appear in the 1970s, although American service personnel from the nearby US air force base already came to the beaches even in the mid-1960s. The first resorts were largely privately-owned rest houses which were later opened to tourists. The same phenomenon occurred in Panglao, which began to have resorts in the early 1980s. Again, outsiders or non-locals were the ones who started developing cottages for tourists.

Across all four focus groups, tourists are seen as different in terms of the way they look and talk. Individual participants see tourists as either helpful to them or not. There have been many reported instances of tourists helping the poor in their midst. These are seen as a positive aspect of having tourists stray in the community.

Focus group participants generally see tourism's advantages through the economic benefits that accrue to them, especially in terms of jobs in resorts as well as opportunities to sell souvenirs to tourists or fish to the resorts. Others report the network of tour guides and operators or *hupu-hupo* that they have created (or are a part of) aimed at catering to tourists' needs that have provided financial gain to many. A few point to the friendships made with tourists as redounding to their benefit in terms of financial and material gain from tourists who help them ease out of poverty.

The two Panglao focus groups share the same perceived disadvantages of tourism: lack or limited access to the sea, fencing of resorts, conflicting land claims and breakdown of kinship ties as a result. The farmers/fisherfolk among them express lack of certainty about their future in relation to the airport planned for construction in Panglao. There appear to be a clear an absence of correct information as to their place in the scheme of things insofar as development plans on the island are concerned, even as the provincial government continues to buy lands from them. The Mactan focus groups echo their Panglao counterparts by identifying accessibility to the sea as well as lack of access roads as a major problem there. Many point to the construction of illegal dikes/jetties that stretch out to the sea as one problem that results in limiting movement along the beaches. At least one participant warns that Panglao should learn from the experience of Mactan, where a resort sprawl is now obtaining.

A feeling of *fait accompli* pervades the discussion on the suggestions to enhance tourism. This feeling is expressed in the helplessness of Panglao participants when faced with the reality of tourism development in their midst. They suggest, however, that locals should be consulted in the entire process of development. Mactan residents, on the other hand, suggest that the problem of access to the sea be addressed soon.

Finally, all four focus groups see no other role for them in tourism other than to offer their labor and services to the resorts and tourism-related enterprises.

CHAPTER IV
Tourism Development and the Community:
Data From Key Informant Interviews

In this section, the results of in-depth interviews conducted on key informants, stakeholders and influentials will be discussed. A total of six interviews in Mactan and Cebu and nine in Panglao and Tagbilaran were conducted using an interview guide composed of 16 questions. The interviewees were selected purposively because of their influential role in the tourism industry in Panglao or Mactan. Table 21 lists the participants by their designations.

Table 21. Key Informant Participants

Designations	F (n=16)
Department of Tourism Region VII officer	2
Philippine Tourism Authority officer	1
Provincial Tourism Officer	1
Municipal/City Planning Officers	2
Barangay Chairs	3
Parish priest	1
Diocesan Social Action Officer	1
Chapel president	1
NGO officer	1
Farmers/fisherfolks Organization leader	2
Municipal Engineer	1

Advantages of Tourism

Almost all the key informants interviewed in this study identified income generation as the most important advantage of tourism in both Panglao and Mactan. The economic advantage tourism brought to individuals who are able to find jobs in tourism

and not so much on households and the local community was the most visible result **that** these informants appreciated. There was also an appreciation of the multiplier effect of the establishment of resorts in Panglao, especially in the provision of additional income for fisherfolk who sell to the resorts. In Mactan, the purchase of locally-made guitars and shell craft were mentioned by a barangay chair as a positive result of the presence of tourism in his barangay.

Among the informants from the government sector, the most palpable benefit of tourism was the provision of improved infrastructure in places where none or only very little would have otherwise been present. The education of locals or their interest to attain a certain level of formal education was also attributed by a few of the Mactan and Panglao informants to tourism. On an individual level, at least one local government official in Mactan mentioned a donation of $10,000 made by one tourist to the barangay day care center, including a monthly donation in the amount of P10,000 for the maintenance of the local health center. The opportunity for locals to go abroad as a result of meeting tourists was also noted by one key informant from Panglao. The same informant also mentioned the income that is generated from tourism that accrues to the municipal coffers in Panglao.

Positive changes in the landscape, more beautiful surroundings, and a people prouder of the fame of their place because of tourism was pointed to by a key informant from the government sector in Panglao. Finally, the opportunities for locals living adjacent to or within the beach circuit itself was mentioned by another informant from the government sector as another benefit from tourism.

Problems in Resort Development

Resort development in Mactan as in Panglao began largely from the outside, that is, from locals who were not original residents of either island.

In the case of Panglao, however, resort development began when a former rest house of the Hora family of Tagbilaran was converted first into a specimen shell processing center, then developed into a resort called Playa Blanca around 1980. This was then followed by Alona Kew, a resort owned by a German-Filipina couple from Tagbilaran. From here on, more and more resorts opened until the attention of the local government was called regarding the problem of the single access road across the resorts.

Resort development in Mactan began with the Borromeo family of Cebu which developed Tambuli Beach Resort in the early 70's. They were still renting the property from the Escaños at the start, eventually the resort was purchased by Anos Fonacier during the early years of Martial Law, when he was appointed to head the tourism development programs of Mrs. Imelda R. Marcos. After this, foreigner-Filipino partnerships followed in the resort business.

The problem singled out in almost all the key informant interviews across both Panglao and Mactan was accessibility. In Mactan, the concrete riff-raff jetties or groins (locally called dikes or seawalls) set up by individual resorts have served as effective barriers in controlling the movement of people (i.e. tourists) within these resorts. The structures also ensure that the resorts are able to collect entrance fees for day-trippers who enter their establishments. Locals understandably have taken this development negatively as they now have to swim elsewhere with access to the beaches now denied them. This may also be a contravention of the 20-meter exclusion zone, which prohibits the construction of any concrete structures within 20 meters from the highest tidal point inland. This problem has for so long caught the attention of the Department of Tourism and the local government unit in Mactan (the city government of Lapu-lapu). In the early 1990's, then-Gov. Vicente dela Serna, reportedly ordered the demolition of all the dikes and jetties in Lapu-lapu but nothing came of it. To date, only one case against a resort owner is under litigation, although informants from the government sector are all aware that all the other resorts with similar structures are as liable. Apparently this has served as a test case, the results of which is still pending in the local courts.

One key informant from the local government unit in Lapu-lapu city said that removing these structures requires the exercise of political will on the part of the mayor and many other mayors who came before him. This may not be forthcoming indeed as the resort owners are very rich (*mga dato kaayo*, according to one informant) and have all the resources at their disposal to ensure that the status quo remains.

Further interviews conducted in pursuit of this study and in connection with the dikes/jetties, however, have revealed that the local City Fisheries and Aquatic Resources Management Council (CFARMC) in Lapu-lapu City headed by Mr. Pepe Berido has already begun conducting a first-ever survey of all costal structures under the jurisdiction of the city government. The survey, which started in May 2003, is intended, among others, to determine whether violations of the 20-meter salvage zone is occurring and to explore ways to solve the problem. The FARMC is, according to Mr. Berido, tasked to make appropriate steps to respond to such problems concerning illegally constructed dikes/jetties should they be found.

Compounding the problem of these jetties is the lack of access roads and boat landing sites in Mactan. The local barangay executive, feeling helpless at the situation, has elicited the help of his constituents by starting a petition-signing move in order to have more access roads for locals, even if such access roads will be mere footpaths. With regard to the boat-landing sites, the same informant blamed the problem of the continued violations to the salvage/exclusion zone as discussed previously.

While the same problem of access has been mentioned by key informants in Panglao, this has not been about concrete dikes but in the actual fencing of resorts that effectively block access from one resort to the next. Alona Beach is quite different from that of Maribago because resort owners do not deny locals and non-tourists access to the white sand beach segments. It is actually in going to the beach that the problem of accessibility has arisen. Where a private road stretching across the length of Alona Beach used to be found in the early 1990's, fencing by some resorts has reduced this to a mere footpath in some parts. In others, not even a footpath exists and locals (as well as tourists)

have had to detour in order to move around. One resort has been singled out as the main culprit behind the effective blockade of this access road. In the fire that engulfed four contiguous resorts in December 2002, many owners as well as locals and the fire department reportedly blamed this same resort for the difficulty in containing the fire since the road had been blocked or narrowed in some parts.

A related problem of accessibility was mentioned by one key informant, a barangay chair of one of two barangay study sites in Panglao. The problem of access to fisherfolk in beaching their boats after the day's catch has already been observed in his barangay as more and more fisherfolk were reporting their problem to him. Aware of the 20-meter salvage/exclusion zone, the informant wanted the area to be declared public so that no resort would have the right to disallow any fishers from beaching boats even in front of the resorts.

Other resorts uphill as well as private landowners have begun fencing their properties where open spaces used to be. Increasing prices of real estate coupled with the so-called fake land titles for sale has resulted in a fencing frenzy around Alona Beach and the two barangay study sites. This has illuminated a second emergent problem in Alona (as elsewhere in Panglao) which resulted when the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) lifted its ban on the titling of real property five hectares and above located on the island. Panglao is one of many islands declared as wilderness and ecological zones by the DENR and its predecessor agencies where titling of property by private persons requires special administrative orders and exemption (the exemption being if your property is in the town center or *poblacion*). In 1995 or thereabouts, the DENR lifted this prohibition causing a frenzied dash for formal titling of properties in lieu of mere tax declarations. This has ushered in the phenomenon of intra-family squabbles over whose name or names should be placed on the titles since tax declarations held by peasant families over generations have covered significant tracts of land. It has also resulted in the so-called "double-selling" of land and the appearance of fake titles in the real estate market in Tagbilaran. According to the informants in Panglao, the order for titling had to be suspended pending a review as a result. In 2002, Pres. Gloria Arroyo

came over to Panglao and ordered that a cadastral survey of the entire island be undertaken in preparation for formal titling of private properties. The result of this survey has been eagerly awaited by residents. Meanwhile, many intra-family squabbles have emerged resulting from absentee members of families (residing mostly in Mindanao) who have now sent word to be included in the titling of properties on the island.

The problem of multiple claimants of real property has appeared in Mactan although not in an alarming a degree as that of Panglao. Still cases have been filed in at least one land dispute involving multiple claimants

Both Mactan and Panglao do share the problems of drug addiction and prostitution, although of varying degrees as mentioned by both government as well as non-government key informants and local leaders. Alluding to demonstration effects, Panglao informants traced the changes in youth attitudes resulting from the presence of tourists over a period of two decades. Where before locals would frown on their own young people wearing shorts and skimpy clothing, the almost constant presence of tourists clad in bikinis have apparently been blamed for the perceived loosening of moral values among these youths. They stated that the presence of tourists have influenced the youth into drug addiction and, to a lesser extent, into prostitution.

Moreover, key informants who were peasant leaders in Panglao noted that many of the younger generation now refuse to plow family plots preferring instead to spend their time on the beaches doing all kinds of chores for the resorts, chores that bring limited opportunities for financial advancement. The same phenomenon has been observed among the youth of fisherfolk families living near the resorts. A few were now devoting more time at the dive shops and were joining diving expeditions with tourists in order to serve as guides and errand boys of sorts. The result has been fewer fish catch, which is traditionally vended from house to house. One local government official did not, however, express alarm over such changes among the young. For him, this was a mere problem of "acceptability level" between two generations, pointing out that young people have a higher level of acceptability.

Finally, one of the barangay chairs in the Panglao study sites tacitly admitted that no one else except those who owned the resorts got rich from tourism.

Government Programs and Policies on Tourism

It is interesting to note that when key informants were asked about government programs and policies on tourism, the immediate response came in the form of tourism projects currently pursued either by national government agencies (i.e., the Panglao Tourism Estate) or local government units (i.e., comprehensive land use plans, local government tourism project concerning landscape and beautification).

At least one key informant from the government sector, however, mentioned a tourism policy that his agency was mandated with. The discussion began tangentially when the issue of accessibility was discussed. According to this informant, accessibility problems would not have emerged had the resort owners as well as local government units observed the mandate of the Philippine Tourism Authority (PTA) to control any forms of development in Mactan as well as in Panglao, among others. The PTA, accordingly, has been authorized since the Marcos era under Presidential Proclamation 1601 to oversee all forms of development on certain islands that were put under its administrative control and jurisdiction because these had been declared tourism zones or marine reserves. Apparently the proclamation is only one of many that have since then vested jurisdictional control upon other government agencies insofar as development on these two islands is concerned. The latest of these is the Local Government Code vesting authority and jurisdiction on local government units, many national line agencies cannot but only inform such units about violations since the ultimate authority in these matters now rest with the local government. In the meantime, violations of the 20-meter salvage or exclusion zone abound. One informant confided that it is now up to the local government in Panglao to ensure that the exclusion/salvage zone is strictly observed. For those that violated, a moratorium on the removal of structures within the zone has already been reportedly issued by the local government. For the Department of Tourism,

withholding voluntary accreditation, on the other hand, is the only thing they can do in this regard. At the barangay level, one of the barangay chairs confided that corruption might be blamed for the problem of the salvage zone while at the same time exhibiting helplessness at the situation.

Another respondent, a municipal official, alluded to corruption in the purchase of lands for the proposed airport under the Panglao Island Tourism Estate (PITE) project. According to him, there was already money for the airport as early as 1995. But opposition to the tourism estate, forced the airport plans into the background. As a result, there were some people who were able to dip their fingers on the funds originally intended for the purchase of land for the airport.

Concerning tourism projects, all key informants from among the government sector in Panglao expressed some familiarity with PITE in terms of some of its components. The most conversant of these were understandably those that were in government agencies dealing with tourism itself. For the informants from the farming/fishing sectors, their awareness of the project hinged on a tacit concern for the future should the proposed airport see actual fruition. By way of background, PITE was first studied and proposed in the period between 1992 and 1995. The project covers an area of 2,00 hectares comprising the barangays of Bolod, Libaong, and Tawala in Panglao town and Dao, Biking, San Isidro and Tinago, in the adjacent town of Dauis. The estate's major components, then as now, are a resort estate, accessory projects (nature parks, plazas and buffer zones) and an international airport. The main theme of the project is a 120-hectare cluster of resorts, hotels and a golf course, a retirement village for expatriates and balikbayans, a local handicraft village, as well as infrastructure development in the form of roads, water and electricity systems, and solid waste management. The resort cluster will be built in Brgys. Bolod and Libaong, which are next to the study site of Brgy. Tawala. To date, the project remains in the drawing board although some of its infrastructure components have already been accomplished. The airport, the resort clusters, mini-golf courses and the expatriate village remain in the blueprint. With regard to the airport, one key informant stated that about 60 hectares of land had already been purchased with funds from the Department of Tourism (DOT) and

the Department of Transportation and Communications (DOTC), which were coursed through the Office of the Governor of Bohol.

There appears to be some conflicting information regarding the construction of the airport. An air of uncertainty characterized most of the responses of key informants regarding its status. From both the government and local key influentials, only the municipal engineer in Panglao could categorically state that the airport would be constructed albeit reduced from a sub-international to domestic status. At the regional tourism office, the person charged with overseeing the PITE projects pointed to a 2001 study of Panglao in relation to the project (see SEASTEMS Inc. 2001) adding that the airport was now being pursued by the National Economic Development Authority after the DOT's and the DOTC's initial funding for the purchase of land to serve as the airport site had been exhausted. The Seastems report actually states that the airport would not be built; instead, the existing one in Tagbilaran would be upgraded. When asked to comment on this revelation, the key informant could not categorically say what the status of the airport project was. (During a preliminary presentation of results held in Dumaguete City on July 30, 2003, the Bohol Provincial Tourism Officer disagreed with the report and stated that a domestic airport would indeed be constructed as part of the PITE.)

The uncertainty over the airport project characterized the interview of key influentials in Panglao. While farmer-leaders and barangay chairs of the two barangays as well as one NGO stakeholder were aware of the project, they had no information on its current status. This is rather remarkable because Brgy. Tawala is part of the barangays covered by the tourism estate project. It is equally difficult to explain the discrepancy in information at the regional level of the tourism agencies concerned.

With regard to the craft village project, one municipal official interviewed in this study stated that the project was no longer viable since no more funding has arrived from national government offices. The tourism official at the regional office in Cebu was, however, not aware of this development, perhaps signaling a lack of coordination

regarding plans and actual implementation as well as sustainability of projects under the estate scheme.

In Mactan, key informant interviews elicited information regarding the plans and programs of the local government unit there. A city tourism office has already been set up to coordinate all plans and activities in relation to tourism. Four barangays (Maribago, Mactan, Punta Engano and Marigondon) have already been identified in the latest comprehensive land use plans as tourism zones. Unfortunately, the barangay chair interviewed in this study was not able to identify any policies and programs concerning tourism in his barangay and pointed instead to other programs pursued by the municipality in his barangay that had only very little direct relation to tourism (waiting sheds, satellite market, marine park). In fact, other than the municipal planning officer, all others tended to point to specific plans concerning tourism which were clearly off-tangent in that the projects they pointed too were all concerned with city beautification. Further probing elicited no additional information.

Community Participation

Questions on community participation were asked in this section of the study specifically on whether community members were included at every pace of the tourism development process and on what safeguards to ensure community well-being have been observed or put in place.

There is quite a long history in Panglao about whether locals were consulted in tourism development projects or not. According to the key informants from the tourism sector both in Panglao and in the regional office in Cebu, ever since the government learned its lesson when it sent in 1989 Tagalog-speaking and Manila-based academicians to study tourism and develop a framework plan for Panglao's development, numerous consultations have been undertaken to correct the mistake. Locals did not take kindly to this Manila-based group which was made worse by the Tagalog spoken by the researchers. Thus in 1992, a research team from the University of San Carlos in Cebu

was sent to conduct a needs assessment study and involved locals in community meetings and workshops. This was part of so-called social preparation activities for affected communities through dialogues that involved project presentations, meetings and training-workshops that stretched up to 1993. The key informants from the tourism sector as well as the farmer-leaders interviewed in this study admitted that there was very active and strong resistance to any planned tourism development in Panglao, until signs of "acceptance" appeared around 1995. This level of acceptance, however, appears to be one of acquiescence among the farmer-leaders because they felt there was no avenue left anymore to stop the estate project. According to one key informant who was a farmer herself, locals have come to accept that Panglao was now going to host a tourism estate. Their only fear was being uprooted from their lands, all because of the some airport, hotel or plaza. For her, as long as the government would be able to find a place for them to move and settle down, support from her farmers' group would not be forthcoming.

In Mactan, the growth of resorts in Maribago was not at all attended by community consultations. Since all resort properties are privately-owned and formally titled, the need for consulting the surrounding communities has not been seen as a necessity by resort developers. Because most of the resorts here were built during the heyday of the Marcos era, especially under Martial Law, it was quite expedient on the private owners to convert their properties for whatever purpose they saw fit. No large-scale tourism project was ever pursued in the study site or its adjacent barangays.

From the interviews conducted with local key leaders in Maribago, resort development in Mactan was largely an autonomous affair involving private entrepreneurs, many with little regard for local and national laws best exemplified in the construction of the so-called seawalls and the resort sprawl that has now emerged, resulting in a topsy-turvy physical appearance when resorts are seen from the sea. The local government officials in Mactan who were interviewed in this study could only provide prescriptions on how a proper way of introducing development in the area should have been done but not on what has transpired so far in terms of community participation in decision-making regarding tourism development. In 1995 a comprehensive long-term

development plan for the entire island of Mactan came about (Schema Consult 1995). After this study, the Lapu-lapu city government delineated (or zoned off) Maribago as one of the barangays intended solely for tourism. It came, however, as a *fait accompli* as resorts had long been established even before this study and subsequent zoning. What the zoning declaration resulted into was the improvement in local infrastructure, especially in terms of road asphalting and widening, street lighting, sanitation, and water systems delivery.

For the barangay chairs in both the Mactan and the Panglao study sites, such community participation meant calling residents to barangay meetings and public hearings to explain a certain project that will affect them and to hear out their opinion. An informant from the religious sector in Mactan opined that the reason why no community participation ever occurred in tourist development in the study site other than public hearings was because these resorts were developed at a fast pace and one after the other. This was because such forms of development and investment in tourism were very profitable and locals just appeared to accept what was going on around them.

Local Social and Political Dynamics

The changes occurring in the social life of Panglao and Mactan residents as a result of tourism largely concern demonstration effects on the youth (mentioned elsewhere in this chapter). A few informants mentioned changes in the social status of residents who are working in the resorts or who have married tourists with the observation that a few have become arrogant while others remained unchanged in their attitude towards their neighbors.

The most obvious change that informants, most of them from Panglao, have made concerned the breakdown of kinship ties resulting from intra-family fights over real estate in the light of increasing land values in Panglao. In Mactan, informants reported problems with young people now staying late at night and going out to gallivant. One informant directly blamed demonstration effects from tourists as the main culprit behind

this change. One other informant observed that whereas life was much simpler with farming and fishing abundant before in Mactan. But with the arrival of tourists, clusters of communities have now began to be separated physically as lands are sold off thereby resulting in physical separation of neighbors. In some places, squatter communities have emerged. Most began when relatives were thrown off their land when one other relative who owned the property sold it off thus displacing other relatives. People have also become less religious and go to church very rarely now.

In Panglao, there was much talk in the interviews regarding the conflict between the Mayor and Vice-Mayor there. The source of conflict appeared vague to the informants. Some stated that this resulted from disagreement over a resort owned by the Vice-Mayor (not on Alona Beach though) that needed to be moved out of the salvage zone, with the Mayor withholding the business permit. Others stated that the problem was deep disagreement over tourism policy implementation as well as pure personal interests in Panglao's development. The problem, according to one informant, stemmed from political wrangling during the height of the local election campaign period in 2002. Apparently, the Vie-Mayor had taken the cudgels of the local residents in their fight against further tourism development, especially with regard to the planned airport, as this would also affect the resort he owned. Coming from opposing political camps, the fight has spilled over into the arena of infrastructure development, with the disagreement centered at first on which section of the municipal road had to be paved or cemented ahead of others. One other key informant, a member of a peasant NGO hinted that the fight was really over personal interests in the future of tourism development in Panglao.

This was the same response given by a key informant from the religious sector who said that the problem was simply regarding prioritization of development projects and the personal concepts of development. The farmer-leaders interviewed in this section saw this conflict as resulting from plain personal business interests that have redounded to both blocking each other's development projects.

We recall once more the history of conflict over tourism development in Panglao that began when the first studies for the establishment of the proposed tourism estate were made in 1989 (see above). According to informants, as early as 1992, the Catholic church, especially the Social Action Center of the Tagbilaran Diocese had actively opposed further tourism development and rallied local residents in Panglao to oppose further it. Based on perceived erosion of moral values when more tourists would come, the ensuing rallies and demonstrations accordingly compelled the local government as well as national agencies to take note of local sentiments. The period between 1992 and 1995 have been identified by informants as the time of active resistance to any form of tourism development proposed by the government. This may have created a kind of vigilance on the part of locals which emboldened them, according to an informant, to be aware and actively participate in meetings, especially now that an airport will (or might) be built.

These types of conflict, whether of politicians or those pitting locals against the government was not elicited among Mactan key informants. While indeed political bickering among elected officials of the local government unit there, these were not related to tourism and did not impact on the tourism development as a whole. Nor has Mactan ever seen rallies or demonstrations organized by the church against tourism development.

Local Dependence on and Alternatives to Tourism

Farming and fishing continue to be identified by Panglao key influentials as alternatives to tourism there. Albeit farmer-leaders in this section of the study lamented the lack of interest among young people to follow the footsteps of their parents who farm and fish, they still believed that the future still allowed for farming and fishing to exist in Panglao. Besides, accordingly, locals did not depend totally on tourism for their livelihood anyway. One alternative pursued by the local government in Panglao involves the establishment of a craft village in Brgy. Lourdes. The village is a component of the proposed tourism estate there. Funded by the provincial government of Bohol, the village

is a 1.1-hectare site composed at the moment of a loom weaving center with 25 handlooms and 2 warp mills. Local residents were selected previously and trained by the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) and monitored by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) to ensure quality production. A nursery for *buri* plant had also been set up by the municipal government to support the raw material needs of the center. Unfortunately, during the time of interview, the center had run out of funds and was apparently idle, something that tourism personnel in the regional office in Cebu were not aware of when informed of the situation.

> The case was the exact opposite in Mactan, with key informants indicating that, with the absence of farms and local boat landing sites in many parts of the island, locals who live adjacent to the resorts are now very dependent on tourism. For those further inland, two other alternatives exist, however. One is participation in local craft production (i.e., shellcraft, stonecraft, woodcarving and guitar-making) for which the study site and its adjacent barangays are famous. The other is to work at the Mactan Export Processing Zone or in the city proper. But then again, according to one informant, the latter may be difficult for those who lack the necessary education and skills.

Summary of Findings

This section of the study confirms most of the findings and issues raised during the Focus Group Discussions as detailed in the preceding chapter. The problems raised by key influentials/stakeholders, both in government as well as those outside it, pertain to accessibility and demonstration effects as well as land ownership disputes. Significantly, though the pattern of development of resorts differ between Panglao and Mactan.

In Mactan, before large-scale government plans and even comprehensive zoning activities had been undertaken by the public sector, tourism had already taken root. To the frustration of local and national government officials, private initiatives at establishing resorts overlooked local needs for accessibility and landing sites for boats. When government was able to put its act together, so to speak, resorts had already put in place fencing and other barriers effectively preventing locals from circulating on the

beaches and even around the near-shore facing the resorts. The only recourse is to challenge these resort owners in court, where at least one is under litigation.

In Panglao, on the other hand, problems of accessibility for locals do not seem to have reached such a problematic proportions as that of Mactan. This is due in part to a remarkable history of opposition to tourism development led by the Catholic church which may have made locals more aware of their situation vis-à-vis tourism development. This learning experience by tourism officials at the early phase of the proposed tourism estate in Panglao appears to have institutionalized some mechanism of community participation with consultation as its most concrete expression. Still a palpable confusion as to the status of project implementation insofar as the estate project is concerned pervades the interviews, from the government sector down to the local leaders in Panglao. This may be construed as a result of simple lack of proper information channels among affected sectors and government stakeholders. On the other hand, this can also be read as resulting from too many government agencies handling the project or aspects of it apparently without a comprehensive venue for coherent exchange of information.

The emergent problem of multiple claimants to real estate properties resulting in intra-familial squabbles in Panglao, however, already evince changes in the social dynamics of a hitherto kinship-based community. Already we are seeing the beginnings of breakdown in community cohesion as more and more locals begin to involve themselves in the business of selling land, where personal interests begin to subsume kin and community relations and aspirations. The political conflict between the local government executives of Panglao which has been directly attributed to personal stakes in the future of the municipality's tourism development highlight the emergent changes in power relations as progress begins to take hold of everyone's imagination, as it were.

It is most telling, perhaps, that such community cohesion was not demonstrated in Mactan. Now highly urbanized and developed, its days of pristine conditions long gone, people immediately within or adjacent to the resorts have come to rely on tourism for

their livelihood. Where this is not possible, the study site's proximity to other sources of livelihood provide locals with alternatives, as long as they have the necessary skills. That key informants among locals in Panglao still see hope for farming and fishing to have a place in the midst of tourism development is most interesting in the light of the fact that there appears to be tacit acceptance of the inevitability of the planned tourism estate project. This may be because the project itself has already undergone significant overhaul as a result of early protests from local stakeholders. It may also be because of a strong attachment by community members to their place---be it farm or fishing ground---such that they are willing to accept tradeoffs for as long as they remain in their communities or are properly resettled (for some) by the government. The tourism estate project itself has taken note of this possibility in that agriculture forms part of the overall plan of development vis-à-vis tourism. Unfortunately, the lure of tourists and the resorts are pulling young people out of traditional forms of subsistence and livelihood. This does not bode well for the future of farming and fishing activities in the communities under study.
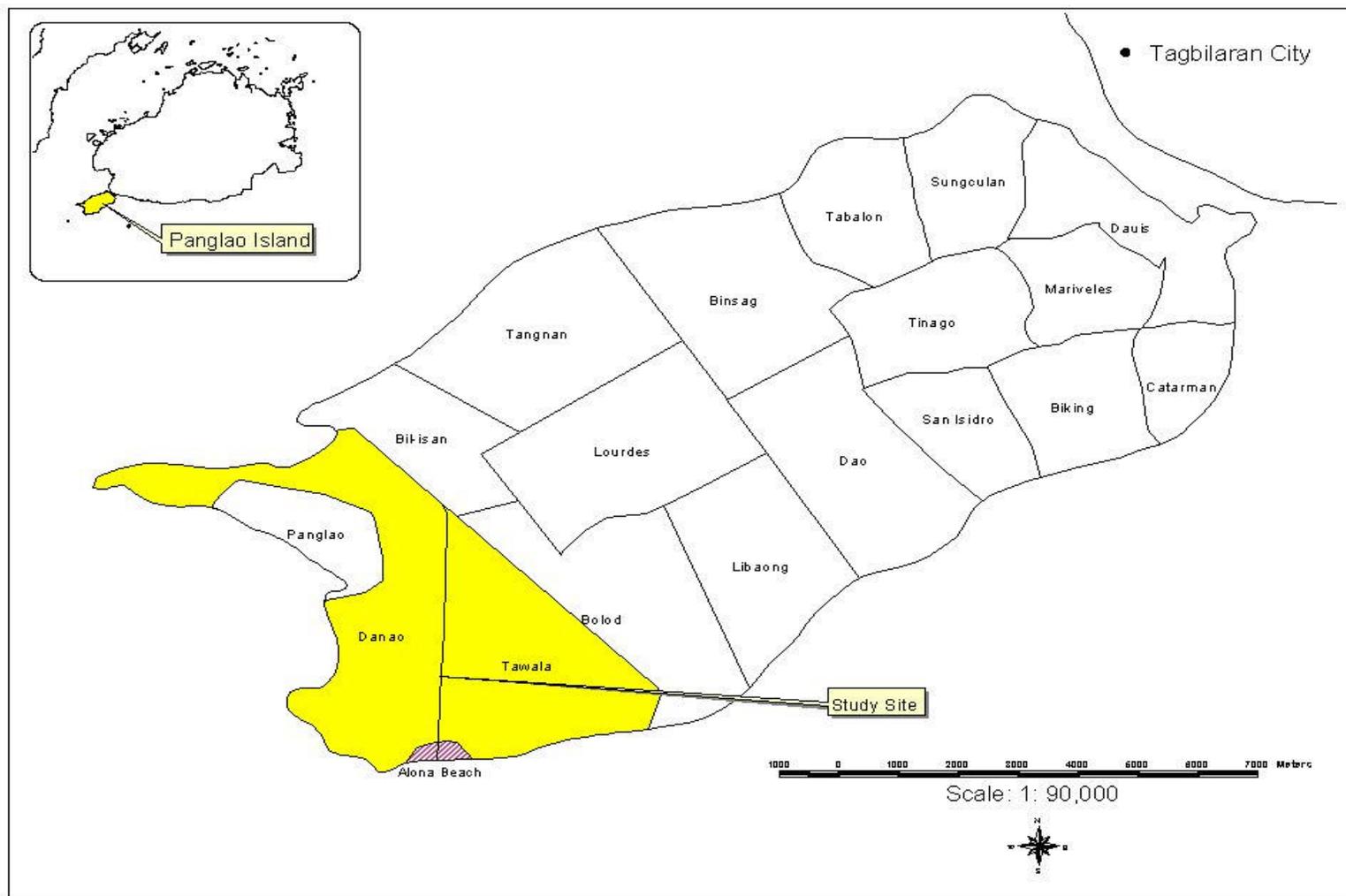
Figure 2. Map of Mactan Island

Figure 1. Map of Panglao Island

CHAPTER V

Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions

This is a study about local communities in the midst of varying levels of tourism development. Using the anthropological perspective, two resort communities in two islands have been scrutinized using the triangulation method of survey, focus group discussion and key informant interview, in order to elicit information on the dynamics brought about by this form of development. A total of 137 households comprising 14 in Danao, 42 in Tawala and 81 in Maribago were surveyed in this study for the Knowledge, Attitudes and Perceptions Survey (KAPS) section. Four focus group discussions were then carried out composed of 7 Panglao residents; 8 Panglao farmers/fisherfolks; 11 Maribago residents; and 12 Maribago fisherfolks. For the key informant section of this study, 16 stakeholders across the two study sites were interviewed regarding their opnions on aspects of tourism development.

The important findings in this study can be understood only when considered against the backdrop of important questions raised at the beginning of this report that shall now be considered in this section.

What is the local meaning of space and landscape? How do individuals and their community maximize the benefits from available space and landscape?

Space and landscape are seen differently by locals in Panglao as in Mactan. For the former, space is constitutive not just of its physical dimensions but also its capacity to provide subsistence and livelihood for those occupying them. This conception of space is very pronounced in Panglao where locals see much value in land for farming and the sea for fishing---and hence the potential for conflict when forms of development overlap traditional views of resource utilization. Locals in Panglao, for example, find it hard to comprehend why the beaches that used to be open space for bancas or pumpboats are

slowly being closed or off-limits to fisherfolk following the establishment of resorts. In Mactan, on the other hand, the absence of farms and boat landing sites has now meant that for the locals there space is congruent to a mere place of residence, although the sea is still seen as a valuable source of subsistence.

Because space in Panglao is perceived in terms of its agricultural value despite the presence of resorts, the sample population in this study is almost evenly divided among those who see its development in terms of tourism and those who see it as fit for agriculture. There is no such division of opinions among respondents in Mactan. For them, tourism is the major form of development there. While there is strong attachment to their community, the locals in Mactan see the value of space only insofar as it is able to support their livelihood, which in this case, is tied in some way to tourism---whether these are vendors, *hupo-hupo* tour guides, boatmen, or resort employees. Place has become nothing more than habitat. The sense of place which marks the essence of being in a community in this regard has been expanded to include tourists. Without tourists, this conception of place simply becomes senseless for tourism and tourist life now pervades the local communities there (or at least, in Brgy. Maribago).

How is space appropriated for tourism development? What are the major conflicts that have sprung up because of this?

The appropriation of space for tourism in both Panglao and Mactan came independent of local interests and perceptions of land/sea use by local residents. In both study sites, tourist resorts emerged not from the initiatives of locals (what Cohen [1983] calls "insiders") because of two things. First, they simply did not have capital then as now to ever start any type of tourist accommodation. Second, locals did not see the meaning (and sense) of privatizing hitherto open space and charging fees for others to use such space. Both local and national government, on the other hand, also had no role in initiating the emergence of resorts early in the history of tourism development in both study sites. Government interest in spatial appropriation, while very much pronounced now in Panglao with the tourism estate project, was absent when the first resorts catering

to foreign tourists emerged there in the early 1980's. Such absence is much more pronounced in Mactan, where violations here and there of the 20-meter salvage zone law evince the almost lack of government participation, even supervision, of development when resorts were first built in the early 1970s and grew into high-end international resorts by the late 1980s. By the time the comprehensive land-use plans for the city of Lapu-lapu were approved in 1995, most if not all of the Mactan's beaches had by then been teeming with resorts marked by seawall after seawall.

The form and timing by which the two study sites saw spatial appropriation for tourism vary and provide some important insights into the type of tourism development that was pursued in the study sites. In Mactan, beachfront properties were largely owned by wealthy urban Cebu-based families with titles to their properties. Thus, resort development emerged without much fuss from community residents around. The timing of such development did not help locals at all because this was during the period of Martial Law when severe restrictions on individual freedoms as well as on public assembly were in place. No such protests at being uprooted or resettled elsewhere could be expected from locals there. The presence of other forms of economic development (like the Mactan Export Processing Zone) as well as an international airport also meant that pressure on land and sea as source of livelihood did not appear as strong there as in Panglao. Therefore, with much wealth, private resort developers created an enclave of sorts, cordoning their properties off from the surrounding community. The locals, powerless because they held no title to beachfront properties, could only complain to their barangay officials who were also as powerless as they were. This, coupled with the failure of past city chief executives (and at least one provincial governor) to find remedies to the situation (confided to us by a city government development planner herself as well as two barangay chairs) of the study site, exacerbated the situation to the point where the courts are now called upon to provide legal remedy. The recent attempt by the local City Fisheries and Aquatic Resources Management Council (CFARMC) of Lapu-lapu to conduct a survey of coastal structures and determine violations of the 20-meter salvage zone should pave the way for providing the documentation required to correct the excesses of some resorts there.

Unlike Mactan, tourism development in Panglao happened in an island where landowners held only tax declarations and not land titles. Moreover, such development appeared in a very rural environment, started by backpacking tourists who stayed away from the expensive resorts of Mactan and elsewhere. The character of Alona's tourists (see Bersales 1983, and Blijleven and Van Naerssen 2001) dictated the type of accommodations that were eventually offered there by resort owners. Because early on, the tourists there were young and adventurous types who loved to travel individually or in small groups, no large-scale high-end resorts that one finds in Mactan appeared in Alona. To borrow from Cohen (1983), Alona hosts craft-type tourism as opposed to the organized mass tourism in Mactan, thus preventing the creation of a resort enclave. This is best evidenced by Alona's architecture and spatial arrangement that merge with the rural character of the place, extending well into the communities and households that sit adjacent to Alona.

Change began when the national government saw in Alona the island's potential for economic growth by proposing the Panglao Island Tourism Estate (PITE) in the early 1990's. The timing could not have been worse as, armed with the experience of people power/EDSA revolt of 1986, the Catholic Church, resort owners, and local lay leaders as well as peasant NGOs, rallied the locals to oppose any further development in their midst. The problem was not abated by the early insensitivity of government tourism agencies in sending Manila-based researchers to study the area and develop a framework plan for the project in 1989-90. Without any social preparation for the communities, this initial study immediately caught the imagination of locals whose strong attachment to land and sea as well as their community heightened their resolve not to allow any further development without their knowledge and participation. The rallies and mass actions that occurred between 1992 and1995 may have resulted in sharpening local awareness and concern for their community in the midst of spatial appropriation and the increasing commoditization of place by outsiders. Whereas Mactan has seen the essence of "placeless power and powerless places", Panglao demonstrates a different scenario altogether because of this period of active opposition by locals.

Almost a decade has passed since this period of turmoil in the development of Panglao and this study has shown that locals now see development by way of tourism as inevitable. Land fragmentation, low agricultural yield and rural unemployment have put a toll on farming communities there. With local residents in Panglao finding tourism's potential for providing economic benefit for the community down to the individual level, a conspicuous alteration of earlier evaluations of tourism may have emerged. The KAP Survey has shown that those who live near the resorts have benefited the most from tourism, yet as the FGD sessions show, even farmers and fisherfolk would still like to see a role for them in this type of development. Again, this is due largely to the low agricultural productivity that has been noticed in two studies already (see Olofson and Alburo 1992; Seastems 2001). There is, however, still much cautiousness with regard to demonstration effects as expressed in the key informant interviews in both Mactan and Panglao.

This study also shows that the arena of conflicts over tourism has now shifted from the community level to the family and individuals. With land titling an inevitable event, many families are now undergoing internal stress as members begin to assert their right to land. Hitherto absentee family members, long settled elsewhere, now want to be involved in the apportionment of benefits from sale of lands to resort investors and real estate brokers. The conflict between the local executives in the town of Panglao moreover expose the stakes involved when personal interests in tourism development clash with political aspirations. Such power struggles in the light of future tourism development plans are inevitable as members of the local elite compete to maximize their participation and reap tremendous benefits from tourism, be this in the form of real estate brokering or actual investment in resorts. It is also important not to discount the potential for enrichment of one's political coffers (or more bluntly, corruption) as government initiates infrastructure projects aimed at improving ancillary facilities to entice more tourist arrivals.

In Mactan, the arena of conflict revolves around accessibility for locals, a conflict which has simmered for almost two decades now. Powerless fisherfolk and other locals whose claims to place and space have been superseded by rapid economic development and increasing urbanization, have forced the conflict into the legal front, pitting wealthy private entrepreneurs (and important city taxpayers, if I may add) against the local government. This is a conflict that, in the words of one key informant, requires the political will of the chief executive. Beyond past government inaction, a solution may be in sight insofar as the so-called dikes/seawalls or jetties are concerned, with the survey now being conducted by the City Fisheries and Aquatic Resources Management Council (CFARMC). However, Mactan's incorporation into the global economy (with two export processing zones, the international airport and international-class tourist resorts now in place) means that the power to decide the future trajectory of the island's development is now out of the local residents, as it now resides in the global players who have a stake in its future. As a hub of international transportation, commodity production and tourism, the time when local residents would have had a say in its future has long receded into the horizon.

The mobilizations of locals as had occurred in Panglao will not happen anymore in Mactan. Even the Catholic church has not been active here at all. For as long as economic growth is ensured by these global players, locals have no recourse but to participate in whatever way they can. For the local government unit, Lapu-lapu city, such growth translates into much-needed revenues for more infrastructure to make the city truly world-class (see for example, Schema Konsult 1995). It is now incumbent upon the city government and its local counterparts in the barangays to ensure that a social comfort zone and the community's well-being will not be overlooked. If the illegal structures that control human circulation within the resort enclave will not be removed, despite future efforts of the CFARMC, the local government shall have proven its inability to exercise political will.

The past experience of Mactan should serve as an eye opener for local communities now facing international tourism development in Panglao. The presence of

active people's organizations and the Catholic Church may help ensure local participation and help institutionalize local power as the island creeps towards the orbit of globalization. This may arrest the social exclusion that followed economic development in Mactan.

What are the historical forces that have contributed to the dynamics of local response to tourism development?

The local response to tourism today as gleaned from the KAP Survey as well as the FGD sessions is clearly positive for the large majority of both the Mactan and Panglao respondents and participants. Tourists are seen as helpful, with individual cases cited to show the benefits of derived from friendships with them. There is, however, some apprehension for whether resorts care for the communities around them. This concern is largely a result of the accessibility problems in Mactan and Panglao mentioned earlier.

Because tourist resorts began in Mactan during Martial Law, no adverse local response to tourism ever appeared. Neither national nor local governments seem to have had any hand in the early development of the resorts on the island. In fact, it was only when Anos Fonacier, a tourist entrepreneur close to Mrs. Imelda R. Marcos, began investing in resorts (probably sometime in the mid-1970s) that the presence of the government began to be felt there, albeit minimally. The major force that ushered in the establishment of resorts in Mactan may have been the urban-based Cebuano elite (starting with the Borromeos) that began purchasing small parcels of beachfront properties that were eventually developed into one resort after another. Whether such acquisitions were products of landgrabbing or had resulted in the proliferation of squatter communities now evident elsewhere in Mactan has not been clearly elicited from the respondents of this study. An earlier study, however, did report the emergence of squatters resulting when a relative of the same squatters sold the property they were living on to an adjacent five-star hotel (Bersales et al 1996). Since resorts are privately-developed, privately-owned

and standing on titled land, then, local response to their presence in Mactan has been muted at best.

This is not the case in Panglao, where an early history of resistance tempers locals' positive evaluations of tourists and the benefits they derive from tourism today. The Catholic Church, resort owners, people's organizations and the government tourist agencies have all contributed to local response to tourism in Panglao. As gleaned from the key informant interviews, the development of tourism in Panglao was attended by conflict and struggle in the early 1990s owing to the active involvement of the church and resorts there. While craft-type resorts had existed in Alona prior to this period, government decision (an "outsider" initiative) to accelerate development in the form of the proposed Panglao Island Tourism Estate, caused the coalescing of community aspirations with the moral position of the church regarding tourism. This has made locals acutely aware of their place in the economic progress of Panglao which is not evinced in the data from Mactan. The anxiety expressed by Panglao FGD participants, for example, on their future in the face of vague information regarding an international airport project on the island, demonstrates their keen interest on their future. This has not been made easier to comprehend because apparently even barangay officials cannot say with certainty whether such an airport will be built or not, despite continued purchasing of lands ostensibly for such an airport. Given this fairly recent role of both the national and local governments in planning tourism development in Panglao, a participation absent in the history of Mactan, such uncertainty is not very reassuring to locals, especially the farmers who will be affected by such a plan. Perhaps this is a mere problem of communicating correct information down to the local leaders and the communities. Alternatively, this can be seen as a result of too many government agencies working at cross-purposes as alluded to by Blijleven and Van Naerssen (2001) in their study of tourism in Central Visayas.

How has tourism development reconfigured social relations in the community?

With the advent of tourism, locals have managed to adjust themselves into the situation by providing services to tourists. This is best expressed in the emergence of the *hupo-hupo* tourist guides in Mactan who provide Japanese tourists with a network of other services for a fee. Spatial appropriation in Mactan (as in Panglao) has reduced the majority of non-landowning locals into doing petty services, menial jobs and vending to tourists and resorts following absence of farms and boat landing sites. Because localities in Mactan have been incorporated into the urban (and global) sphere of the economy, one's location in the tourism enterprise now determines once position in the community. The dynamics of tourism is such that the social structure of local communities now includes tourists who now form part of the everyday life and imaginings of locals, both in Mactan and Panglao.

Panglao, which is still undergoing the transition from rural to urban life via tourism, present a slightly different scene altogether, one which may have been about Mactan once before it was subsumed into the urban and global scheme of things. Kinship ties and the essence of community still pervade the environment of Panglao. With the increasing financial value of land as result of tourism, however, these ties are beginning to loosen. Already we have noted the emergence of intra-familial strife resulting from speculation in land prices, which has put a stress on family relations. Family members who have long expressed a lack of interest in claiming property ownership in Panglao because they now live elsewhere are now keen on claiming their share. Multiple claimants to properties sold many times over expose the schemes that real estate brokers in Tagbilaran and their local counterparts among community members have resorted to for financial gain.

The strain across two generations, the young and old, are showing in the impact of demonstration effects of tourists on the youth. Farmers and fishers are gradually seeing the dying out of their kind as more and more young people are lured to the resorts to find jobs, no matter how temporary or menial this may be. Others lament the change in attire

among the young that the older generation finds offensive, an observation elicited both among Panglao as well as Mactan key informants. Drug addiction and prostitution among the young, much more pronounced in Mactan than in Panglao is an issue that now confronts community members. An addition to this is the change attitude of locals towards the increase in economic status of their neighbors or friends who have married foreigners or tourists.

Finally, this study has sought to investigate how rapid and accelerated change brought about by the appropriation of space has reconfigured local power and social relations in two resort communities. It has compared the emergence and growth of tourism amidst local communities in two islands of varying levels of tourist development. In Mactan, tourism has become one of three factors that have placed the island within the orbit of the global economy (the others are commodity production for export and international transportation). The appropriation of space there has resulted in the erosion of local power as the island's economy has now been tied to global forces. Local communities in the study site now depend almost entirely on tourism as a source of revenue, thus muting local power and subsuming it to state and global interests. In a sense, there is no more contest over space in Mactan.

Panglao on the other hand, can learn from the experience of Mactan as it embarks on the road to development. A past characterized by an active struggle for the institutionalization of local decision-making and participation in tourism development and the craft type or small scale form of resorts (in Alona) have resulted in a different outcome thus far in the contest over space there, where local power is now expressed in the communities' heightened sensitivity to development in their midst.

Recommendations

Based on this study, the following issues need to be addressed:

7. Accessibility problems in the form of fencing and access roads in Panglao and concrete jetties in Mactan need to be seriously solved by local government units with the support of national line agencies. This requires coordinated and concerted effort as well as political will on the part of local executives and the vigilance of local residents.

8. The problem of the so-called double-selling resulting in multiple claimants to real property in Panglao requires serious consideration by government units from the barangay level up to the nationally-mandated line agencies dealing with land surveys and titling. This necessitates coordination and the setting up of a multi-sectoral body or a task force composed of all stakeholders in order to regulate the sale of land. In the case of the Caribbean (see Apostolopoulos and Gayle 2002:26-27), citizen-led conflict resolution channels have been put in place to guarantee speed in resolving such problems. This can be adapted at the barangay judicial level so as to avoid exacerbating kin fragmentation due to land disputes. At the same time, a simple information dissemination program right at the community or barangay level would help in providing correct information to outsiders regarding the status of lands they intend to purchase.

9. A proper information, education and communication system across all the government agencies coordinating tourism development, both in Mactan and in Panglao, as well as other tourist destinations, should be put in place so as to avoid further confusion at the ground level with regard to tourism-related projects. This requires constant exchange of information even at the barangay level between local community officials and government tourism agencies. Confusion starts right at the level of the community, which must be remedied

with intensive information, education and communication campaigns as has been done in the health sector. A simple information bulletin board, for starters, coupled with constant community consultations and meetings will help in ensuring that the communities surrounding the tourist resorts are made aware of the tourist trade, how it benefits them and, more importantly what inputs they can contribute to creating a 'social comfort zone' between communities and the tourism sector in their midst. It is not enough that barangay chairs are made conduits of information as there is no guarantee that they in turn will relay this to their constituents. Traditional power structures in the communities should also be tapped for this purpose. Such structures usually include farmer/fisherfolk leaders, teachers, and church leaders.

10. Government agencies and local government units should seek avenues for coordinating activities so as to avoid implementing tourism programs or issuing policies at cross-purposes. This requires once again the setting up of a task force where all agencies, both national and local, are able to meet and coordinate to achieve synergy in tourism development and community management. Such a task force must also incorporate local community leaders to ensure community participation in the decision-making processes.

11. Due to the varying trajectories of tourism development in Mactan and Panglao, other localities and islands that intend to pursue tourism development as a means of economic growth should learn from the rich experiences provided by these two study sites. In Malapascua Island, northeatern Cebu, for example, land surveys and eventual titling of real property is currently being undertaken together with a comprehensive land use plan by the municipality of Daanbantayan. The planning phase should now include community participation in order to avoid the problems encountered in both Mactan and Panglao islands.

12. Finally, the study recommends that small-scale, craft type resort development in lieu of the organized mass tourism-type be also given due consideration by tourism policy planners for small islands. While the latter type of development has been proven to infuse much-needed foreign exchange revenues to the economy, it has its drawbacks in terms of its tendency to create exclusion zones or tourist enclaves as is found in Mactan, which physically cordon off local communities. In Mactan, one sees high-end and high-rise tourist establishments in stark contrast with low-income residential sprawl beyond its borders. Moreover, despite its economic potential, large-scale, organized mass tourism-type development falls prey to the fluctuations of seasonal tourist arrivals. As a result tour operators will cut costs by reducing the labor force, thereby causing a ripple effect on the local employment situation. The evidence provided by Alona Beach is that craft-type development has prevented the creation of an enclave, as it were, that effectively prevents community participation in tourism (other than employment). In Alona, local residents from the surrounding communities long steeped in the culture and tradition of a rural environment interact more with tourists, which over time, has helped them see tourism in better light. This has facilitated government and community cooperation so that the latter are incorporated into the tourism enterprise. Demonstration effects on locals can then be minimized as locals are able to communicate their opinions and perceptions directly to tourists, resort owners, and managers. I believe that problems of tourist revenue fluctuations are much more minimal in craft-type resorts which, due to the low cost of accommodations, can also cater to domestic tourists when international arrivals are low or absent. In addition, Blijleven and van Naerssen (2000) have shown that European tourists prefer the quiet and unhurried pace of Panglao over that of Mactan, which also allows tourists to have more control over their preferences and more time to rest and relax in comparison to the hectic schedule of mass-based organized (package-deal) tourism that is found in Mactan. In short, craft-type tourism is low-key and allows for resorts to merge almost seamlessly with the local community and

its environs, often allowing tourists to stray into these communities and learn as much about the local culture.

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