

Working Group 4

Tourism and Social Change

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1. Introduction

We are living in the age of **Mass Tourism**¹ (Yamashita, 2000). The World Tourism Organization has estimated that at least 500 Million people travel each year (WTO 1995). Some tourist travel beyond their national boundaries in search of exotic travel destination they cannot find in domestic venues. In Japan, about 15 million tourists choose to travel abroad each year to seek adventure in foreign settings (Yamashita 2000). Although the nature of trips might be quite different for group tourists, backpackers, business travelers, and family vacationers, the common denominator is all of them seek something new, exotic, and different from what they see in their daily lives.

Come to think of it, we the OFW participants from GSID are tourists with such expectations. We came all the way to Philippines not just to engage in a field research but also to enjoy ourselves. We are fully aware that some of us visited places like Vistamar in Batangas, El Nido in Palawan, and **Pagsanjan Falls** to experience what the Philippines has to offer to tourists. When we were enjoying tourist amenities while being served by Filipino waiters, hotel boys, guides, and many other tourism related workers, how many of us did pause for a moment and thought about the lives of these ordinary people we met? We, the group of graduate students from the Graduate School of International Development (GSID), Nagoya University and with the assistance of faculty and students of the Institute of Development Management and Governance (IDMG) of the University of the Philippines at Los Baños², decided to look into the lives of these people by conducting a field research on the issues of social change. For us to carry out a field research smoothly, we went through a series of discussions and pre-studies among the group members before and during the OFW Session. Through these intensive dialogues, we were able to acquire a sound **“people’s” perspective** as our mind frame.

We proceeded to fulfill our research agenda by focusing on the tourism sector in the town of Pagsanjan. Two critical issues were identified as objectives of our research. These are as follows:

- (1) At the macro-level, we posed the question “To what extent do external variables shape the degree of socio-cultural impact on the targeted municipality?” For us to be able to answer this question, we interviewed government officials involved with the tourism sector at the national, regional, provincial and municipal levels, members of chambers of commerce, tourists, non-governmental organization (NGOs), people’s organizations (POs), and other related organizations. To validate findings from the interviews, we analyzed various documents furnished to us by the different organizations such as brochures, fact books, policy papers, and statistics. We also relied on our own personal observations.
- (2) At the micro-level, we asked the question “To what extent are internal variables responding to the external pressures of social change?” Similar with the first question, we interviewed several individuals involved in the tourism sector. These include boatmen, resort workers, restaurant owners and workers, tricycle and jeepney drivers, sari-sari store owners, workers in embroidery factories, barbershops, and beauty parlors and average residents. By having in-depth dialogues with them, we tried to identify the patterns of local people’s responses to and the influences of the presence of tourists.

¹ Mass tourism can be defined as Tourism Activities that happens in a large scale. For more detailed definition, please refer to Yamashita (2000).

² We have to thank Dr. Mimosa Ocampo (Mimi), Loreli Cajegas, Lea Astrera and Prof. Takahashi for their physical and emotional supports during the field Research. Without them, the research would not have become possible.

In sum, our group would like to articulate the process of social change, a concept most development professionals working in the economic sectors find difficult to understand. The importance of putting local people's perspective first in development was underscored throughout the field research.

The outline of the report is as follows. Following this introductory chapter, we will provide an overview of the tourism sector in the Philippines both at the national and provincial levels. At the provincial level, we focus on the province of Laguna by identifying general socio-economic characteristics of tourism activities. The third chapter will present a detailed demographic profile of the town of Pagsanjan. This will give us a clear idea about the locale and surrounding municipalities. The fourth chapter will describe the economic, socio-cultural, environmental and political impacts of tourism on the people of Pagsanjan. Since the central focus of our research is to determine the impact of tourism on the local population, it is important that we come up with a sound analysis. Through case studies, we tried to identify factors contributing to the process of social change in the municipality. The paper concludes by presenting our findings on the role tourism play in shaping various facets of community life in Pagsanjan.

2. National profile of tourism in Philippine and profile of Laguna province

National level

It has been 12 years since Philippine government started implementing the "Welcome to Philippine" tourism policy. In 1999, more than 1.9 million foreign visitors have arrived in the Philippines. During that year, the tourism sector accounted for 8.7% of GDP and 9% of all employees are engaged in the tourism sector. As of June 2000, the largest number of visitors is from the USA, followed next from Japan and then from South Korea. For the period June 1999 to June 2000, the numbers of tourists to the Philippines has been on the rise with South Korean visitors increasing by almost 100 percent (Figure 1-1 and 1-2)

Figure 1-1: Foreign arrivals share in the Philippines, 2000 June

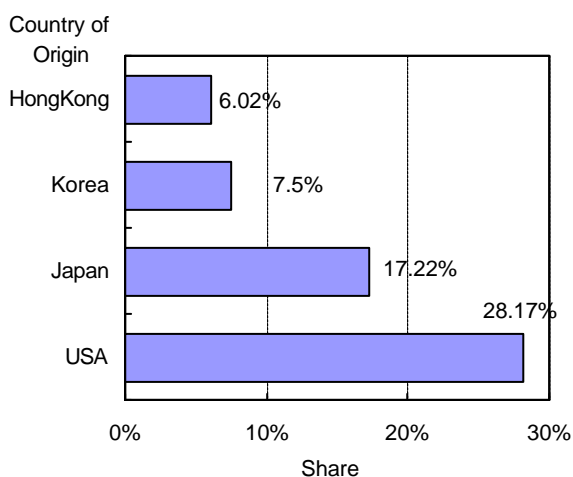
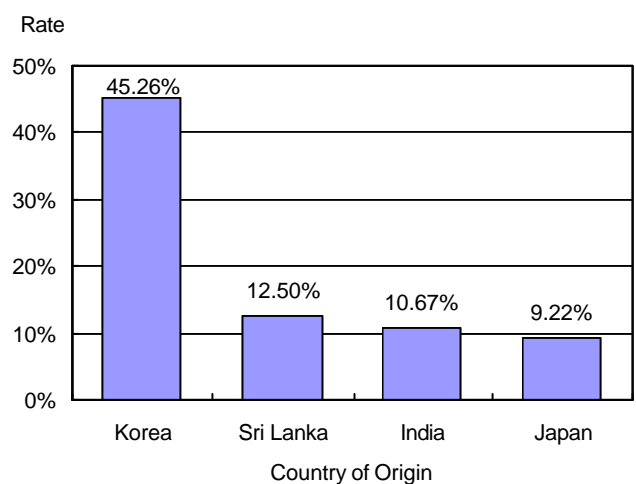


Figure 1-2: Growth rate of foreign arrivals, 1999.6-2000.6



DOT and PTA

The Department of Tourism (**DOT**), is one of the 27 cabinet agencies in the Philippine national government. The department has 15 regional units which corresponds to the administrative subdivision of the country. The DOT has been in existence since 1973 and it has been mainly responsible for handling all tourism investment and management matters in the Philippine since then. In 1991, with the enactment of Republic Act 7160 or the Local Government Code, the regulatory powers of DOT were transferred to provincial governments in line with the overall government policy of decentralization. With decentralization, the major functions of the DOT has been reduced to; (1) formulating national tourism policy and translating these into a national Tourism Master Plan with Singapore's tourism development approach and Maldives island resort concept as models; (2) tourism promotion outside of the country; and (3) organizing vocational training on tourism with the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA).

On the other hand, the Philippine Tourism Authority (**PTA**) was established at the same time as DOT in 1973. The PTA is a specialized agency under the DOT. In Region 4, where Laguna is located, the agency responsible for the operation and management of 17 hotels and resorts by using the Tourism Master Plan as the overall guiding framework.

Region level

Region4-Southern Tagalog	•Total population	9,696,068 (1995)
	•Number of tourist	898,000 (1999)

• Average income per family (1997)	•Infant mortality rate (1995)	•Simple literacy rate (%) (1994)	•Life expectancy (1995)
1.Metro Manila p270,993	1.Metro Manila 32	1.NCR 98.8	1.Central Luzon 72.02
2.Central Luzon p133,130	2.Central Luzon 40	2.Southern Tagalog 96.4	2.Southern Tagalog 71.48
3.Southern Tagalog p132,363	3.Southern Tagalog 45	3.Central Luzon 96.3	3.Central visayas 71.18

Region 4 is comprised of 11 provinces collectively known as Southern Tagalog. Next to Metro Manila, the region constitutes a geographical subdivision which known as the second largest economy in the entire Philippines. The industrial and service sectors account for the highest contribution to the regions gross domestic product at 44% and 30% respectively. The region is also socially well developed. As to tourism, in 1999, the number of tourist arrivals in Region 4 was estimated at 898,000 (by yearbook). Of these, 54% are from the adjacent National Capital Region or Metro Manila while the other 46% are foreign tourists. For the domestic front, the target for tourism advertisement is mainly Metro Manila, while at the foreign front is the East Asian leisure market of Japan, Korea and China. The main tourism policy in Region 4 is the promotion of environmental friendly eco-tourism which is aimed at preserving endangered animals and plant species in the region while at the same time attracting domestic and foreign tourists.

Provincial level

Laguna	• Total population	1,845,385(1999)
	•Number of tourist	83,000(1999)

Among the eleven provinces comprising Region 4, Laguna is considered as the 2nd largest province based on the size of the population and the 3^d largest in terms of social and economical aspects. The province is

composed of 29 municipalities and one city. As of 1999, provincial population was estimated at 1.683 million. The number of foreign tourist's arrival is about 83,000 in 1999. There are many tourist attractions and tourism oriented and related establishments in Laguna.

A. Tourist attractions

- | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1-.Natural Attractions | 2-.Man-made attractions | 3-. Historical sites/ shrines |
| a. Water Falls | a. Lake Caliraya | 4-. Religious/ Old churches |
| b. Cold/Hot springs | b. Water Park | 5-. Cultural/ Festival |
| c. Legendary Mountains | c. Theme park | 6-. Education/ Museum |

B. Tourism Oriented and related Establishment

1-. Oriented Establishments (numbers)	2-. Related Establishments (numbers)	3-. Cottage Industries
Hotels (26) Resorts (274)	Restaurants (102) Museum (6) Cultural Center	a. Wood crafting b. Embroidered Products c. Footwear / Bags d. Papier Mache e. Stuffed Toys f. Baskets g. processed Food

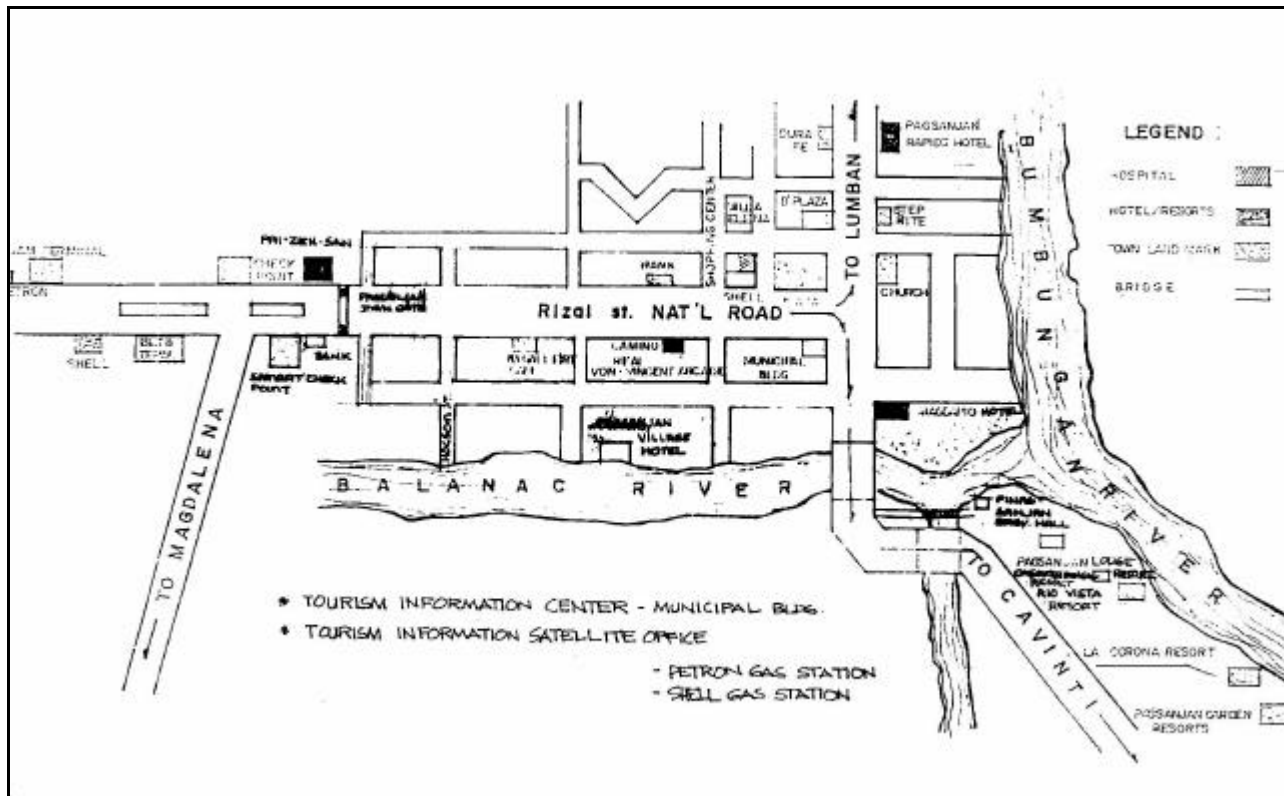
In comparison with other provinces in the Philippines, Laguna can be characterized as developed both in the areas of social and economic development. According to the provincial government's plan, the agricultural, industrial and tourism sectors should progress hand and hand. With these as the background, we will now discuss tourism in well-developed area in Laguna province.

3. Tourism Sector of Pagsanjan

3-1. Profile of the Municipality of Pagsanjan

The municipality of Pagsanjan is located about ninety-two (92) kilometers southeast of Metro Manila. The town is bounded on the north by the municipality of Lumban, in the south by municipality of Cavinti, in the east by the canyon province of Laguna, and in the west by municipalities of Sta. Cruz and Magdalena. Pagsanjan is for its majestic falls Two rivers, the Balanac and Bumbungan Lewin creek, traverse the town. The town is administratively subdivided into has sixteen (16) *barangays*³, six (6) of which are classified as urban (Barangay I, Barangay II, Maulawin, Pinagsanjan, Sampaloc and San Isidro) while the remaining ten (10) are rural (Anibong, Buboy, Biñan, Cabanbanan, Calusiche, Dingin, Lambac, Layugan, Magdapio and Sabang). In 1999, the municipality had an estimated population of 32,626 growing at an average of 3 % per year. The towns populace constitute about 2% of the total population of Laguna province. Out of the town's population, 61% or 19,784 is in the labor force. On the other hand, the number of households in Pagsanjan is around 7,250 of which most of them speak Tagalog and Bicolano. In 1999, the municipality registered a population density of 12 persons per hectare – 35 persons per hectare in the urban barangays and 6 persons per hectare in rural barangays. The economy of Pagsanjan is principally agriculture-based. Of the total municipal land area, 2,190 hectares or 83% is devoted to agriculture. Major crops grown are coconut (56%), palay (24%), fruit trees (3%) and vegetables (1%). Aside from

³ The basic political unit in the Philippines is called barangay. In some places where barangays are relatively large, it is further subdivided into sitio and purok.



growing crops, Pagsanjeños are also engaged in livestock production. At present, there are three (3) contract growers in swine, one in broiler and the rest are backyard growers of cattle, carabao, swine, goat and poultry. Commerce and industry in Pagsanjan is largely concentrated in the *Poblacion* or the town proper. Commercial activities include retailing, wholesaling and merchandising. Of the total number of establishments, around 542 are engaged in retail merchandising (68%) while 80 are into trading (10%) and 66 are service-oriented businesses (8%). Industrial activities in the municipality are limited to manufacturing of chopsticks, popsicle, shoes, hollow blocks and concrete poles. Light industrial activity is likewise limited to vehicle maintenance (welding and repair).

3-2. History of tourism

Though we were unable to find out the exact date when tourists started visiting Pagsanjan Falls, some old boatmen indicated it started around late '50s. Tourism business expanded rapidly in mid '70s. we gathered that the peak was 1981-85. However, after this period the number of tourists begun to decrease. This decline was reported to be primarily due to the high cost of tips that boatmen asked for. In April 1, 1991, because of the deterioration of peace and order situation in the town, the DOT withdrew its promotion of Pagsanjan as a tourist destination. This continued before the functions of DOT were transferred to the local government in 1993. During 1993, the municipal government through the Pagsanjan Tourism Office (PTO) started to manage tourism by itself. This shift in responsibility was made possible by the enactment of the 'The Local Government Code of 1991' which devolved tourism operations to local governments. Correspondingly, the number of tourists increased again. However, in 1998, a drastic decrease in the number of tourists was noted resulting from the worldwide economic crisis plus the fact that Philippine Airlines, the country's carrier shutdown its operation. At the same time, because of the diminishing income of the local people incidents of harassment and forced tipping by the boatmen have been coming out to the surface. With the declining earnings from tourism, some barangay

officials in Pagsanjan started programs promoting the shift to other activities such as farming.

3-3. Profile of tourism

Pagsanjan is just but one of the tourism centers in the province of Laguna. Aside from the town, there are other touristic attractions which include but are not limited to Mt. Makiling, hot spring resorts around Los Baños as well as a man-made lake in Caliraya. As such, tourists engagement and activities at each location are different and being a competitor with one another, it seems hard to find the relevance or integrity among the spots across the whole province.

The main tourist attraction of Pagsanjan is the boat riding tour called 'Shooting the rapids'. The tour involves going upstream the river more than 7 kilometers to the Pagsanjan main water fall and then ride downstream in five meter length shallow canoes paddled by two trained boatmen called 'Bangkero'. Both sides of the river are surrounded by sheer cliff. On the way to the main fall, one may feel the relaxing atmosphere brought by nature with beautiful sunrays passing through the trees. On the way back, one may enjoy the thrill of shooting ravine with splash.

3-3-1. Functions of Local Government's Administration

One of the main roles of the Pagsanjan Tourism Office (PTO) is to control and regulate the activities of boatmen. The office requires boatmen to get business licenses and work permits. In addition, the PTO is also engaged in organizing support groups for the "shooting the rapids" tour. The support group's main tasks are as follows: removing garbage; preventing rock fall alongside the course; monitoring the water level; and enhancing rescue knowledge. Nowadays, the PTO is eager to change the negative image of tourism in Pagsanjan. Two years ago, the office launched The 'Bangkero Festival' which is another means of attracting tourists to visit the town during the high season in May. The festival aims to invite more visitors. The PTO also has a plan to conduct a training seminar for boatmen to be held on 2001. The office is also exploring for new tourism spots which cater to eco-tourism.

3-3-2. Boatmen Engagement

The "shooting the rapids" tour directly contributes to the household income of boatmen's family. While records at the municipal office show that only 1,796 persons hold the necessary permit to work as boatman, we were told that more than 3,000 men are engaged in the trade. This number is about one-third of the total 9,563 men in Pagsanjan within the age range 15-60 registered in the municipality's projected population in 1999. As such, the job of boatmen has a huge impact of the level of employment in the town. While this might be the case, we should also consider the possibility that not all of the boatmen are necessarily residents of Pagsanjan.

There are seven boatmen associations with the corresponding number of members as follows: (1) Pagsanjan Rapids-514; (2) Pagsanjan Falls Lodge-396; (3) Magdapio Lodge-250; (4) La Corona Hotel-190; (5) Pagsanjan Village-116; (6) Pia Zen San-26; and (7) Garden Resort-20. At present, only three are considered as the main associations. In total, over 1,500 boatmen belonging to the seven associations and by virtue of their membership, they can get easy access for work opportunities and social security benefits.

By using the case of the association at the Pagsanjan Rapids Hotel, we tried to estimate a boatman monthly income by using monthly ticket sales data. The results is listed below:

The analysis shows that a member of a boatmen association gets a job according to the order once in every three days. In February, a boatman was able to earn P4, 000 as maximum. However, during lean times, a boatman

Table3-1: Sample projection of boatmen's net income Pagsanjan Rapid Hotel in 1999

Month	Ticket ales	Engage	Income (moth)		
Jan	3,537	6.9	2,615	Gross earning	580.0
Feb	5,541	10.8	4,096	To Hotel accommodation	-45.0
Mar	3,047	5.9	2,253	Share Pagsanjan	-15.0
Apr	2,996	5.8	2,215	Share Cavinti	-7.5
May	3,146	6.1	2,326	Share Lumban	-7.5
Jun	2,609	5.1	1,929	Share province	-3.0
Jul	3,350	6.5	2,477	Trust fund	-2.0
Aug	4,211	8.2	3,113	Boat rent	-50.0
Sep	2,238	4.4	1,655	Motor boat	-20.0
Oct	2,894	5.6	2,140	Dispatcher	-10.0
Nov	3,976	7.7	2,939	To Association	-40.0
Dec	2,638	5.1	1,950	Net income	380.0
Total	40,183		29,707		

is only able to work once a week and the total earning only amounts to P1, 650 per month.

3-2-3. Revenues of Related Parties

From the P 40 charged from each tourist, the boatmen association was able to accumulate an aggregate fund totaling P1.6million. This fund is redistributed to each member as a form of social safety net or as compensation if a boatman decides to leave the job. On the other hand, the hotels and inns in the municipality earn a total of at least P3.9million per annum from the accommodation fees paid by tourists as well as sales from restaurants and souvenir shops.

The presence of tourists also contributes to the revenues of municipalities traversed by the “shooting the rapids” tour. While the main waterfall is located within the boundaries of the neighboring town of Cavinti, tourists have to start from Pagsanjan through a spot just south of Lumban. As such, the local governments in these three municipalities came up with a ‘Memorandum of Agreement’ which defined how the income from tourism should be shared among them. According to this document, from the P 30 charged each tourist, the Pagsanjan municipal government is entitled to one-half or P15, while the remaining half will be shared equally by the Cavinti and Lumban municipal governments at P7.50 each. In one year each of the participating local government can get a total share ranging from P 0.6 million at the minimum and P1.2million at the maximum. In the town of Cavinti, the municipalities share from the boat ride fee constitutes its second biggest source of revenue, which is low at about 5 percent of the total, next to the P 18 million it gets as share from the Internal Revenue Allotment (IRA).

Aside from boatmen, there are numerous other jobs directly or indirectly related to tourism. These include vendors in food and souvenir shops, employees of hotels and restaurant and drivers of tricycles and jeepneys among others.

3-4. Profile of tourists

The Pagsanjan experienced the highest number of tourist arrivals in 1996 at 219,934. However, this was short lived with a sharp decline to 97,708 arrivals in 1998 and further to 86, 999 in 1999. The unprecedented drop may have been mainly caused by the Asian economic crises. Tourist arrival is also affected by the climatic condition in the Philippines wherein the year is divided into wet and dry seasons. The dry season begins in March

and end in June while the wet season last from July to October. The best period to visit Pagsanjan is from March to May, which also corresponds to the long summer vacation in Philippine schools. During the end of February when the Chinese New Year is celebrated, many tourists from Taiwan come to visit Pagsanjan. Based on the most recent ticket sales record, the number of tourists in February considered as the peak season was at a high of 12,002 persons accounting for 13.8% of the total arrivals for the year. On the other hand, the lean season was during September when tourist arrival was recorded at only 4,820 persons or 5.5% of the total. Thus, the revenue earned per month is not regular and fluctuates according to the season.

According to an employee from one of the hotels, Japanese started visiting the town as early as the 1970s. In the 80s, Koreans and Chinese started to come. Based on a survey conducted by two major boatmen associations, about 80% of the most recent tourist arrivals are from Korea. During the fieldwork, we saw at least two large bus tours with more than 40 Korean tourists in each bus with accompanying Korean agents. We were also able to get 12 replies from this group of Korean tourists on our questionnaire about the impressions on the boat riding experience. The Chinese tourist’s rush to visit foreign countries during the month of February does contribute to the peak of tourist arrivals in Pagsanjan and this has much implication in terms of perking up the local economy.

Based on the results of our questionnaire survey, we found that 83% of the tourists visited the waterfalls as a group. Although six tourists joined as individuals, four of them applied at the hotels’ tour desk at Manila and came together in a small bus. The result of our exit point questionnaire as follows:

Table 3-2: Profile of Tourists

In summary, the main features of tourists visiting Pagsanjan are they come in a group in a one day tour which originates from Metro Manila.

1. Are you group tourist or individual tourist?		
Group	30	83%
Individual	6	17%
Sum	36	100%

3-5. Tourists’ level of satisfaction

We did a survey on various aspects of the tour which the tourists appreciate on their visit to Pagsanjan. The results show that scenery is most appreciated at 80 %, followed by ‘service’ and ‘safety’. In addition nearly 90% of the respondents said they will recommend the trip to Pagsanjan Falls to other people. On the other hand, ten of the respondents said they were annoyed by the shop vendors’ PUSHY attitude and the boatmen’s demand for tips. These two aspects spoiled the tourists otherwise relaxing experience of viewing the beautiful scenery while going down the rapids.

Finally, nearly 90% of reply showed that they would recommend Pagsanjan Falls to whom they know.

Table 3-3: Tourists’ satisfaction

2. If you satisfied with Pagsanjan falls tour, Please check among below listed. (multiple choice)		
Service	18	**
Scenery	30	***
Safety	17	**
Price	9	*
Duration	8	*
Others	1	Entertainment
Unsatisfied	1	

3. Do you recommend Pagsanjan Falls to whom you know?		
Yes	32	89%
No	3	8%
Unknown	1	
Total	36	

4. Impact of Tourism in Pagsanjan

4-1. Definition of Impact and Target Group

Since the main focus of our research is the impact of tourism, we have to define what we mean by “impact”. By “impact” we refer to the way the local people or local community respond to the presence of tourists. The following questions have to be answered: (1) Has there been any change in their community brought about by tourism and what are these changes? ; (2) Did the local people change their life style ever since tourism has emerged prominently in the local socioeconomic setting?; and (3) Do they accept or oppose the presence of tourists? These possible negative and positive influences which may have been caused by tourism are considered as “impact” .

Qualitative research methods were employed in order for us to identify and determine the impact of tourism. These included conducting in-depth interviews with local people, especially with those whose work are related to Pagsanjan Falls. Participatory observation which included three days of home stay was also done.

As mentioned earlier, the main feature of tourism in Pagsanjan is the visit to “Pagsanjan Falls”. Whenever tourists enter Pagsanjan, they cannot avoid boatmen who usually flag their vehicles and persuade and/or force them to visit the falls by engaging their services. With this prevailing situation, the boatmen are the first contact of tourists and thus have the most direct relation to the tourism sector. Thus, the boatmen became the main target of our research.

While we refer to boatmen in general terms, we have to consider that there are various ways to work as a boatman. Some work full-time, others work as a side business while several others work part time on weekends. We categorized anyone working as a boatman either full-time or part-time as “Boatmen” and those who do not work as boatmen as “Others”.

4-2. Boatmen and their families

4-2-1. Economic Impact

The income earned from being a boatman is not stable. The competition is high since farmers and fisher folks also work part time as boatmen in order to supplement their income. Before the tourism boom in Pagsanjan,



the income gap between the rich land owning class and the poor tenant farmers was wide. According to the Municipal Planning and Development Coordinator (MPDC), the increase in the number of boatmen has contributed significantly to the narrowing of the income disparity between the rich and the poor. This economic phenomenon resulted into the emergence of the middle class in Pagsanjan. However, now that tourism has declined and that there is a glut in the number of boatmen given that boating has become the main job in the town, instability of the main source of income may result to the reemergence of a yawning disparity between the rich and the poor.



Boatmen have several coping mechanisms in order to survive this economic difficulty. As mentioned earlier, most of the boatmen belong to associations that provide the job to members and distribute the tips collected from tourists through the accumulated fund. The share of each boatman from the fund is availed in situations where family expenses pile up such as during enrolment period when the children's school fees have to be paid or during Christmas. This system of fund distribution helps the boatmen a lot. However, during the lean season, each boatman can work only once per week thus he has to seek other ways to earn money. To cope with the difficulty, two ways are employed. First, in order to have at least two turns per week, some boatmen have double membership⁴ in the associations. Second, some off-duty boatmen flag down vehicles ferrying tourists and persuade and/or force them to engage their services with the hope that if the tourists will do so, the boatmen can have a chance to work even if their turn has yet to come. There are also boatmen engaged in this unpleasant practice who do not belong to any of the associations. By working independently, the boatman can get all the tips. Third, some boatmen continue working as farmers while others seek alternative job such as tricycle driver. However, except for illegal activities such as drug trafficking or pimping, it is very difficult to find alternative jobs, thus most of the boatmen remain being a boatman. In sum, the economic condition of boatmen and their families is heavily influenced by the boom or bust of tourism in Pagsanjan. They have no choice by to adapt their way of life to the prevailing situation.

4-2-2. Socio-cultural Impact

1) Education and children

We understand that in Pagsanjan, the decision to obtain higher education is directly with the trend of tourism. When tourism was booming and to become a boatman was considered a "good job", people had less incentive to continue their studies. This is not only because they cannot not afford, but also because to become a boatman does not require formal education. However, we found a case wherein higher educational attainment

⁴ They have to pay from 10.000 to 20.000 pesos to obtain membership and receive their saddle cloth that has their own number.



enabled a boatman to switch his job to become a teacher (Case 1). At present, the youth of Pagsanjan town are sons and daughters or even grandchildren of the first generation of boatmen. Unlike their parents, today's youth tend to pursue higher education. We found that some college students are working as boatmen and the income they earned is spent for their families' livelihood, their own education and for their entertainment. They and their parents expect that after their graduation from college, they would be able to find another job. Some of them go to Manila to pursue higher education and stay and work there afterwards. It is not only the sons of boatmen, but also the daughters who want to pursue higher education.

2) Housing

Income from boating allows boatmen's families to buy their own land and construct a new house. Boatmen's families live along the river and in the center of municipality. We observed that boatmen were able to change the materials for houses from easy to obtain and cheap materials such as bamboo, cogon and wood to modern materials such as concrete walling and galvanized-iron roof. While the durability of houses has improved significantly, the traditional style of housing has started to disappear. We interpret this to mean that their perception of housing has changed.

3) "Easy money" and "vice"

When tourism was booming, the people of Pagsanjan refer to income from boating as "easy money" for they were able to earn without much effort. During those prosperous times, some tourists especially Japanese were very generous in giving tips⁵. Since it was "easy money" some boatmen started to waste their income on vices such as drugs⁶, gambling and drinking. Today, even if the number of tourist arrivals has declined significantly which means that earning money has become a daily struggle, some of the boatmen still managed to cling on to their vices.

4) Communication

With the arrival of tourists, boatmen were able to improve their communication and language skills. Their command of the English language has been significantly improved by the almost daily conversation they have with foreign tourists. Through their interaction with tourists from Korea and Japan, they were also able to learn

⁵ At that time, boatman associations did not have systems that gather tips from members. Boatmen could get tips as their income directly.

⁶ According to a staff of Women's club, the consumers of drug are boatmen and not tourists. They buy drug in Lumban where is known as a center of drug. Pagsanjan municipality is very strict about drug and has checkpoints on the boundary. Some organizations also fight

simple greetings in the Korean and Japanese languages. We found that most of boatmen are used to communicating with tourists thus they have become friendly and have an open mind on foreign culture. On the other hand, we have the impression that people who are not working as boatmen are shy.

5) Environmental awareness

Since the cleanliness of the river is an important condition for tourism to thrive in Pagsanjan, boatmen have become more conscious of their environment. They participate in the campaign to clean the river. Residents consider that the pollution of river and the problem of garbage are caused by themselves, not by tourists because the thrilling and unstable boat trip does not enable tourists to throw away anything out of the canoe during the trip. Local people think that the boating activities itself does not make much negative impact on the environment. However, the amount of garbage has increased with tourists' arrival at hotels.

6) Culture

During our field research, we did not hear from the people we interviewed the cultural impact of tourism, thus we were not able to identify anything on this aspect. However, what we can say is that the Bangkero River Festival is an opportunity to reintroduce the lost traditions of the town. According to the brochure of the festival, the water parade will highlight the town's history, people's legend and arts. The festival has just started two years ago thus a longer time is needed to determine whether it will have a significant impact on the town's cultural practices.

7) Pedophilia

From whoever's standpoint, people in Pagsanjan seem to recognize the existence of pedophilia⁷. However this is considered as a thing of the past. Moreover, it was clarified that victims of pedophilia are not from the town but brought from other regions. According to the MPDC, in the past, the town may have benefited economically from the pedophiles. According to Mr. B⁸, some boatmen helped pederasts⁹ to find child victims. In return for their services, these boatmen got benefits such as money, free-stay in Manila hotels, and even free-trip to Hong-Kong. Mr. B described this relationship between pederasts and boatmen as friendship and he said " I do not want to call it 'pedophile', but it helped our town a lot ". The period when a big number of pederasts came overlapped with the height of tourism in Pagsanjan. After Christian organizations and journalists initiated a big campaign which criticized pedophilia, 22 pederasts were arrested in 1988 (Matsui, 1993). During our fieldwork, we were not able to find any evidence that pedophiles still exists. While it would be unreasonable to say that pedophilia directly contributed to the decline of tourism, we cannot simply ignore it as irrelevant to the growth of tourism in Pagsanjan.

8) Women

As far as wives of boatmen are concerned, we were not able to find sufficient information indicating any signs of impact. In Barangay Magdapio where most of men are boatmen, many of the wives are plain housewives and laundry women and a small numbers of them are vendors. Up to 20 women from the barangay went abroad to work as domestic helpers. We were also able to verify that daughters of boatmen pursue education as much as their sons do. We assume that daughters of boatmen have more choice than their mothers in terms of job.

⁷ against drug activity.

⁸ Victims of pedophilia called Ponpon. There were about 3000 ponpons at the peak in Pagsanjan(Matsui, 1993).

⁹ Refer to case 2.

⁹ It means client of pedophile. In this case, most of them were gay-tourists from western countries and Japan.

9) River as a part of people's living space

As some guidebooks describe, we observed that a raft trip offers a glimpse of rural life. Women and young girls were doing their laundry. Men and boys were fishing and playing with water on the bank. Local people cross a stream by canoe to the bank of Barangay Magdapio, which only has a suspension bridge. The river is not only a space for tourism but also an indispensable part of the people's life. While we do not know how they feel when tourists pass by and invade their life space we assume that their lifestyle which is closely intertwined with the river has not been much affected by tourism.

Case A:

Mr. A is a teacher at Benitez Elementary School, Pagsanjan's oldest school. He is 60 years old and was a boatman in the 1950s. Mr. A's father and grandfather were both boatmen and they were the ones who encouraged him to learn the skills of shooting the rapids. When he was in high school in the late 1950s, tourists were mostly European and the boat-ride fee was a just P 7.50 per head. During his high school days, he helped his father and grandfather in their boating activities. During that time, there were just few boatmen so they were able to earn more income by accommodating European tourists.

Using the swimming skills he acquired from accompanying his father in the falls, he was able to join his high school's swimming team. He competed in several inter-school sports festival and even gained a number of awards and cash prizes which helped him support his education. Driven by his dream to finish a university degree, Mr. A worked hard as a boatman. He stopped going to school when he was a freshman in order to look for other work besides shooting the rapids. He saved whatever income he earned as a boatman. In the latter years, he decided to pursue his university education. He took education as a major and finally earned the degree in the late 1960s.

At present, Mr. A's children had finished college and were involved both in government and private services. According to him, being a boatman had helped him in fulfilling his dream of obtaining a university degree despite coming from a poor family.

Case B:

Mr. B has been the barangay captain (village chief) of Barangay Magdapio since 1997. This barangay has 300 households of which 270 of the household heads worked as boatmen. The others not working as boatmen are farmers. He is 64 years old and has been a boatman since 1981. Prior to becoming a boatman, he worked as a policeman. He was able to finish high school and during those times, only two or three boys from his barangay could pursue high school education. His wife is teacher. They have two sons and two daughters with ages ranging 10 to 22 years old who are all students. Mr. B does not expect his sons to become boatmen.

Case C:

Mr. C is 44 years old and became a boatman eight years ago. Prior to this job, he worked as waiter and room boy at the Pagsanjan Rapids Hotel located across the river from his house. After spending two years in college, he decided to leave school. He has a paddy field so he also does farming. He is a member of barangay council and actively participates in the activities of the Barangay Magdapio Cooperation against Poverty such as butchery and selling of pigs. He draws a small salary from the council and benefits from the cooperation.

Mr. C's wife is 43 years old. She graduated from high school and then got married in 1976. Now she is housewife. His father was a woodsman and his wife's father was fisherman. When Pagsanjan Rapids Hotel opened her parents started selling woodcraft.

Mr. C has six children who live together with him and his wife. The eldest child is 23 years old and graduated from college. She worked as a design engineer for four months in the Japanese company *Denso*, but she quit the job because of long commuting distance. At present she is looking for a job. On the other hand, their only son is 21 years old and is also boatman. He started boating 5 years ago and was a working student but he left college. Since he joined two boatmen associations, he has more jobs than his father does. However, he is preparing to go back to school to study auto engineering again. He would like to find any other job after graduating from college. The other four daughters are also studying and are at various levels in their education.

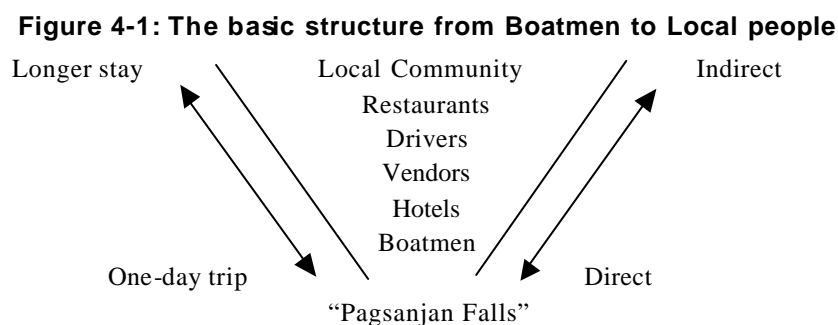
The family depends on the income earned by the father and the son from working as boatmen. The same as other boatmen, Mr. C recognizes that the boatman is in hard time now and he prefers to find an alternative job if he were younger. His opinion reflects his son's choice for his future.

Case D:

Mr. D's brother lives next door and he and his two sons are also boatmen. The sons are studying in college while working as boatmen at the same time. After graduation, they would also like to look for other jobs. The eldest daughter of Mr. C's brother is working in Metro Manila and lives there with her husband. Mr. D's brother's family takes care of their baby. Mrs. D's family help each other in daily life.

4-3. Others

The Pagsanjan Falls serves as the major attraction of tourism in Pagsanjan. The boatmen have direct access to the Pagsanjan Falls. In this section, we describe the basic structure of tourism in Pagsanjan Falls in terms of accessibility. Figure 4-1 shows the basic structure from boatmen to local people. The longer a tourist stay in Pagsanjan, the more likely s/he will have direct contact with local people. We already mentioned the boatmen who are shown standing in the figures' center. Now, we would like to discuss other persons involved in the tourism industry starting from vendors to local people.



4-3-1. Hotel

Since most tourists who go to Pagsanjan falls have to enter a hotel, the people working there would receive concrete impact from tourists. But since most of tourists are on a one-day trip, they do not buy anything from the hotels' souvenir shops does employees cannot learn another language. However, recently they do not have much contact with tourists who come with translators. In relation to income, people working in hotels can send their children to study college in Manila. This is considered a positive impact of tourism.

4-3-2. Vendors

In Pagsanjan, we can see vendors on the street, in front of the hotels, and alongside the river. Although

their activity is beneficial to them, sometimes their aggressive behavior is an irritant to tourists. To be able to sell their products, some vendors conspire with boatmen to force tourists to buy. While this is a negative impact, there is also a positive side to this since they were able to learn other foreign languages such as Korean, Japanese and Chinese.

4-3-3. Drivers

Jeepneys and tricycles are very useful mode of transportation for individual tourists. Tricycle drivers can have direct personal contacts with individual tourist.

Many tricycle drivers worked as pimps during night time by enticing tourists to engage the services of prostitutes.



4-3-4. Restaurants

Except those inside hotels, restaurants in Pagsanjan are located very far from the falls. For individual tourists, they cannot use the services of these restaurants. According to an interview with one restaurant owner, tourists are not their main customers. After the number of foreign tourist arrivals decreased significantly, restaurants now cater more to residents and domestic tourists as customers.

4-3-5. People of the local community including those not engage in tourism sector in Pagsanjan

Because the local community is far from Pagsanjan falls, the people are not directly influenced by tourism. While some communities are located right next to the hotels, their contact with tourists has been minimal. When we walked through Pagsanjan's streets, we found that some people from the local community (including children) can speak other languages such as Korean. We can say this is an indication that many Korean tourists come here. As indirect influences of tourism, the local people's image of foreign culture and language skills have improved.

As to other impacts, we can consider two. First is environmental impact which means the community's response to the increase in pollution caused by the increasing number of the tourists. Second is the political relationship between boatmen's association and the local government. However, we do not have strong evidence to support this claim.

Case E: Owner of the "Relaxation Restaurant", 28 years old

He is the last-born of eight brothers. He owns the restaurant-bar called "Relaxation". He believes that if more tourists will come and visit Pagsanjan, his restaurant can have good business. But for now, most of the tourists from Manila are usually on a one-day trip who return to their origin in the afternoon. Thus, most of his customers are people living in Pagsanjan. The restaurant has a stage where bands can play music. On Fridays and Saturdays, he invites bands whose members are his friends to perform in the restaurant. Customers who visit the restaurant can enjoy drinking and chatting while listening to music.

Mr. E is an overseas contract worker. He frequently goes to Oman for business. He is an architect and can speak Arabic, English and Tagalog. According to him, there is a big Filipino community in Oman thus this country is an attractive place for him to work. One of his friends owns a Thai restaurant. He said that he was an

aide of former President Marcos. Mr. E is not appreciative of the efforts of the municipal government of Pagsanjan in promoting tourism.

Case F: Driver and Boatman , 50 years old

He has two jobs: he is a boatman during the day and a tricycle driver at night. Driving a tricycle is a sideline job. His family members work in a factory in Manila. During the day he bawls out “Falls! Falls!” to catch the attention of tourists who visit Pagsanjan. At night, he shifts to shouting “On-na! On-na! (Girl in Japanese)” in order for Japanese male tourists to be enticed to visit a pub called “Node”.

Case G: Tourism Operation Officer, Municipality of Pagsanjan, 26 years old

She was born in Pagsanjan but studied and finished college in Manila. She studied computer management. After graduation, she was hired by the Pagsanjan municipal government and she has been working there for the last four years. Her main responsibility is the town’s tourism sector. Her activities include the following: enforced the rule that boatmen should be registered with the municipal office; minimized the activities of boatmen who flag tourists vehicles and force them to avail of their services; organized a safety workshop for boatmen; maintaining cleanliness in Pagsanjan river; and planning and holding the Bangkero festival. She lives in the town center of Pagsanjan with her husband and two children.

In addition, she has organized a dance team made up of juveniles (10~20years old) who live in Pagsanjan. The team practices dance from Southern Philippines for about one hour everyday. Sometimes, she has dinner with the team members .

5. Conclusion: Types of Tourism- community based tourism

In this paper we attempted to identify the process of social change occurring in Pagsanjan by looking at the lives of people employed in the town’s tourism sector. Our research have found that what is happening in Pagsanjan seem to demonstrate what we call a “community based tourism”. This type of tourism effectively provides more rooms for the average Pagsanjanios to participate in the sector. In Pagsanjan, tourists have direct contact with boatmen who bring them to the falls, meet vendors who sell souvenir goods and drinks, and are served by restaurant waiters with the local cuisine. While the people are trying to be service oriented, the way it is done is not in a professional manner as normally received in any traditional tourists enclave. Rather, the quality of service delivered directly comes from a genuine response embedded in the people’s socio-cultural background and shows the extent to which the appreciation of tourism lie within their community settings.

On the contrary, in most resorts in Philippines, foreign tourists enjoy man-made amenities like pools, restaurants, bars, discos, and engage in other activities without having to leave the site. In these places, the service is provided by well-trained workers who serve a tourist needs in a professional manner. Thus, a tourist does not necessarily need to establish genuine contact with local community. Therefore, in this sense, the impact of tourism is limited in that the residents who are employed by the tourism sector are the sole recipients of direct impact from tourists.

From our research experience, we have come to believe that this community-based tourism seems to play a vital role in shaping the process of social change in Pagsanjan. As we have noted earlier, social change in Pagsanjan has socio-cultural, economic, environmental, and political dimensions. Social change can evolve from a number of different sources: changes in the ecosystem (which can cause the loss of natural resources or widespread disease); technological change (epitomized by the Industrial Revolution, which created a new social

group, the urban proletariat); population growth and other demographic variables; and ideological, economic, and political movements. In case of Pagsanjan, we can say that the social structure has changed from one based on agriculture to another which is tourism oriented. People's lives have increasingly become reliant on the presence of tourists. Their values have changed as demonstrated by attitudes toward life style. Some people get educated as a result of increased income. Some went to work in Manila and expose themselves to new lives as a result of receiving higher education. These diversified responses among the community members to the process of social change seems to call for greater need in our part to understand local society carefully. Traditional development approaches that tend to view a local society as static lacks these dynamic aspects of social change that we the social change group embraces. We hope that more officers in development-oriented organizations working in the field should become aware in the near future of the concepts of social change and its significance in their own project implementation. In doing so, the project will reflect fruitful and a realistic picture of local community, which is what the alternative model of development is trying to achieve.

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