Sustainable Tourism

Challenges for the Philippines

Edited by
Ramon Benedicto A. Alampay

Sustainable Tourism

Challenges for the Philippines

Sustainable Tourism

Challenges for the Philippines

Edited by
Ramon Benedicto A. Alampay

Please address all inquiries to:

Philippine APEC Study Center Network Secretariat

NEDA sa Makati Building

106 Amorsolo St. Legaspi Village

1229 Makati City, Philippines

Tel.no.: (63-2) 8939588, 8925817; (63-2) 8935705, 8924059

Fax No: (63-2) 8939588; PIDS (63-2) 8939589, 8161091

E-mail: pascn@pidsnet.pids.gov.ph; publications@pidsnet.pids.gov.ph

URL: http://pascn.pids.gov.ph; http://www.pids.gov.ph

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures

Preface

In his 1994 book *Global Paradox,* John Naisbitt described an increasingly integrated world order where the geographic boundaries of the nation-state would be blurred by formation technology. However, in the paradox described by his book's title, people and communities would more strongly assert their individual identity and cultural heritage even as they continued to participate in the global economy. Travel and tourism, he argued, was an industry well positioned for this new state of things. Tourism links countries together, yet it encourages uniqueness of place, identity, and tradition.

In many ways, the challenge of instituting sustainable tourism development in the Philippines exhibits the elements found in Naisbitt's paradox. Through tourism, the Philippines aspires to become a stronger player in the integrated travel industry of today. Yet, the country realizes that to do so, it must conserve, protect, and strengthen the cultural, historical, and natural resources upon which the Philippines draws its unique competitive advantages. All these are in a manner that can be sustained for the benefit and enjoyment of future generations of Filipinos.

This collection of papers reflects the scope and complexity of sustainable tourism development. In terms of scope, the articles were written from a range of perspectives.

Rodolfo and Cruz's articles views the issues of sustainability from international or regional perspectives—both of which seek to compare Philippine tourism development policy with those of other Southeast Asian countries. Rodolfo's comparison of Thailand and the Philippines is more broadly defined and covers national tourism policy as a whole. Cruz, on the other hand, specifically tackles sustainable tourism development policy in the Philippines as compared to Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand. In contrast with these two papers are articles written from a micro perspective, where sustainability is discussed in the context of hotel operations (as in the article by Solis) as well as specific tourism communities such as Sagada in the Mountain Province (discussed by Dulnuan), Bais City in Negros Oriental (in Evacita's paper), and Mactan and Panglao islands (Bersales). Alampay and Libosada's thesis on classifying ecotourism initiatives lies somewhere in the middle as it touches on both national level policy as well as destination-level strategies through four case studies.

The various papers also mirror the complexity of sustainable tourism development, and they hint at the multidisciplinary approach that this mode of tourism needs to succeed. Each paper applies a different disciplinary framework to its particular tourism problem: economics, sociology, anthropology, environmental science, management science, human resources development, etc. Each provides a unique academic angle on sustainability and tourism. But, much like Kipling's parable of the elephant

and the seven blind men, it is only when the separate accounts are brought together that one gets a complete picture of sustainable tourism development.

Thus, this collection of papers is auspicious in that it represents the first attempt to look at tourism policy from a cross-disciplinary, research-oriented viewpoint. In this light, we must acknowledge the initiative and support of Dr. Mario Lamberte and the Philippine APEC Study Center Network. This project would not have been possible without their support. Moreover, their decision to invest in this undertaking represents a much needed endorsement of tourism development as an important subject worthy of national policy research and action. The challenge for researchers and policymakers will now be to sustain the effort and interest in this form of tourism development.

As a compilation of research on sustainable tourism development in the Philippines, this collection is far from complete. It should be viewed for what it is—an incipient look at an area of policy research that seeks to lay the foundation for future investigations. Some of these future directions are suggested by the articles included here. For example, the community studies by Dulnuan, Evacitas, and Bersales hint of future research on maximizing or enhancing the poverty alleviating potential of tourism. Our hope is that these papers will spur more thinking within the Philippines about the problems of tourism development and, most importantly, more action to ensure a sustainable tourism industry for all.

Ramon Benedicto A. Alampay, Ph.D.

Chapter 1

The Challenge of Sustainable Tourism Development in the Philippines

Ramon Benedicto A. Alampay

Introduction

Early in 2002, President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo sought to raise the profile of the Philippine tourism industry by visiting selected tourist destinations around the country. Each visit subsequently resulted in frontpage coverage of the President enjoying the country's best tourist sites and activities. During her visit to the Tubbataha Reef, southeast of Palawan, the President was photographed underwater, smiling through her diving mask, her hands on top of some coral branches.

Public response to the image was predictably mixed. Some sectors praised her for taking the lead in boosting a key dollar-earning industry of the country. Others, however, took issue with her perceived violation of a cardinal rule of responsible diving tourism by touching the corals. However one views her action underwater, the image of President Arroyo at the Reef is a fitting symbol of sustainable tourism development in the Philippines today.

Undoubtedly, tourism holds the promise of increased employment and income opportunities, particularly for Filipinos living in the coastal and rural areas of the country. Yet, it is an industry built upon the most fragile of natural and cultural environments, where the most inconsequential and innocent of human gestures can easily wreak havoc on the site's resources.

This is the challenge of sustainable tourism development. Tourism is expected to become an even more important weapon in the Philippines' economic arsenal. However, both our tourist markets and the Philippine tourism industry itself have become more aware of the negative environmental and social costs associated with tourism development. The country has thus begun to recognize the need to adopt new development approaches in order to come up with tourist products that are environmentally sensitive and economically viable.

Moreover, sustainable tourism as a research topic has been gaining popularity. Articles about Asia-Pacific destinations can already be found with increasing ease in many academic publications (e.g., Shaw 2000; Edmonds and Leposky 1998; Smith 1992). However, most of these have been case studies of specific localities. There have been even fewer publications dealing with broad national or industry-level inquiries.

Cognizant of the growing importance of the subject, the Philippine APEC Study Center Network (PASCN) sponsored a team of researchers from the University of the Philippines (UP) Diliman, UP Los Baños, and the University of Asia and the Pacific, to conduct a series of studies on the issue. More specifically, the project sought to "evaluate the current state of the Philippine tourism industry from a sustainable tourism development perspective."

The project involved analyzing the existing policy framework of the Philippine tourism industry and the place of sustainable tourism within it. It also included studies of trends, cases, and projects related to the industry's attempts to apply the philosophy of sustainability to actual practice. This integrative article thus synthesizes the findings from the individual studies and identifies new directions both for industry and academe, as suggested by these studies.

The article discusses the conceptual framework for sustainable tourism that unites the independent researches. The model provides a thematic umbrella for the component studies of the project, which addresses one or more key elements of the framework. Later, this conceptual framework will also be used to synthesize the findings of the individual studies into a set of research and policy implications related to sustainable tourism development in the Philippines. Thus, the model reflects the thinking that sustainable tourism development involves both planning philosophy and development technology.

Overview of sustainable tourism

The 1987 Brundtland Commission Report (WCED 1987) has been generally acknowledged as having introduced the concept of sustainability. It defined sustainability as "development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." Taking off from the basic principles of the Brundtland report, the global tourism industry has adopted the following definition of sustainable tourism development:

> "Sustainable tourism development meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social, and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity, and life support systems" (WTTC 1998).

In addition, the World Travel and Tourism Council identified nine priority areas for action by national tourism organizations and industry-based associations or organizations. These included 1) assessing the capacity to bring about sustainable tourism planning for sustainable tourism development, 2) planning for sustainable tourism development, and 3) measuring progress in achieving sustainable development.

In the Philippines, the blueprint for tourism development has been the Philippine Tourism Master Plan (TMP). Begun in 1989 and completed in 1991, the TMP was developed when "sustainable development" was not yet a buzzword. Thus, nowhere in the TMP can one find an explicit reference to a policy or philosophy based on "sustainable tourism development." Yet, in its assessment of the Philippine tourism industry, the TMP did note the potential negative economic, social, and environmental impacts of tourism development:

> "Whilst the long-term costs of these impacts cannot be determined precisely, there is a need to ensure that these costs are not exacerbated by new tourism development and that future planning aims to reduce these costs" (DOT 1991).

In a 1993 presentation to the World Tourism Organization (WTO), then Department of Tourism (DOT) secretary Narzalina Lim pointed out specific elements of the Plan which reflected the government's commitment to sustainability. First, the TMP's projections for visitor arrivals had been deliberately understated based on the country's economic and population growth, as well as the foreseeable infrastructure capabilities of the country. Second, the cluster development strategy had been designed to promote regional equity by distributing tourism flows to the Visayas and Mindanao. Finally, the TMP had acknowledged the limits to the future carrying capacity of the Philippine tourism industry imposed by its economy, natural environment, and a social fabric "strained by overpopulation, extensive poverty, large regional income imbalances, and lack of livelihood opportunities outside the major urban centers" (DOT 1991).

A research framework for sustainable tourism development

The basic elements of sustainable development—ecological sustainability, economic sustainability, and equity—form the core elements of the research framework. These represent the primary objectives of any sustainable tourism initiative. Thus, they can also be viewed as the key variables for assessing the success or failure of sustainable tourism projects.

Applying the concept of sustainability to the study of tourism development requires that these elements are related to the tourism system in place at a destination. Typically, the stakeholders in a destination can be classified into three major groups with their respective interests: national government, the local destination, and the tourism sector or industry operating in the destination. The national government's interests in tourism are usually represented by the DOT and its attached agencies. However, as the concept of sustainable tourism development matures, the other resource-oriented departments, such as Agriculture, Agrarian Reform, as well as Environment and Natural Resources, increase their involvements in tourism development at the national policy level.

Locally, there are numerous stakeholders. These include the local government units (LGUs), including the barangays, as well as the local members of civil society, usually represented by nongoverment organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations. Managers of local tourism resources such as parks, museums, and historic sites would also be involved in tourism development at the local level. Finally, the tourism industry grouping covers the private business establishments engaged in the delivery of accommodation, transportation, and other services needed by the tourist—in transit to and from the destination, as well as during their stay. All three stakeholder groups have an interest in the development of an area as a tourist destination. This implies that some form of cooperation or partnership between the three groups is necessary for a coordinated and sustainable form of tourism development.

Combining the three stakeholder groups with the core elements of sustainability gives one a conceptual picture of sustainable tourism development's scope. The various components of the model suggest different points of focus for prospective researchers.

Figure 1. Proposed conceptual framework for research on sustainable tourism development in the Philippines
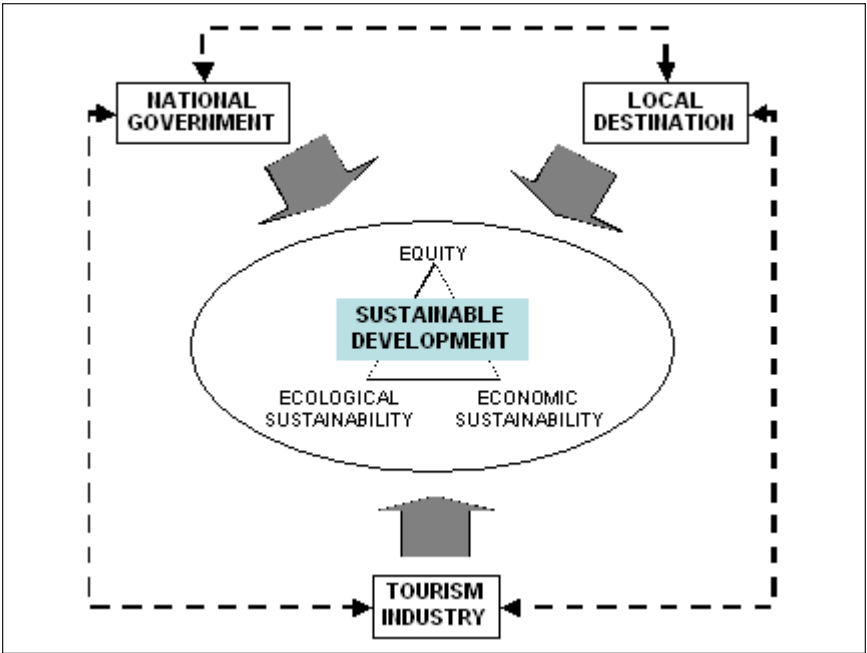
In summary, Figure 1 depicts the interactions and relationships of the three major stakeholder groups—national government, the local community, and the tourism industry—in their quest to develop a sustainable tourist destination. The model may also be extended to individual tourism businesses that aim to operate in a similarly sustainable manner.

The three stakeholder groups, acting independently or in concert, will thus determine the degree to which the goals of sustainable development can be achieved through tourism. In the process, each group will likely pursue varying objectives related to the core elements of sustainable development. A community, for example, may focus more on the ecological sustainability and equity dimensions of tourism development whereas another may be more inclined to pursue a business-oriented tourism industry by giving emphasis on its economic sustainability.

While the framework has generally been applied to local tourism, a study of sustainable tourism development should not ignore the role of national agencies and industry-wide agencies in creating an environment conducive to sustainable destination development. National development policies and priorities can either facilitate or inhibit a destination's ability to achieve sustainability, depending on how well that particular locality fits in with the national development agenda. Similarly, strong and active trade associations can strongly influence the degree of adoption by local businesses and communities of the principles of sustainable tourism development through their advocacy, promotion, and self-regulation of responsible tourism practices.

This was the overall conceptual framework employed by the PASCN-sponsored Research Team on Sustainable Tourism Development in the Philippines. Five independent studies were undertaken under the aegis of this project. Each examined particular issues of sustainable tourism from the perspective of at least one major stakeholder group: national government, local destination, or tourism industry. As the studies differed in their stakeholder focus, so did the levels at which they viewed the issue of sustainability. With varying perspectives, research focus changed from relatively abstract policies at the national level to more concrete programs and practices at the community or industry level.

Developing a sustainable national tourism industry
Rodolfo's (2003) examined the role of national government in facilitating or constraining the sustained growth of the national tourism industry through a comparative analysis of the tourism development policies of Thailand and the Philippines. Applying the three core principles of sustainable development to the national tourism industries of Thailand and the Philippines, his study showed that the economic sustainability of tourism is the primary driver of both countries' tourism industry.

It is thus not surprising to encounter many similarities between the two countries in terms of their respective national tourism organizations' (NTO) policy priorities. For example, both countries have taken explicit steps toward the pursuit of sustainable tourism development. Both have national ecotourism strategies. Thailand developed a National Sustainable Tourism Plan in 2001, which now serves as a guide to the regional provinces and cities. The Philippines' Tourism Master Plan is similarly committed to pursuing sustainable development.

Both countries emphasize domestic tourism development markets in addition to their traditional focus on international tourist arrivals. Rodolfo notes, however, that in the case of the Philippines, certain national policies may threaten the industry's economic sustainability by preventing the expansion of business activities in the country. Examples of these include the limited access between the major East Asian markets and the Philippines. Regulation has also raised the international carriers' costs of doing business in the Philippines, which are considered higher than those of other Asian destinations.

Thailand, for its part, has shifted its priorities from simply trying to boost the volume of international traffic to a more selective approach that encourages more long-staying, high-spending tourists to come. This shift has increased the yield from tourism and protects the country's environmental and cultural heritage. Where the environmental aspects of tourism development are concerned, the Thai national government appears to recognize the importance of protecting and enhancing the tourism product, particularly the natural and cultural resources on which the industry is built. At the NTO level, there are official affirmations of the commitment to environmental sustainability.

Comparing four ASEAN NTOs (Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines), Cruz (2003) notes that all four governments are signatories to Agenda 21. All four NTOs claim to have a sustainable development framework in place as well as national planning documents that expressly state this framework for development.

The NTOs' involvement in monitoring the impact of tourism development appears to be limited. Only the Philippines' Department of Tourism and Malaysia's Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism use indicators to monitor the impact of tourism. Yet, in Malaysia, there are no government bodies tasked to monitor tourism. In the case of the Philippines, the indicators function as benchmarks and decision-making tools prior to certification or endorsement of particular tourism development projects. No system appears to be in place for the NTO to track these projects' impact once they are underway.

This is the case perhaps in the Philippines because the DOT sees its primary function (as is the case with the other ASEAN NTOs) as continuing

to revolve around policy setting and tourism promotion. Thus, the function of monitoring tourism impact generally falls under the jurisdiction of a dedicated environmental office, that is, the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR).

In Singapore and Thailand, the limitations of the NTOs regarding environmental monitoring have been mitigated by greater private sector and community involvement. Cruz specifically notes Singapore's heavy dependence on NGO support for its sustainable tourism effort. In particular, he cites the Singapore Environmental Council for maintaining a Green Volunteer Network as well as managing the Green Label certification system for businesses. The Singapore Hotel Association has also demonstrated the industry's commitment to the environment through its environmental training and awareness-raising programs. Similarly, the Thai Hotels Association has cast its lot with environmentalism by administering the Green Leaf Program in Thailand.

To date, the Philippine tourism industry does not offer anything similar. The national government remains the primary certifying body for ecotourism projects. More accurately, the DOT commonly reviews tourism projects before endorsing them to the Board of Investments. The DENR provides another layer of certification through its system of Environmental Clearance Certificates and Environmental Impact Assessments (Alampay and Libosada 2003). However, there is no private-led, self-regulating organization responsible for the certification process for sustainable tourism or ecotourism projects and programs. Unlike those of other countries, the Philippine tourism industry's private ecotourism sector is neither strong nor interested enough to spearhead the certification process. Much like the NTO, the national tourism trade associations appear to be limiting their scope of operations to marketing, destination identification, and tourism awareness building.

Thus, Alampay and Libosada (2003) argue that there may be an opportunity for environmentally-oriented NGOs and community organizations to fill the vacuum and to take the lead in establishing a sustainable tourism certification process in the Philippines. However, even in such a setup, it will still be necessary for commercial tourism organizations as a sector to guide the group with respect to the market-related or economic aspects of the tourism certification process. That is, the accreditation should not be limited to environmental considerations but should also recognize that the economic viability of the operation also directly affects the long-term ecological concerns of the project.

Although NTOs generally operate from a macro-perspective, they still exert a significant degree of influence on local development. One way would be through the direct ownership or management of tourist facilities and services. Rodolfo notes, for example, that the Philippine NTO exhibits a higher degree of influence and involvement in the industry, as evidenced by

the ownership of tourism facilities. Many of these, however, were acquired or established in the1970s and 1980s when the DOT also ascribed importance to their role as pioneer developers and investors in new and emerging tourist destinations.

However, the Philippines (just like Thailand) seems to be moving away from a direct ownership model toward a facilitating or mentoring relationship with local communities. Both the Philippines and Thailand have made moves to strengthen their tourist products at the local level by devolving many tourism development functions to the local communities. In addition, the NTOs have provided the technical support that many local communities and businesses may not have regular access to. The Tourism Authority of Thailand, for example, provides brochures on sustainable tourism to tour operators and tourists (Cruz 2003).

Sustainable tourism development is more generally understood to apply to tourism activity at the destination or community level, as well as at the enterprise or business level. Thus, the studies that focused on community or place-specific issues magnify better the interplay between economic, equity, and environmental concerns of sustainable development.

Tourism is primarily a business. As the WTO states:

> "It is . . . important to ensure that ecotourism is a good, economically sustainable business and that profits are generated from it. If there are no prospects for profit, then private entrepreneurs will not invest and there will be no benefits to distribute for local communities or conservation purposes" (Vereczi 2002).

Operators of many destinations are primarily motivated by the expected economic returns from tourism. It is therefore not surprising that the economic effects of tourism tend to be noticed by residents and researchers alike. In Sagada, for example, Dulnuan (2003) notes that the perceived main benefit of tourism is the income it generates. Similarly, in Bais, Evacitas (2004) observes that the respondents scored high on the items related to perceptions about the economic benefits of tourism, specifically whale watching. She also reports that the income of households employed by or engaged in the tourism industry was relatively higher than those outside the industry. Because of this, tourism households in Bais spent significantly less on basic necessities while spending more for recreational services than did households primarily engaged in fishing and nontourism-related businesses.

Bersales's (2003) comparison of two resort communities—Panglao in Bohol Province, and Mactan in Cebu—indicates that community residents tend to identify income generation as the key benefit of tourism. Direct employment was the most commonly-cited economic benefit. The communities also appeared to acknowledge the multiplier effect of tourism through opportunities to sell goods or offer services (e.g., "*hupo-hupo*" tour guides) to

the resorts or to the tourists themselves. Finally, tourism was broadly credited with improving infrastructure in both sites.

However, both Dulnuan and Evacitas note that the host communities perceived that these economic benefits tend to reach a limited portion of the population. Dulnuan (2003), for example, states that in Sagada, the "economic gains from tourism are not felt by all." Furthermore, not all economic effects were positive. Residents also perceive tourism as encouraging local businesses to engage in price-fixing behavior.

Evacitas reports that the residents of Bais scored high in terms of their perceptions of the economic benefits of whale watching. She concludes that they may have seen more economic gains from conserving the dolphins than hunting them. Yet, she also writes:

> "When asked about notable improvements in the barangay since the establishment of the whale-watching industry, most of the fisherfolk answered that their economic conditions have not improved over the years, not even with the coming in of the whale watching ecotourism. The same view was shared by the nonfishing/nontourism related households. Neither have the different social services and facilities of the barangay improved after the establishment of whale watching tourism."

In contrast, Bersales's study involved communities where tourism was a dominant economic activity. The majority of his respondents belonged to households where at least one member was directly employed in tourism. However, significant proportions of respondents from both study sites observed that the tourism jobs for locals tended to be low-paying. Nevertheless, tourism jobs are still seen as more lucrative than the traditional agricultural and fishing activities in Bohol and Cebu. As a result, young residents prefer resort jobs to farming and fishing.

Is tourism a truly clean, nonexhaustive industry? In large part, much of the argument for tourism as a vehicle for sustainable development has been built on the claim that tourism, properly and responsibly implemented, results in minimal damage to the natural resources of an area. At the very least, tourism (or so its advocates claim) produces much less negative impact than other traditional resource-based activities like fishing, forestry, and mining.

The difficulty in validating this claim is that the damage to the natural environment from tourism is often subtle and takes years to be noticed. For example, Evacitas found that whale watching has not significantly influenced species diversity and population size of the cetaceans in Tañon Strait in the three years since the activity was introduced to the area. Nor does it appear that fisheries in nearby areas have been affected by ecotourism.

However, she also warned of potential long-term effects, such as changes in mortality and birth rate that might be expected given the experiences of

similar destinations in Australia and other countries. Related to this, Evacitas found that the residents scored relatively low in their awareness of the impact of human activities on cetaceans. The level of awareness was significantly correlated with the respondents' level of education. This suggests that environmental education must be an important part of any long-term development strategy to address the potential long-term impact of tourism on the environment.

Similarly, the tourism programs in Cebu's Olango Island and Palawan's Ulugan Bay are still in the very early stages of their development cycles. In terms of tourist arrivals in each site, they are still fairly low and manageable. Furthermore, tourist activity has not been around long enough to produce the cumulative effects that warrant attention.

In the cases of Olango, Ulugan, and Bais, the tourism planner's environmental agenda seemed to be oriented toward providing residents with ecology-friendly livelihood alternatives. Through ecotourism, the planners hoped to engender more positive attitudes toward conservation within the local community. Dulnuan reports that this may already observed in Sagada to the extent that tourism has made the community more environmentally aware. However, she also writes that Sagada now has problems related to the destruction of stalactites and stalagmites, as well as vandalism of caves and burial grounds. To a large extent these problems could be attributed to visitors who do not seem to care about the environment.

Because it has hosted tourists much longer than Bais, Olango, and Ulugan Bay have, Sagada already faces some of the long-term environmental problems that are still nonexistent in the other destinations. These include the accumulation of trash in the community, conflicts arising from the depletion of the local water supply, and increased levels of noise.

The benefits of responsible tourism are not limited to minimizing the negative effects of human activity on the environment, advocates aver. They say, ecotourism, if properly implemented, can enhance the environmental quality of a place and can even reverse the deterioration brought on by humans. Evidence, however, of tourism as an agent for ecological rejuvenation (not just conservation) is still very limited. This is seen, for example, in the case studies of places like the Anilao area in Batangas as well as Apo Reef and Danjugan Island in the Negros region, which have had relative success. This is on account of the fact that research, such as that of Dulnuan and Evacitas, has focused largely on improvements in local attitudes toward conservation rather than on concrete changes or improvements to the quality and quantity of the natural resources.

It is interesting to note that most of the issues involving many cases of sustainable tourism development in the Philippines revolve around economic-environmental tradeoffs. Such a dilemma lies at the core of the ecotourism classification framework proposed by Alampay and Libosada

(2003). They propose to categorize different ecotourism projects in the country in terms of how the natural or cultural tourism resources are to be used. How intensively these resources are to be used will depend on whether the host community or proponent prioritizes environmental goals over economic objectives, or vice versa. However, since the two authors define tourism development in terms of the ecology-economics balance, the social equity dimension of sustainable tourism would seem to be an afterthought. One criticism of their working draft pointed this out—that the framework was relatively silent on the issue of who benefits from tourism development. The authors responded by saying that the classification framework was based on the assumption that the basic principles of sustainability, including social equity, would underlie any program purported to be ecotourism.

Alampay and Libosada's response notwithstanding, the question remains valid: who benefits from tourism development? More to the point, do communities, developers, and tourism officials assume that the social benefits of tourism will come as a result of responsible management of the economic and environmental aspects of tourism? This seems to be the implied position of sustainable tourism advocates. The value of this stance takes on greater significance in light of the litany of social issues and concerns that Dulnuan cites from residents related to the presence of tourism in Sagada. These range from the potential negative effects on the local youth of their exposure to the values and behaviors of tourists to the commercialization or, worse, desecration of local ceremonies, rituals, and sacred places.

The same position would also appear valid when one considers that 10 percent of the income from whale watching in Bais goes to the barangay. However, as Evacitas notes, tangible improvements to the social service infrastructure of Bais have yet to be seen. The barangay road is still in poor condition while medicine and water supply remains inadequate. The only significant additions to the barangay following the implementation of ecotourism are the tourism facilities themselves, says Evacitas.

Bersales's study also highlights several social effects of resort development on community life. In both sites, access to beach front areas—valued by both resorts and fisherfolk—was a key concern voiced by community representatives. As with Sagada, local residents have also decried the negative influences of tourists on community values, particularly those of the local youth. Finally, Bersales recounts the stress on family and neighbor relations that can result from sudden prosperity, increased land valuation, and new sources of income. All of these serve to provide a cautionary tale for other communities seeking to harness their economies to the sustainable tourism cart.

Human resources as exhaustible tourism industry resources
Most discussions of sustainable tourism focus on the responsible use of natural or cultural resources. Fragile ecosystems as well as sensitive cultural trea-

sures are viewed as tourism industry raw materials that must be properly managed to ensure their viability for future generations. There may be danger, however, for planners and researchers to lose sight of the fact that tourism is a service industry. As such, the tourism industry depends on the quality of its human resources as much as its natural and cultural assets.

As Alampay and Libosada (2003) note, the educational or interpretation component of the visitor experience is a vital element of ecotourism. In many cases, relevant information must be delivered by local guides to tourists. Thus, how well the guides can get the message across will determine in large part the tourist's overall perception of the experience.

Flores (1999) recounts how the Coastal Resources Management Program (CRMP) team involved in the Olango Island project recognized the importance of human resources in interpreting the area's natural and cultural resources:

> "In Olango, an articulate naturalist guide who did biological work on the birdlife and mangroves in the sanctuary was hired by the community to do the natural interpretation. Interpretation of village culture, however, was performed by the community…"

As further proof of the vital role of human resources in ecotourism, the CRMP team involved in the Olango project had to prepare the community to take on management responsibilities for the project. This was not an easy task, as only two members of the community had gone beyond the third grade of formal education. Ultimately, these same people were prepared to take on responsibilities that included accounting, web page maintenance, budgeting, and marketing.

From the perspective of the tourism industry as a whole, there is also a need to ensure the consistent supply of well-trained and well-qualified tourism workers. Solis (2003) states that the tourism industry is characterized by distinct peaks and seasons. Thus, tourism companies, specifically hotels, adjust their manpower size according to the demands of the season.

It appears that hotel companies view their human resources in two different ways. First, human resources are cost elements that need to be managed to ensure the financial stability and economic viability of the enterprise. Second, human resources represent the core ingredient of the company's product (service), and thus must be maintained or improved to ensure the quality (and subsequent marketability) of the service.

Solis's framework views the sustainability of the tourism enterprise primarily in terms of economic viability. When the situation entails recognizing human resources as cost elements, companies employ cost reduction programs and labor flexibility measures to reduce operational costs. When human resources are viewed as defining inputs to the company's product, companies focus on improving the efficiency and quality of worker performance

to achieve competitive advantage. However, during slack times, hotels are more likely to resort to cost reduction and labor flexibility measures than on service improvement measures. Many companies thus choose to reduce their complement of regular employees and use any combination of temporary and transient employees to fill in any emerging gaps.

One of the problems with this approach is that such arrangements, if continued on a prolonged basis, may adversely affect the ability of the company to sustain a consistently high level of service. As Solis found, the establishments themselves perceived a significant difference in the competence of regular versus nonregular workers. Continued dependence on nonregular workers could adversely affect the sustainability of companies' service quality.

Rapid and regular turnover of tourism workers will eventually affect the type and quality of training that companies may implement. Often, companies must attempt to train their nonregular staff on the fly because they simply cannot afford to pull them out when the peak season is at hand.

Solis also found that tourism establishments appear to be "flexible" in their adherence to the legal guidelines on the hiring of nonregular employees. This brings to the fore the question of whether the current legal framework supports or hinders the sustainable use of such resources that are deemed as important as natural and cultural assets in building a tourism industry. It may also be that the industry is not aware of opportunities for growth within the legal framework, as many companies see the legal regulations more as constraining elements rather than external factors that may also be sources of strategic opportunities.

Stakeholder roles in sustainable tourism development
The DOT's vision of Philippine tourism by the year 2010 is one that will establish the country as a "premier Asian destination." It will be an industry that creates jobs and generates revenues. The DOT targets 5 million tourist arrivals by 2010. Achieving this target is expected to generate at least 8.3 million jobs and $17 billion in revenue. Part of the DOT's vision is an industry that will on "a sustainable development path that protects our land, our culture, and our people through the development of tourism" (Gordon 2001). The DOT recognizes the enormity of the challenge. Hence its call for cooperation between and the government (including the LGUs) and the private sector in achieving its goal.

It appears that the DOT sees the role of the national tourism organization as facilitating a climate conducive to the tourism business. During former tourism secretary Richard Gordon's administration, he identified the so-called three A's of Philippine tourism: attraction, assurance, and accountability. The DOT, the LGUs, and the private sector, he said, should pursue these three As together. However, DOT's strategic plans—publicly unveiled at a series of Travel Industry Congresses (TRICON)—seem to focus only on

two A's: attraction and assurance. Based on DOT's strategic plans for marketing, planning and development, and tourism standards, it appeared that much of the department's energy and resources would revolve around building awareness and attracting key market segments. It would also concentrate on policy making and facilitating access infrastructure and support services (e.g., highways, airports, police and sanitation services) for priority destinations. All of these were intended to assure visitors as well as investors that the country was peaceful and orderly and that they could expect to be provided quality service.

In publicly discussing its marketing priorities, the DOT's emphasis on immediate economic returns is clear and unequivocal. Describing them as "high-value segments that can easily be served," the DOT intends to give the highest priority to the following market segments: a) short-haul sightseeing segment; b) short-haul beach tourists; and c) the domestic tourist market. Where markets classified as low-priority are concerned, DOT recognizes that segments like short-haul ecotourism, short-haul recreation, and long-haul backpacker are relatively small. These segments—on their face, more compatible with the idea of low-impact, sustainable tourism—are seen to have lower economic potential simply from the criterion of size. Although the country has the attractions and facilities for these market segments, their relatively smaller sizes dictate a lower priority for them. Another medium-priority market is the long-haul mass comfort segment. The DOT sees this traditional, mainstream tourist segment as having high potential. Unfortunately, the country may not have the facilities in place yet to adequately serve these markets.

DOT's policymaking and planning functions will include taking the lead in establishing a tourist environment conducive to the operation of a vibrant tourism industry. These include pursuing initiatives that remove the restrictions on tourist organizations and individual travelers alike. Rodolfo (2002) recommends several infrastructure and access-related areas for DOT to consider. However, some of his concerns—for example, "removing restrictions in capacity through bilateral 'open skies' and liberal charter arrangements"—are not exclusively within DOT's domain. Resolution of this particular issue requires the inputs of agencies like the Departments of Foreign Affairs (DFA) and Transportation and Communication, as well as various committees in both houses of Congress.

Similarly, Rodolfo's recommendations regarding the relaxation of certain visa requirements and the provision of incentives for upgrading tourist facilities will ultimately be addressed by the DFA and the Department of Finance, respectively. All this, highlights the character of the Philippine NTO as being a coordinating body more than an actual implementor of initiatives that will affect the industry in a major way.

According to Cruz (2003), the DOT is not alone in this respect. In fact, it appears that this is the norm internationally. NTOs worldwide, in their bid to maximize the use of their limited budgets, necessarily focus on a limited portfolio of functions. Often, however, this portfolio does not include actual development and management of tourist facilities, attractions, or services. Rather, it seems limited to identifying priority destinations to rationalize the allocation of marketing, product development, and infrastructure budgets.

The DOT defines its role in destination development more as a coordinator rather than actual implementor. For example, in its National Ecotourism Strategy (NES), the department identified 31 sites as priority ecotourism destinations. In addition, the draft plan highlighted 55 emerging and potential ecotourism sites (Draft National Ecotourism Strategy, April 2002). However, the short- and medium-term action plans talk about assistance programs for operators, promotion and advocacy work, as well as the establishment of accreditation and classification systems. It conspicuously avoids mention of the national government being directly involved in building and operating destinations.

As the national government continues to delineate what it can and cannot do in its quest for a truly sustainable tourism industry, it will be even more necessary to strengthen the public-private partnerships throughout the industry. The experience of successful tourist destinations like Thailand should spur the industry in this direction. Rodolfo (2003) points out that Thailand's success in rejuvenating Pattaya and in instituting environmental protection measures would not have been possible had these partnerships not been forged.

In a similar fashion, both the public and private sectors should build and sustain partnerships between them. Given the desire of the national government to focus on a few specific functions, it will be necessary for private industry, local governments, and community groups to work in an integrated manner so that all concerns relating to sustainable tourism are properly addressed. Among the key areas requiring such partnerships are the following:

- Planning and development of tourist destinations involving sensitive natural and cultural resources;
- Identification and provision of readily available sources of financing for tourism projects, particularly those involving community-based projects;
- Training and education of current and prospective tourism industry workers;
- Sustainable tourism advocacy campaigns on the national and local levels; and
- Establishment of a continuous and credible system of evaluation, monitoring and accreditation of tourism organizations, services and destinations.

Local communities, LGUs, and entrepreneurs will have to take the lead in ensuring that destinations are developed in a sustainable manner. Our initial findings suggest that this role is best assumed by local communities or private developers. In most cases, the development process is locally initiated, coming as it does from the community (either independently or with assistance from an NGO or private commercial group). The examples of Olango Island, Boracay, El Nido, Sagada, and similar destinations illustrate this point most clearly. In these cases, the local folk stand to benefit the most from a sustainable use of local resources.

However, once the destination and its tourism potentials have been properly identified, the local capability to sustain tourism activity must be enhanced. Do local communities have the financial wherewithal to build and maintain the necessary infrastructure that prospective visitors need? Some may argue that the promise of ecotourism is that communities can launch an industry with minimal tourist comforts. That may be true, but even the most basic infrastructure—both for visitor convenience as well as for resource protection—may require some financial outlay that some rural communities may not afford.

How to source funding for such projects may not be easy. Postings on a recent Internet conference on financing sustainable tourism development seemed to indicate a lack of commercial financing options for such projects. Most of the conference participants' own projects were likely to be funded either by state governments, foreign aid groups or national and international NGO consortia. In most cases, funding for a tourism project has been justified by the conservation interests of the sponsors. However, banks and other commercial lending institutions have not been as quick to enter the sustainable tourism development field because few projects have been packaged as viable investment vehicles. This is where communities must forge strong partnerships with private tourism groups.

When donor fatigue comes into play, or when national government priorities dictate that specific destinations get priority over others, the argument for financing a sustainable tourism project will have to be made on economic grounds. Private partners will play a crucial role in bringing in the needed funds, especially when the local proponents do not have the expertise or experience in operating tourist enterprises.

In addition to building up the financial capabilities of their respective destinations, local communities and tourism organizations will need to join hands in upgrading the human resources of their local tourism industry. At the local level, private investors may be encouraged to put up training institutions or to run training courses for prospective tourism employees. These courses should not be limited to basic tourism and hospitality skills. If the community is truly committed to a sustainable form of tourism development, it will need a complement of environmental workers who will ensure that use of tourism resources is kept at a manageable level.

At the national level, the government—primarily DOT, the Technical Educational Skills Development Authority (TESDA), and the Commission on Higher Education—needs to link up with national tourism trade associations to establish training standards for the industry. Given the fluidity of labor supply and demand in the Philippine tourism industry, tourism organizations must get some assurance about the quality of training received by prospective job applicants, whether they be based in Metro Manila or elsewhere.

However, the human resource needs of tourism organizations will vary depending on how developed their respective communities are as tourist destinations. Furthermore, the needs of the industry as a whole will evolve as the tourism products evolve themselves. Unfortunately, national government agencies may not have the capability to respond quickly to these evolving needs. For example, TESDA's skills training standards were designed in accordance with a career framework patterned after the European hospitality model that is built around areas of specialization, standard procedures, apprenticeships, and defined career ladders.

What if the industry needs generalists rather than specialists? What if specific hotels have their own procedures for performing particular tasks? Although the accreditation of tourism training institutions is now a function of the national government, neither DOT nor other government agencies can reasonably be expected to stay ahead of the market. Over the long term, the private sector will need to shoulder more of the burden of standard development and accreditation.

The private sector's role in establishing quality standards for the industry should not be confined to training and education. Eventually, it should also take a lead role in developing standards for compliance with best practices in sustainable tourism development as well as for varying levels of service quality from tourist businesses.

Just as the national government is beginning to relinquish or devolve some of its functions to the local government, so, too, must it devolve other functions to the tourism industry. In the process, there must be a corresponding initiative from the industry to take on these new and additional functions.

Is not the devolution of the accreditation function to the LGUs sufficient? If the concern is simply to ensure the quality of the product at the local level, then oversight by the local government may be enough. However, accreditation also guides the markets in their decisionmaking process. As such there should be a national standard that applies to all localities so that individual and industrial consumers can compare tourist facilities and services. On the other hand, the accreditation system for the destinations, attractions, and facilities to be included in DOT's marketing portfolio should ensure that these meet the minimum internationally accepted tourism standards.

For sustainable tourism projects, an internationally accepted standard is expected to be in place within a year or two as an offshoot of the World Ecotourism Summit in Quebec from May 16 to 22, 2002. In the meantime, programs like Green Globe and Green Leaf, as well as documents like the Mohonk Agreement (Honey and Rome 2001) and the Quebec Declaration on Ecotourism should give one enough clues as to what this international standard will look like in its final form.

Still another pressing need of the tourism industry is regular and reliable information. Hard data borne of research are needed if the industry truly recognizes that monitoring, evaluation, and proper certification or accreditation schemes are essential to sustainable tourism development. As Cruz notes, whatever research data are collected by DOT on sustainable tourism projects tend to be pre-launch or benchmarking ones. Longitudinal tracking of the impact of these projects, be it economic, social, or environmental, is hardly done on a sustained basis.

At the national level, DOT tends to focus on tracking market-related information about international visitation: volume, market profiles, preferences, satisfaction, etc. Generation of domestic tourism statistics by DOT has been sporadic. Local, site-specific information from DOT regional offices or from LGU tourism offices is even more difficult to obtain. This is probably a reflection of the local unit's limitations, not of their disinterest in getting data.

The private sector has also been remiss where data generation is concerned, not having actively sponsored industry-related research. While some organizations do conduct research relevant to their corporate concerns, there is a dearth of publicly available research outputs from various trade associations. Academic tourism research is no better. For one, it is often conducted in isolation. For another, publication and dissemination has been very limited because most of the output tends to be written as graduate theses or dissertations.

Building the research capability of the tourism industry (involving government, commercial and academic units) should be one of the priorities of the sustainable tourism development drive. Given the volume and diversity of information that is needed, the research activity may be distributed among the different sectors according to each one's capabilities and interests. Such activity could take the form of a national network of tourism research offices. A national tourism research agenda may then be defined so it can be properly undertaken by this network.

Conclusion

The article has attempted to describe the challenges of sustainable tourism development in the Philippines in terms of economic sustainability, ecological sustainability, and social equity. It has also outlined the roles that three

key sectors—national government, private industry, and local communities—
need to play in building partnerships for sustainable tourism development
at both the national and local levels.

In many cases, tourism development decision has become a cost-benefit
equation involving tradeoffs between expected economic and environmen-
tal impacts. In the process, the social equity objective seems to receive the
least attention from tourism planners and advocates. It is as if social equity is
assumed to follow once the economic condition of the community has been
successfully uplifted. As Dulnuan and Evacitas have noted, this is not neces-
sarily the case. Although there may be some immediate economic benefits to
those directly engaged in tourism, there is no assurance that these benefits
will automatically trickle down even to those whose livelihoods have little or
nothing to do with tourism.

Dulnuan and Evacitas's observations square with earlier surveys of the
Social Weather Stations (2001). Secondary analysis of SWS data from 1995 to
1998 suggests some pessimism about the direct benefits of tourism. Alampay
and Bosangit (2001) found that the percentage of Filipinos who expected an
increase in visitor arrivals to have a positive impact on their livelihood dropped
from 42 percent in 1995 to 34 percent in 1998. More worrisome is the finding
that among lower-income respondents (classes D and E), more people felt
that increased tourism would have a bad rather than good effect on their
livelihood.

Figure. 2. Perceived effects of increased tourist arrivals on family livelihood
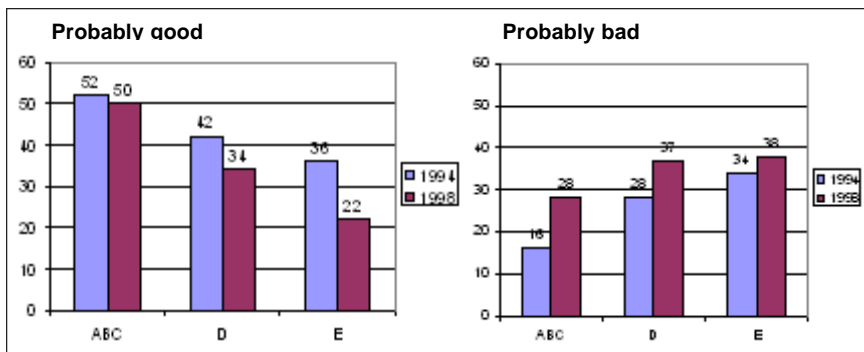
Source: Alampay and Bosangit (2001) from SWS (2001) data

The studies also seem to suggest that the economic effects of tourism,
ecotourism or otherwise, appear to be limited to income and jobs. Both
policymakers and academic researchers have paid little attention to tourism's
alleged contribution to improving the quality of life at the destination.
Evacitas's study shows that, at least in Bais City, ecotourism has yet not deliv-

ered the improvements to social service infrastructure that tourism textbooks routinely promise. The condition of the barangay road remains poor while water supply and basic medicines in the barangay are still inadequate.

Admittedly, such improvements may not come overnight, particularly in areas like Bais City, Olango, and Sagada, which handle only a small volume of tourists at any given time. The same thing may not be said, however, of destinations like Boracay and Bohol, which seem to be making progress much more rapidly along their respective life cycles. Yet, very little research has been done on the impact of ecotourism in the quality of life in these areas. For instance, has the quality of education on Boracay improved? What about the water supply? sanitation and hygiene? sense of community? All of these could be indicative of the impact of a successful tourism initiative on the community. The evidence, however, is sorely lacking.

One final point needs to be made about sustainable tourism development. Achieving sustainability takes time. In the same manner, any negative impact will take time before they will begin to manifest. Tourism planners and managers must recognize that tourism is not an investment that quickly brings in the desired returns.

In a presentation at an international ecotourism conference early this year, Peter Raines, managing director of Coral Cay Conservation, Ltd., talked about his organization's reef conservation work in two Philippine communities off the island of Negros: Danjugan on the Oriental side, and Apo on the Occidental side. Danjugan Island had previously been recognized by the DENR as the best-managed reef in the Philippines. On the other hand, the successful partnerships between academics from Siliman University, NGOs, tourism companies, and local residents had similarly accorded Apo Island recognition from both the tourism industry and the environmental community.

Raines was quick to point out, however, that whatever success is being enjoyed by both sites today is due in large part to years of preparatory community work that preceded actual implementation. The education, training and trust-building components of community-based tourism development should not be sacrificed for expediency. All stages of development, including those of tourism, will take some time to complete.

The Philippine tourism industry is no exception, especially given the existing economic and political realities that affect its development. To address the country's need for a revitalized tourism industry, government will have to rely on the more developed, traditional destinations that have both the markets and the infrastructure (e.g., Metro Manila, Cebu, and their environs). In the meantime, all the key players, namely, the national government, private industry, and local communities, must strengthen their partnerships and lay the foundation for developing the other destinations (e.g., Palawan, Boracay, Bohol, etc.) in a sustainable manner.

Bibliography

Alampay, R. and E. Bosangit E. 2001. A culture of tourism for Filipinos? Unpublished paper. Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines Asian Institute of Tourism.

Alampay, R. and C. Libosada. 2003. Development of a classification framework on ecotourism initiatives in the Philippines. PASCN Discussion Paper 2003-04 Makati City: Philippine APEC Study Center Network

Bersales, J.E. 2003. Contested space: tourism, power, and social relations. PASCN Discussion Paper 2003-07.Makati City, Philippines: Philippine Institute for Development Studies.

Cruz, R.G. 2003. Toward the development of sustainable tourism indicators: An analysis of sustainable tourism programs and practices of ASEAN national tourism organizations. PASCN Discussion Paper 2003-06 Makati City, Philippines: Philippine Institute for Development Studies.

Department of Tourism (DOT). 1991. Philippine tourism master plan. Manila: DOT.

_____. 2002. Draft national ecotourism strategy. Manila: DOT.

Dulnuan, Juline R. 2003. The perceived impact of tourism on indigenous communities: A case study of Sagada, Mountain Province. Makati City, Philippines: Philippine Institute for Development Studies.

Edmonds, J. and G. Leposky. 1998. Ecotourism and sustainable tourism development in Southeast Asia. A paper presented at the Third international conference of the Asia Pacific Tourism Association, June 1998 , Hong Kong.

Evacitas, F. 2004. Impact of whale watching on the cetaceans and coastal populations in Bais City. Masteral thesis. University of the Philippines Los Baños. Makati City, Philippines: Philippine Institute for Development Studies.

Flores, M. 1999. Community participation and resource management in ecotourism development: the CRMP experience and initiatives. Proceeds of the conference-workshop on ecotourism, conservation and community development, 7-12 November 1999, Manila.

Gordon, R. J. 2001. A vision for Philippine tourism and your role in its development. Multimedia presentation delivered at the Tourism Related Industry Congress. August, Manila.

Honey, M. and A. Rome. 2001. Protecting paradise: Certification programs for sustainable tourism and ecotourism [online]. Washington, D.C.: Institute for Policy Studies. Available from the World Wide Web: (http://www.ips-dc.org).

Lim, N. 1993. Planning for sustainable tourism development: The Philippine experience. Paper presented at the 10th General Assembly. Round Table on Planning for Sustainable Tourism Development of the World Tourism Organization, 30 September–9 October, 1993, Bali, Indonesia.

Raines, P. 2002. Speech delivered at the World Tourism Organization-Asian Productivity Organization Ecotourism Conference, 15-17 April, Fiji.

Rodolfo, C. 2003. Comparison of tourism policy frameworks: Philippines and Thailand. PASCN Discussion Paper 2003-08 . Makati City:Philippine APEC Study Center Network.

Shaw, B. J. 2000. Bali: Paradise sustainable? *Current Issues in Tourism* 3(1):81-85.

Smith, V.L. 1992. Boracay, Philippines: A case study in alternative tourism. In *Tourism alternatives: potentials and problems in the development of tourism*, edited by V.L. Smith and W.R. Eadington. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Social Weather Stations. 2001. *SWS survey book on tourism (1994-2000)*. Quezon City, Philippines: SWS.

Solis, S. L. 2003. Maintaining a competitive advantage in tourism organizations: Emerging patterns of employment and challenges for HRD. Makati City, Philippines: Philippine Institute for Development Studies.

Vereczi, G. 2002. The framework of the International Year of Ecotourism and conditions for the sustainable development and management of ecotourism. A paper presented at the World Tourism Organization-Asian Productivity Organization Ecotourism Conference, 15-17 April 2002, Fiji.

World Commission on Environment and Development. 1987. *Our common future*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

World Travel and Tourism Council. 1998. Agenda 21 for the travel and tourism industry—towards environmentally sustainable development. WTTC: London.

Chapter 2

A Comparison of Tourism Policy Frameworks: The Philippines and Thailand

Maria Cherry Lyn S. Rodolfo

Introduction

In the 2001-2004 Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan (MTPDP), the Arroyo administration devotes a separate chapter to tourism, entitled "Putting the Philippines on the International Tourism Map." The administration aims to implement reforms that would meet the industry's development requirements; rebuild the country's image; strengthen its competitiveness in attracting foreign visitors; and further stimulate domestic travel while protecting and preserving the environment, its sociocultural heritage, and the welfare and rights of women and children.

As part of its policy framework, the plan will continue to implement the 1991 Tourism Master Plan (TMP) to optimize the economic contributions of tourism and develop it on an environmentally sustainable basis. The TMP's primary objectives include:

- Optimizing the contribution of tourism to economic growth at a national and regional level;
- Enhancing and contributing to social cohesion and cultural preservation at a local level, develop tourism on an environmentally sustainable basis; and
- Developing a diversity of destinations and markets to minimize exposure to major internal and external threats to tourism activity.

In April 2002, the Department of Tourism (DOT) initiated the implementation of a National Ecotourism Strategy as framework for sustainable development, described as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED 1987). While sustainable development builds on the old principles of conservation and stewardship, it offers a more proactive stance that incorporates continued economic growth in a more ecological and equitable manner.

The DOT recognizes that for tourism to become truly competitive in attracting visitors, the Philippines should measure its performance against its competitors. Benchmarks are needed to analyze performance, practices, and processes for improvement. The future competitiveness of tourism depends on organizations getting close to their markets and developing re-

sponsiveness to market needs, and an ability to counter threats and to exploit opportunities. Benchmarking provides a useful tool for increasing competitiveness and learning from the mistakes of others.

The Philippines lags behind its Southeast Asian neighbors in terms of volume of arrivals (Table 1) due to higher costs of tourism products and services in the Philippines relative to Thailand and Malaysia, insufficient air access, and the lack of variety in attractions and products (MTPDP 2001-04). A tourist, for instance, would prefer Phuket to Cebu because the latter does not offer the same variety or level of readiness in terms of access, accommodation, infrastructure, or attractions as Phuket (McKinsey 2002).

Table 1. Visitor arrivals in Southeast Asia (1999-2002), in millions

Country	1999	2000	2001	2002
Malaysia	7.9	10.2	12.8	11.7
Thailand	8.7	9.6	10.1	10.8
Singapore	6.9	7.7	7.5	7.3
Indonesia	4.3	5.0	5.1	5.0
Philippines	2.2	1.9	1.8	1.9
Vietnam	1.8	2.1	2.3	2.6

Source: MTPDP 2001-04, Pacific Asia Travel Association

In the Asia-Pacific region, Thailand stood out in using tourism as a tool for economic recovery, especially during the Asian financial crisis of 1997 (WTTC 2001). The share of tourism value-added rose by 2 percent. During that time, Thailand faced currency devaluation and recession, and revived the broader economy through intensified policy actions on tourism that included:

- Increased public/private sector investment in promotional spending;
- Relaxed visa rules;
- New domestic and international airline competition—scheduled and charter;
- Leadership of the ASEAN regional tourism program; and
- Cooperation with other countries for promotion and a focus on regional airline liberalization.

Thailand has been referred to as a success story in tourism development and marketing (Oppermann and Chon 1997). Even the Philippines used Thailand as a benchmark for policymaking on air access (Limlingan 1999; MTPDP 2001-04) and infrastructure development (McKinsey 2002). However, the Philippines can likewise learn from the mistakes or excesses of Thailand's development. The success of Thailand for the past 30 years has

been achieved at the expense of environment and culture in popular destinations like Pattaya, Phi Phi Island, and Koh Samui. The World Tourism Organization (WTO 2001) noted that the use of coastal resources for tourism was not sustainable. Nevertheless, Thailand still possessed the potential to be the leading tourism destination in Southeast Asia and achieve long-term growth in tourism. The WTO recommended that Thailand develop its own model of sustainable tourism development.

As the government and private sector strive to put Philippine tourism on the international map and incorporate sustainability in their agenda, it would be useful to learn from Thailand's experience, from its successes and failures and, more importantly, from how it has turned its failures into successes through policy reforms.

Specifically, this study seeks to:
- Compare the overall policy frameworks of Philippines and Thailand in tourism development;
- Examine some directions toward sustainable tourism development in the Philippines based on the lessons derived from Thailand's experience.

This study is divided into six sections. The first section discusses the background of the study while the second one explores the role of policies in tourism development. The next two sections trace the evolution of policy frameworks in Philippines and Thailand. The levels of policy influence in critical decision areas like market priorities, ownership, concentration of power, nature of development, infrastructure, manpower, and environmental and cultural concerns, are then compared in the succeeding section. Finally, the paper summarizes the lessons from Thailand's experience and its findings.

Role of policies in sustainable tourism
In 1987 the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) presented a report entitled *Our Common Future*, which placed the concept of sustainable development at center stage and promoted it as a vehicle for deliverance. It described sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs"(WCED 1987). Thus, it is not simply a matter of temporal tradeoffs and intergenerational transfers. While sustainable development builds on the old principles of conservation and stewardship, it offers a more proactive stance that incorporates continued economic growth in a more ecological and equitable manner. Sustainability is not attainable without economic growth. It requires poverty alleviation of poverty and an effective demand for environmental quality— changes that cannot take place on a sustainable basis without growth (Panayotou 1993).

Tourism reflects the diversity of the multidimensional concept of sustainable development. Tourism Canada (1990) states that sustainable tourism development leads to management of all resources in such a way that the economic, social, and aesthetic needs are met while maintaining the cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity, and life support systems. Resource management should reaffirm that tourism is an economic activity capable of making a profit to survive and benefit the community. Panayotou (1993) argues that the costs of development are rooted more in market and policy failures rather than in economic growth.

Who should assume a bigger role in tourism development? Issues such as the economic importance of tourism as an activity (Go and Jenkins 1997); market failures, as in the case of monopoly and entry barriers (Johnson and Thomas 1992); negative externalities (Johnson and Thomas 1992; Go and Jenkins 1997), or the "tragedy of the commons"; social costs borne by local and traditional communities, as in the case of Thailand and Mexico (Elliott 1997); and socially unfavorable distribution of income have been put forward as strong cases for some form of intervention (Roy and Tisdell 1998). Such interventions are proposed to correct market failures and ensure that markets fully and accurately respond to consumer preferences (Hartley and Hooper 1990). Only government can provide political stability and the legal and financial framework required by tourism (Elliott 1997).

Roy and Tisdell (1998) argue that the effectiveness of state control and management can be limited due to ineffective implementation of delegated power and other administrative difficulties such as lack of willingness or capacity to enforce rules and regulations as well as the openness to bribery and corruption by officials. While the private sector can be assigned rights of ownership of certain areas, such management can lead to the creation of greater monopoly power and the underutilization of linkages among industries. The role of the state, therefore, in the struggle for sustainable development is critical and fundamental—not one of direct management or command and control but one that establishes new rules of the game and creates an environment that fosters competition, efficiency, and conservation (Panayotou 1993).

While tourism was an activity sustained mainly by the private sector soon after the Second World War, governments have since become major players in the development and promotion of tourism destinations (WTO 1998). The government's role is more important in developing countries or transition economies, where government support is needed to jumpstart the industry's growth. In contrast, there is less need for public sector for the tourism industry of countries that are at a high level of economic development.

The role of government in tourism has already changed significantly over the last three decades. In the early years of tourism development, gov-

ernments were the only entities with resources to invest in the sector (Jenkins 1997; WTO 1998). Governments emerged as pioneering tourism entrepreneurs for lack of private investors with capital, experience, and willingness to invest in tourism (Jenkins 1997; Oppermann and Chon 1997). Governments had high hopes that tourism would be able to meet certain objectives such as increased foreign exchange earnings, employment and income generation, regional development, and higher government revenues. Incentives were given for the development of new accommodations, visitor center facilities, manpower, and infrastructure, as in the case of Malaysia (Khalifa and Tahir 1997).

However, overdevelopment by the private sector eventually led to environmental degradation, exploitation of culture, prostitution, and cutthroat competition, which induced governments to moderate growth in supply by introducing legislation. Overregulation also spawned fewer investments. Over the past decade, the pendulum has again swung back toward a more laissez-faire attitude. Governments now see their role more as a facilitator or stimulator of private sector investment through fiscal and other incentives. In almost all countries surveyed by the WTO (1998), government had divested itself of its direct interests in tourism planning and services. Industry legislation and regulations are less and less common, except where they relate to consumer protection or to national heritage and environment conservation.

According to the WTO (1998) the trend now is toward disengagement from tourism by the public sector and more public-private partnership, especially at the local level. In addition to easing budget constraints, a public sector-led marketing organization is often less entrepreneurial and effective than one managed by, or in collaboration, with the industry itself. In most countries, semi-public tourism organizations have been established or recognized by the state as autonomous bodies with competence at the national level to promote and, in some cases, market inbound international tourism. In countries with high degrees of decentralization, the partnership involves not only central governments as public partners but also provincial authorities.

In the past two years, institutions such as the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), the World Bank, and the Asian Development Bank have examined and promoted the link between tourism and the poverty eradication agenda. The economic impact of travel and tourism cuts across several aspects of the policy spectrum—employment, transport, communications, regional development, infrastructure, taxation, trade, and the environment. However, these government policies are not consistent with each other and with the overall thrust for sustainable development.

The need to assess tourism policies has become more urgent in the wake of pressures on environment and cultural resources from rapid tourism growth. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development has been active in assessing the performance of tourism policies among its mem-

ber countries. In the Asia-Pacific region, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Tourism Working Group (1996) conducted a study that examined impediments to tourism among APEC-member economies and a survey of 230 government and private sector organizations associated with tourism in the region. Similarly, member countries of the United Nations Economic and Social Commission in the Asia-Pacific (UN-ESCAP) have been taking action at the national level to implement the Plan of Action for Sustainable Tourism Development in the Asian-Pacific Region since 1999.

There are several approaches to comparing policies. An industry analyst can reasonably examine tourism policies of nations in terms of major categories like transportation, accommodation, destination development, investment, and labor policies. From a political science perspective, some elements include organization of power affecting tourism policy issues, political motivations surrounding decisions affecting tourism, and the decisions regarding who will be the political constituencies for tourism policy (Richter 1993).

This study compares the tourism policies of the Philippines with Thailand's based on seven policy areas: 1) market priorities, 2) development form, 3) centralization or decentralization, 4) ownership (as discussed by Richter 1993), 5) infrastructure, 6) manpower development, and 7) environmental and cultural sustainability as used by UN-ESCAP (2001).

Evolution of policy framework in the Philippines

According to the WTTC (2001), the broader travel and tourism accounted for 7 percent of the gross domestic product of the Philippines and generated close to 3 million jobs. The potentials have not been fully realized because past government policies in the Philippines did not support measures for developing the tourism sector (UN-ESCAP 2001). Tourism did not enjoy priority status in the national agenda or in the allocation of budgets, resulting in limited support for infrastructure (particularly road, airport, and seaport) development.

How did Philippine tourism evolve over the years? What policies were used to develop tourism? What were the costs of development? What policy responses were adopted to address the pressures created by tourism on the environment and culture? What have been the consequences of these policy responses?

In the 1950s, the private sector initiated the development of the industry by forming the Philippine Tourist and Travel Association (PTTA) whose charter was promulgated by Congress in 1952. The need for government in the early stages of development became evident and was manifested with the creation of the Board of Travel and Tourist Industry (BTTI) under the Department of Commerce and Industry in 1956. The BTTI and the PTTA worked together in developing tourism. The BTTI served as the policymaking body

while the PTTA served as its implementing arm. The Philippine Tourism Commission (PTC) was later created to absorb the functions of BTTI and PTTA following the failure of these two organizations to effectively carry out their functions.

For the government, tourism's major economic benefit was basically related to foreign exchange earnings and employment generation. The primary objective of development was to cash in on the tourist trade as did other Asian countries during this period. In 1962 the major markets were the US (50.25 percent), Australia (7.34 percent), and Japan (5.70 percent). By the end of the 1960s, Japan had become the second largest market (17 percent).

Table 2. Number of tourists and dollar receipts in Asian Countries: 1968-1970

	No. of Tourists (in thousands)			Dollar Revenues (in $ Million)		
	1968	**1969**	**1970**	**1968**	**1969**	**1970**
Hong Kong	675	765	900	162	188	211
Japan	500	609	775	116	135	200
Thailand	375	470	600	65	81	100
Singapore	273	340	550	54	62	104
Philippines	113	123	144	25	27	32

Source: DOT

Four-year Philippine development plan (1974-1977)

Arrivals and receipts increased from 0.62 million and $10.2 million in 1962 to 0.17 million and $38.2 million in 1972, respectively. To further support tourism, government issued Presidential Decree No. 31, which eliminated hotel taxes. Presidential Decree. No. 92, on the other hand, included tourism in the Business and Incentives and Reforms of the Board of Investments (inclusion of a firm to be based on foreign exchange earnings potentials). Entry and visa requirements were also relaxed.

Under the Integrated Reorganization Plan of 1972, which overhauled all government offices, the Department of Trade and Tourism was created. Presidential Decree No. 189 was promulgated to rename the Department of Trade and Tourism as the Department of Trade and to create the Department of Tourism in 1973 with a Philippine Tourism Authority (PTA) attached to it in lieu of the PTC. The PTA served as the implementing arm for physical and infrastructure development. The Philippine Convention Bureau was likewise created in 1976 to become the marketing arm of the DOT.

Under martial law, the government committed resources to assist the industry in its bid for a bigger share of the international tourist market. In the four-year Philippine Development Plan of 1974-77, government policies were directed only to making Manila and the nearby provinces of Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Corregidor and Bataan as the priority development areas. The gov-

ernment did not envision the development of other provincial destinations since the country was attracting only short-term tourists who stayed an average of one to four days.

Infrastructure development included the construction of the Philippine International Convention Center to boost Manila's bid as a convention center in Asia, and the Folk Arts Theater, among others.

Air policies were likewise central to the development of the tourist trade during this period. The one-airline policy in 1973 aimed to establish the financial viability of the industry and to spread out aviation services to the entire country. This policy became the basis for Philippine Airlines' (PAL) monopoly for two decades.

Table 3. Arrivals and receipts from 1971 to 1977

YEAR	VISITOR ARRIVALS		VISITOR RECEIPTS	
	Volume	% Change	(in $ M)	% Change
1971	144,321	0.17	65.93	-30.40
1972	166,431	15.32	121.97	85.00
1973	242,811	45.90	76.90	-37.00
1974	410,138	68.90	58.20	-24.30
1975	502,211	22.50	109.60	88.40
1976	615,159	22.50	93.10	-15.10
1977	730,123	18.70	130.90	40.60

Source: DOT

With these in place, the government exceeded its arrival and tourist receipt targets with 730,123 tourists and receipts amounting to $130 million in 1977. As a result of these economic contributions, tourism was given a new role as a tool for national development. However, the policies pursued created inefficiencies in supporting industries. Competitive air services were not developed due to the monopoly in both the domestic and foreign markets. Above all, more communities were marginalized as foreign tourism developed. The disparity between the core (Manila) and the periphery (provinces) widened. Tourism benefits hardly trickled down to the community residents where tourism infrastructure and activities were undertaken.

Ten-year tourism plan (1978-1987)
In the midst of public protests against the Marcos administration's human rights violations, the Philippines emerged as an investment and destination center in Asia. Arrivals grew at an average of 37.9 percent from 1973 to 1976. The government then pursued the preparation of a Tourism Priorities Plan for the comprehensive and systematic development of tourist areas throughout the country. Based on Presidential Decree 1200, the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) drew up a Ten-Year Tourism Plan cov-

ering the period 1978-1987. Under this plan, the government aimed to spread the benefits of tourism to the different regions of the country and focused on developing the Philippines as a tourist, financial, and convention center.

The objectives of the government were as follows:

- To make Manila an international convention center;
- To fully develop tourism-related facilities and manpower at all levels;
- To restore, renovate, and maintain historical landmarks and to develop and conserve national parks for Philippine flora and fauna;
- To develop the regions and a cadre of small businessmen engaged in tourism-related activities; and
- To make air policies supportive of international tourism development and to establish a data and information base on which plans and projects can be formulated.

A target of three million tourists by 1987 and foreign exchange earnings of $961.4 million was set for tourism. This was to be achieved through:

- Strong foreign tourism promotion in the traditional markets like the US, Japan, and Australia and in potential markets like Europe, China, Africa, Middle East, and other ASEAN countries;
- Information campaigns to encourage domestic travel by government and private employees, local civic organizations, and local base of the population such as farmers, fishermen; and barangay leaders;
- Provision of incentives for projects in the following areas: Region I (Ilocos Sur, Benguet and La Union), Region IV (Manila), Region IV-A (Cavite, Laguna, Batangas and Quezon), and Region IX (Zamboanga del Sur); and
- Provision of manpower resources and pursuit of professionalization of tourism in the Philippines and in the rest of Asia through the Asian Institute of Tourism in the University of the Philippines.

Priority areas were expanded to include Region I (Ilocos Sur, Benguet, and La Union) and Region IX (Zamboanga del Sur). In terms of domestic tourism, the plans during this period aimed to cultivate local travel habits among Filipinos through programs such as the *Pasyalan* Campaign, *Bakasyon* Program, and *Lakbay-Aral* Program.

Table 4. Arrivals and receipts (1978-1986)

Year	Visitor Arrivals		Visitor Receipts	
	Volume	% Change	(in $ M)	% Change
1978	859,396	17.70	210.10	60.50
1979	966,873	12.50	238.00	13.30
1980	1,008,159	4.30	319.70	34.30
1981	938,953	-6.90	343.70	7.50
1982	890,807	-5.10	450.10	1.00
1983	860,550	-3.40	464.80	3.30
1984	816,712	-5.10	366.30	-21.20
1985	773,074	-5.30	507.00	38.40
1986	781,517	1.10	647.10	27.60

Source: DOT

Arrivals reached the one-million mark for the first time in 1980, but the political unrest coupled with the economic and political crisis of the early 1980s led to a steady decline in arrivals during the period. Arrivals declined by an average annual rate of 3 percent from 1981 to 1987. Targets for arrivals were not achieved. However, the country exceeded its target for tourist receipts ($1.2 billion in 1987) due to the rising costs of services.

Development was primarily government-led and oriented toward distributing the economic benefits through a trickle-down approach. However, there was no clear basis for the selection of the priority areas such as Ilocos and Zamboanga del Sur. Furthermore, the government was primarily concerned with maximizing the cash potentials of tourism services. As a result, environmental, cultural and economic sustainability of the programs were not prioritized. Sex tourism flourished in Manila.

There was also a complete neglect of domestic tourism despite enumerated programs to stimulate domestic travel interests among Filipinos. A more active domestic tourism campaign was conducted during the last two years of the Marcos regime to counterbalance the downturn in arrivals and build up the base for domestic travel. However, mounting poverty concerns limited the growth of this market (MTPDP 1987-1992).

Five-year medium term Philippine development plan (1987-1992)
The Aquino administration sought to change the landscape of tourism development in the country as envisioned in the MTPDP of 1987-92. It inherited an industry with a negative image as another sexual paradise in Asia and characterized by political instability as well as a string of "white elephant" infrastructure projects from the previous administration.

The new administration aimed to pursue a level of tourism development that would be for and by the Filipino people. While development was driven primarily by the need to maximize economic benefits, the government also

saw the need to strike a balance between economic growth and environmental and cultural sustainability.

Table 5. Arrivals and receipts (1987-1997)

Year	Visitor Arrival		Visitor Receipts	
	Volume	**% Change**	**(in $ M)**	**% Change**
1987	794,700	1.70	1,200.00	85.40
1988	1,043,114	31.30	1,301.00	8.40
1989	1,189,719	14.10	146,535.00	12.60
1990	1,024,520	-13.30	1,306.00	-11.00
1991	951,365	-7.10	1,281.00	-2.00
1992	1,152,952	21.20	1,673.90	30.60

Source: DOT

The major policies and strategies of the new administration were directed toward development of high-impact markets such as East Asia; the review of air agreements to make them more responsive to the requirements of the industry; the improvement of international and national airports; deregulation and self-regulation of the private sector; people empowerment through local tourism councils; emphasis on the environmental sociocultural welfare of local communities in the development of tourism areas; and regional dispersion of economic benefits through an expanded list of priority areas.

A bottom-up approach to planning and development was intended for the tourism industry. Organizations such as the PTTA, Philippine Tour Operators Association, and the Hotel and Restaurant Association of the Philippines were revived to make them active participants in the crafting of policies and programs. In 1991 tourism functions were devolved to the local government units, thereby empowering the local communities from planning to implementation. A one-year National Tourism Plan was produced by both DOT and the private sector. The objectives of sustainable development became more explicit in the 1991 Tourism Master Plan (the blueprint for tourism development over the next 20 years). However, the administration was criticized for not really prioritizing tourism despite the strategies set under the MTPDP, as evidenced by the reluctance of NEDA to seek funding for the plan (Rieder 1997).

From 1987 to 1992, arrivals increased by an average annual rate of 7.9 percent. The decline in 1990 and 1991 can be attributed to a combination of factors and events such as political troubles (e.g., kidnappings, military coups), power crisis, Mount Pinatubo eruption in 1991, Gulf War of 1990, and the economic recession which hit major markets like the US and Japan.

Five-year medium term Philippine development plan (1992-1998)
The Ramos administration faced serious challenges—rising external debt problems, high inflation and interest rates, and a poverty incidence of 32 percent—in improving the Philippine economy.

The government aimed to achieve greater contribution of tourism to economic growth and regional development as part of its macroeconomic goals of industrial restructuring for worldwide competitiveness, increasing incomes and stronger links between agriculture and industry (MTPDP 1993-98). Its targets were an annual increase of 16.5 percent in arrivals, with a corresponding increase in expenditures from $1.8 billion in 1993 to $4.9 billion in 1998. The number of local tourists should have increased from 7.9 million in 1993 to 17.6 million in 1998 with a corresponding increase in expenditures from P28 billion in 1993 to P58 billion in 1998.

It adopted the cluster development approach embodied in the 1991 TMP and heavily supported infrastructure development to link air, sea, and land transport services. It focused on the triple Ts (tourism, transport, and telecommunications) for economic growth and strongly pursued deregulation of these strategic sectors. Government also encouraged the development of tourism facilities outside the National Capital Region (NCR) as well as the implementation of regional tourism training programs in three clusters, namely: Cebu, Davao, and Baguio. The strategy featured aggressive marketing and promotions to project the Philippines as a major tourist destination and retirement haven focusing on domestic and East Asian markets. In pursuit of integrated cluster development planning, the government prepared master plans for areas like the Cordillera Autonomous Region, Tagaytay, and Palawan.

Arrivals hit the 2-million mark in 1996. Incoming seat capacity increased as a result of expanded bilateral agreements with major markets like the US, Japan, Taiwan, Korea, and Hong Kong. As a member of the WTTC, the Philippines signed the Villamoura Declaration of 1997, which aimed at using tourism as vehicle for employment generation.

Table 6. Arrivals and receipts (1993-1998)

Year	Visitor Arrivals		Visitor Receipts	
	Volume	% Change	(in $ M)	% Change
1993	1,372,097	19.00	2,122.00	26.80
1994	1,573,821	14.70	2,282.90	7.60
1995	1,760,163	11.80	2,454.00	7.50
1996	2,049,367	16.40	2,700.60	10.10
1997	2,222,523	8.50	2,831.20	4.80
1998	2,149,327	-3.30	2,412.90	-14.80

Source: DOT

The vulnerability of the industry to external shocks became evident when the Asian financial crisis in 1997 dampened demand for tourism from major markets such as Japan. Unlike Thailand, the Philippines was not able to maximize tourism as a tool for economic recovery during this crisis. Most operators continued charging dollar-denominated prices for their services because they were protecting themselves from the escalating costs of imported inputs. While the industry expanded in the mid-'90s, the rising costs of development became more evident with cases of pollution (as in the coliform issue in Boracay), rampant prostitution in Manila and in other key cities such as Cebu, Olongapo, Laguna, and Baguio, and marginalization of community residents in largescale tourism projects, among others.

A review of the national plans revealed that the economic importance of tourism in generating foreign exchange earnings and in creating employment opportunities had been long recognized by government. However, the lack of priority for tourism's role in economic development was evidenced by incoherent plans, heavy politicization of the industry as well as the lack of leadership in sustaining the momentum of development.

Angat Pinoy MTPDP (1998-2003)

The Estrada administration noted the slowdown in the growth of the services sector. Among the issues it had to deal were the consequences brought about by the Asian financial crisis and bankruptcy of PAL in 1998.

The objectives as well as policies for tourism development became part of the overall targets for the entire services sector. A Transportation and Tourism Summit was held in 1999 to formulate resolutions by the private and government sector on transport issues, marketing and product development, among others. The resolutions were expected to serve as guiding principles for tourism development during this administration. Its strategies covered marketing the Philippines as the best place for business, convention, and retirement; encouraging local government units (LGUs) and local communities to venture in projects in tourism priority areas; developing and implementing standards and guidelines for physical infrastructure development to minimize tourism's impact on the environment; promoting domestic and international tourism and upgrading tourism training institutes and academic programs for travel and tourism.

Arrivals declined by an average of 3.5 percent from 1998 to 2000. Tourism receipts likewise dipped by 8.5 percent per annum during that period. The liberalization of air access pursued under the previous administration slowed down when the government abrogated the agreement with Taiwan in 1999 (leading to a loss of 900,000 incoming seats per week from both Taiwanese and Philippine carriers). The abrogation led to a decline of 900,000 seats per week from both Taiwanese and Philippine carriers.

Four-year medium term Philippine development plan (2001-2004)

The Arroyo administration aimed to implement reforms to meet the industry's development requirements, rebuild the country's image, strengthen its competitiveness in attracting foreign visitors, further stimulate domestic travel while protecting and preserving the environment and its socio-cultural heritage, and secure the welfare of women and children. Arrivals were projected to reach 2.3 million to 3.0 million by 2004 (lower than the 4 million target set under the 1991 TMP), with the major markets being East Asia (Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong), North America (US and Canada) and Europe (UK, Germany, and France). Receipts were further expected to amount to $2.2 billion to $2.7 billion in 2001 and $2.6 billion to $3.4 billion in 2004.

To meet these targets, the government set the following strategies:

- Improve accessibility of tourist destinations by developing tourism hubs (Manila, Cebu, Davao, Laoag); liberalizing civil aviation to increase weekly air seat capacity at par with Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore and to liberalize visa requirements; encouraging investments;
- Enhance tourist products and services by making products better and affordable through discussions with private sector and LGUs; investing in human resource development by reviewing existing curricula to produce better graduates; conducting niche and mass-marketing programs;
- Instill a culture of tourism by advocating stronger law enforcement, conducting information campaigns, integrating environmental considerations and promoting ecotourism; intensifying LGU participation and establishing representation and participation of women in tourism; and
- Work for the recognition of tourism by establishing the Tourism Satellite Accounts; tapping resources for development; reviewing and assessing tourism development plans.

The country missed its targets once again due to a series of crises that hit the industry. Highly publicized kidnapping incidents and the political instability in Mindanao triggered the issuance of travel advisories by the US and Japan. Furthermore, external events like the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the US, the Iraq War, and the 2003 SARS outbreak worsened the performance of the industry.

Domestic tourism flourished amid all of these crises. The SARS outbreak caused a shift from outbound to domestic travel by Filipinos and stimulated the growth in emerging destinations such as Bohol. However, the lack of an updated and comprehensive data on domestic tourism flows and behavior revealed an industry that still heavily favored foreign tourism and reflected the neglect or lack of priority for domestic tourism in the past decades.

Table 7. Arrivals and receipts (1998-2004)

Year	Visitor Arrival		Visitor Receipts	
	Volume	**% Change**	**(in $ M)**	**% Change**
1999	2,170,514	1.00	2,553.70	5.80
2000	1,992,169	-8.2	2,133.80	-16.4
2001	1,796,893	-9.8	1,722.70	-19.3
2002	1,932,677	7.6	1,740.06	1.0
2003	1,907,226	-1.3	1,500.00	13.7

Source: DOT

The Philippines has a lot of catching up to do in terms of generating the volume of arrivals at par with our Asian neighbors. It has missed its targets a number of times due to a combination of policy and market failures. What the Philippines has right now is a master plan that needs updating so it can provide a roadmap for the development of neglected yet high-yielding segments such as health tourism; long stay and retirement; a set of regional and community master plans with recommendations and investment potentials that need to be disseminated; an industry lacking in research and development capabilities; and a series of resolutions among various government agencies that need strong coordination. On the other hand, the industry can take pride in the private-public sector partnership that has become stronger in marketing and promoting destinations, developing infrastructure, increasing community participation, and developing more sustainable tourism activities at the local levels. Domestic tourism has become a top priority. Most importantly, sustainability has been incorporated in the National Ecotourism Strategy, thereby providing a national framework on sustainable development.

Evolution of policy framework in Thailand
In 2002 the WTO revealed that Asia was one of the fastest growing markets despite the security concerns arising from terrorism. Thailand hit the 10-million visitor mark in December 2002. This growth posed a threat to the competitiveness of Asian economies vying to become tourism hubs in the region.

Tourism has become a national priority in Thailand because of its potential for generating jobs, income, and foreign exchange. In 2002 the TAT commissioned research to the Tourism Satellite Accounts, the results of which revealed that tourism directly and indirectly created 3.4 million jobs (11 percent of the workforce) and $1.57 billion worth of economic activity (11.4 percent of gross domestic product or GDP).

How did Thailand achieve its competitive position today? What policies were used to develop tourism? What were the costs of development? What policy responses were adopted to address the pressures created by tourism on the environment and culture? What have been the consequences of these policy responses?

First five-year tourism development plan (1977-1981)

International tourism began with the early visits of European travelers, notably Portuguese, English, Dutch, and French in the 17th century. Mass tourism, particularly the entertainment industry, developed in the late 1960s due to the presence of American servicemen in Asia. Around one-third of the total spending of overseas visitors went to entertainment during the period 1966-1971 (Meyer 1988). From 1960 to 1973, arrivals increased by 20 percent per year, leading to a growth of 32 percent in the supply of rooms. Indeed, tourism generated foreign exchange revenues, employment, and income for the Thai people. At the same time, Thailand gained notoriety as a sexual paradise in Asia.

Table 8. Arrivals and receipts (1960-1976)

Year	Visitor Arrival		Visitor Receipts	
	Volume	% Change	(in $ M)	% Change
1960	81,340	32.11	10	
1965	225,025	6.18	24	140.00
1970	628,671	33.82	105	337.50
1971	638,738	1.60	106	0.95
1972	820,758	28.50	131	23.58
1973	1,037,737	26.44	169	29.01
1974	1,107,392	6.71	193	14.20
1975	1,180,075	6.56	227	17.62
1976	1,098,442	-6.92	200	-11.89

Source: TAT

To develop the industry, the government set up the Tourism Organization of Thailand (TOT) in 1969. Recognizing the economic value of tourism, the Thai government incorporated tourism development for the first time into the Fourth National Economic and Social Development Plan of 1977-1981. The major objectives of the government then were to increase foreign exchange earnings and help reduce the national deficit in the balance of trade and payments through tourism (Meyer 1988). The primary focus was on marketing and physical development to facilitate the growth of international as well as domestic tourism. The rising tension between economic growth and culture was not immediately addressed.

Table 9. Arrivals and receipts (1977-1981)

Year	Visitor Arrivals		Visitor Receipts	
	Volume	**% Change**	**(in $M)**	**% Change**
1977	1,220,672	11.13	230	15.00
1978	1,453,839	19.10	435	89.13
1979	1,591,455	9.47	549	26.21
1980	1,858,801	16.80	867	57.92
1981	2,015,615	8.44	983	13.38

Source: TAT

In 1978 the TOT was upgraded and renamed the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT). The commitment of the government to promote tourism development included budgetary allocation to TAT. Strong promotions contributed to the growth of tourism revenues from 4.6 million baht in 1977 to 21.4 million baht in 1981. This apparent success led the government to aim for projected tourism revenues of 49 million baht at the end of the Second Five-Year Tourism Development Plan (Li and Zhang 1997).

While the plan recognized the environmental effects of tourism development, it did not specify any concrete suggestions to solve them. The government simply issued strict regulations as a tool for environmental protection. Both the government and the private sector lacked the technical and management knowhow about conservation of destinations. Inappropriate land use activities and construction were hardly controlled by the regulator. The result: deterioration of coastal destinations.

Second five-year tourism development plan (1982-1986)

The tension between economic gains, on one hand, and environment and culture, on the other, continued in the mid-1980s, but the government remained committed to developing mass tourism in Thailand. The Second Tourism Development Plan's primary objectives (incorporated in the Fifth National Social and Economic Plan) focused on expanding the industry by intensifying promotion and marketing, supporting public investments to develop tourist destinations, and encouraging private sector investments in the services businesses.

When tourism became the largest foreign exchange earner in 1982, the government used fiscal policy to stimulate expansion of infrastructure. It granted tax breaks to promote hotel construction, resulting in a 44 percent increased in hotel rooms from 1986 to 1990.

The government continued to concentrate on mass tourism development despite mounting public criticism of the environmental and cultural deterioration arising tourism. Thus, the government did not have definite strategies and policies to address the conflict between increasing tourists and the local environment and culture.

Table 10. Arrivals and receipts (1982-1986)

Year	Visitor Arrivals		Visitor Receipts	
	Volume	% Change	(in $ M)	% Change
1982	2,218,429	10.06	1,038	5.60
1983	2,191,003	-1.24	1,089	4.91
1984	2,346,706	7.11	1,156	6.15
1985	2,438,270	3.90	1,171	1.30
1986	2,818,092	15.58	1,421	21.35

Source: TAT

Third five-year tourism development plan (1987-1991)

The Third Five-Year Tourism Development Plan (1987-91) was produced amid three major economic problems—a balance of trade deficit, unemployment, and uneven distribution of income. To solve these problems, tourism development and promotion were used as major instruments to realize the national development targets. Two courses of action for tourism development were set:

- Emphasis on marketing, research, and advertising and promotions and public relations; and
- Development and conservation of tourism resources, including improvement of facilities.

To implement this plan, TAT received 20 million baht annually starting in 1987 to develop tourist destinations. This amount was increased to 150 million baht annually during the 1990-91 period (Li and Zhang 1997). In 1987 Thailand launched the first Visit Thailand Year to celebrate the 60th birthday of the King. Visitor arrivals from Europe and East Asia and the Pacific increased, as volume rose by 20 percent per year between 1987 and 1988.

Table 11. Arrivals and receipts (1987-1991)

Year	Visitor Arrivals		Visitor Receipts	
	Volume	% Change	(in $ M)	% Change
1987	3,482,958	23.59	1,946	36.95
1988	4,230,737	21.47	3,121	60.38
1989	4,809,508	13.68	3,753	20.25
1990	5,298,860	10.17	4,326	15.27
1991	5,086,899	-4.00	3,923	-9.32

Source: TAT

In 1988 the Thai government approved additional projects to improve tourist facilities, preserve the environment, and develop convenient transportation routes. A total of 1310.9 million baht was distributed to 73 tourism development projects in eight geographic areas between 1989 and 1991

(TAT 1992). Under this plan, the government started to place higher value on environmental and cultural conservation. A bigger budget was used for the restoration and maintenance of destinations through agencies like the Royal Forestry Department, the Fine Arts Department, and the Department of Local Administration. However, coordination problems prevented these agencies from improving the environmental and cultural conditions in Thailand. The Plan also emphasized rural industrialization and aimed to encourage the development of smallscale industries through the promotion of entrepreneurship, strengthening of management, improving market information, and easing financial constraints.

The Fifth National Plan emphasized economic restructuring and centered on export-oriented industrialization and the diversification of the rural economy. The underlying objective of the latter strategy was to ameliorate the problem of seasonal unemployment in rural areas. Because of their capacity to absorb labor during slack periods in the agricultural calendar, rural handicraft and agroprocessing industries provided the cornerstone of this policy. Traditional handicraft products were singled out to play an important future role in boosting earnings. They were seen to draw peripheral provinces more centrally into the limelight as they contributed their best products to the country's portfolio of tourist resources.

The move to turn Thailand into a shopping paradise thus became evident with the successful promotion of Thailand Arts and Crafts Year in 1989. Interestingly, the Thai government did not have a particularly difficult task in coordinating the agencies responsible for its handicraft industries. Thailand had fewer than half the number of such agencies found in Malaysia.

All these past plans can be described as physical plans since they focused on improving infrastructure and amenities. There were no attempts to coordinate the physical and marketing components of the plan (TDRI 1993).

Fourth five-year tourism development plan (1992-1996)
The fourth five-year tourism development plan (1992-1996), developed in a crisis environment, focused on the renovation, restoration, and maintenance of tourism resources. Thailand needed to address not its depleted resources but also the need to compete with other Asian countries as a regional tourism center. While the country had been known for its impressive historical sites, friendly people and vibrant cultures, it was ranked as the second most polluted and unsanitary nation after India in a 1990-91 survey of 1,450 tourist agencies from 26 countries (Kaosa-ard 1994).

As far as regional planning was concerned, many of the recommendations were not heeded because they were not well publicized and lacked financial support. Promotional schemes and concrete incentives were rarely updated. Environmental degradation diminished the potentials of sites and local residents objected to some of the recommendations (TDRI 1993).

Under the plan, tourism revenue, which in 1991 brought in $4.48 billion, was expected to fall to $4.28 billion from a previous estimated $5 billion. Tourist arrivals were forecast to reach 5.1 million in 1992 (or no growth over 1991), down about 4 percent from 1990 (Carey 1992). In 1992 and 1993, Bangkok's premier hotels reported occupancies of 20 to 30 percent, down from normal occupancy rates of about 60 percent. Domestic tourism was projected to increase at a rate of 5 percent over and above the projected 147 million tourist nights in 1996. The plan also aimed for higher expenditures per day and about 10 days for the average duration of stay (TDRI 1993).

The overall objectives of the plan were to use tourism as a means of a) improving the welfare of Thai citizens and returning the benefits to taxpayers; b) providing historical, social, and cultural education; c) stimulating the Thai people's interest in nature conservation, protecting the environment, and retaining their identity; and d) generating foreign exchange earnings, increasing local income, and providing employment for both enterprises and residents in tourist areas.

The strategies considered under the plan were the following:

- Upgrading the tourism market by targeting the following: a) high-income professional groups, who could be enticed to hold their conferences and conventions in Thailand; b) female tourists, who were expected to spend on health tours and beauty enhancement programs; c) repeat tourists, who tended to stay longer in secondary towns such as Lampang, Ranong and Udon Thani, and d) enthusiasts of select sports such as golfing, fishing, and gliding;
- Enlarging the local market by targeting women who spend more than men on, say, souvenirs; advertising programs for local motorists; organizing campaigns for secondary towns under the Visit that Town Year project; and promoting tourism among retirees and the elderly;
- Restoring and conserving tourism resources by demarcating ecologically fragile areas and enforcing urban planning legislation;
- Establishing a Thai Heritage Fund and a Nature Fund for each major tourist province, using fiscal incentives to encourage recycling of beverage and food containers, formulating interagency guidelines to be enforced by relevant agencies, and establishing tourism resource-monitoring and information systems;
- Promoting tourism as beneficial to the Thais so that foreign exchange earnings will only be a secondary rather than primary objective;
- Promoting Thailand as tourism center in Indochina and the gateway to inner Asia by upgrading airports in Chiang Mai,

Phuket, and Satthahip, studying the feasibility of joint invest-
ment and package tourism between Thailand and countries in
Indochina and Inner Asia;
▪ Projecting a new image of Thailand by disseminating more in-
formation about ideal places for family recreation as well as about
sports and health centers; setting up cultural museums, dis-
seminating information about sports and health centers; enforc-
ing land zoning in Pattaya and Samui; and controlling the spread
of AIDS and abolishing sex tours.

Table 12. Arrivals and receipts (1992-1996)

Year	Visitor Arrivals		Visitor Receipts	
	Volume	% Change	(in $ M)	% Change
1992	5,136,443	0.97	4,829	23.09
1993	5,760,533	12.15	5,013	3.81
1994	6,166,496	7.05	5,762	14.94
1995	6,951,566	12.73	7,664	33.01
1996	7,192,145	3.46	8,664	13.05

Source: TAT

Eventually, Thailand changed its strategies to maintain stable growth
and pushed for "high-quality tourism." Thus the Fourth Tourism Master Plan
focused heavily on sustainable tourism. Promotions in the domestic and in-
ternational market were supported by public funds for the conservation of
tourist resources. It also emphasized cooperation between public and private
sectors in correcting environmental problems of destinations.

Fifth five-year tourism development plan (1997-2001)
The volume of arrivals steadily increased during the 1997-2001 period de-
spite the Asian financial crisis in 1997. Thus, Thailand was ranked as the
19th top destination in the world, a marked improvement from its previous
26th position. Following were some of the factors that contributed to the
growth of tourism in Thailand, particularly during the Asian crisis:
▪ Willingness of Thai hoteliers to price in baht and thus offer very
attractively priced tour packages, particularly to European mar-
kets;
▪ Strong value-for-money offered by Thai hoteliers despite their
increasing prices by an average of around 20 percent to com-
pensate for the higher cost of imported items in their operation;
▪ Effectiveness of the "Amazing Thailand" marketing campaign,
which focused on Thailand as an inexpensive and safe destina-
tion in a region known for political and social unrest.

The Plan's objectives were as follows:

- To entice more foreign travelers to travel more extensively within the country, spending longer days and more money and spreading out to all regions. This, even as the Plan takes into account the receiving capability or constraints of individual destinations.
- To inspire greater appreciation among the Thais for their own country's tourist destinations such that they will travel around the country more extensively and in the process spend more money and help increase the tourism balance sheet. This in turn is expected to distribute progress to the localities and boost the overall economic development of the nation.
- To pursue technological advancement and upgrading in the area of information and data services through domestic and international computerized networks.
- To promote regional cooperation in infrastructure development
- To enhance human resource development with the end in view of producing world-class personnel with deep concern for ecological preservation
- To ensure the safety and security of tourists as well as tour operators through strict implementation of the Tourists Business and Guides Act N.E. 2535.
- To pursue vital and appropriate tourism business operations as joint investments that are not only beneficial to business but also to the country as a whole.
- To work for the conservation and revival of the arts, culture, and tourism resources as part of the pursuit of sustainable tourism development, which will ensure not only an increase in tourist arrivals but also the preservation of national identity and heritage;
- To pursue an intensified cooperation between the public and private sectors in addressing tourism-related problems and enhancing the value of tourism resources as part of the campaign to attract more visitors.

The fifth five-year tourism development plan was based on the same principles that guided the formulation of the fourth development plan. It, too, emphasized sustainable development. Some of its strategies were:

- Reducing the volume of pollution
- Establishing appropriate criteria for garbage and waste management with emphasis on reducing, reusing, and recycling waste
- Disseminating useful data to the public in recognition of their right to such information
- Promoting ecotourism in local communities, including capacity building in project formulation and planning

- Shifting from chemical fertilizer to organic fertilizer as part of environmental protection efforts
- Collecting of fees for use of raw water from industrial, agricultural, and domestic consumers

Table 13. Arrivals and Receipts (1997-2001)

Year	Visitor Arrivals		Visitor Receipts	
	Volume	**% Change**	**(in $M)**	**% Change**
1997	7,221,345	0.41	7,048	-18.65
1998	7,764,930	7.53	5,934	-15.81
1999	8,580,332	10.5	6,695	12.82
2000	9,508,623	10.82	7,112	6.23
2001	10,132,509	10.42	7,293	1.02
2002	10,872,976	7.31	7,890	1.08

Source: TAT

TAT has been the executing agency for the Tourism Development Program since 1988. During the first phase of the program (1989-1994), around 1.5 billion baht was spent on 73 tourism development projects. These were aimed at infrastructure development and improvement, conservation of archeological sites, landscaping of tourism areas, and marketing and promotional activities. The program's second phase had the stated objectives of revitalizing and preserving deteriorated tourist sites. The third phase sought to pursue sustainability in line with the National Development Plan, focusing on a) human resource development; b) restoration, conservation, and environmental improvement in the Association of Southeast Nations (ASEAN) and Indochina regions; and c) promotion of cooperation in tourism development in the ASEAN and Indochina region.

Sixth five-year tourism development plan (2002-2006)
Having learned from the negative effects of overdevelopment in destinations, the government began to recognize tourism as an economic activity that would continue to play a central role in the future economic and social development of Thailand. It also acknowledged that careful management of tourism resources could be a driving force for the conservation of Thailand's unique natural and cultural heritage (see the box for the Plan's objectives).

Objectives

The sixth five-year tourism development plan seeks to coordinate the activities of the diverse components of the tourism sector through the following objectives that seek to:

❑ Build on the success of the 'Amazing Thailand' marketing and promotion campaigns;
❑ Develop the potential of new and emerging markets through targeted marketing strategies;
❑ Encourage the diversification of the country's tourism product base;
❑ Enhance Thailand's position as the tourism gateway to the GMS;
❑ Foster the expansion of tourism development to rural areas to spread the socio-economic benefits derived from tourism;
❑ Assist local administrations and provincial governments in the effective management of tourism development;
❑ Encourage the conservation and presentation of Thailand's unique natural and cultural heritage;
❑ Identify opportunities for future investment and employment creation;
❑ Enhance industry operational standards and human resource skill levels;
❑ Improve the tourism sector's information and analytical database; and
❑ Reinforce Thailand's image as a safe and friendly destination.

In addition to spreading the economic benefits of tourism more evenly throughout the country by developing new tourism products, TAT now sought to attract new market segments, especially the higher-spending markets (i.e., meetings, incentives, conventions, and exhibitions).

The Sustainable Tourism Plan acknowledged that the initial ad hoc uncontrolled development of tourism in Thailand had resulted in negative sociocultural and environmental impacts. Certain areas became synonymous with sex tourism. Areas adjacent to the "Golden Triangle" began to attract young travelers looking for cheap narcotics. Failure to enforce planning legislation and zoning regulations allowed unsightly sprawling beachfront developments. However, as Thailand matured as a tourist destination, these issues began to be addressed. Furthermore, the industry was no longer the prerogative of expatriates, with Thais active in every level of ownership, management, and operation.

The Plan also recognized that declines in average length of stay and per capita spending prevented Thailand from generating higher revenues from its huge volume of visitors. As a result of the Amazing Thailand campaign (and ensuing devaluation of the Thai baht), destinations were promoted

cheaply. In addition, packages had strict limitations that prevented tourists from enjoying other attractions or from staying longer.

In terms of economic sustainability, Thailand had to attract more longer-staying and higher-spending tourists to increase yield. (In 2000, total tourist expenditure amounted to $6.8 billion, representing an average daily expenditure of $92.00 per tourist. Average length of stay was seven days.) Thailand was thus challenged to offer a wide range of diversified products and services that will attract visitors to stay more and spend more.

The Plan also seeks to distribute benefits more evenly throughout the country through the development and promotion of "tourism loops," which will bring tourists in contact with fragile communities and environments. The concept stresses the involvement of local communities in the development process.

In summary, Thailand's challenge today is how to transform mass tourism into a sustainable market and how to minimize the costs of development in emerging destinations. Sustainable development requires economic growth to take place. The real challenge is how to continue tapping tourism as a leading creator of jobs and source of income while at the same time creating better quality of life. The evolution of sustainable tourism development as a national agenda in Thailand is clearly evident in the series of five-year master plans. Each plan reflected the shifts in objectives as well as responses to various pressures, including dynamic changes in market demand. The regular updating of the master plan provides policymakers with a clear idea of where the industry is headed and the policies needed to respond appropriately to pressures created by tourism activities on economic, environmental, and cultural sustainability. Such regular reviews identify areas for capability building by both the public and private sectors.

Comparison of policy frameworks

The previous sections revealed how tourism policies evolved in both countries. Both have committed to pursuing sustainable development—economic, ecological, and environmental—although in varying degrees.

This section now provides a more detailed comparison of the policy frameworks on specific aspects of sustainable development, ranging from market priorities to manpower development.

Market focus: domestic vs. international tourism

In most Asian countries, the tourism policy caters to international markets because they do not have a strong domestic base for earning the same amount of revenues as they do from foreign visitors. For many years, both the Philippines and Thailand focused on foreign markets. Today, external shocks (economic and political) have heightened the need to support the development of domestic tourism, which generated business for both countries during those turbulent times.

Market dependency

The Philippines has greater dependency ratios on just two markets (US and Japan) compared to Thailand. It strongly competes with Thailand for the Japanese market. Thailand has strongly focused on Japan and has been successful in attracting the Japanese senior market based on decision factors such as peace and order and infrastructure (TAT 2000). Today, Thailand is aggressively promoting its long-stay program among the Japanese aging population. Started five years ago, the long-stay program of Thailand is a result of cooperation among various agencies and private-sector participants. The TAT, for example, has strong tie-ups with its hospital associations. The Philippines, on the other hand, came in as a late player in developing the long-stay program despite the existence of the Philippine Retirement Authority since 1985.

Visitors tend to spend more ($144) and stay longer (9.8 days) in the Philippines than in Thailand. It should be noted, however, that the average length of visitors' stay in the Philippines is due mainly to the US market (primarily the *balikbayan*).

In Thailand, the Japanese spend an average of $119 per day for less than a week's stay. Malaysians spend an average of three days and spend $105 a day. East Asia generates nearly 60 percent of arrivals to Thailand, but the overall average length of stay is only around five days. The Americans, on the other hand, spend nearly an average of nine days and as high as $122 per day.

Thailand has also been able to position itself as a gateway from Europe to the East Asian region, particularly to the Mekong Subregion. Out of the 5.2 million Europeans who visited Southeast Asia in 2000, for instance, 90 percent chose Thailand. Europeans, who comprise 23 percent of arrivals, stay an average of 14 days although their daily expenditure is only $76, much lower than that of East Asians.

The TAT aims to attract more longer-staying and/or higher-spending tourists. It believes there is a need to develop new tourism products and reposition Thailand's image in the market place to increase the "yield" from tourism.

Domestic tourism

Thailand has an estimated 10 million domestic tourists who frequent places like Pattaya and various national parks. Since the 1980s, Thailand has focused on its domestic market as evidenced by the generation of statistics to measure the market's impact on and its various promotional schemes for the local market (Richter 1993; Opperman 1997)). Still, data on the domestic market do not form part of the annual statistical report.

Over the years, the Thai government has developed infrastructure for both domestic and foreign tourists. However, domestic tourism promotions have been minimal. The current tourism master plan puts premium on do-

mestic travel to more destinations outside traditional sites like Pattaya and Bangkok. Thailand recognizes the importance of domestic tourism—both as a means to fill any gaps in demand from overseas markets and as a major opportunity in its own right. More than 55 million domestic trips generating 233,300 million baht were estimated to have taken place in 2000 by TAT (WTO 2001).

The Philippines' DOT estimated a total of 10 million domestic travelers in 2002. This has prompted the government to pursue infrastructure development for both domestic and foreign tourists. Domestic tourism promotions have become stronger through public (sponsored by the Department of Trade and Industry and LGUs) and private (PHILTOA's Travel Mart) domestic trade fairs. The current holiday economics program of the government is also being supported by the newly created Federation of Tourism Industries of the Philippines (FTIP), the umbrella organization of all tourism groups and associations nationwide. In addition, House Bill No. 403 has been filed in Congress, which seeks to grant certain incentives to resident Filipinos who travel to domestic tourist destinations.

As the government focuses on domestic tourism through its holiday economics and similar promotions, it needs to improve the collection, synthesis, and analysis of domestic tourism data. A number of LGUs do not have tourism officers to collect, manage, and analyze the database on a regular basis. Also, some establishments do not submit arrivals and occupancy reports. Furthermore, there is a lag of about three to four months before the central DOT office can synthesize and present the monthly figures.

A strong domestic base is needed to strengthen the international market. Based on DOT surveys, most foreign travelers choose the Philippines based on recommendations from friends and relatives. If local tourists are proud of their local destinations, then they can prove to be Philippine tourism's best marketing and sales force.

Integrated or enclave tourism

Is tourism integrated into the local economies? In Thailand, both foreign and domestic tourists use the same tourism transportation and infrastructure (water, energy, and roads). Tourist attractions like museums, temples, and national parks are where tourists and nontourists commonly mix. Domestic and foreign tourists also tend to mix on business-related travels and are commonly seen in the southern parts of Thailand. In recent years, domestic tourists have begun to dominate popular sites like Pattaya. However, isolated resorts, mostly for foreign tourists, continue to be major components of tourism in the country. Developers are marketing exclusive resorts for foreign retirees in places like Chiang Mai and Phuket.

In the Philippines, foreign and domestic tourists tend to mix in the national capital of Manila and provincial cities. This is especially true for

business travel. There is a growing trend to develop isolated and exclusive resorts in areas like Zambales and Batangas. However, most of these enclave destinations still need to integrate the local communities in their activities to distribute gains and increase the residents' stake in protecting their tourism resources.

Centralization-decentralization: regulations and controls

How centralized is tourism planning and development? Table 15 provides some indicators of the *continuum* from centralization to decentralization. The five-year Tourism Master Plan that in turn is incorporated in the National Socio-Economic Plan guides tourism development in Thailand. The formulation of the master plan started in 1977 when the government saw the potentials of tourism in generating foreign exchange. The current Ninth Economic Plan and the Sixth Tourism Master plan have evolved from past initiatives (which focused only on generating foreign exchange revenues and marketing and promotions) to efforts to that put sustainable development at the core of their policies and strategies. Such evolution was a response to the adverse effects of overdevelopment and lack of destination management on the resources of Thailand.

The Thai government recently deregulated its domestic airline industry to allow other carriers like Bangkok Airways to fly the trunk routes previously monopolized by Thai Airways. However, strong government influence is still evident in the financial support extended to TAT. To enable TAT to concentrate on its marketing and promotional functions, a Ministry of Tourism evolved from the existing structure of TAT. The Ministry focuses on planning and development.

TAT manages very few government properties. Hence, it is not burdened with responsibilities to manage facilities and to make them profitable.

The government does not license tourism facilities. It does not accredit facilities nor impose standards for hotel classification. Recently, the TAT has began working on an accreditation standard, in consultation with the private sector. It recently announced that Chiang Mai University would take the lead in developing these accreditation standards.

The regulatory environment is relatively weak in Thailand for both individual travelers and investors. This also applies to the monitoring of negative externalities created by the consumption of public sites like national parks and coastal areas.

While the tourism planning and development functions were decentralized in 1997, TAT has yet to upgrade the capability of local administrations. Thus, even if tourism planning is now under local administration, village councils still submit projects to the provincial office of the TAT.

Strong lobby groups in Thailand have tried to increase public awareness of the negative effects of tourism on environment and culture. The Ecumeni-

Table 14. Market dependency ratio (2000)

		Thailand			Philippines	
Rank	Country of Residence	Volume of Arrivals	% Share to Total Arrivals	Country of Residence	Volume of Arrivals	% Share to Total Arrivals
1	Malaysia	1,297,619	11.93	USA	395,323	20.5
2	Japan	1,233,239	11.34	Japan	341,867	17.7
3	China	763,708	7.02	Korea	288,468	14.9
4	Korea	717,361	6.60	Hong Kong	155,964	8.1
5	Singapore	687,982	6.33	Taiwan	103,024	5.3
6	Taiwan	678,511	6.24	Australia	70,735	3.7
7	United Kingdom	574,007	5.28	Singapore	57,662	3.0
8	Hong Kong	533,798	4.91	Canada	54,563	2.8
9	USA	519,668	4.78	United Kingdom	48,478	2.5
10	Germany	412,968	3.80	Germany	39,103	2.0

Sources: TAT and DOT

cal Council for Tourism Development has been at the forefront of these issues, advocating greater awareness of the country's deteriorating natural resources and cultural heritage.

The Philippines does not lack plans or policies. In fact, it has many. During the Marcos regime, for instance, several plans were formulated, but they were never unified into one national plan. It was only in 1991 that the DOT received assistance from the United Nations Development Programme and the WTO to produce a long-term development plan for tourism. The Plan (1991-2010) became the blueprint for tourism's development, beginning with the Ramos administration (1992-1998). What is now needed is continuity of past initiatives that have successfully contributed to tourism growth. Unlike Thailand's five-year Tourism master plans (updated every five years in response to the changes in market conditions and impact on Thai tourism's sustainability), the 1991 Philippine master plan has not been updated. Furthermore, various local tourism master plans have yet to be implemented.

The 1991 master plan aimed to diffuse the benefits of tourism to peripheral regions outside Metro Manila through the establishment of clusters around the international gateways of Davao, Cebu, Laoag, Subic, and Clark. The DOT is currently focusing on the establishment and active promotions of tourism enterprise zones in building infrastructure. To emphasize the place of tourism in the national socio-economic agenda, the government through NEDA has dedicated a separate chapter to tourism in the Medium-Term Development Plan.

The Philippines moved toward decentralization of powers ahead of Thailand following the enactment of the Local Government Code of 1991, which aims to support the countryside development program. Thus tourism facilities or establishments can secure their licenses from LGUs without seeking accreditation from the DOT. However, there have been moves to return the licensing function to the DOT based on complaints by industry players about the mushrooming of facilities that do not meet standard requirements for safety, security, and service.

The government still exercises control of ownership of tourism facilities. The PTA, as an attached agency of the DOT, is responsible for infrastructure development. Its properties include Club Intramuros, Pagsanjan Garden Resort, Tagaytay Picnic Grove, and Banaue Hotel and Youth hostel. Its infrastructure projects include the Paskuhan Village in Pampanga and Malasag Eco-Village in Cagayan de Oro, which is undergoing completion of the remaining works.

Public-private ownership

Promotional activities in the Philippines have been undertaken mostly by the private sector due to budget constraints of the DOT. In 2000 Congress

allocated only 0.13 percent of the total national budget to the DOT. The same amount represented only 0.9 percent of the revenues generated by tourism during that year. In contrast, TAT extends a relatively higher budget to the private sector operators in Thailand, which aggressively conduct promotions.

Table 15. DOT budget vs. total government appropriations (in pesos)

Year	Department of Tourism	Total Government Appropriations	DOT Percentage Share of Total Government Appropriations
1995	492,060	387,397,933	0.13%
1996	627,198	394,496,000	0.16%
1997	652,329	433,817,543	0.15%
1998	744,555	546,743,816	0.14%
1999	577,657	585,097,506	0.10%
2000	888,099	665,094,141	0.13%

Source: General Appropriations Act FY 1995-2000

Includes budget of the following: Nayong Pilipino, Philippine Conventions and Visitors Corporation (PCVC), DOT Office of the Secretary, Intramuros Administration, and National Parks Development Committee

Although Thai tourist business operators have formed various organizations and associations, they have yet to form a truly united front. The Philippines is a step ahead with the formation of the FTIP.

Marketing and promotions

Though Thailand has been cited as a model for tourism marketing and promotions, TAT still considers its budget small relative to the proactive advertising, public relations, and market promotions campaigns it pursues. Neither is this budget enough for TAT's tourism development responsibilities. To date an average of 500 million baht, derived from a special task budget and foreign loan project budget, is allocated annually for improving and developing tourist locations. This amount is far less than the 3,000 to 5,000 million baht-supporting budget sought by TAT. This lack of budget has been cited as one reason for the degeneration of tourist attractions due to inadequate maintenance and conservation efforts.

The Philippines' marketing budget is indeed very small when compared to the budget of Thailand or those of other Asian countries. For 2000, the TAT had a total marketing budget of 1.8 billion Baht (around $46.09 million) representing 61.64 percent of its total budget (approximately $74.76 million). Macau had a $15.5 million budget for tourism, of which $7.5 million was spent on overseas promotions.

Table 16. Indices of ccentralization - and decentralization

Centralized	Philippines		Thailand	
	1990	**2001**	**1990**	**2001**
National Plan	Yes. There have been several, but the first comprehensive post-Marcos plan is the 1991 Tourism Master Plan sponsored by the UNDP-WTO.	The DOT received technical assistance from the WTO to review the implementation of the Tourism Master Plan	Tourism plan is part of National Economic and Social Development Plan, which is formulated every five years.	The latest is the Ninth National Economic Plan, which corresponds to the Sixth Tourism Master Plan
Government – controlled airlines	Yes. In the process of being privatized	PAL has been privatized; Government has minority stakes in the flag carrier	Thai International is in the process of being privatized. Thai Airways controls domestic trunk routes	Thai International is still 93 percent-owned by the Ministry of Finance although it is publicly listed. Thai Airways no longer exercises monopoly over domestic trunk routes
Ministry of Tourism counterpart	DOT covers PCVC, PTA, Intramuros Administration, and National Parks Development Committee	DOT — its secretary has been granted "supercabinet" status by the Office of the President	Tourism Authority of Thailand that is under the Prime Minister's Office.	The Ministry of Tourism evolved from the TAT organizational structure to assume planning and development functions. TAT will concentrate on marketing and promotions.

Table 16. (cont'd.)

Centralized	Philippines		Thailand	
	1990	**2001**	**1990**	**2001**
National Licensing or Inspection of Tourism Facilities	Yes, but this has been transferred to LGUs by virtue of the 1991 Local Government Code	Licensing is in the hands of LGUs by virtue of 1991 Local Government Code. Accreditation by DOT is voluntary	No. TAT does not accredit facilities; no accreditation system exists	No, but TAT is consulting with hotel operators about the possible implementation of an accreditation system for tourism facilities by the operators themselves
Government-controlled/owned accommodations	A few were deliberately public, others by default; now being sold. All under the PTA	PTA still manages quite a number of properties but construction of new facilities is private sector-driven.	Very few.	Very few. TAT pushes private sector to undertake investments in accommodation and resort development.
National currency and investment controls on tourism	Tax on travel tickets for outside Philippines. No restrictions on property investments except on land.	Requires regular business licenses or permits. Limitation on importation of capital goods and other goods locally available. No restrictions on property investments except on land.	The Board of Investment oversees imports and concessions. Foreigners may take out all profits. Regulations are generally weak. There are tourism police units.	No restrictions on foreign investment in property. Investors can own land. No discriminatory charges or taxes and no restrictions on repatriation of capital. Foreign equity is limited to not more than 49 percent for most tourism businesses —hotels, tour operators, and restaurants. There are consultations on liberalizing foreign ownership rules. Regulations protect tourists and tour operators under the Tourist Act

Table 16. (cont'd.)

Centralized	Philippines		Thailand	
	1990	**2001**	**1990**	**2001**
Regulatory environment	Moderate	Moderate	Weak	Weak; has liberal visa rules.
Active local interest groups	Unions; religious groups are critical.	More interest groups have been formed at the local levels, usually public-private partnerships.NGOs are active	Opposition is evolving such the one by the New Thai Network on Tourism. These are primarily environmental and religious. Unions are weak.	Strong opposition from quite a number of groups.TAT has forged partnerships with private and environmental groups to address environmental deterioration and prostitution
Local control of tourism planning	Exists to some extent. The plan does require more training of indigenous workers at the managerial level.	Yes, due to the devolution; active LGUs exist	Most of it is under local or private control. Most jurisdictions have very little control. AIDS testing of prostitutes is now being pursued locally.	TAT supports training programs for local administrations. *Decentralized*

Decentralized

Sources: Richter (1993); updated based on various DOT and TAT documents

Table 17. Impediments to individual travel

Impediment	Country	Control	Rationale	Code*
Visa requirements	Philippines	Visas required for persons coming from countries with which the Philippines has no diplomatic relations. Holders of Hong Kong and Taiwanese passports must have special passports.		I
	Thailand	Visa free for 56 nationalities staying up to 30 days. For visitors from 76 other countries, visas valid for 15 days can be obtained on arrival.		N
Limitations on travel abroad	Philippines	None except the inspection of exit (travel) documents of Filipinos traveling abroad.	Numeric generation	N
	Thailand	No limitations on travel abroad by outbound travelers.		N
Foreign exchange (Inbound)	Philippines	No restrictions. Visitors bringing in more than $3,000 are required to declare it at the international airport.		N
	Thailand	No restrictions		N
Foreign Exchange (Outbound)	Philippines	No restriction		N
	Thailand	Limitations on the amount of baht that can be taken out of Thailand: 20,000 Bht/person; 500,000 if going to one of Thailand's neighboring countries)		N
Customs or barrier controls	Philippines	Quarantine inspection for certain goods. Regular customs duties and tariffs.		J
	Thailand	Restrictions on alcohol and cigarettes only.		N

Table 17. (cont'd.)

Impediment	Country	Control	Rationale	Code*
Departure taxes	Philippines	Departure tax of $20		I
	Thailand	Airport service tax 200 Bht ($8)		I
Business licenses and approvals	Philippines	Regular business licenses or permits		J
	Thailand	Foreign equity limited to not more than 49 percent for most tourism businesses—hotels, tour operators, restaurants, etc.		I
Import policies	Philippines	Limitations on importation of capital goods and other goods locally available.		I
	Thailand	No limitation on imports		N
Foreign investment (business)	Philippines	No restrictions		N
	Thailand	No restrictions		N
Foreign investment (property)	Philippines	No restrictions except on land	100 percent investment is allowed in foreign equity participation except land	I
	Thailand	No restrictions		N
Taxes and charges	Philippines	Regular government tax of 10 percent value-added tax and regular business tax or fees.	Revenue generation	N

Table 17. (cont'd.)

Impediment	Country	Control	Rationale	Code*
	Thailand	No discriminatory taxes or charges		N
Foreign exchange controls	Philippines	No restrictions		N
	Thailand	No restrictions		N
Repatriation of profits or capital	Philippines	No restrictions		N
	Thailand	No restrictions		N
Employment	Philippines	Subject to approval by Department of Tourism, Department of Labor and Employment, and Bureau of Immigration as well as the Board of Investments	To give opportunity to qualified Filipino nationals	J
	Thailand	Employment in senior levels in hotels and tour operations is allowed. Work permit is required.		I
Import of promotional materials	Philippines	Subject to regular customs duties	To protect locally produced materials	I
	Thailand	No restrictions, duties charged on excess quantities.		
Others	Philippines	Compliance with environmental standards (e.g., environment clearance certificate)		N
	Thailand	NA		

* Codes

 I = constitutes an impediment to competition or growth of tourism.

 J = applies where there is justification for an impediment on the grounds of public order, public health, safety or morals.

 N = measures which are not seen as inhibiting the growth of tourism.

Source: APEC-TWG (1996)

In contrast, the Philippines' total tourism budget for the same year was P888 million (approximately $20.70 million), of which P81 million (approximately $1.89 million) was appropriated for PCVC. Only $600,000 was allocated for marketing and promotions.

Figure 1. Comparison of NTO budgets
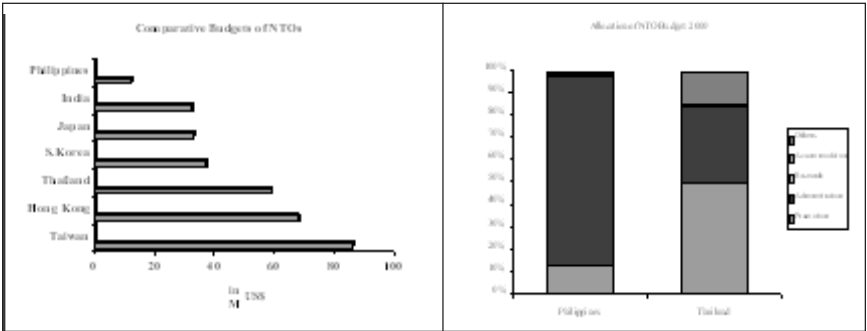
Source: PATA (2000)

A comparison of the budget allocations of TAT and DOT clearly reveals that a bigger portion of the latter's budget goes to administration, maintenance of offices, and operations. In the case of Thailand, its marketing funds account for 50 percent of the total budget while only 30 percent is used to support administrative services as well as research and development (R&D). Most R&D activities are funded by foreign institutions like the World Bank (Figure 1).

In terms of returns from the marketing expenditure, the Philippines spent only $0.35 per visitor arrival in 2000. Thailand, on the other hand, spent higher on a per capita basis, around $4.60. Furthermore, the $600,000 budget of the DOT generated around $2.3 billion dollars of revenues, or $3,600 per dollar of marketing expense. The figure is $157 for Thailand.

Given its relatively scarce marketing budget, the DOT approached the private sector seeking financial support for its marketing programs. The need for an effective marketing campaign is evident in the low exposure of the Philippines relative to other Asian destinations in the brochures of Japanese tour operators. Tour operators have mostly featured only Cebu and Palawan. Since the Japanese market relies mostly on the assistance of travel agencies, they need more information about the Philippines (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Number of brochure pages and courses of top 10 Japanese travel agencies devoted to ASEAN beach destinations
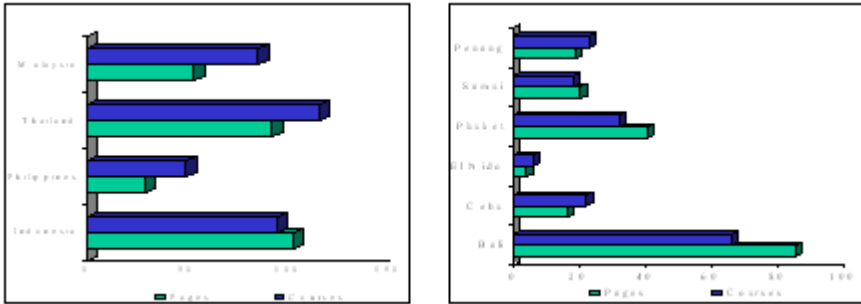
Source: Seminar on Upgrading the Service of Travel Trade Supporting Industries (1999)

During the Twelfth Congress, House Bill No. 2848 was filed, proposing that a portion of the P50.00 fee collected from departing international passengers at the Ninoy Aquino International Airport (NAIA) accrue to the DOT for tourism promotions, marketing, and development-related projects. HB No. 1674, on the other hand, seeks to provide for an adequate and effective reform of the travel tax by allocating 25 percent of the total collections to the development of tourism and promotions in 20 depressed provinces identified by the Office of the President.

Safety and security constraints

Crime rate in Thailand is relatively lower than in the Philippines. The former's destinations are considered safe, particularly by the Japanese market. Tourism-related crimes seldom result in deaths of tourists. However, budgetary constraints prevent the police force from expanding in line with tourism growth and from purchasing the necessary equipment.

In the Philippines, tourist perceptions about safety and security issues persist, particularly in Mindanao due to the Abu Sayyaf kidnappings. While some destinations like Cebu, Batangas, and even Palawan appear to have the capability to deal with such threats, they lose potential tourists as a result of sensationalized news.

Infrastructure

In the 1996 APEC survey on tourism impediments, the major infrastructure bottleneck for the Philippines' primary markets was airline capacity, followed by airport congestion, accommodation capacity, accommodation standards, and ground transport problems.

Air transportation

Air access is the basic infrastructure for the majority of tourists to Thailand and the Philippines. Around 98 percent of arrivals enter the Philippines via air. The corresponding figure for Thailand is only 84 percent, because visiting Malaysians travel by land to the southern portion of Thailand. Nevertheless, Thailand rivals Singapore in terms of number of incoming flights per week (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Comparative air access in major Asian airports (2002)
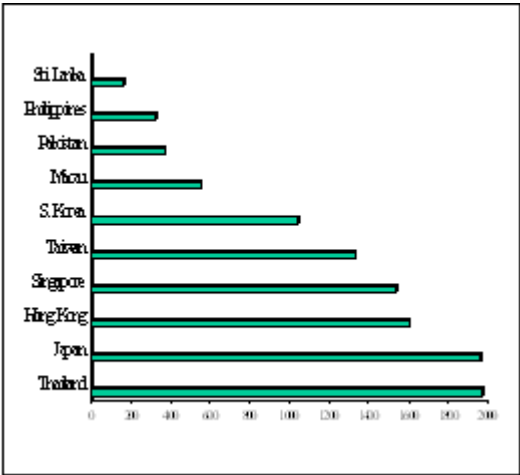
No. of incoming flights per week
Source: Various airport authorities; Pacific Asia Travel Association

Thailand provides more incoming flights from the major tourist markets of the Philippines such as Japan, Korea, and Taiwan (Figure 4). There are 51 direct flights from Tokyo to Bangkok (seven-hour flight) and 30 from Tokyo to Manila.

Figure 4. Air access from Northeast Asia to Bangkok and Manila
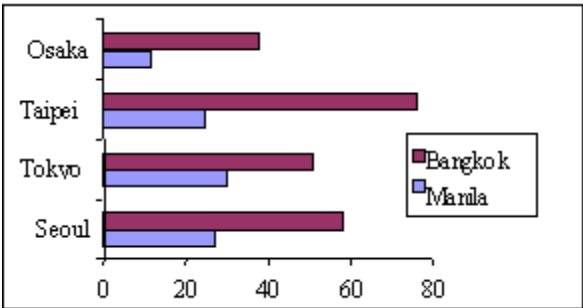
*Number of incoming direct flights per week
Source: OAG Flight Guide (September 2003)

When the Philippines abrogated its air service agreement with Taiwan in 1999, Thailand implemented bilateral "open skies" agreements with Taiwan and Malaysia in October 2001. Since then Thailand has been actively leading the liberalization of air access within the Mekong Basin. As it aims for a 10-percent annual growth over the next four years, it recognizes that there is still insufficient seat availability for major tourist markets such as Japan and emerging markets like Italy, India, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East.

Air access provides a crucial component of tourism development in the Philippines since 98 percent of arrivals travel by air. The 1991 Tourism Master Plan, acknowledging the need to develop air access, pushed for the liberalization of the airline industry. This came about through the issuance of Executive Order No. 219 in January 1995 and the Implementing Rules and Regulations in 2001.

Airport congestion is another constraint faced by both countries in the traditional gateways of Bangkok and Manila. The International Air Transport Association projected that overcrowding in Bangkok would worsen by 2006 and would cause Thailand to lose up to 3.8 million tourists. This could also result in Thailand losing the chance to become a major aviation hub in the region. Delays could likely force airlines, particularly those making long-haul transcontinental flights, to switch their bases from Bangkok to Singapore or Kuala Lumpur.

While the NAIA capacity is expected to expand once Terminal 3 opens, international (particularly European) airlines have considered pulling out of Manila due to expensive airport charges. Apart from the overtime rates of customs personnel being charged to the airlines, the landing fees are high compared to those of Thailand (Figure 5). Airlines are also constrained by the gross taxation ruling of the government, as embodied in the Tax Reform Code of 1997. This means they pay taxes based on the gross receipt reflected on the airline ticket even if they receive discounted fares. And even if European airlines are charged only a 1.5-percent tax rate on gross billings (compared to the 2.5 percent levied on other carriers), taxation is still highest in the Philippines. Thus, European airlines find it cheaper to make a turnaround in hubs like Bangkok or Hong Kong than mount flights to Manila.

Figure 5. Comparative landing fees in Asia
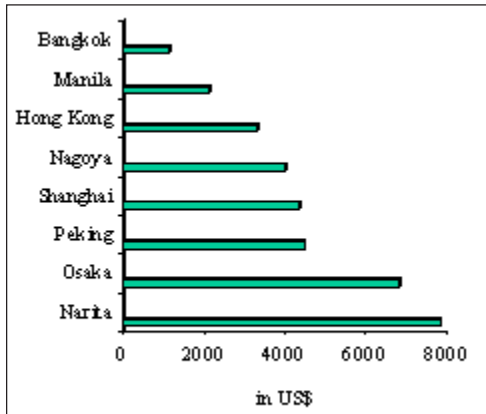
Landing fees for a Boeing 747-400
Source: Various airport authorities

Traveling to Thailand is considered convenient and relatively inexpensive. This has played a major part in promoting the growth of tourism there. However, Thailand still has to contend with certain limitations:

- *Land transport.* International signposts that could assist tourists traveling by car are lacking. Within the region, the condition of the roads remains bad, which prevents tourists from traveling more extensively within the region, concerned as they are with their safety.
- *Water transport.* Coastal tourist attractions and tourist sites along canals are considered major tourist attractions. Yet, there are no designated docks to receive cruise vessels as well as harbors that will accommodate yachts. Safety regulations are rarely enforced.

The transportation network in the Philippines lags behind that of Thailand. The hubs-and-spokes system being promoted by DOT is based on the 1991 Tourism Master Plan, which aims to bring tourists to satellite destinations via at least one gateway. The development of an efficient transportation network must be accelerated to allow tourists to move with reasonable costs from one destination to another at the shortest time possible. For the Japanese market, for instance, access (preferably direct) is a very important decision factor for choosing a destination. If more gateways like Palawan can be developed, tourists (domestic and foreign) will no longer be obliged to fly back to Manila for an international or even domestic flight. A liberal transportation policy is needed to make this happen.

Most roads still lack signs containing vital information on local tourist attractions. Also, the buses or public transportation network is hardly incorporated in maps, which tourists rely on for their travels. Still another cause for concern is that while interisland shipping has developed in recent years, ports or harbors lack the facilities and standards to assure tourist safety and security. Furthermore, the personnel are not adequately trained to attend to the needs of tourists.

Immigration procedures are straightforward in Thailand with few visa-related impediments for international tourists, especially those from major tourism markets. Facilitation of travel in the form of visa exemptions or visa on arrival applies to about 158 countries, including China, one of its top 10 markets.

One of the resolutions of the National Socio-Economic pact in December 2001 for the tourism agenda was the liberalization of visa requirements and fees for Chinese tourists. In February 2002, visa application procedures for Chinese nationals were simplified. Visa fees were reduced by 20 percent and the processing period shortened.

In a similar bid to boost tourism and attract investments, foreign nationals have been allowed to extend their stay to the Philippines for a period of six months to one year from the date of arrival (UN ESCAP 2001).

Accommodation capacity and standards

Industry players in the Philippines have often complained about the lack of capacity and quality accommodation establishments, especially in provincial destinations. Such complaints are valid, because the Philippines has only around 200 establishments and 25,000 rooms available for tourists nationwide. Around 40 percent is concentrated in Metro Manila.

Thailand, on the other hand, has more than 4,000 establishments and 320,000 rooms, one of the highest in Asia. Bangkok alone accounts for 25 percent of the total capacity. This huge capacity was built up over the years since the government promoted investments in the hotel industry as early as the 1980s. The tax incentives granted by Thailand to new and existing establishments have encouraged hotel owners to upgrade their facilities. Such incentives for renovation do not exist in the Philippines.

Figure 6. Number of hotel rooms in Asia (2001)
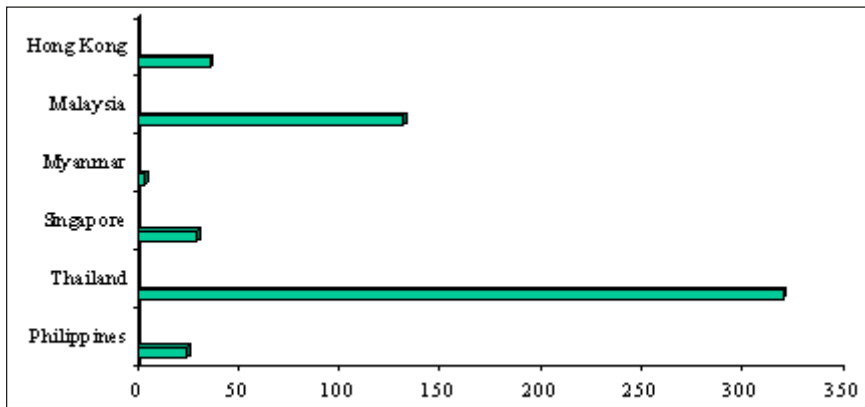
Figures are in thousands
Sources: PATA, DOT

Thailand does not have an existing accreditation system for hotels. Quality hotels are international chains with established names and reputation worldwide. However, TAT has been consulting with hotel associations to produce accreditation standards that ensure quality for discriminating tourists.

The DOT still accredits establishments (using de luxe, first-class, standard, and economy ratings) on a voluntary basis to assure quality services. The monitoring system of DOT's accreditation needs to be enforced as tourists complain about the inability of establishments to meet the department's accreditation requirements. With the devolution of tourism functions to the LGUs, establishments are no longer required to seek DOT accreditation.

Manpower development

More than 3.4 million people are directly and indirectly employed in the tourism industry of Thailand. This number is expected to rise to 4.8 million by 2010, representing an average annual growth rate of 3 percent.

To address the education and training needs of these workers, Thailand has approximately 120 colleges, universities, and institutes offering travel and tourism courses, the standards of which vary. Each year, nearly 13,000 people finish their studies from these educational institutions. Courses are taught at the certificate level, undergraduate level, and under various postgraduate programs. Some universities, colleges, and educational institutes design their own curricula with advice from TAT. Other universities have links with universities in Australia, United Kingdom, and the United States.

However, highly trained personnel with specialized skills are still lacking, particularly those who can speak Japanese. At the same time, a little over

half of the tourism personnel are only high school graduates. Many have limited opportunities to develop technical skills as well as management and language capability.

In the Philippines, tourism directly and indirectly employs around 3 million workers (8.8 percent of total economy employment). The DOT conducts training programs that include continuing education, hotel and resort services skills development, trainers' training, labor management, Japanese language courses, and frontline service skills for taxi drivers and homestay participants. During the period 1997-2001, a total of 17,301 industry workers benefited from the training programs conducted by the DOT. The private sector conducts training on its own or through association-sponsored programs. These efforts notwithstanding, there is still a scarcity of tourism graduates capable of assuming management posts or who possess a strong research orientation for product development and improvement. The absence of a school offering a postgraduate course in tourism is a sign of the lack of priority for manpower development in the country.

Some schools have adopted the dual training system that allows students to work with hotels, travel agencies, and airlines during their practicum. However, a number of private sector operators do not cooperate with schools on such programs. As the country faces stiff competition with more and more Asians learning the English language, then it should strengthen the curricula of universities and develop an international exchange system with other countries.

Total enrollment of tourism students in Manila is around 22,000, or a net increase of 14 percent per annum. This is a result of more schools offering tourism and related courses such as hotel and restaurant management, travel agency operations, and airline operations. Only 15 to 20 percent of the practicum time is devoted to community immersion programs. Such programs are intended to upgrade and utilize local manpower in the communities. In Palawan and Negros Occidental, students and out-of-school youths are tapped to conduct research and campaign for the local government.

Table 18. Summary of manpower trainings (1997-2001)

Year	No. of Trainings	Beneficiaries
2001	112	3,924
2000	118	3,643
1999	120	3,209
1998	77	1,861
1997	101	4,664
Total	528	17,301

Source: Office of Tourism Standards

The Department of Education has already identified tourism as one of the priority areas for manpower training. The Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA), for its part, is working on a project to recommend policies and program responses on improving the ability of technical and vocational education providers to respond to the dynamics of the tourism sector.

Sustainability issues

Both the Philippines and Thailand are moving toward sustainable tourism development, being more aware of the negative effects of tourism development, particularly on the local communities. Both are also actively minimizing the negative effects of tourism on the environment.

Thailand had a more laissez-faire attitude with its early tourism development. However, the costs to communities from bad planning and lack of private sector regulation in fragile areas pushed Thailand to become more vigilant.

As indicated by Defert's Index, tourism has become an important activity in Thailand (Table 19). A high Defert index implies that a relatively high proportion of the local population works in the tourism industry. Hence, the higher the index, the more important is tourism's role in the local economy (Oppermann and Chon 1997). Tourism density is highest in Chonburi, where Pattaya is located while tourism intensity (in terms of tourists per 1,000 host population) is highest in Phuket and Bangkok.

Bangkok used to account for 76 percent of the tourism income. This was reduced to 37 percent in 1994 as Phuket, Chiang Mai, Chin Buri-Pattaya and Songkhla-Hat Yai (TDRI 1997) became added tourist destinations, and to 34 percent in 2000. Other border towns and cities have also experienced growth in income due to the opening up of the Indochina.

For the Philippines, high indices have been computed for Davao, Cebu, and the NCR. The NCR has the highest concentration of tourists per square kilometer while Davao has a high tourist concentration per 1,000 host population.

Philippine tourism development has been largely concentrated in Metro Manila. Prior to the 1990s, Manila was the country's only gateway, with tourist revenues mostly concentrated in the metropolis. Common tourist destinations outside of Manila were Baguio and Tagaytay. In the 1990s, the development of new gateways such as Mactan-Cebu, Davao, Laoag, Subic, and Clark paved the way for the direct entry of foreign tourists to destinations in the Visayas, particularly Cebu. The liberalization of the airline industry was also a major factor behind the growth of tourism. New players like Cebu Pacific, Air Philippines, and Asian Spirit introduced competition and provided greater access between Manila and other provincial destinations.

Table 19. Measures of tourism development*

	Defert's Index (km)	Tourism Density (tourists/sq.km)	TII (Tourists per 1,000 persons)
Thailand			
Bangkok	9.11	6,050.63	1,493.85
Chiang Mai	9.56	94.75	1,263.27
Chonburi	22.70	15,525.12	3,030.38
Phuket	78.61	254.43	11,932.57
Philippines			
Batangas	0.28	24.89	41.36
Cebu	1.73	125.17	267.94
Davao	2.77	37.59	411.27
NCR	1.25	3706.26	237.33
Palawan	0.71	2.64	52.09

2000 figures include domestic and foreign
Sources: Statistical Yearbooks (Thailand and Philippines)
National Statistics Office, Philippines

Thailand has been trying to reverse the environmental deterioration in sites like Pattaya. In the mid-1990s, the Thai government devoted funds to rejuvenating and expanding the carrying capacity of Pattaya by providing wastewater treatment retrofits for hotels and by removing houses along the coastal areas.

The WTO assisted the Thai government in preparing a sustainable development plan for tourism that became the basis for the Tourism Master Plan for 2002-2006. The Plan revealed that at least 179 tourist locations in 49 provinces needed assistance in returning to their original state. TAT took the lead in analyzing the development potential of some 2,300 listed attractions of around 33 provinces with significant tourism development potential. The Plan identified the significance and potential level (high, medium, low) of tourism development as well as the urgency of such development and investment requirements. This analytical work has been used to define a tourism development strategy with focus on the development of new tourism destinations in addition to the already established areas of Phuket, Pattaya, Ko Samui, and Chiang Mai.

The Royal Forest Department's National Parks Division has only recently commenced tourism development within the parks and protected areas. Although park management plans have been developed, tourism is not a focal issue. The Department of Fine Arts in charge of cultural resources has surveyed all sites from a protection and restoration point of view. However, only limited initiatives have been undertaken for tourism.

An integral part of the planning process for destinations in Thailand is the determination of carrying capacity. For example, Phi Phi Island and other fragile tourism areas in Thailand cannot accommodate a doubling of visitors that can happen in six years (based on an assumed 12 percent growth). At present the demand for some of the fragile tourism sites (national parks, temples, coral reefs) is surpassing the carrying capacity with potentially large negative impacts on the tourism resource base. Site management and measures to increase site carrying capacities and regulate the flow of tourists are therefore vital to sustainable tourism development.

The Philippines has similar action plans involving sustainable tourism. These include sites like Olango Bay in Cebu and Ulugan Bay in Palawan. In 1999 an executive order established guidelines for ecotourism and created a National Ecotourism Development Council to formulate policies along with guidelines to review and approve ecotourism projects. A National Ecotourism Congress was convened in 1999 to help formulate a national ecotourism policy. In addition, it centered on people, nature and time as three interdependent elements to achieve sustainable tourism. Whale-watching programs were organized in coordination with other government agencies, universities, and nongovernment organizations to generate livelihoods for local communities. A National Ecotourism Strategy was completed in April 2002 to promote an integrated approach for the protection of natural resources while at the same time generating economic opportunities for local communities.

Both Thailand and the Philippines are beset with rising cases of prostitution. However, the situation is worse in Thailand, where sex tourism is reportedly more widespread. Prostitution has irreversible outcomes that can destroy the capability of the future generation to sustain the benefits of tourism development.

Lessons from Thailand's experience: implications on sustainable development in the Philippines

Both countries face similar challenges such as fragmented private sectors, negative images, and rapid deterioration of resources. The policies they have adopted to address those challenges are also the same. These policies include devolution, private-public partnerships, and the formulation of a national ecotourism policy. They differ, however, in the degree of importance attached by stakeholders to those policies. This is based on a number of

case studies on community tourism development and expansion of carrying capacity documented by ESCAP in the two countries.

In the Philippines, tourism is highly politicized and usually lacks strong leadership to strategically lead the communities and the industry as a whole toward long-term growth. In Thailand, leadership has been a critical element in growth combined with favorable factors such as peace and order, diversified products, and strong marketing and promotional efforts. Thailand has embarked on a massive information campaign to promote its destinations with the cooperation of media—something the Philippines has not done to the same degree.

Thailand has been known to build on and to strengthen past initiatives that have produced good results for tourism. This commitment is reflected in its five-year TMPs. The first plans (mostly physical) focused on attaining the economic goals of foreign exchange generation and job employment. There was minimal emphasis on the role of environmental conservation and preservation in the long-term sustainability of tourism. However, succeeding TMPs have sought to develop higher-quality tourism and making resources more sustainable. Thailand realized the need to stress product development and build awareness about these new products as well as identify new market niches. To make tourism sustainable, Thailand is focusing its efforts on attracting high-spending and longer-staying tourists and on improving its image. There have also been efforts to promote tourism among the locals.

The challenges of the 1990s pushed the government to incorporate environmental and cultural sustainability in its plan and to pursue specific measures or projects to accomplish this goal. The TAT has been actively communicating to the agencies concerned and the public the findings of the various provincial and regional master plans, particularly those related to resource inventory, resource utilization, and to potential investment areas.

Thailand is actively pursuing its commitments under the APEC Agenda for Tourism, having embarked on efforts to remove barriers to movement through its liberal air access and visa requirements. Thus, Thailand has been able to develop its position as a regional aviation and tourism hub.

The Philippines can also learn much from the excesses of Thailand's development. Pattaya, for example, is a model of bad planning. While Thailand boasts of huge arrivals, it is beset with cultural and environmental threats to tourism's sustainability. Foremost of these is the spread of AIDS among locals. The WTO has recommended that Thailand develop its own model of sustainable development by changing the present tourism direction and focusing more on products and activities that will add to the attractiveness of Thailand as a quality destination.

The strategy is to combine mainstream markets with niche products. Thailand is moving toward reducing low-budget tourists, since they do not pay for the resources they consume. If Thailand cannot reverse the present

situation, its tourism industry will not be able to contribute to Thailand's future growth and development. The Philippines should learn from this experience by pursuing the kind of tourism development that will shield the local communities from negative externalities.

The Thai government is moving away from areas that the private sector can do better, if not best. One of these is the enforcement of regulations and appropriate management systems. At present, the private sector is developing a hotel grading system that will address the need for standardization, and enforcing control measures for the development of accommodation facilities. Standards are needed with regard to water quality, sewage disposal, garbage disposal, height restrictions, construction density, construction of roads along the coast, use of coral as construction materials, and environmental impact assessment.

TAT recognizes the need to categorize and grade facilities and activities to make market presentation better and improve standards. Since hotels in Thailand have not yet been graded, TAT is supporting the Thai Hotel Association in introducing a private sector system. Thus, policing and management of the performance of Thai hotels will be under the supervision of the private sector in cooperation with the Chiang Mai University, which will devise an appropriate system. As the government does not envisage a public sector-controlled authorization system, TAT has committed itself to promoting only what has been accredited by the private sector groups implementing the grading system.

Furthermore, the Thai government recognizes that a strong public-private partnership is needed to pursue sustainable and integrated tourism development. While Pattaya is a model of negative private sector-driven tourism development, the Khao Lak tourism area offers an alternative model. Khao Lak is located about 50 km north of the airport of Phuket. Local entrepreneurs have developed a highly attractive area for mainstream tourists—families with children, or individuals who simply would like to experience a quiet and relaxing atmosphere. Local entrepreneurs collaborate with the Khao Lak tourism association and the local administration on garbage collection. The basis for development has been the initiatives of the local tourism association with strong support from the local government and assistance from the Department of Town and Country Planning and the Public Works Department of the Ministry of Interior.

The Philippines does not lack plans or policies. Past initiatives have produced good results for tourism, which must be sustained. Toward this end, the master plan should be reviewed and updated. Initiatives should include public-private partnerships, which are common in manpower training and in marketing and promotions of local destinations. Strong public-private partnerships in research and development are widespread in Thailand but have yet to flourish in the Philippines.

The Philippines can build on existing initiatives. The areas which require attention as far as sustainable tourism development is concerned are as follows:

Market and product development

- Studying and understanding the needs of the core markets (which have become the basis for the various training programs of schools, universities, and TAT in Thailand). Such initiatives should be grounded in research and data.
- Building a strategic information system that captures relevant data on domestic and foreign tourism (on flows and behavior), potential investment areas (classified as high, medium, or low), and urgent investment needs as well as regulatory framework.
- Accelerating the completion of the Tourism Satellite Accounts to heighten the economic benefits of tourism development. Localized Tourism Satellite Accounts can also be the starting point for private sector efforts to pursue tourism development in their locality.
- Strengthening domestic tourism promotions by the DOT and the private sector in cooperation with LGUs to balance foreign demand in tourist destinations.
- Building awareness of new product niches.

Organizational development

- Reorganizing the DOT into a lean organization focused on core activities that require for a lower share of the appropriated budget.

Manpower development

- Assessing manpower requirements for each type of work for human resources development.
- Improving the quality of human resources and developing a high standard of specialized skills in various environments.
- Improving tourism training infrastructure, especially in the provinces, and providing more opportunities for training the trainer programs.
- Providing general guidelines on career opportunities and working conditions in tourism services.
- Setting up a national network of tourism education and training institutes to strengthen cooperation and build up the research capability of students and industry practitioners.

- Developing stronger partnership between the private sector and academic institutions.
- Developing a pool of accredited tour guides in the local communities who can be hired by tour operators or travel agencies.

Infrastructure

- Pursuing liberalization of airline access, especially to other gateways with high and medium tourism potential. The Philippines should consider removing restrictions in capacity through bilateral open skies with major markets such as Japan, South Korea, and the United States; and opening up the secondary gateways to link them with more established hubs in the region and generate third-country tourism traffic.
- Supporting infrastructure improvement for the nautical highway and the network of road, land, and air transportation systems within the Philippines to reduce costs and improve mobility.
- Removing barriers to individual and business travel such as stringent visa rules.
- Addressing the taxation issue for international airlines to reduce their costs of doing business in the country.

Resources management

- Developing tourism loops for tourists to experience greater diversity, increase consumption, and increase length of stay. Such an approach will also enhance cooperation among local units and distribute income from the core to the peripheral areas connected by the loops.
- Documenting experiences of pilot projects or best practices of local communities, and disseminating the information to more localities. This in turn can build up the constituency needed to increase stakeholder participation in that community.
- Drafting guidelines on tourism development, which falls under the open-space and recreation category of the zoning ordinances. This can help prevent the same problems experienced by Pattaya. Such development requires an assessment of carrying capacity as well as density, site planning standards, housing, and utility standards.

Partnership for sustainable tourism

- Strengthening the 3Ps: public-private partnership. Constituency building is needed to properly communicate the concept of sustainable development to the stakeholders; to develop trust among stakeholders; and to identify areas of responsibilities.

> Strong awareness programs can be supported by the LGUs and the private sector through focus-group discussions or workshops.
> - Adopting site management by local communities to increase site carrying capacities and measures to regulate the tourism flow, which in turn will be integrated in the planning process of destinations.
> - Pursuing closer coordination among the various government agencies and building a monitoring body from the private sector.

What can Thailand learn from the Philippines? First, there is no place for incoherent plans in a fragile industry like tourism. Second, devolution without proper training and preparation can inhibit the full use of devolved tourism functions in building the capability of local communities to pursue their own sustainable tourism development programs. Third, the overall vision of tourism should be supported by appropriate policy goals in tourism-allied sectors such as transportation. When tourism becomes heavily politicized, tourism loses its power to generate jobs, democratize income distribution, and eradicate poverty.

Thailand can likewise learn from the pocket initiatives that demonstrate strong private-public partnership in tourism development, as in the case of Palawan, Olango Bay in Cebu, and Panglao Craft Village at Panglao Island Tourism Estate in Bohol. The Entrepreneurial Development in Rural Tourism and the Philippine Agrotourism Programme enhances public-private partnerships in community tourism.

This study compared the overall tourism policy frameworks of Thailand and the Philippines to draw lessons for sustainable development. Thailand has often been cited as a model for tourism development, particularly in marketing and promotions and liberalization of tourism- related services such as air transportation. Its experience provides lessons on how excesses—environmental degradation, prostitution, cultural exploitation—can weaken the power of tourism to eradicate poverty and in make tourism more sustainable. The Philippines boasts of destinations which are at the early stages of the product life cycle. These destinations can learn from the negative effects of tourism development in Thailand, as in the case of Pattaya, Koh Samui, and even Bangkok. Thailand's experience has revealed that government and policies still have a place in tourism development. Its position as a regional hub for tourism is a result of relatively liberal air transport policies. More importantly, government plays a critical role in correcting market failures, minimizing the negative externalities created by tourism, and assisting in the distribution of benefits to communities.

Bibliography

APEC Tourism Working Group. 1996. Environmentally sustainable tourism in APEC member economies. Singapore: APEC Secretariat.

_____. 1996. Impediments to tourism in APEC. Singapore: APEC Secretariat.

ASEAN Center on Trade, Investment and Tourism. 1999. Seminar on up-grading the service standards of travel trade supporting industries: Thailand and Vietnam, Bangkok, September 2-3, 1999. Japan: ASEAN Center.

Chaipan, C. and M. Yamada. 1998. Tourism as an engine of growth and equity: Case studies of Kagoshima and Phuket Island, Paper Series No. 49. Japan: The Economics Society of Kagoshima University.

Chulalongkorn University. 1996. Study and analysis of the accommodation, guided touring and souvenir business within 17 provinces in the Northern Region. Bangkok: Tourism Authority of Thailand.

Coase, R. 1960. The problem of social cost. *Journal of Law and Economics.* 3:1-44.

Department of Tourism (DOT). 1991. Tourism master plan (1991-2010). Manila, Philippines: DOT.

_____. 2001. Resolutions presented during the First Tourism-Related Industries Congress, Manila, Philippines: DOT.

_____. 2002. Resolutions presented during the Second Tourism Related Industries Congress, Manila, Philippines: DOT.

Elliott, J. 1997. *Tourism: politics and public sector management.* London: Routledge.

Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP). 2002. Committee on transport, communications, tourism and infrastructure development, fourth session, 13-15 November 2002, Bangkok, Thailand.

_____. 2001. Plan of Action for Sustainable Tourism Development in the Asian and Pacific Region (1999-2005). Bangkok: United Nations (UN).

_____. 2001. Promotion of Investment in Tourism Infrastructure. Bangkok: UN.

_____. 2001. Managing Sustainable Tourism. ESCAP Tourism Review No. 22. Bangkok: UN.

Euroleisure. 2000. Thailand tourism master plan. Bangkok: Tourism Authority of Thailand.

Go, F. and C. Jenkins. 1997. *Tourism and economic development in Asia and Australasia.* London: Cassel.

Hartley, K and N. Hooper. 1990. Industry and policy. In *Understanding the UK economy,* edited by P. Curwen. London: Macmillan.

Jenkins, C 1997. Impacts of the development of international tourism in the Asian region. In *Tourism and economic development in Asia and Australasia.* Edited by F. M. Go, and C.L. Jenkins. England: Pinter.

Johnson, P. and B. Thomas. 1992. Tourism research and policy: An overview. In *Perspectives on tourism policy.* London: Marsell Publishing Ltd.

Kaosa-ard, M. 1994. Thailand's tourism industry: What do we gain and lose?. *Thailand Development Research Institute Quarterly Review.* 9:3 .

Khalifa, Z. and S. Tahir. 1997. Malaysia: Tourism in perspective. In *Tourism and economic development in Asia and Australasia.* Edited by Go, F.M. and Jenkins, C.L. London: Cassel.

Li, L. and W. Zhang. 1997. Thailand: The dynamic growth of Thai tourism. In *Tourism and economic development in Asia and Australasia.* Edited by Go, F.M. and Jenkins, C.L. London: Cassel.

Limlingan,V. 1999. The role of air transport in tourism development. A paper presented during the Tourism and Transport Summit, June 22-23, 1999, Manila, Philippines.

McKinsey and Company. 2002. *Harnessing the tourism growth engine: A winning formula for the Philippines. Presentation to Her Excellency President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, April 2004, Malacanang, Manila.*

Meyer, W. 1988. *Beyond the mask.* SaarbrAcken Fort Lauderdale: Verlag Breitenbach Publishers.

National Economic Development Authority (NEDA). 1981. Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan (MTPDP) 1977-1981. Pasig City, Philippines: NEDA.

_____. MTPDP1982-1986. Pasig City, Philippines: NEDA.

_____. Ten-Year Tourism Master Plan 1978-1987. Pasig City, Philippines: NEDA.

_____. MTPDP 1987-1991. Pasig City, Philippines: NEDA.

_____. MTPDP1992-1998. Pasig City, Philippines: NEDA.

_____. MTPDP1998-2004. Pasig City, Philippines: NEDA.

_____. MTPDP 2001-04. Pasig City, Philippines: NEDA.

Official Airline Guide. 2003. Vol. 22, Issue No. 6. Singapore: OAG Publishing.

Opperman, M. and K. Chon. 1997. *Tourism in developing countries.* Oxford: International Business Press.

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). 1991. Inventory of measures perceived as obstacles to international tourism in the OECD Area. Paris: OECD.

_____. 2000. Liberalization of international tourism services [online]. Paris: OECD. Available from the World Wide Web: (http://www.oecd.org/dsti/sti/transpor/tourism).

Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA). 2001. Annual statistical report. Thailand: PATA.

Panayotou, T. 1993. *Green markets: The economics of sustainable development.* Harvard Institute for International Development and International Center for Economic Growth. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies.

Parnwell, M. 1993. Tourism and rural handicrafts in Thailand. In *Tourism in Southeast Asia.* Edited by M. Hitchcock, V. King, and M. Parnwell. London: Routledge.

_____. Environmental issues and tourism in Thailand. In *Tourism in Southeast Asia*. Edited by M. Hitchcock, V. King, and M. Parnwell. London: Routledge

Rieder, L. 1997. Philippines: The development of Philippine tourism in the post-Marcos era. In *Tourism and Economic Development in Asia and Australasia*. Edited by F. Go and C. Jenkins. London: Cassel.

Richter, L. 1993. Tourism policymaking in Southeast Asia. In *Tourism in Southeast Asia*. Edited by M. Hitchcock, V. King, and M. Parnwell. London: Routledge

_____. 1989. The Philippines: The politicization of tourism. In *The Politics of Tourism in Asia.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Rodolfo, C. 2000. *For whom shall we fly: Challenges to Philippine aviation.* Pasig City, Philippines: Center for Research and Communication.

Roy, K. and C. Tisdell. 1998. Tourism's importance in economic development and the state vs. market in tourism development. In *Tourism and Development: Economic, Social, Political and Environmental Issues.* New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Simpson, D. and Associates. 1996. Impediments to tourism Growth in the APEC region. A report to the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Tourism Working Group.

Thailand Development Research Institute 2001. A Study for the National Action Plan for the Tourism Industry: Executive Summary. Bangkok: Tourism Authority of Thailand

_____. 1999. Proceedings of the Seminar on Tourism Marketing for the New Millennium, Bangkok: Tourism Authority of Thailand.

_____. 1997. Tourism vision 2012. *TDRI Quarterly Review* 12(2):14-24. Bangkok.

_____. 1993. Tourism master plan: A review. Bangkok: Tourism Authority of Thailand.

Tisdell, C. 2001. *Tourism economics, the environment and development: Analysis and policy.* United Kingdom: Edward Elgar Publishing, Inc.

Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT). 2001. Tourism Plan 2002. Thailand: TAT.

_____. 2001. Documents for the Fifth International Conference on Ecotourism Development in the Third Millennium: Sustainable Tourism and Community Development Strategic Planning and Implementation, Srinakarintaraviroj University, Bangkok.

_____. 2001. *Annual Report.* Bangkok: TAT.

_____. 2000. *Annual Report.* Bangkok: TAT.

_____. 1992. *Annual Report.* Bangkok: TAT.

_____. 1990. *Annual Report.* Bangkok: TAT

Tourism Canada .1990. *An action strategy for sustainable tourism development.* Tourism Stream Action Strategy Committee, Tourism Canada.

Travel Development Center Ltd. Tourism development potential in the Philippines: A pre-feasibility study. Helsinki, Finland: Center for Tourism Studies.

United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia Pacific (UNESCAP). 2001. Managing sustainable tourism. *ESCAP Tourism Review No. 22.* Bangkok.

_____. 2001. Promotion of investment in tourism infrastructure. Bangkok.

World Council on Environment and Development. 1987. *Our common future.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

World Tourism Organization (WTO). 1997. Tourism 2000: Building a Sustainable Future for Asia-Pacific. Final report. Madrid, Spain: WTO.

_____. 2001. Sustainable tourism development for Thailand. Madrid, Spain:WTO.

_____.1998. Proceedings of the seminar on Asian Experiences in Tourism Development Partnership: A Report on the WTO/Japan Travel Association Technical Seminar on Public-Private Partnership in Tourism Development, 19 February 1998, Kyoto, Japan. Madrid, Spain: WTO.

World Travel and Tourism Council. WTTC. 2001. The economic impact of travel and tourism. London, United Kingdom: WTTC.

Chapter 3

Toward the Development of Sustainable Tourism Indicators: An Analysis of Sustainable Tourism Programs and Practices Among ASEAN National Tourism Organizations

Reil G. Cruz

Introduction

National tourism organizations (NTOs) play a central role in tourism development within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). From the 1960s up to the early 1990s, NTOs have assumed the functions of planning, implementation, and regulation of tourism. Such active intervention has been widely credited for the rapid development of the tourism industries of the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. Along with industrialization and vigorous export promotion, tourism has become a tool for economic development of these ASEAN states. Over the last 40 years, the growth of tourist arrivals and tourist receipts in these countries (with the exception of the Philippines) have been among the highest in the world. By 2000, the four countries had generated nearly US$21 billion in receipts from 32 million arrivals (various sources).

However, poorly planned mass tourism in these countries has also led to environmental and cultural degradation. Thailand and the Philippines have come to be known as sex capitals. The spread of AIDS, particularly in Thailand, has also been abetted by tourism. Local residents have complained of loss of access to beaches and dislocation from areas of economic activity. The once pristine beaches of Boracay and Phuket now suffer from congestion, pollution, and beach erosion. Singapore has lost much of its Asian identity as high-rise hotels, giant malls, and a futuristic airport were constructed to handle the influx of millions of tourists. Thus, it comes as no surprise that

Table 1. Tourist arrivals and receipts (2000)

	Tourist arrivals (millions)	Tourist receipts (billions)
Philippines	1.797	2.33
Malaysia	12.775	6.30
Singapore	7.519	5.45
Thailand	10.132	6.88
	32.223	20.96

the tourism sector, where its approach to development is concerned, has become a target for reform. The new paradigm has come to be known as *sustainable development.*

This paper looks at how national tourism organizations in the ASEAN region operationalize the principles of sustainability. Its specific objectives of this paper are:

- ▪ To identify the activities undertaken by the NTOs in four ASEAN countries to effect sustainable development in their respective tourism industries;
- ▪ To evaluate the sufficiency of these measures in attaining sustainable tourism development; and
- ▪ To suggest ways of improving current efforts toward a more sustainable development of tourism.

This study is based on desktop research using printed literature as well as online resources. Interviews with experts and ocular inspections of sites in Malaysia, Thailand, and Singapore were done to augment material obtained on these countries. The review of literature concentrated on international declarations (particularly the world summits on sustainable development), national socioeconomic development plans, national tourism master plans, ecotourism master plans of the four countries, as well as academic papers published in recent international tourism conference proceedings.

Analysis was limited to NTOs to ensure focus for the discussion. The NTOs covered were those of the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand, which may not accurately represent the ASEAN region. These NTOs were:

- ▪ the Philippines' Department of Tourism (DOT),
- ▪ Malaysia's Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism (MOCAT),
- ▪ the Singapore Tourism Board (STB), and
- ▪ the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT).

Sustainable tourism development as a concept

Understanding sustainable tourism development requires an understanding of the fundamental concept of sustainable development. The beginnings of the sustainable development paradigm can be traced to the environmental movement in Europe and North America during the 1960s. In June 1972, the international community met in Stockholm, Sweden, to discuss for the first time global environmental and development issues. The resulting Declaration of the United Nations (UN) Conference on the Human Environment contained 26 principles on the preservation of the environment.

In 1986, the UN World Commission on Environment and Development studied the dynamics of global environmental degradation and recommended measures to ensure the long-term viability of human society. Gro

Harlem Brundtland, then Prime Minister of Norway, chaired the Commission. The Commission's report, Our Common Future (1987), became the benchmark for thinking about the global environment. It also coined the phrase "sustainable development," which it defined as:

> "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."

The report echoed the basic principles outlined in the 1972 Stockholm Convention, namely, redistribution of economic activity, conservation of and equitable access to resources, and increased technological effort to use them more effectively. It also recommended observance of carrying capacity and sustainable yield, and minimizing adverse impacts.

The 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (also known as Earth Summit 1992 or the Rio Summit) again brought environment and development issues to the forefront. It produced the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, which added the principles of intergenerational equity, citizen participation, and empowerment of women, youth, and indigenous peoples. Its accompanying "Agenda 21: Program of Action for Sustainable Development" identified ways by which various stakeholders can operationalize the actions called for by the document on a wide range of issues. Attended by leaders from government, public interest groups, nongovernmental organizations, as well as private business, Earth Summit 1992 generated a high level of public awareness of and engagement in global environmental protection for the health and well-being of future generations. Furthermore, it highlighted the value of international cooperation in global issues, such as environmental degradation.

As with Stockholm, the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, South Africa, identified poverty as the main cause of environmental degradation and social problems. As such, measures to eradicate poverty were deemed essential to a sustainable future. These measures called for greater access to basic health services, clean water, and sanitation facilities, and education. It also called for greater participation by women and indigenous peoples in economic activities. Other proposed policies involved giving poor people access to basic rural infrastructure and credit facilities, and application of new environment-friendly technologies (UN 2002). A significant aspect of the WSSD was the inclusion of sustainable tourism development, particularly ecotourism and community-based tourism, as strategies for reducing poverty.

Tourism as a form of sustainable development had been discussed in many previous tourism gatherings. In 1995, the World Conference on Sustainable Tourism in Lanzarote was the first to call for the integration of sustainable development principles with tourism. The Lanzarote conference

produced two important documents, the Charter for Sustainable Tourism and the Sustainable Tourism Plan of Action. The Charter laid down 18 principles for controlling tourism as part of a global strategy for sustainable development. The Plan of Action specified strategies and proposals for action to be developed by signatories to the Lanzarote Declaration. The first of these principles stated: "Tourism development shall be based on criteria of sustainability, which means that it must be ecologically bearable in the long term, economically viable, as well as ethically and socially equitable for the local communities" (Aronsson 2000).

In 1996, the World Tourism Organization (WTO), the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), and the Earth Council released Agenda 21 for Travel and Tourism Industry: Towards Environmental Sustainable Development. The document called for the establishment of mechanisms for the implementation of sustainable tourism practices, participatory decisionmaking, and the interdependence of tourism and peace, among others.

In April 2001, the Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA) and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) published their own Code for Sustainable Tourism. It urged their members to conserve the natural environment, respect local cultures, maintain environmental management systems, conserve and reduce energy, eliminate wastes and pollutants. It also encouraged commitment to support environmentally and socially responsible actions, sustainable tourism research and educational activities, and cooperation with individuals and organizations to advance sustainable development practices.

Taking off from the Brundtland Commission's definition, Tourism Canada came up with the following definition of sustainable tourism development in 1990:

> "Tourism development that leads to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled, while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems."

Eber (1992) as cited in Bramwell (1998) states that tourism can contribute to sustainable development when:

> "… It operates within natural capacities for the regeneration and future productivity of natural resources; recognizes the contribution that people and communities, customs and lifestyles make to the tourism experience; accepts that these people must have an equitable share in the economic benefits of tourism; and is guided by the wishes of local people and communities in the host areas."

McVey (1993) identifies the three core elements of sustainability:

- *Economic sustainability,* or efforts to maintain growth rates at manageable levels; promoting tourism while keeping an eye on capacities to handle greater demand to avoid consumer dissatisfaction;
- *Social sustainability,* or society's ability to absorb increasing tourist arrivals without adversely affecting or damaging indigenous culture; and
- *Environmental sustainability,* which is related to the capacity of the natural and built environment to handle tourism without damage.

The UN Commission for Sustainable Development adds a fourth element—institutional sustainability. This refers to a country's commitment to sustainable development as manifested by the incorporation of sustainable principles into development planning, partnerships for sustainable development, the use of indicators for monitoring sustainability, presence of monitoring and coordinating bodies for sustainable development, and the enactment of laws that promote sustainable development.

Tisen et al. (1999) explains the interrelationships among nature, culture, and economics in the following example.

Among the communities in Sarawak, Malaysia, forest animals are the foundation of legends and traditional belief systems. They are imitated in dances, and animal parts are used as decorative wear. If wildlife disappears, their culture will also fade. Yet the forest also supplies the people with wild meat, which constitutes a third of their staple food. But again if the people continue hunting certain animals for meat, then these animals might become extinct. By offering an alternative means of livelihood, tourism in Sarawak helps preserve the environment and culture.

From this review of literature, tourism can be deemed sustainable if:

- It is economically viable;
- Promotes conservation of natural resources and indigenous culture;
- Supports preservation of local culture;
- Takes a long-term perspective and is concerned with the well-being of future generations;
- Promotes equity, or sharing the benefits and risks of tourism;
- Engages multistakeholder participation in decisionmaking and management;
- Promotes cooperation and partnerships;
- Promotes responsibility and accountability in behavior and relationships;
- Is marketed responsibly;

- ▪ Is integrated into planning;
- ▪ Upholds respect for others; and
- ▪ Emphasizes the importance of education, research, and capability building.

NTO activities on sustainable tourism development
This section looks at how sustainable tourism framework has been adopted into the national tourism agenda of the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand; how the concept of sustainable tourism has been operationalized through the various activities of the NTOs; and the challenges, issues, or gaps that remain to be hurdled in pursuit of sustainable tourism.

National tourism plans
Because of multilateral commitments made by the four countries under study, there has been a conscious effort to integrate the principles of sustainability into their national development plans, which later found their way into their tourism master plans.

The original six member countries of ASEAN (the four, plus Indonesia and Brunei) adopted the 1987 Jakarta Resolution on promoting sustainable development as a framework in their efforts on common seas, land resources, tropical rainforests, and air quality (ASEAN Economic Research Unit, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies 1991, online). Eventually, the ASEAN countries signed Agenda 21, the mother document upon which codes of ethics, guidelines, and master plans for sustainable development would be based. The principles of sustainable development would found application in the national development plans. National development plans provide the overall framework for development of a country. They spell out the major objectives and strategies, and identify priority projects for investments, and therefore have direct implications on national budgets. They set the general directions for sectoral plans, such as tourism master plans. National tourism plans in the four ASEAN countries generally underscore the important contribution of tourism to the national economy and its potential to raise income levels and the quality of life in the rural areas; the need for human resource development; environmental and cultural conservation; and marketing and product development strategies (e.g., cluster development and trans-border tourism). Some national tourism plans have also special features like extension of financial assistance to tourism ventures, decentralization of control for tourism, and development of e-commerce for tourism.

Malaysia's National Tourism Policy was first proclaimed in the Sixth Malaysia Plan (1991-1995) and updated in the subsequent Seventh (1996-2000) and Eighth (2001-2005) Malaysia Plans. The Federal Government's broad

policies for sustainable development of tourism in Malaysia include the following:

- Encouraging equitable economic and social development through the promotion of rural enterprises, accelerating urban-rural integration and cultural exchange, and encouraging ethnic community participation;
- Developing environment-friendly tourism products, as well as promotion of cultural and natural heritage;
- Provision of soft loans for small- to medium-sized tourism-related projects; and
- Adoption of an integrated approach to planning, continuing human resource development, and preservation and beautification of tourism and historical sites.

The Philippine Tourism Master Plan outlines policies designed to advance the cause of sustainable tourism development:

- Promoting sustainable tourism products by developing a spread of differentiated tourism clusters, each supported by an international gateway, support amenities, and services;
- Developing a spread of complementary tourism products in each of the clusters, and diversifying the market mix by aiming to striking a balance between domestic and international tourism;
- Maximizing the use of local resources (financial, human, and material);
- Maximizing local ownership, livelihood opportunities, individual initiative, and self-reliance;
- Encouraging domestic tourism as a means to improve the people's quality of life, conserve and promote national heritage, and heighten their sense of national identity and unity;
- Promoting environmental conservation by adhering to development guidelines and carrying capacities of the locale where tourism development would take place, adopting an integrated approach to planning based on the country's natural, historic, and architectural heritage; and supporting the conservation movement;
- Establishing a tourism industry training board, training centers per cluster or region, and standards for tourism professional, and tourism educators.

In response to the call for sustainable tourism development, the DOT, with the help of the Philippine Council on Sustainable Development and other entities, conducted a series of technical workshops to update its tourism policy. The proposed tourism policy statement underscored the signifi-

cance of tourism as "a catalyst for sustainable development." The updated framework advocates multisectoral participation in tourism development by women, cultural minorities, tourists, and big business. Sustainable tourism will be the product of judicious stewardship by the key players in tourism (i.e., travel and tourism business and affiliated sectors, politicians, civil society, the academe and technological institutions, host communities, farmers and fisherfolk, indigenous peoples, and visitors). Sustainable tourism development adheres to the primacy of people, the spirit of partnership or consortium, community participation, cultural authenticity and integrity, quality of tourism product or experience, entrepreneurship and productivity, gender sensitivity, and advocacy and leadership (DOT technical workshop paper).

The STB's current Tourism Master Plan called Tourism 21 is basically a marketing plan that bears no direct references to sustainable development. Lacking the tourist diversity of its neighbors, Singapore has chosen instead to concentrate on forging regional tourism and business alliances, and packaging complementary tourism products with destinations outside its geographic boundaries (Yeoh et al. undated). The Plan called for the development of the city-state as a tourism hub in Asia and mastering gateway tourism, taking full advantage of its location, sophisticated infrastructure, political stability, and excellent human resource. According to Shoo Ling, STB regulates only hotels and travel agencies. For tourism sites, regulation is done by the Urban Redevelopment Board. The other agencies in charge of tourism-related development are the National Parks Board, the National Heritage Board, and the Ministry of Environment. There is no definite legislation to ensure sustainable tourism, which nevertheless is encouraged through intergovernmental alliance with local authorities, business, and industry. Singapore has shifted its approach from advocating a "demolish and rebuild policy" of the 1960s to 1970s to becoming a green city with well-preserved Asian heritage (Chan and Smith 2001).

The sustainable tourism policy of TAT emanates from Thailand's constitution, which provides for the right of the people to protect their resources, trades, and culture as well as the right to partake of the fruits from the utilization of such resources. Sustainable tourism development policy is one of the five components of National Policy spelled out in the Eighth National Economic and Social Development Plan (NESDP) (1997-2001). Sustainable tourism was made into a national agenda in the National Tourism Development Plan that was contained in the Ninth NESDP (2002-2006) (TISTR 1997).

Thailand's tourism policy advocates:

- A human-centered approach to development, the protection of the well-being of the people and their participation in all levels of development;
- Conservation of mangrove forests, coral reefs, and marine park resources—assets that are vital to the tourism industry;

- Tourism as the major source of national income;
- Multistakeholder participation (i.e., local people, local government organizations, other government agencies, and the private sector);
- Upgrading of service quality standards, building up performance of small- and medium-size entrepreneurs and local communities, and training of personnel at all levels;
- Decentralization of power to local administration in managing tourism destination;
- Consolidation of Thailand's international image as "Quality Destination" through joint public-private sector public relations campaign;
- Development of electronic- or e-tourism composed of e-tourism, e-trust, e-commerce, e-tourism mail, and e-market place; and
- Improved integration of related tourism laws.

Envisioned to take effect in 2004, the tourism law will cover all tourism-related industries, the development of new attractions and improvement of maintenance in existing areas, promotion of transborder tourism to the Mekong countries as well as to Malaysia and Singapore, and provision of training for TAT. The proposed tourism law also provides for a system of registration and product grading of ecotourism and nature-based tourism, define curriculum for tourism education, provide a proactive plan to guide tourism development in national parks as well as a manual for resort development.

The National Tourism Development Plan advocates environmental sustainability by increasing green areas, improving landscapes, controlling land use, and expanding the capacity of garbage disposal and wastewater treatment facilities. Following the polluter-pays principle of nature conservation, the Plan recommends the collection of park fees and limiting the number of visitors in national parks. It also calls for the training of rangers as tour guides, collaborating with private sector and local communities in the upkeep of protected areas and national parks and in observing carrying capacities.

Development of ecotourism and related tourism products
The International Ecotourism Society defines ecotourism as "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and sustains the well-being of local people." Implicit in this definition, according to the International Ecotourism Society, are the characteristics of successful ecotourism, which include:

- Minimal negative impacts on nature and culture of a destination;
- Provision for education of the traveler on the importance of conservation;
- Stress on the importance of responsible business that works in cooperation with local authorities and people to meet local needs and deliver conservation benefits;
- Emphasis on the use of environmental and social baseline studies, as well as long-term monitoring programs, to assess and minimize impacts;
- Maximized economic benefit for the host country, local business and communities, particularly peoples living in and adjacent to natural and protected areas; and
- Tourism development that does not exceed the social and environmental limits of acceptable change, as determined by researchers in cooperation with local residents.

Because of the almost identical characteristics of ecotourism and sustainable tourism, it is not surprising that ecotourism has become a core tourism strategy of the Philippines, Malaysia, and Thailand.

Framework for ecotourism development

The 1991 Philippine Tourism Master Plan cites "niche markets" and "special interest tourism" whose definitions are similar to ecotourism. NGOs, local government units (LGUs), and local communities have been undertaking their own versions of ecotourism even before the government established a framework for its development. To chart the industry's future development, then President Joseph Estrada issued Executive Order 111 in 1999, creating the National Ecotourism Development Council (NEDC), which is composed of Cabinet secretaries and representatives of NGOs. Chaired by the Secretary of Tourism, the NEDC serves as the policymaking body for ecotourism. The implementing arm is called the National Ecotourism Steering Committee, which is composed of Regional Ecotourism Committees. The first national workshop to formulate a national ecotourism framework was held in 1999, the outputs of which were later validated in a National Ecotourism Congress. In April 2002, the Philippines' National Ecotourism Strategy (NES) was presented to various tourism sectors. The NES identified the strategic framework, institutional mechanisms, ecotourism programs, ecotourism network (of potential and actual sites), and action plans.

In 1992, Malaysia Tourism Policy identified ecotourism as one of the forms of tourism to be expanded and developed. By 1995, a National Ecotourism Plan (NEP) was drafted. The NEP, which is being coordinated by MOCAT, will be in effect until 2005. Ecotourism is seen as a major tool for

nature and cultural conservation, since Malaysia has some of the biggest expanses of virgin forests and the largest number of rare species of animals and ethnic communities in Southeast Asia. The NEP provides for the adoption of a clear definition of ecotourism, a definite development policy, implementing legal changes to support the Plan, and establishing a monitoring and evaluation program. The NEP's Site Planning and Management part covers the application procedures, establishment of a nationwide system of ecotourism areas, guidelines, marketing strategy, and fiscal measures to encourage ecotourism. The Institutional Strengthening and Capacity Building part covers human resources development, local participation, accreditation scheme, product development, certification, and standards of tourist information literature. The government at the federal and state level provided funds for ecotourism development, including 10 million Malaysian ringgits for five ecotourism pilot projects between 1996 and 2000. To date about RM 100 million has been earmarked for 28 new projects (Daud 2002).

The Tourism Authority of Thailand has set up a committee to establish policies and guidelines for ecotourism development as early as 1994. In 1995, TAT commissioned the Thailand Institute of Science and Technology Research to conduct an ecotourism study. The Final Report on Operational Study to Determine Ecotourism Policy recommended the establishment of a development framework for tourism resource with clear standards, observance of carrying capacities in various zones, and the establishment of concrete measures for stricter environmental protection and preservation. It also advocates the use of appropriate technologies to control environmental quality, as well to support the development of personnel in the process of planning and managing ecotourism resources and their environment. Furthermore, the report also underscores the importance of education, infrastructure, investment, marketing, and the role of local communities in ecotourism. In 1998, the Thai Cabinet approved the establishment of a National Ecotourism Committee, which formed subcommittees for tourism research and environmental management, environmental awareness, people's participation and marketing promotion and tour guiding, infrastructure management and tourism services, and investment promotion. Thailand's ecotourism policy is situated within the framework of the Thai Constitution itself and in the Eighth (1997-2001) and Ninth (2001-2006) National Economic and Social Development Plans, which call for people-centered development (Leksakundilok undated).

In support of its ecotourism program, TAT has provided support to Thai Ecotourism and Adventure Travel Association (TEATA) by running special training programs for ecotourism guides. The Thai Government has also invested in infrastructure and designated 104 national and marine Parks. Moreover, TAT has identified 600 attractions suitable for ecotourism development. TEATA offers low-impact travel activities, such as rafting, Mekong

River tours, elephant safari, culture tours, birdwatching, biking, health packages, and off-road adventures

With few remaining natural areas, Singapore does not have a national ecotourism plan like its neighbors. However, Tourism 21 contains sustainable components, such as the promotion of community- and nature-based tourism. Singapore Tourism Board (STB) has made a development plan for the Southern Islands. Sustainable aspects of the plan include keeping 80 percent of the place in its natural state. Buildings should be of low density and structures not higher than four stories. Energy-efficient and clean transportation systems will be used like tram, golf carts, and water taxis. Only the fire engines and police cars will be using combustion engines. The development will involve some reclamation to form part of the three islands and create a critical landmass needed for recreation and resort development. To conserve nature on the islands, STB has signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the National University of Singapore to study the islands' flora and fauna and prepare a feasibility study of creating a habitat for threatened species on the islands. According to the 1996 master plan, once the reclamation was finished in 2002, the land would be tendered to private developers. It is expected to generate S$460 million through land sales. Development costs were estimated at S$280 million. When completed in 2007, the site is expected to attract 500,000 visitors a year, up from the 2001 figure of 1,000 (Yeang 2002).

To conserve the few remaining vestiges of its Asian identity, Singapore has also come up with policies to preserve ethnic sections of the city like Chinatown, Little India, Kampung Glam, and Boat (Chan and Smith 2001). STB's cultural heritage restoration project involves restoration of shophouses, construction of the Chinatown Heritage Center in Chinatown, renewal project in the Muslim quarter of Kampung Glam, and development of an arcade in Little India.

Shophouses are traditional Chinese shops with residential quarters on the upper floors. STB and the National Heritage Board have converted three original shophouses in Chinatown into a museum where visitors may see period furniture, costumes and jewelry, charcoal-stained kitchens, and a typical tailor shop.

Ecotourism plans in the four countries have the following common elements:

- Standardized systems and procedures;
- An institutional mechanism for implementation;
- Integration of concepts and principles into the educational system;
- Policies, guidelines, and standards for human resource development, networking, and resource mobilization;
- Generation of public awareness and appreciation of ecotourism principles and practices;

- Identification and development of sites for ecotourism;
- Enhancement of existing ecotourism sites and products;
- Mobilization of communities as partners;
- Promotion of ecotourism products;
- Market database;
- Local and international linkages, such as those for funding;
- Conduct of special projects and activities;
- Infrastructure facilities to support ecotourism development;
- Alternative livelihood and entrepreneurial projects for host communities; and
- Enhancement of communities' capability in the management of ecotourism enterprise (Andrada 2002).

Case studies in sustainable tourism development
Mount Pinatubo livelihood from tourism project
The DOT Regional Office initiated this project by assisting a community in Tarlac province to establish a cooperative that would offer guided tours to Mount Pinatubo's crater lake. The DOT helped the local community enhance its local capability by conducting training programs on tour guiding and hosting for the homestay program. Other aspects of sustainability include the creation of livelihood for the cultural community of the Aetas, who serve as guides and porters. Tourists pay user fees, which are used for conservation of the trekking route and maintenance of public toilets. The project has generated enough money to fund the construction of a multipurpose hall for the local residents.

Butanding interaction tours
The Donsol River is a rich source of micronutrients for the whale shark (*butanding* in local dialect), causing them to congregate around Donsol's waters for a few months during the year. Previously caught for their flesh, the butanding were saved from certain extinction through the intervention of the LGUs, the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), and the DOT. The municipality of Donsol and the provincial government of Sorsogon passed ordinances that banned the hunting of the giant fish. The WWF provided training for the Butanding Interaction Officers (BIOs) and encourage research-based interactions with the whale sharks. (The BIO is a guide, whale-shark spotter, and first-aid provider in one.) The DOT helped by providing training in the homestay program. Tourism now provides an alternative livelihood to local homestay providers, BIOs, boat operators, and other service providers.

Kampung Desa Murni
Ministry of Tourism Malaysia, together with the State Economic Planning Unit, helped established the homestay program in Kampung Desa Murni in

1995 by providing training to host families, developing promotional brochures, and helping the community learn how to organize the project on their own. The homestay program promotes sustainable tourism by letting the local community operate the project and engage in livelihood. Through this project, women can earn a living by operating seasonal craft businesses, thus developing their entrepreneurial skills. Visitors also get to experience culture through participation in mock Malay weddings, trips to batik factory, and demonstration of traditional martial art of *silat* and lantern dance. They can also watch a demonstration of gathering latex from rubber trees. The Desa Murni homestay program has led to the creation of the Malaysia Homestay Association. Homestay programs, which have been replicated in the states of Johor, Kedah, Melaka, Pahang, Perak, and Selangor.

Kinabatangan Wildlife Safari

The Sabah State government, with funding from the federal government, established the Sepilok Orang Utan Rehabilitation Center in the sanctuary. The Center is equipped with research and educational facilities, and provides accommodations for visitors. Aside from protecting the forest habitat, the Center also promotes the welfare of the local community through ecotourism. WWF Malaysia is involved through its Partners for Wetlands Program. Private investors built ecolodges, the best example of which is the Sukau Rainforest Lodge. Sukau has won the PATA Gold Award for its use of environment-friendly architectural design and energy-saving technologies.

Umphang

In 1995, TAT set up an ecotourism pilot project in Umphang, a place known for its hill tribes and waterfalls. The local community was given control of the project through the Umphang Tourism Promotion and Preservation Club (UTPCC). The Club, composed of wildlife officers, local authorities, tour operators and village business, came up with its own control measures, such as the following:

- Limiting the number of overnight visitors to 300 per night;
- Requiring visitors to secure passes stamped by local tourist police;
- Requiring guides to be registered under the Tourist Business and Guides Act of 1992;
- Collection of conservation fee of ten baht (about US$0.20);
- Provision of security and protection to visitors;
- Standardizing quality and pricing for raft, bus, and food;
- Zoning for camping, cooking, and parking;
- Installing signages and distributing information leaflets to guide visitors on proper conduct while in the community.

TAT supported the UTPCC in human resource development, promotion of handicraft, preservation of traditional houses, upgrading of budget accommodation, product development and public relations. TAT also assisted UTPCC in the production of an ecotourism handbook containing a code of conduct and a map of the place's natural trails and rafting routes. Umphang won the Pacific Asia Travel Association Gold Award in 1998 for Best Conservation Effort.

Ben Prasart

Ecotourism may also be based primarily on cultural assets, such as in Ben Prasart in the province of Nakhon Ratchasima. Ban Prasart is an important archaeological site because it features rare Khmer architecture. The site was home to an excavated settlement dating 3,000 years and containing 60 human skeletons of different ages lying on top of each other from a depth of 1 to 5 meters. Accessories found in the dug site included pottery, bronze, shell, and marble bracelets, rings, glass beads, bronze axes, and iron tools. TAT developed the site as a pilot project, providing assistance for the promotion of handicraft and sale of souvenirs, training the community in product design, quality improvement, and marketing. TAT also promoted homestay for students coming from all over Thailand. The project has generated support from the Australian Embassy, which donated money for the housewife career development projects (Thavarasukha 2002).

Singapore agritourism

Singapore's agritourism products depart from the usual setting. With the help of the Agri-Food and Veterinary Authority of Singapore, STB has developed five agrotechnology parks. The farms showcase intensive farming techniques, such as raising bean sprouts through aeroponics, breeding of exotic and endangered birds, organic farming, raising of tropical orchids and ornamental fishes. STB provided grants through the Tourism Development Assistance Scheme to the five farms to defray the cost of improving visitor facilities like storyboards, briefing areas, sheltered walkways, lighting, rest and refreshment areas, and toilets. STB has also helped in the design of the farm tours and in the development of storyboards and signages.

In addition to high-tech farms, Singapore is also developing destinations noted for their rustic charms and natural settings. Examples of places that will be promoted along these lines are Sungei Buloh Nature Reserve, Pulau Ubin and Bukit Timah Nature Reserve. APEC has cited Sungei Buloh, a mangrove wetland known mainly for bird watching, as a model sustainable tourism product. Bukit Timah Nature Reserve, established in 1883, is suitable for mountain biking, trekking, and nature walking. Together with the Central Catchment Nature Reserve, it is one of only two areas in Singapore that is legally protected from development (Yeang 2000).

Singapore is by no means the only country to venture into agritourism. The DOT, Department of Agriculture and the University of the Philippines' Asian Institute of Tourism recently published the *Philippine Agritourism Program Manual: A Guidebook for Developing Agritourism in the Philippines* in (2002). It defines agritourism as "tourism that is conducted on working farms where the working environment forms part of the tourist product." It also prescribes sustainable practices, such as social acceptability of the project (the operation of the farm for this purpose will depend on the willingness of the farmer to accept visitors), adherence to sustainable techniques, and monitoring. Sustainability will be further promoted by having a regulatory mechanism. This includes the formulation of guidelines for registration and incentives, and its inclusion into the 2000 Investment Priorities Plan, which will be done with the help of the Board of Investments.

In Thailand, the TAT and the Department of Agricultural Extension are developing agritourism in the Muslim village of Ko Maphrao near Phuket. The main attractions will be the rubber plantation, fishing activities, and homestay. Tourists will be offered the opportunity to try their hands at collecting latex from rubber trees; join a fishing trip; and visit the feeding beds of oysters, mussels and lobsters, and the mangrove forests where monkeys, crabs, and birds may be observed. TAT is also developing agritourism in Krabi province's Ko Phi Phi and in the 140-year-old village of Bang Plee in Samut Prakarn province. The main attractions in Ko Phi Phi are the limestone outcrops, the Horticulture Center (for anthuriums, orchids, and wild plants) and the swamp forests, which are noted for rare species and an emerald colored pool. Bang Plee, which has a sizeable population of ethnic Laos and Muslims, will feature floating markets, agricultural demonstration of mango and coconut agar preservation, and tiger and snake farms. Students will be tapped to conduct the guided village tour. Agritourism is also flourishing in the northern provinces. According to TAT (2000), tourism based on the region's agricultural resources (e.g., research and demonstration facilities, orchid nurseries, arboretum, homestays, nature trails, and rice planting and harvesting) has generated enough money to eliminate opium growing.

Toward an economically sustainable mass tourism
Mass travel still dominates the tourism industries of the ASEAN states. The NTOs neither control nor regulate businesses that cater to high-volume tourists because of the trend toward decentralization and the system of governance (e.g., federal). What has surfaced in this study, though, is that the NTOs have made adjustments resulting in more economically viable mass tourism.

One such adjustment is the bigger importance now being accorded to domestic tourism. The value of domestic tourism has been recognized by the ASEAN NTOs, especially after the global financial crisis in 1997, which re-

sulted in dramatic dips in international tourist arrivals. Domestic tourism is particularly effective in distributing incomes to the rural areas and stabilizing demand for tourism facilities and services. The DOT, for example, initiated "holiday economics" in 2002. At the insistence of the DOT, the government moved the celebration of national holidays to the nearest Friday, effectively lengthening weekends, thereby encouraging domestic trips. Similarly, Malaysia embarked on the First Saturday Off Ruling and Third Saturday Off Ruling to encourage domestic travel by its citizens (Omar and Hamzah 2001). In Thailand, TAT launched an advertising campaign with this spin: Citizens need not look far to find paradise, because it is in Thailand itself. TAT also offered discount coupons of five to 15 percent as incentives to domestic travelers.

Still another measure taken by NTOs is the shift from competition to complementation. The four countries are involved in one or more "growth triangles," which promote integration of tourism, transportation, and other industries (www.usaep.org). Transborder tourism is one of the possibilities within the growth triangles of Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand, Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore, or in the bigger growth nodes of Brunei-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area (BIMP-EAGA) or the Great Mekong Subregion (Brunei, Cambodia, Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam and China). Both Singapore and Thailand promote themselves as Tourism Capital, Tourism Hub, and Gateway to Asia. At the ASEAN level, the four states have already relaxed visa and immigration requirements for citizens of member states to promote regional travel.

Lastly, the NTOs now pay attention to diversifying tour product offerings to attract new market segments. This has resulted in the creation of sustainable products, such as ecotourism, rural tourism or village tourism, agritourism, health tourism, and heritage tourism. More and more areas in the countryside that are endowed with nature, special economic activities or indigenous cultures are being opened up for their tourism potentials.

Support for voluntary initiatives for sustainable tourism
According to the WTO (2002), voluntary initiatives play an increasing role in the regulation of tourism operations. They usually address issues related to sustainability (environmental, economic, and social) and target specific tourism sector, industry associations, or destinations. Voluntary schemes cover ecolabels and certification schemes, prizes and awards, environmental management systems, codes of conduct, charters for sustainable tourism, self-commitments, and self-declarations.

Ecolabels are designed to reward environmental leadership and provide a review of and update on environmental criteria and categories. In addition, they use legally protected logos (Hundloe 2000). Codes of conduct refer to a voluntary set of guidelines outlining ethics, philosophies, principles, and

practices that the tourism industry or group could follow in its operation (UN ESCAP 1999). Some of the most widely known VISTs in the ASEAN are the following:

- *The PATA Green Leaf Program/APEC-PATA Code for Sustainable Tourism.* This started in 1995 as an ecolabel for all types of tourism companies. Originally developed by PATA in 1992, it has now merged with Green Globe 21. Green Globe (GG) translates the principles of Agenda 21 into practical actions for accommodations, tour operators, and destinations around the world. Like most ecolabels, it is based on commitment rather than actual performance. In 1999, its first year of certification, GG entered into a joint venture with Australia's Cooperative Research Center for Sustainable Tourism to operate in the Asia Pacific. Green Globe Action plans have been made for Camiguin and Ifugao in the Philippines and in Ko Samui, Thailand (WTO 2002).

- *The International Hotel Environment Initiative.* A noncompetitive platform that encourages continuous improvement in the environmental performance of the hotel industry, this consortium has forged partnerships with hotel associations, governments, NGOs, tourism bodies, and businesses. It has launched the "Green Hoteliers Award" to reward hoteliers for their efforts in improving environmental performance. Member hotels now number 11,000 on five continents, representing over 1.9 million hotel rooms (WTO 2002).

- *The Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism.* This was developed in collaboration with tour operators, travel agents associations, and member governments of End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT). The Code, which uses six criteria, has been adopted and is now being implemented by 100 percent of Swedish tour operators and 70 percent of Scandinavian tour operators in six pilot destinations (Dominican Republic, Austria, Brazil, Costa Rica, India, and Thailand). In Thailand, TAT supports ECPAT and Accor Hotels' poster campaign to educate hotel guests on the hotel chain's commitment to protect children and on the penalties for unlawful behavior.

- Other codes of conduct in the ASEAN include the Philippines' Ecotourism Code of Ethics, which is contained in the DOT's Primer on Ecotourism, and Sustainable Tourism Code of Responsible Behavior for Tourists and Tour Operators by TAT's Conservation Division.

Ecolabels and certification programs

International ecolabels and tourism environmental certification programs have very low participation rates in the four countries. For example, only 1 percent of the 64 hotels in Bangkok applied for Green Leaf accreditation in 2000 (Green Leaf undated). The other countries do not even have their own ecolabels for tourism. According to a WTO study, a critical mass of 3 to 10 percent is needed to consider an ecolabel successful. STB encourages hotels to establish environmental management system in compliance with ISO 14001. ISO is the International Organization for Standardization. The ISO 14000 family of standards is made up of about 20 documents related to environmental management systems (EMS) and environmental management tools. Comprising ISO 14001 are documents that specify the requirements for establishing a new EMS or improving on an existing EMS, which may be objectively audited for self-declaration or third-party certification or registration purposes. ISO 14000 promotes three types of accreditation, ranging from one that applies multiple criteria third-party rating to self-declaration, and one that applies quantified environmental data within preset categories of parameters (Hundloe 2000).

Tourism awards

To encourage the adoption of best practices, the ASEAN NTOs have come up with their own tourism awards, in close partnership with industry. Tourism awards not only promote best practices that lead to financial viability in the industry. They also encourage better environmental management by incorporating environmental criteria.

Thailand, Singapore, and the Philippines have instituted tourism industry awards, which are cooperative projects of government and the tourism industry. The Philippine version, called Kalakbay Award, recognizes the best hotels, resorts, travel agencies, tour operators, tourism frontline workers, local tourism councils, and ecotourism products. Environmental practices form part of the criteria for selection of best hotels and resorts, but the weights assigned to them are quite low. The award is given every two years.

The Tourism Authority of Thailand initiated the biannual Thailand Tourism Awards in 1996 to promote Thai tourism industry. In 2002, in line with the objective of conserving natural and cultural resources, the categories were expanded to include ecotourism, agritourism, and diving attractions.

Malaysia Tourism Awards promote nature conservation and culture by having categories for best natural attractions and best restaurant by cuisine (i.e., Malay, Indian, and Chine in addition to Eastern and Western ones).

Accreditation schemes

Accreditation programs in the ASEAN are intended for the various sectors of the tourism industry, particularly hotels and resorts. There are none for destinations.

Hotel and resort codes

To promote quality in tourism facilities, the Philippine Department of Tourism maintains an accreditation scheme for hotels and resorts. Hotels are classified as deluxe, first class, standard, and economy while resorts are classified as AAA, AA or A, based on criteria found in separate Hotel and Resort codes published by the DOT. Accreditation is based solely on the quality of facilities and services and does not contain any environmental requirement. This is voluntary on the part of tourism establishment.

Gold circle quality programme

Supported by the private sector and other government agencies, this accreditation scheme by the Singapore Tourism Board sets benchmarks for fair trade practices, quality of service and management, facilities and equipment, product development, industry support and documentation (STB 1999).

Star rating system

This provides a uniform rating system for Thai hotels and is supported by the Thai Hotels Association and the association of Thai Travel Agents. TAT's star rating system ranges from five star (highest) to one star and is based on five major criteria: 1) physical attributes like location and environmental quality; 2) structure and systems related to safety and security; 3) facilities related to comfort; 4) service quality like cleanliness, hygiene, and reputation; and 5) ongoing maintenance of property.

Capability building, research, education, and advocacy

NTOs run educational and training programs to support sustainable tourism efforts. Educational materials come in the form of guidebooks, maps, leaflets, brochures, and exhibits. Advocacy work is carried out through training programs and provision of support for curriculum development on sustainable tourism. Target groups include students, frontline industry personnel, and government officials.

A big component of training provided by the NTOs is related to improving the frontline service in the tourism sector. An example of this is the DOT's Mabuhay Host Program. The program aims to make taxi drivers conscious of their responsibility to keep their cars clean, maintain a professional physical appearance, and take responsibility for their passenger's safety. Rotary Club, with the support of TAT, is running a similar program for taxi drivers in Thailand. Called "Service Excellence 2000," the program covers a basic Thai, English, Japanese, or Chinese language course, a refresher on traffic rules and regulations, and a review of best driving practices and etiquette.

Where tourism policy issues are concerned, the DOT generates awareness and feedback through various community participation strategies, such

as conferences, workshops, community consultations, public hearings, formation of special committees (Mena and Chon 2002). In three tourism-related industry conferences, it launched its WOW Philippines! campaign. In 2002, it held a national conference in Tacloban to get reactions from various sectors on the Philippine National Ecotourism Strategy.

Some of the training programs being provided by the NTOs aim to increase their capability to handle new tourism products. STB provides a training program called "Exploring the Nature Trails of Singapore" for tour guides. STB's Center for Tourism Related Studies has trained 100 tour guides as of 2000 for agritours. The STB conducts environmental awareness campaigns by:

- Installing showcase exhibit and disseminating information on the natural environment, flora, fauna, and natural habitats in Sungei Buloh, Pulau Ubin, and Bukit Timah;
- Producing printed material promoting visitor respect for natural environment. This is available, among others, at the Visitor Center (e.g., leaflets) in the places cited above;
- Highlighting the country's "Clean & Green" reputation in STB's brochures;
- Projecting Singapore as a gateway to a culturally diverse region rich in flora and fauna.

MOCAT, in cooperation with Malaysian state governments have published guidebooks on its protected areas: wildlife sanctuaries, forest reserves, national parks, cultural sites, and unique wetland habitats, as ecotourism attractions. Visitor/interpretation/information centers are available in 13 of the 42 national parks in West Malaysia (Escape to the Great Outdoors of West Malaysia). The DOT, for its part, has published newsletters, primers, guidebooks and manuals on tour guiding, ecotourism, and agritourism.

In collaboration with the Singapore Environmental Council, the STB produced the Green Map of Singapore, showcasing agritour farms, nature trails, and other green attractions. Part of the Green Map System currently used by 110 cities in 35 countries features Sungei Buloh Nature Park, Pulau Ubin, Bukit Timah Nature Reserve, and Upper Pierce Reservoir. The Green Map provides information about the characteristics of these places; admission rates if the place is a paid attraction; suggested things to do within the sites; contact information; and how to get there. The map is also a good resource material about sustainable practices. It has trekking tips, lists of contacts, resources, ecotourism sites, and agrotechnology facilities. It also describes all the interesting flora and fauna that can be found in Singapore. On the other hand, TAT's Conservation Division has published brochures about sustainable tourism, explaining the principles surrounding sustain-

able tourism, the different forms of sustainable tourism, and appropriate behaviors by tourists in different situations.

TAT's educational and awareness-building programs include efforts to install signposts bearing vital information and directional signs at Kiriwong Village in Nakhon Sithammarat, which is known for its homestay visits and trekking. Another component of the programs is the fielding of 22 mobile resource centers to promote sustainable tourism. With the support of the national parks, TAT will produce ecotourism brochures for distribution among Thai and foreign visitors at the parks. It will also provide environmental conservation tools for local communities in collaboration with Chulaborn Research Institute and the Royal Forest Department. TAT also maintains permanent conservation exhibition booths at major international airports and national parks, specifically those of Bangkok, Chiang Mai, and Phuket. The national parks are Doi Ithanon, Huai Nan Dung, Had Chao Mai in Trang, and Had Nopparat Thara-Phi Phi Island in Krabi.

As part of the Amazing Thailand campaign, TAT embarked on a program intended to build public awareness of natural and cultural heritage conservation among local communities, which is critical to developing sustainable tourism under the TAT's long-term policy. TAT has joined up with the National Economic and Social Development Board to develop a long-term plan to encourage local communities to participate in tourism development. The agency is working with a number of organizations to educate students and monks about sustainable tourism. It conducts tourism courses for administration officials through the Ministry of Interior and is promotes tourism education in schools and universities. Through its Foundation for the Protection of Environment and Tourism, which was established in 1992, TAT is able to educate the youth on the value of forest and marine conservation. Among its projects are tree planting and promotion of garbage treatment.

Multistakeholder participation and interagency coordination

Tourism is a complex industry with economic, environmental, and social dimensions. NTOs do not have control over all aspects of tourism development. Sustainability cannot be achieved through the efforts of just one agency. The entire nation must do its share toward this end. Limitations in financial resources, expertise, geographic reach and jurisdiction make it imperative for NTOs to seek the help of other sectors in government, industry, and communities, especially those with important roles to play in ensuring sustainability. These include national/federal/local/state departments and offices tasked to oversee the environment, land use, protected areas, forestry, fisheries, agriculture, local security, transportation, indigenous peoples, cultural development, and women's issues.

These partnerships provide mechanisms for dialogues, which are useful in bringing to the fore genuine concerns and issues, and in establishing ownership of any policy, plan, strategy, or project that will be implemented in a given area. When such processes are set aside or sidelined, tourism master plans may languish for years for lack of support, funding, or coordination with relevant authorities.

In the Philippines the Departments of Agriculture, Trade and Industry, Environment and Natural Resources, Science and Technology, as well as the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority, the National Commission for Culture and the Arts, and the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples are just some of government agencies that have cooperated with the DOT in various tourism projects. Planning major tourism projects may involve regional and local offices of the DOT, the National Economic and Development Authority, Congressional representatives, governors, mayors, planning and development officers, as well as representatives from tourism-related industry associations and local tourism councils. Tourism councils at the provincial and municipal levels (and sometimes even at barangay level) are composed of influential people in the locality with interest in tourism development. These may include local politicians, including their kin, civic organizations, and businessmen.

Malaysia's development of tourism relies on the smooth coordination among government agencies at various levels. MOCAT plans, implements, and coordinates strategic policy decisions on culture, arts and tourism; manages development funds to provide basic infrastructure and facilities; performs regulatory functions; and conducts marketing and promotion though Tourism Malaysia. Being a federal republic, Malaysia's 13 state governments have jurisdiction over land use and are directly involved in developing and promoting land-based tourism products. At the state level, a State Ministry of Tourism or Tourism Executive Committee governs tourism policy and provides the necessary funding for relevant state implementing agencies, such as the departments of wildlife and national parks, forestry, and aboriginal affairs. State economic planning and development offices are also heavily involved. The Sabah Tourism Council and Sabah Tourism Promotion Corporation have taken the lead roles in developing ecotourism, one of the state's biggest industries. Conservation-oriented NGOs (e.g., WWF and the Wetlands Foundation) have actively supported ecotourism and nature-based tourism in Malaysia. In Sabah, the Sabah Foundation promotes ecotourism through relevant programs.

LGUs such as the city government may be responsible for implementation and maintenance. Scarcity of funds necessitates calling on the private sector to build ecolodges, organize tours, and conduct marketing and training programs in the various states (Daud 2002).

In Singapore, STB is responsible for tourism promotion at the national level but works with other government agencies for the planning and management of sustainable resources in the country. It capitalizes on the participation of several government agencies, such as the National Parks Board (NParks), Urban Redevelopment Board (which handles land use planning), the National Heritage Board, the Ministry of Environment, the Agri-Food and Veterinary Authority of Singapore, and volunteer organizations like the Singapore Environmental Council (SEC). NParks carry out the mapping and conduct of inventory of natural resources and ecosystem features of tourism areas. Singapore's sustainable tourism effort is likewise dependent on the support of nongovernmental bodies. The SEC, an independent umbrella body, supports STB's efforts through its network of relevant institutions (e.g., Green Volunteer Network), solicitation of tax-exempt donations, and sponsorship of the Environmental Achievement Award.

In Thailand, the TAT and the National Environment Board are mainly responsible for sustainable tourism at the national level. TAT's regional offices, the provincial authority, the regional offices of the Office of Environmental Policy and Planning, and the Local Administration Organization are responsible for ensuring sustainable tourism at the local level. TAT's regional offices monitor tourism development and sustainability in the tourist attractions; the regional offices of Office of Environmental Policy and Planning do the same in their respective jurisdictions. The Provincial Government and local administrative units, together with the local folk, monitor and manage tourist attractions in their areas.

All this is reflection of the Thai Government's belief that tourism objectives should be pursued through balanced and complementary courses of action, requiring the participation of various sectors and government agencies. Part of this of belief is the need to consult the affected communities. In Samui, for example, TAT asked the people what kind of future they wanted, to which the latter replied a peaceful resort more attuned with the local way of life over an island with high rise buildings.

The need for consultation and coordination arises in part from the various provisions and laws that have implications on sustainable tourism development. These include environmental laws, rules and regulations on tourism investments, and institutional mechanisms for sustainable tourism initiatives.

The Philippine Tourism Master Plan (TMP) as well as TMPs for specific regions (e.g., Ulugan Bay in Palawan) are linked to other national or even international legislation and plans. Investors are required to observe minimum environmental standards for structures to be built in tourist areas, as mandated by local tourism master plans, local government regulations, and the Housing and Land Use Regulatory Board. A Joint DENR-DOT Memorandum Circular 98-02 ("Guidelines for Ecotourism Development in the Philip-

pines") provides for the regulation and accreditation of developers and investors in ecotourism projects. The Department of Environment and Natural Resources conducts Initial Environmental Evaluation, or IEE, prior to the issuance of an Environmental Compliance Certificate for the following tourism projects:

- Hotel inns and similar accommodation facilities within or near urban centers, or built-up areas with less than 20 rooms with eating facilities;
- Hotels, cottages, motels, and lodging houses with 10 to 15 rooms and basic facilities/amenities for resting and eating and recreation activities suited to rural areas, small islands, beaches, and mountain areas with scenic and/or cultural features;
- Ecotourism sites located in unique areas/historical-cultural sites/protected areas covered by the National Integrated Protected Areas System Act. Protected areas include strictly nature reserves, natural parks, natural monuments, wildlife sanctuaries, protected landscapes and seascapes, resource reserves, among others
- Many tourism destinations in Malaysia are in protected areas. Composed of forest reserves, wildlife reserves, sanctuaries, wetlands and national parks, these are protected by certain laws, such as the Wildlife Protection Act, National Park Act, National Forestry Act, Fisheries Act, and are managed by the Departments of Wildlife and National Parks, Forestry, Fisheries and various state Parks authorities (Daud 2002). The Tourism Business and Guide Law, passed by the Thai National Assembly in 1992, empowers TAT to take punitive action against tour operators found engaging in illegal or highly irregular activities such as the exploitation of children for sexual purposes.

Financial support for tourism activities
On a limited scale, NTOs may also be involved in providing financial support for sustainable tourism initiatives.

The DOT provides funds for NGOs involved in sustainable tourism programs and biodiversity management, such as the WWF. TAT cooperates with the Small Industrial Finance Corporation to provide financial backing for tourism-oriented medium and small-scale businesses. With credit limits of up to a hundred million baht, payable in 10 to 15 years, the loans are intended to support expansions that will promote Thai architecture, cuisine, and folk culture. The TAT also finances the wastewater treatment plants in Pattaya and Phuket. Singapore, for its part, supports tourism-oriented projects through the Tourism Development Assistance Scheme.

Problems and issues on sustainable tourism development

Thavarasukha (2002) identifies some of the stumbling blocks to ecotourism, which also apply to sustainable tourism development.

- Lack of thorough understanding of the concept of sustainable tourism development;
- Poor coordination among relevant government agencies, with each agency relating only to each level along the vertical chain;
- Lack of provision for local participation in tourism master plans;
- Disjointed information on ecotourism;
- Lack of enforcement machinery and minimal penalties (e.g., fines) for environmental law violations; and
- Lack of follow-up on specific programs with a view to adjusting strategies.

Furthermore, NTOs appear generally biased against HRD training for frontline service personnel in the tourism industry. NTOs tend to focus on the skills aspect of tourism. Sorely lacking are programs aimed at high-level skills of planning, negotiating, resource-generation, environmental monitoring, and market forecasting.

NTOs' perceived lack of understanding of the general philosophy of sustainable tourism leads to their tendency to treat mass (high-volume) tourism and ecotourism differently, with most sustainable tourism development guidelines being applied only to ecotourism. This is a direct result of the mistaken notion that ecotourism automatically leads to sustainable tourism, and that mass tourism is tantamount to unsustainable tourism. This is a major problem because the bulk of tourism efforts and investments is biased toward mass tourists. Thus the nonapplication of sustainable standards for mass tourism-oriented operations will tilt the balance away from sustainability.

Bureaucratic processes naturally slow down coordination, such as when too many agencies involved. Moreover, confusion over their respective responsibilities, uneven skills level, and varying degrees of readiness for sustainable tourism across agencies and among the levels of bureaucracy also impede the implementation of sustainable tourism. Agreeing on a sustainable tourism agenda may take years of meetings and consultations. Sometimes, government agencies may not be aware of guidelines and structures that support sustainable tourism initiatives. Lack of coordination may also happen when influential leaders in tourism belong to opposing political parties or are political rivals.

Lack of local participation in the crafting of tourism master plans could mothball those plans, which require huge investments in time, money, and human expertise. Lack of consultations with the affected communities can lead to non-ownership of the plan. The usual top-down approach to plan-

ning often involves token consultations in the form of information gathering or dissemination.

Adequate dissemination of information about sustainable tourism is critical to raising public awareness and commitment. However, whatever information is available about the concept, principles, and practice of sustainable tourism is scant and not readily available. This is because the cases are far too few while systematic documentation and publication of such cases needs to be intensified. Research in this field of inquiry in the ASEAN is still in its infancy stage. Therefore, it is in tourism-related legislation.

The inability of NTOs to enforce policies on sustainable tourism is a major stumbling block to sustainability. With the trend toward decentralization, the regulation of most tourism enterprises has been delegated to LGUs. The existing form of government influences the way responsibilities are distributed. In federal Malaysia, for example, the burden of implementing sustainable tourism projects falls on state authorities. Sometimes, line agencies tasked with enforcing tourism-related laws may have poor track record in their own areas of jurisdiction. LGUs may not fully understand the philosophy behind sustainable development, nor posses the necessary skills, resources, and personnel who can implement policies decided at the national level. Local authorities, by sheer ignorance of sustainable development principles, do not even enact ordinances or laws that will serve as a framework for development and enforcement. Worst of all, there had been cases where an NTO agency itself became a hindrance to sustainable tourism management. For example, the Philippine Tourism Authority built a resort in Balicasag, where the agency practically took over the responsibility of protecting the marine sanctuary, thereby undermining the local community that used to carry out that task through their management committee (Christie et al. 2002).

Reward systems and accreditation programs have not been able to ensure compliance with sustainable environmental practices from the tourism industry. Compared to the number of establishments, participation rates for such schemes have been low. In Thailand, for example, only one percent of existing hotels have signed up for the Green Leaf accreditation. WTO says a critical mass of at least 3 percent is needed to make such schemes successful.

Low compliance arises in part from a lack of understanding of application procedures, perceived high cost of membership or enrollment, lack of appreciation of the benefits of joining, and overall low value attached to sustainability. Even with full compliance, the effectiveness of some accreditation schemes in producing sustainability remains doubtful. The Hotel Code and Resort Codes that the DOT uses for accreditation, for instance, set criteria for facilities but none for environmental or cultural sustainability.

Lack of follow-up is spawned by the inability to designate a monitoring body and absence of indicators of environmental and cultural sustainability

of tourism. Agencies involved in tourism (e.g., environment, social welfare, or health) may not see tourism as a priority due to competing issues and demands from within the line agencies.

Sets of indicators (or indices) are important tools in setting targets for sustainability and evaluating the status of tourism from the standpoint of sustainability. A significant finding of the study is that the NTOs have neither used nor identified indicators of sustainable tourism development. For the most part, ASEAN NTOs remain limited to traditional indices of tourism growth, such as tourist arrivals and departures, tourism expenditures (inbound and outbound), and secondary indicators like length of stay, hotel occupancy rates, air seat capacity, etc.

This is not to say that there are no useful environmental and sociocultural indicators. Over the years, various models of indicators have been proposed, but the variables used often proved to be too numerous, too broad, or too technical to be useful for monitoring tourism's sustainability. The UN Environmental Programme (United Nations Environmental Programme)/ Earthwatch lists more than 20 indices for sustainable development, which have been formulated by UN agencies, international NGOs, and regional organizations. Here is a sampling of the most popular models:

- *Dashboard of Sustainability.* Developed by the Consultative Group on Sustainable Development Indices, the Dashboard is a software that indicates the sustainability of more than 100 countries on the basis of four sets of indicators, namely, environmental, social, economic, and institutional. The program allows the user to see how individual countries score on each aspect of sustainability, and see how that country compares with other countries on the same criterion. Depending on the score, which ranges from 0 to 1000 points, a country's position on a criterion of sustainability is rated from critical to excellent. The Dashboard uses and integrates indicators that have been previously developed and published by other institutions, such as the World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization, the UNEP, the UN Development Programme (UNDP), World Health Organization, and the World Resources Institute, among others. This program can be downloaded from the Internet.
- *Pressure-State-Response Model.* Created by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, this framework for environmental monitoring suggests that underlying pressures (e.g., increase in number of motorized vehicles) creates pressures on the environment (e.g., pollution), which in turn generate a variety of responses (e.g., Clean Air Act).
- *Environmental Pressure Index.* Developed by the Netherlands for its National Environment Policy Plan, this index uses a set of aggre-

gate indicators on six themes: climate change, acidification, eutrophication, dispersion of undesirable substances, disposal of solid waste, disturbance from odor and noise.

- *Human Development Index (HDI).* Developed by the UNDP, HDI is one of the best known measures of social progress. It measures human development in terms of longevity (computed as proportion of a maximum value of 85 years old), knowledge (based on literacy rate and number of children of school age attending classes), and standards of living (computed as proportion of purchasing power adjusted gross domestic product (GDP) per head). (Jackson and Roberts 2000).

- *Capability Poverty Measure.* Developed by the UN, this index measures people's lack of accomplishment rather than average accomplishment, which was the focus of HDI. It is a composite index based on the unweighted arithmetic mean of the following indicators: proportion of children under five who are underweight; proportion of women aged 15 and over, who are illiterate; and proportion of births unattended by trained health personnel.

- *Cost of Remediation (COR).* Developed by Harvard University and the Asian Development Bank, COR is expressed as a percentage of GDP that a country must spend to move its environment from its present state to a more desirable state sometime in the future. COR is relatively data-intensive and complex to estimate (Rogers 1997).

In 1996, the WTO published *A Practical Guide for the Development and Application of Indicators of Sustainable Tourism*, which identified a set of core indicators for 1) site protection, 2) stress, 3) use intensity, 4) social impact, 5) development control, 6) waste management, 7) planning process, 8) critical ecosystems, 9) consumer satisfaction, and 10) local satisfaction. Site protection is based on the International Union for the Conservation of Nature index. The WTO has also published guidelines, and best practice studies, that can be the basis for generating other indicators of sustainable tourism development. Its publications on the subject may be gleaned from Sustainable Development of Tourism—An Annotated Bibliography (WTO 1999).

Beyond the WTO, a review of literature (UNEP, South Africa's Responsible Tourism, Fair Trade in Tourism, English Tourism Council, Green Globe, World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), Trousdale and Gentoral, among many others) yields a substantial number of economic, environmental, and sociocultural indicators that may be useful for monitoring sustainable tourism development.

Economic indicators include tourism revenues, average tourist expenditure, direct and indirect taxes from tourism, direct and indirect taxes paid by business and workers in tourism, number of registered businesses, price indices in tourist areas, profitability measures for tourism establishments, stability and diversity of markets, direct and indirect tourism employment, monthly wages of tourism vs. non-tourism workers, and visitor satisfaction indices. Below are the indicators:

A. **Environmental indicators**
- Presence of infrastructure to manage and minimize solid and liquid wastes
- Water quality index for fresh water and marine/beach water
- Air quality index
- Percent of population exposed to noise and light pollution
- Percent of population exposed to foul odors
- Amount of water consumed, and percentage of leakage
- Amount of fossil fuels used
- Speed of motor vehicles during rush hour
- Amount of packaging purchased with supplies
- Adherence to codes of behavior that respect natural heritage
- Compliance with best practice guidelines in designing, planning, and construction of buildings
- Adoption of technologies that reduce consumption of natural resources, production of wastes, and incidence of pollution (sustainable energy like solar power)
- Use of local materials, where sustainable, and local architecture on a scale that does not create a negative aesthetic impact
- Extent of use of soft transport (cycle routes, walking trails)
- Use of sustainable trails, hides, and interpretation
- Use of sustainable materials (e.g., souvenirs not made from parts of endangered animal and plant species)
- Use of environment-friendly chemicals (e.g., biodegradable soaps and detergents)
- Park fees used to manage habitat and species
- Percentage of profits invested in nature conservation
- Average annual frequency and severity of natural disasters

B. **Socio-cultural indicators**
- (Decent) livelihood opportunities; number of locals selling products to tourists or supplying stores
- Number of tourism businesses operated and managed by local people's organizations and cooperatives
- Number of private tourism businesses employing local people

- Poverty incidence and alleviation in tourist areas (calorie intake, income levels, number of children attending school in tourism destinations, self-rated poverty (Mangahas 1999), percentage of population living on less than $1 a day, number of informal settlers (squatters), percent of underweight children, unemployment rate)
- Local linkages, as indicated by percentage of inputs, including souvenirs and handicrafts, obtained from within the local economy; or within a certain distance from the site of a certain tourism project
- Percentage of staff employed from a certain distance (e.g., within 50 km) of the tourism project site
- Community's share of profits from tourism
- Access to and provision of tourism facilities for disadvantaged groups, such as the physically handicapped, families with small children, the elderly, and people with low wages
- Percentage of goods, services, and labor procured from women, indigenous peoples, and the handicapped
- Membership in voluntary organizations and NGOs involved in sustainable tourism
- Incidence of prostitution
- Number of sexual harassment cases
- Safety for tourists (as indicated by number of crimes against tourists, incidence of illness among tourists, and access to health facilities, tourist police per x number of tourists, civil unrest, wars, terrorism, insurgency)
- Presence and proportion of local dishes on menus
- Number of schools with courses or subjects on sustainable tourism
- Number of research, conferences and publications on the subject of sustainable tourism and related topics
- Amount of research funding on sustainable tourism development
- Number of experts on sustainable tourism based on educational attainment, and years of experience
- Budget for cultural heritage site conservation
- Gap between rich and poor in tourism areas
- Community involvement in the planning, research, and decisionmaking processes
- Community satisfaction with tourism
- Leaders developed from within the community
- Gender and ethnic equality in employment

- Job accessibility to local community, indigenous people, handicapped and women for all levels (entry points to highest management level), expressed as percentage of total number of jobs available in the tourism industry
- Provision of facilities for tourists and tourism workers to practice their religions and cultural practices
- Respect for indigenous intellectual property as indicated by laws prohibiting the trading in these assets
- Respect for ancestral domains
- Existence of social tourism program; programs for the youth, students, senior citizens, and the handicapped
- Provision of technical support to local tourism businesses (marketing, training, and managerial support)
- Investment in human resources development (HRD), as indicated by the presence of in-house training programs, number of staff sent to training, and study programs
- Existence and quality of visitor information centers
- Use of languages understandable to tourists in interpretation
- Existence of domestic tourism program in schools involving trips to cultural heritage sites
- Availability of interpretation materials and written information (information boards, labels, signs, books, maps, postcards, brochures)
- Existence of partnerships for the exchange of information, skills and technology relating to sustainable tourism (e.g., access to resource centers on best practices; conferences and workshops)
- Incidence of discrimination
- Support for fairly traded products (e.g., wood products from sustainable forests, legally imported goods)
- Percentage of unique, and naturally/culturally/historically significant places which are being preserved and protected by local government, NGOs, and international agencies
- Percent of households and tourism establishments with access to safe water
- Percent of households and tourism establishments with access to electricity

C. Institutional indicators
- Presence of tourism master plans which incorporate sustainable principles
- Number of sites with sustainable tourism master plans
- Presence of inter-agency coordination and cooperation

- Presence of land use and zoning plans
- Percentage of establishments or LGUs adhering to environmental impact assessment system and institution
- Presence of environment monitoring system (EMS) and funding
- Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAS) and EMS required for all business registrations
- Presence of protected areas management system
- Laws protecting ancestral domains
- Existence of a tourism council/cooperatives or equivalent structure at various levels for discussing tourism issues
- Presence of indicators and adherence to the same
- Amount of research and development funding for sustainable tourism

Conclusions and recommendations

The NTOs of the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand have incorporated sustainable tourism principles into their tourism master plans. This orientation in turn was brought about by the growing clamor for change in development paradigm from the international community. The tourism master plans have very strong resemblance to each other in terms of strategies for achieving tourism development.

While there has been significant progress in the adoption of sustainable tourism paradigm at the national levels, the diffusion of such philosophy to the local level has been quite slow. This may be attributed to a lack of understanding and appreciation of the concept of sustainable tourism development. Concepts of ecotourism, community-based tourism and sustainable tourism, though related, tend to be used interchangeably.

The operationalization of sustainable tourism principles has also been very sluggish. The scarcity of case materials on best practices the lackluster participation in voluntary initiatives attest to the uneasy transition to sustainability.

To accelerate sustainable tourism development, NTOs are advised to implement the following:

A. *Advocate the equal application of sustainable development principles on mass tourism and ecotourism alongside other "niche" products.* This will bring the countries closer to sustainability as mass tourists comprise the bulk of the tourist market. This orientation should be made part of the philosophy of the NTOs' organization from the national to the local levels. As advocates, NTOs must be able to demonstrate their adherence to sustainable tourism principles right in their decision-making processes and in their management of visible resources, such as their own buildings and infrastructure projects.

B. *Form national and local steering committees on sustainable tourism develop-ment.* The committees will be responsible for determine the sustainable tourism agenda for both mass tourism and niche-market tourism (e.g., ecotourism) in the respective countries.

C. *Compile and document laws, guidelines, and best practices on sustainable tourism for dissemination and easy reference.* Investment procedures for sustainable tourism projects should also be part of the compilation. This may be done by the NTOs themselves or through commissioned work by academic institutions or research-oriented bodies.

D. *Institutionalize local community participation in the decisionmaking process, from conceptualization to implementation and control.* Local participation is very important in obtaining a sense of ownership of tourism projects. Indeed, while consultations with the local community may be a tedious process, dispensing with them could spell undue delay or total non-implementation of specific projects due to opposition from the community. Communities also appreciate being given the chance to make certain decisions such as determining the allowable number of visitors over a given period. Equally important is the support of local leaders, albeit care must be taken in identifying them, specifically those that truly represent the best interests of the community.

E. *Connect tourism projects to poverty alleviation measures.* These include the formation of cooperatives, micro-financing for small businesses, and procurement of supplies and personnel from the local community. Local communities show enthusiastic support for projects that have direct positive impact on their incomes.

F. *Integrate sustainability criteria in accreditation programs and tourism awards, which should be expanded to include all sectors.* Accreditation schemes may incorporate minimum criteria for the adoption of environment-friendly technologies, safety, and adherence to sustainable design guidelines like the use of local materials and designs, whenever available. They may also require affirmative measures requiring minimum proportions of women, indigenous people, and handicapped to be employed by an establishment; and minimum proportion of goods that should be purchased locally or within the region. Moreover, the procedures for the awards may have to be improved. For example, there should be a nomination process for the judges of the awarding committee for each sector of tourism, which shall disband after the awards have been given. The members of the award-giving bodies may benefit from having the opportunity to make onsite visits and interviews of the entities being nominated. Substantial financial incentives may be given to winners.

G. *Establish a program for the integrated development of human resources.* This will target local government officials, NTO personnel, tourism in-

dustry professionals, and the academic sector. An initial step will be to conduct an awareness campaign for local communities and private tourism businesses; and for the general public to disseminate the concept of sustainability and its application to the tourism industry. Continuing education and professional development courses may be conducted for LGU officials and tourism industry managers. There should also be incentives for the development of high-level expertise in tourism planning, policy formulation, environmental assessment and monitoring, resource generation, negotiating techniques, community-building, statistics and sustainable technologies. Monitoring expertise is very important because indicators will be meaningless unless there are people who can perform measurements and evaluations of technical variables such as the extent of noise and light pollution. Government, not just with human resource departments, should invest in sophisticated monitoring equipment. NTOs may consider establishing scholarship funds for higher studies in tourism, all the way to the doctorate level to develop local experts and reduce dependence on foreign tourism consultants.

H. *Improve NTOs' research capability to ensure the availability of timely and valid data needed for monitoring.* Research must be made an integral part of the policymaking process. To this end, NTOs may help establish national (even regional or ASEAN-wide) research centers on sustainable tourism. In the long term, NTOs should endeavor to collaborate with one another to facilitate exchange of data and research outputs in sustainable tourism.

I. *Monitor sustainability by using indicators.* Although there is no dearth of indicators that can be used for monitoring sustainable tourism development, they need to be made more useful so they can address key concerns: (1) data availability, (2) comparability of the data across countries, and (3) integrativeness, or how the indicator reflects the interactions among environmental, social and economic issues.

Among others, economic indicators should more accurately measure the value of tourism goods and services. The Tourism Satellite Accounting (TSA) System addresses this concern. The TSA, which is being advocated by the WTTC and the World Trade Organization, is an accounting system that will measure the demand for all travel- and tourism-related goods and services in a country (e.g., purchase of photographic films on trips). It is to be carried out parallel to traditional national accounting systems. The Philippine TSA classification of tourism goods and services was presented for final approval in June 2003.

The ASEAN NTOs can benefit from the experiences of other countries that are at the forefront of indicator usage, such as Australia (National

Ecotourism Accreditation Program), Costa Rica (Certificación para la Sostenibilidad Turistica), Denmark (Blue Flag), United Kingdom (Green Globe), Canada (Code of Ethics and Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism), and South Africa (Fair Trade in Tourism). Detailed information about these and other voluntary initiatives is available in WTO's Voluntary Initiatives for Tourism (WTO 2002). Indicators may also be derived from guidelines published by certain NGOs such as the WWF. Most of these guidelines are available online.

Sustainable tourism indicators for the Philippines and other ASEAN countries
Incorporating all of the previously cited indicators into a single sustainable tourism index is admittedly very difficult. However, the sustainable tourism index developed by the French NGO Groupe Developpement (GD) may provide the answer. The index, developed with the support of the European Union, comprises only 16 main indicators, based on what GD calls the "least common denominators." Compared to other indices, the GD is tourism-specific, manageable, and easily comprehensible. It represents the state of the art in sustainable tourism indicator development, has been pilot-tested in Phuket in 2000, and is scheduled for global testing in the near future. Following are indicators used for monitoring sustainable tourism (and the possible parameters enclosed in parentheses):

- Physical impact (i.e., damaged area, expressed as percentage of tourist facility to total surface area; percent share of primitive plants in vegetation cover; number of species and population per species of animals and plants)
- Sewage treatment (i.e., percentage of treated to total sewage, and what kind of treatment)
- Garbage treatment (i.e., percentage of treated to total garbage, and what kind of treatment)
- Water consumption (i.e., water consumption per room; cost of water supply per tourist; percent of total water consumption to total available supply)
- Visual impact (i.e., maximum building height)
- New jobs (i.e., new jobs created per room per place; new jobs for women; new skilled jobs; average female salary to average male salary)
- Staff continuing education (i.e., number of staff in continuing education; continuing education for female and continuing education for males)
- Local frequentation (i.e., usage rate for hotel, restaurant, recreational and cultural facilities)

- Law and order (i.e., misdemeanor rate per tourist; number of thefts, assaults and battery, serious crimes, and juvenile delinquency reported by tourists and local population)
- Public health (i.e., distance to nearest physician, rate of sexually transmitted diseases, food poisoning, and other prevalent diseases)
- Local production impact (i.e., percentage of local to total purchase)
- Development control (i.e., presence of joint environmental action)
- Cultural tourism (i.e., percent of cultural budget)
- Technology (i.e., Internet access)
- Child welfare (i.e., awareness of child-related issues such as the commercial sexual exploitation of children)
- Labor laws and agreements (Vellas et al. 2000)

Professor Manat Chaisawat of the Prince of Songkla University (PSU) used the checklist developed by Groupe Developpement (GD), together with the WTO's Global Code of Ethics (GCE), as part of his 2002 study seeking to provide the evaluation component of the proposed National Tourism Development Plan of Thailand (2002-2006). One of the steps in the evaluation process was to use basic indicators obtained from other studies to assess the quality and sustainability of Phuket as a tourist destination. Because GCE did not state the indicators quantitatively, Chaisawat decided to use the GD checklist, which stated the indicators in numerical terms to evaluate selected tourist sites in Phuket. The checklist is used to compare reference ratios and actual ratios for each tourist site. The comparison between the reference and actual ratios allows a classification of a tourist site into A (at least 12 variables being complied with—sustainable), B (six to 12 variables being met—average and needs improvement), and C (less than six variables being met—unsustainable).

In the Phuket study, fourth-year hotel management students of PSU were tapped to survey the sites, which consisted mostly of beach areas. They were divided into nine groups, each consisting of 11 to 12 members. Each group was assigned to one site where they did field work twice a week for one month.

Reference values, which were determined by the local and national tourism authorities, were applied to each of the indicators, which then became the basis for scoring. The actual or measured values were plotted on the third column. A score of 1 was given if the actual measurement was within the reference value for a given indicator; 0 if the actual measurement was outside the reference value. Thus, a perfect score for one site would have been 16. The scores of the nine sites were then averaged. The result for one of the sites (Bang Tao Beach) is shown in Table 2.

Table 2.   Evaluation of quality and sustainability of Bang Tao beach

Criteria	Reference values	Measured values	Score
1. Percent tourist area use/total area	Not more than 35	50	0
2. Percent liquid waste treated	Not less than 70	60	0
3. Percent of solid waste treated	Not less than 80	80	1
4. Water consumption per room in liters	Not more than 1500	1200	1
5. Maximum building height in meters	Not more than 15	12	1
6. Number of jobs created per room per place	2	1.5	0
7. Percent of staff receiving continuing education	15	54	1
8. Percent of local frequentation	6.19	25	1
9. Percent crime rate per tourist	2	.057	1
10. Distance to nearest physician in km	0	0.5	0
11. Percent of local to total purchase	90	24	0
12. Presence of joint environmental action	Yes	Yes	1
13. Percent of cultural expenses	0.03	1	1
14. Access to new technologies	Yes	Yes	1
15. Information on child welfare/ protection	Yes	No	0
16. Existence of labor agreement	Yes	Yes	1
Total score			10
Category			B

Source: Chaisawat 2002

The process was replicated in the other eight sites and the average of the scores was derived. The result for Phuket showed a mean score equivalent to B rating, or average sustainability.

This index is quite useful in that the number of variables involved is manageable. In the Philippines, agencies such as the DOT or DENR may choose which parameters to use per indicator. Moreover, the reference values will also be decided at the local level, affording a high level of legitimacy and ownership. On the other hand, if each reference value was to be decided at the local level, the comparability of data across destinations and countries

might be impossible. If comparability were desired, it would be necessary for ASEAN countries to decide at the regional level the ideal values for each indicator. Certain indicators, such as numbers 2 and 3, may have to be backed by legislation, which will require all tourism-related facilities to incorporate water and solid waste treatment infrastructure in the plans.

The use of indicators as a tool for monitoring the sustainable development of tourism will more likely succeed if the indicators 1) are developed in consultation with all stakeholders, particularly the local community representatives; 2) address real issues in the tourist sites; and 3) there are qualified people who can do the technical measurements of the variables involved and institutional mechanisms, such as legislation, to ensure that tourist sites or destinations are subjected to regular monitoring.

In the Philippines, the most-often cited problems by tourists are garbage, crime, heavy traffic, lack of relevant information, and poverty (DOT in Cruz 2000). Other pressing concerns are the peace and order situation (in particular, secessionist movements and terrorism) in many parts of the country; the quality of beaches; the frequent occurrences of natural calamities, which damage industries, including tourism; inadequate protection of indigenous peoples' rights to ancestral domains; and weak institutional mechanisms for sustainable development. Indicators that address these concerns will therefore be extremely relevant.

Based on the foregoing, this paper suggests the following set of supplemental indicators to facilitate an evaluation of the state of tourism development in the country. Most of these indicators have been cited earlier while some have been lifted from other indices, such as the Environmental Sustainability Index for air quality and water quality indices. They are highlighted here for their relevance to the Philippine situation and are not meant to replace the one proposed by Groupe Developpement.

Supplementary indicators for sustainable tourism index
Economic
- Average tourism spending
- Number of registered tourism-related businesses
- Amount of taxes paid by tourism-related businesses and workers in tourism industry
- Ratio of the average monthly wage of tourism industry workers and workers from other industries

Environmental
- Water quality index (fresh and marine water/beaches)
- Water quality index
- Air quality index
- Percent of population exposed to foul odors

- Percent of population exposed to harmful noise levels
- Average annual frequency and severity of natural disasters
- Speed of motor vehicles during rush hour

Socio-cultural

1. Poverty incidence in tourism areas
   - self-rated poverty (Mangahas 1999)
   - percentage of population living on less than PPP$ 1 a day (WSSD, 2002)
   - number of informal settlers (squatters)
   - percent of underweight children
   - percent of out-of-school children
   - unemployment rate
2. Safety in tourism areas (as evidenced by the absence of civil unrests, insurgency, terrorism, wars)
3. Percentage of unique, and naturally/culturally/historically significant places that are being preserved and protected by local government, NGOs, and international agencies
4. Percent of households and tourism establishments with access to safe water
5. Percent of households and tourism establishments with access to electricity
6. Job accessibility to local community, indigenous people, handicapped and women for all levels (entry points to highest management level), expressed as percentage of total number of jobs available in the tourism industry

Institutional

1. Number of sites with sustainable tourism master plans
2. EIAs and EMS required for all business registrations
3. Laws protecting ancestral domains
4. Number of sites with local tourism councils or cooperatives
5. Amount of research and development funding for sustainable tourism

The indicators must be monitored at the tourist site or municipality level, where the impact of tourism is directly felt. However, the practicality of these indicators will be contingent on primary data collection, because of wide gaps in the present Philippine statistical system. The National Statistical Coordinating Board website presents only two data for the tourism sector: 1) international tourist arrivals and 2) hotel occupancy rates. The institution of the Philippine Tourism Satellite Account will represent a significant leap in this direction. Aggregating the local surveys can then provide a picture of regional and national situations from the standpoint of tourism sustainability.

Bibliography

Ahmad, S.A., and S. Tahir. 2001. Issues and challenges in conservation: The case of marine parks in Malaysia. Proceedings of the Seventh Asia Pacific Tourism Association (APTA) Annual Conference. Manila.

Andrada, W. 2002. Ecotourism development framework in the Philippines. In *Linking green productivity to ecotourism: Experiences in the Asia Pacific Region*, edited by T. Hundloe. Tokyo: Asian Productivity Organization (APO).

Aronsson, L. 2000. *The Development of sustainable tourism.* London: Continuum.

Bramwell, B. 1998. Selecting policy instruments for sustainable tourism. *Global tourism* 2nd ed., edited by W. Theobald. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

CRC Sustainable Tourism. 2000. A research report on exemplary environmental practice in Key Tourism Sectors. Canberra: Green Globe Asia Pacific.

Chaisawat, M. 2002. The potential of Phuket tourism development to be World class destination with sustainability. Paper presented at the Greening of Tourism Conference, September, Makati City.

Chan, J.G.C. and R.A. Smith. 2001. Modeling urban tourism development in Asia: Case study on Singapore and Hong Kong. Proceedings of the Seventh Asia Pacific Tourism Association Annual Conference, 4-7 July, Manila.

Changsheng, L., L. Guoxin and L. Peng. 2002. Research on the indicator system of sustainable tourism in Harbin. Proceedings of the Fifth Biennial Conference: Tourism in Asia: Development, Marketing and Sustainability, 21-23 May, Hong Kong.

Chaplin, I. and C. Gatchalian. 2001. Issues affecting the management of sustainable marine tourism at dive resorts and centers. Proceedings of the Seventh APTA Annual Conference, 4-7 July, Manila.

Christie P., A. White, and E. Deguit. 2002. Starting point or solution? Community-based marine protected areas in the Philippines. *Journal of Environmental Management.* 5(2).

Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute. 1988. Master plan for tourism development of Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya and the neighboring provinces: final report. Bangkok:Tourism Authority of Thailand.

Cruz, R. 2000. *Principles of travel and tourism.* Quezon City: Tourism Research Philippines.

Daud, M. 2002. The ecotourism development in malaysia. In *Linking green productivity to ecotourism: Experiences in the Asia Pacific Region*, edited by T. Hundloe. Tokyo: Asian Productivity Organization (APO).

de los Santos, R. 1999. The state of Philippine tourism in relation to Philippine agenda 21. Paper presented during the Technical Workshop on Sustainable Tourism Development, Tagaytay City.

Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR). undated. A sourcebook of sustainable development indicators: Integration of environment and socio-economic development policies subprogramme, Integrated Environmental Management for Sustainable Development Programme.

Department of Tourism. 1990. Boracay island master development plan: Final report. Manila: DOT.

_____. 1991. Philippine tourism master plan. Manila: DOT.

_____ .1998. Report on the technical workshop on sustainable tourism. Manila: DOT.

_____ .1999. Report on the technical workshop on sustainable tourism. Manila: DOT.

_____. 2001. WTO case studies on good practices. A.memorandum from the Undersecretary of Planning, Product Development and Coordination.

_____. 2002. Philippine national ecotourism strategy. Manila: DOT.

DOT and the Canadian Urban Institute. 1998. Canada-Philippines cooperative program on sustainable development in Boracay Island, Aklan, Philippines project design. Program funded by the DOT and the Canadian International Development Agency.

UP Asian Institute of Tourism.2002. Philippine Agritourism Program Manual: A Guidebook for Developing Agritourism in the Philippines. Quezon City: UP AIT.

Development Academy of the Philippines. 1999. Draft National Ecotourism Framework Plan, 1999-2001. Pasig City: DAP.

Dobbs, T. 2003. *Breathing new life into old buildings.* Singapore Tourism Board (STB).

European Commission. 2000. Towards a local sustainability profile. Paper presented by the working group on measuring, monitoring and evaluation in local sustainability. Hanover: European Commission (EC).

Farsari, Y. 2001. Sustainable tourism indicators for Mediterranean established destinations. Heraklion, Greece: Foundation for the Research and the Technology Hellas. PDF.

Font, X. 2002. Environmental certification in tourism and hospitality: progress, process, and prospects. *Tourism management* 23(3).

Gee, C., et al. 1989. *The travel industry,* 2nd ed., New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

_____.1997. Achieving balanced tourism development - the challenge of sustainable tourism planning and management. Background paper

presented at the Asia Pacific Ministers' Conference on Tourism and Environment and Technical Seminar. February, Male Maldives.

Goodwin, H.J. 1997. Tourism, conservation and sustainable development. Volume 1 - Comparative Report. University of Kent:Durell Institute of Conservation and Ecology,.

Green Globe 1998. Green globe destination action plan: Ifugao and Camiguin.

Housing and Land Use Regulatory Board (HLURB). Undated. Guidelines for the formulation of comprehensive land use plan, economic sector: subsector tourism. Quezon City: HLURB.

Hughes, G. 2002. Environmental indicators. *Annals of tourism research* 29(2).

Hundloe, T. 2000. *Linking green productivity to ecotourism: Experiences in the Asia Pacific Region.* Tokyo: APO.

International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN)/The World Conservation Union. 2002. The IUCN programme: an assessment of progress 2001. Gland, Switzerland: IUCN.

Jackson, T. and P. Roberts. 2000. A review of indicators of sustainable development: A report for Scottish enterprise tayside final report. Dundee: University of Dundee School of Town and Regional Planning.

University of Dundee. 2000. *Enterprise tayside final report.* Dundee: University of Dundee School of Town and Regional Planning.

Jamieson, W. and P. Mandke. 2002. An exploration of the national policy issues related to the use of tourism development in poverty reduction in Southeast Asia. Proceedings of the Fifth Biennial Conference: Tourism in Asia: Development, Marketing and Sustainability, 21-23 May, Hong Kong.

Leksakundilok, A. 1998. *Policy and practice in Thailand with relevance to community-based (Eco)tourism.* Sydney, Australia: University of Sydney.

Mangahas, M. 1999. Monitoring Philippine poverty by operational indicators. Social Weather Stations [http://www.sws.org.ph].

McVey, M. 1993. Sustainable tourism development in Malaysia. *UNESCAP Tourism Review No. 11, Management of Sustainable Tourism Development.* New York: UN.

Mena, M. and K. Chon. 2002. Local community participation in sustainable tourism development: Experience from the Philippines. Proceedings of the Fifth Biennial Conference: Tourism in Asia: Development, Marketing and Sustainability , 21-23 May, Hong Kong.

Miller, G. 2000. Development of indicators for sustainable tourism: results of a delphi survey of tourism researchers. *Tourism Management* 22 (4).

Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism. 2001. Tourism policy in Malaysia. Proceedings of the Seminar on Tourism Policy and Economic Growth, 20 May, Berlin.

Murphy, P. 1998. Tourism and sustainable development. In *Global Tourism*, 2nd ed., edited by W. Theobald. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

National Economic Development Authority (NEDA)/Philippine Council on Sustainable Development (PCSD). 2002. PCSD tests national sustainable development indicators. Available from the World Wide Web: (http://www.neda.gov.ph/pcsd/new_folder/sdis.htm).

Nicholson, T. 1997. Tourism development and community: four case studies in Boracay, Samal, Marinduque and Davao City. VSO Philippines Discussion Paper. London: Department for International Development.

Omar, H. and H. Hamzah. 2001. Domestic tourism in Malaysia: significance, prospects and challenges of growth. Proceedings of the Seventh Asia Pacific Tourism Association. Annual Conference, 4-7 July, Manila.

Raymundo, L. and M. Ross. undated PDF. Reef check Philippines: Building capacity for community-based monitoring. Dumaguete City: Silliman University.

Rogers, P. 1997. *Measuring environmental quality in Asia*. Harvard University and Asian Development Bank.

Savage, V. 2001. *The Singapore case study*. Singapore: Pacific Asia Travel Association, Singapore Environment Council, and Singapore Tourism Board.

Singapore Tourism Board (STB). 1999. *Tourism 21: Vision of a tourism capital*. Singapore: STB.

Thailand Institute of Scientific and Technological Research. 1997. Operational study project to determine ecotourism policy: summary of the final report. Thailand: Tourism Authority of Thailand.

Thavarasukha, V. 2002. Ecotourism case studies in Thailand. In L*inking green productivity to ecotourism: experiences in the Asia Pacific region*, edited by T. Hundloe. Tokyo: APO.

Tisen, O., S. Ahmad, E. Bennett and M. Meredith. 1999. Wildlife conservation and local communities in Sarawak, Malaysia. Paper presented at the 2nd Regional Forum for Southeast Asia of the IUCN World Commission for Protected Areas, December, Vietnam.

Trousdale, W. and F. Gentoral. Trouble in paradise: moving Boracay Island towards sustainable tourism development. *The urban century* 1(4).

United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development/International Council on Local Environmental Initiatives. 1999. Sustainable tourism: A local authority perspective. Background Paper No. 3. New York: UNCSD.

_____1996. Sustainable tourism development in small island developing states. New York: UNCSD. Available from the World Wide Web: (http://www.unep.ch?islnds/d96-20a3.htm).

_____.1997. The Regional Workshop on Indicators of Sustainable Development in the Latin America and Caribbean Region, San Jose Costa Rica, 10-12 March. New York: UNCSD (PDF).

United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP). 2001. Plan of action for sustainable tourism in Asia and Pacific (1999-2005): A progress report. New York: UN.

_____1996. Report of the Regional Consultative Meeting on Environmentally Sound and Sustainable Development Indicators, Bangkok.

_____.1993. Tourism Review No. 11: Management of sustainable tourism development. New York: UN.

_____.1999. Tourism Review No. 19: Developing ecotourism in the Asian Region. New York: UN.

United Nations Environmental Programme .2002. UNEP principles on implementation of sustainable tourism. Available from the World Wide Web: (http://www.unepie.org/pc/tourism/policy/principles.htm).

US-Asia Environmental Partnership. 1999. Place-based public policy in Southeast Asia: developing, managing and innovating for sustainability. Washington: USAEP.

Vellas, F., Barioulet, H., and P. Amalou. 2000. Tourism, ethics and development. Groupe Developement.

World Economic Forum, Yale Center for Environmental Law and Policy, and CIESIN. 2001. Environmental sustainability index. Available from the World Wide Web: (http://www.ciesin.columbia.edu/indicators/ESI).

World Tourism Organization. 1993. Roundtable on planning for sustainable tourism development. Madrid: WTO and BTO.

_____ .1997. Tourism 2000: Building a sustainable future for Asia-Pacific. final report. Asia Pacific Ministers' Conference on Tourism and Environment, 16 - 17 February, Maldives.

_____. 2002. Voluntary Initiatives for Sustainable Tourism: Worldwide Inventory and Comparative Analysis of 104 Ecolabels, Awards and Self-commitments. Madrid: WTO.

World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), World Tourism Organization (WTO), Earth Council (EC). 1995. Agenda 21 for the travel and tourism industry. London: WTTC.

Yeang, T. K. 2002. Ecotourism and green productivity in Singapore. In *Linking green productivity to ecotourism: experiences in the Asia Pacific Region*, edited by T. Hundloe Tokyo: APO.

Yeoh, B.S.A., T. A. Ser and J. Wang and T. Wong. undated PDF file. Tourism in Singapore: An overview of policies and issues.

Chapter 4

A Framework for Classifying Ecotourism Initiatives in the Philippines

Ramon Benedicto A. Alampay and Carlos Libosada

Introduction

Since its introduction in the late 1980s, ecotourism has been one of the fastest growing tourism niches in the Philippines. Its promise of sustained environmental, social, and economic gains makes ecotourism the preferred type of development for different tourism organizations. However, the diversity of so-called "ecotourism initiatives" in the country has raised questions about whether each project truly embodies the principles of sustainability, environmental sensitivity, and respect for local peoples and cultures. It is therefore necessary to investigate the nature and types of ecotourism programs in the country.

This paper looks into the current status of ecotourism initiatives in the Philippines and suggests a classification scheme or framework to be followed and adopted by the industry. This classification framework is intended to allow the description of the different programs in terms of their relative compatibility or incompatibility with the accepted core principles of ecotourism. In doing so, it can help the tourism industry identify opportunities for improving the management and development of ecotourism in the Philippines.

Objectives

Despite the apparent popularity within the tourism industry of the ecotourism concept, a true consensus on its definition remains elusive. Ecotourism has not been clearly defined and has been confused with many other types of development. Its many definitions address different concerns such as sustainable development, environmental protection, cultural preservation, community empowerment, and education. Unfortunately, definitions of ecotourism by tourism groups vary from one group to another, depending on the priorities of each.

For example, the ecotourism label has been applied to a variety of tourism activities such as birdwatching, dolphinwatching, and whalewatching; spelunking; scuba diving; mountaineering, as well as various forms of community-based tourism. At the same time, it is also unusual to encounter development projects involving international resort chains, golf courses, and cruise lines claiming to fall under the banner of ecotourism.

This study looks at ecotourism programs and projects in the Philippines and attempts to develop a framework for classifying and evaluating such initiatives that the tourism industry could subsequently adopt. Specifically, the study aims to achieve the following objectives:

- To provide an information database on ecotourism initiatives in the Philippines;
- To formulate a set of criteria for classifying the different ecotourism initiatives in the Philippines;
- To outline the indicators of a true ecotourism product by describing various programs in terms of their relative compatibility or incompatibility with the accepted core principles of ecotourism; and
- To identify possible opportunities for improving the management and development of ecotourism in the Philippines.

Review of related literature

Owing perhaps to ecotourism's growing popularity as a specialty tourist activity, the number of articles devoted to it in the leading tourism journals has been increasing. Similarly, international organizations such as the World Tourism Organization and the United Nations have been producing increasing numbers of books, reports, and conference proceedings on the topic. The wealth of new material notwithstanding, considerable ground remains uncovered before academics and practitioners can reach a consensus on what ecotourism is and should be.

Much of the recent work published in tourism deals with nature tourism or ecotourism. Some authors (Orams 1996; Steele 1995) use the terms interchangeably. For example, Whelan's (1991) edited book uses the term "nature tourism" in its title, and then switches exclusively to "ecotourism" between its covers. Others consider ecotourism as a specialized field within nature tourism, as exemplified by the following definition from a recent Market Demand Study of ecotourism in Canada:

"Ecotourism is an enlightening nature travel experience that contributes to conservation of the ecosystem, while respecting the integrity of host communities" (Wight 1996).

Ballantine and Eagles (1994) qualify that ecotourism differs from other forms of travel in that ecotourism combines specific social (traveling to learn about nature) and attraction (visiting wilderness) motivations, and requires a specific time commitment (33 percent of one's vacation time is spent in the field).

In the Philippines, recent pronouncements by the Department of Tourism (DOT) (Gabor 1997) reflect a commitment to "ecotourism." Closer examination of the DOT plan reveals a broad understanding of the term, flexible enough to incorporate even golf under its umbrella.

The United Nations, in declaring 2002 as the International Year for Ecotourism, has acknowledged that "there is not a universal definition of ecotourism." Nevertheless, it attempts to provide some parameters for ecotourism by describing its general characteristics as:

- All nature-based forms of tourism whose main motivation is the observation and appreciation of nature as well as the traditional cultures prevailing in natural areas.
- It contains educational and interpretation features.
- It is generally, but not exclusively, organized for small groups by specialized and small locally owned businesses. Foreign operators of varying sizes also organize, operate, and/or market ecotourism tours, generally for small groups.
- It minimizes negative impacts upon the natural and socio-cultural environment.
- It supports the protection of natural areas by:
  - generating economic benefits for host communities, organizations, and authorities managing natural areas with conservation purposes;
  - providing alternative employment and income opportunities for local communities;
  - increasing awareness of the conservation of natural and cultural assets among locals and tourists alike.

Boo (1993) argues that the semantic confusion revolving around the term "ecotourism" results from using the term to describe a wide variety of activities involving travel and the environment. Some people choose to define it in broad terms, that is, any form of tourism that is friendly to the environment. Some people advocate a more narrow, focused definition—ecotourism is a form of tourism that contributes to the conservation of natural resources.

Two recent Philippine publications provide examples of the fuzzy operationalization of ecotourism today. Libosada (1998), writing in a more scholarly tone, discusses the development of ecotourism in the country and the factors to consider in ecotourism development. In his book, he focuses on six specific ecotourism activities: trekking, bird watching, scuba diving, whale watching, spelunking, and community-based ecotourism. All six activities can generally be described as smaller in scale than conventional modes of mass tourism.

In contrast to Libosada's work, Guerrero's (2000) publication is more accurately described as a guidebook. It is interesting to note that he chose to apply a much broader definition of ecotourism in his book. "Ecotourism destinations," according to Guerrero, range from largely underdeveloped

areas in provinces like Quirino, Romblon, and Surigao, to five-star hotels in the heart of Metro Manila.

While the literature on Philippine ecotourism remains severely limited, this contrast between academic and industry or trade perspectives on ecotourism reflects similar tensions in the global ecotourism marketplace. If laid out on a "narrow" versus "broad" spectrum, academic definitions of ecotourism (e.g., Libosada 1998; Wight 1996; Ballantine and Eagles 1994) tend to fall in the narrow range because of the stricter requirements for definition and operationalization in the scholarly publication process.

People working in the travel and tourism industry, on the other hand, tend to drift toward the broader range of definitions (e.g., Guerrero 2000; Gabor 1997). Perhaps a more accurate statement would be that although definitions may be consistently worded, the tourism industry tends to be more flexible in deriving meaning from these definitions.

Marshall (1996), quoting a conference director, describes ecotourism as "a nature-based form of specialty travel, defined as 'responsible travel to natural areas,' which conserves the environment and sustains the well-being of local people." However, ecotourism in practice negates what its advocates claim it to be. Beeh (1999) notes, for example, that prevailing confusion between ecotourism and adventure travel. Many companies, she writes, use the "eco" label notwithstanding whether they offer truly "green" (i.e., environmentally sensitive) products or not. Whereas ecotourism is intended to be altruistic, adventure travel insulates tourists from the local environment (and community) and yet utilizes the latter's resources. Unfortunately, the "ecotourism" label seems to have lost some of its marketing luster. Thus, more operators are opting for the increasingly popular but higher-impact adventure tours.

Sirakaya et al. (1999) explain the reason behind the more liberal interpretation of ecotourism. They note that many of the definitions of ecotourism were formulated by conservationists and environmentalists. As such they strongly emphasized the preservation of tourism's ecological assets over the profit motives of private enterprise as well as the realities of the business environment.

To get a business perspective of ecotourism, they asked over 200 tour operators in the United States to give their personal definitions of ecotourism. A content analysis of the responses revealed specific references to 14 underlying themes. These are listed below in order of the frequency with which these themes were cited:

- Environment-friendly tourism
- Responsible travel
- Educational travel
- Low-impact travel
- Recreational and romantic trips to natural sites

- Contribution to local welfare
- Ecocultural travel
- Sustainable/nonconsumptive tourism
- Responsible business approach to travel
- Community involvement
- Tourist involvement in preservation
- Buzzword
- Contribution to conservation

Shallow vs. deep ecotourism: incorporating the human factor into the classification framework

In 1995 the Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA) Adventure Travel and Ecotourism Conference concluded that it would be necessary to limit tour group size and frequency for ecotourism to remain environmentally and socially responsible. This position recognized the threat posed by humans on the very resources on which the ecotourism industry would be founded. Thus, ecotourism should always remain a niche market, said PATA (Dowling 1998).

Acott et al. (1998) provide a different perspective. They say that the term had been used in so many different ways that it no longer referred exclusively to an environmentally benign activity. They acknowledge that there were variants of ecotourism that verged on forms of mass tourism, as did types of ecotourism that adhered more closely to the ideal model espoused by PATA. Using the "shallow and deep ecology" principles coined by Arne Naess in 1972, they proposed that so-called ecotourism projects could be classified along a similar shallow-deep continuum.

According to Acott et al. (1998) shallow ecology/ecotourism views humans as separate from the rest of nature. The interest in finding solutions to pollution and resource depletion arises from shallow ecology's central concern—human health and welfare. Nature is valued for its usefulness to humans. In the case of ecotourism, nature's utility comes from the aesthetic pleasure derived by tourists, or from the economic returns that accrue to the host community.

In contrast, deep ecology/ecotourism rejects the humans-in-environment image. Instead, deep ecotourism adopts a biocentric philosophy that covers a range of ideas that include "the importance of intrinsic value in nature, emphasis on small-scale and community identity, the importance of community participation, a lack of faith in modern large-scale technology and an underlying assumption that materialism for its own sake is wrong (Acott et al. 1998)."

Table 1 summarizes some of the main differences between shallow and deep ecotourism, as described by the authors.

The shallow-deep model of ecotourism improves on earlier, more resource-based approaches by addressing the issue of how ecotourism resources

Table 1. A comparison of shallow vs. deep ecotourism

	Shallow Ecotourism	**Deep Ecotourism**
Experiencing the culture of the host community	Surface understanding of a culture; tourists are spectators of cultural traditions, performances, and artifacts.	Visitors ask more searching questions about human life and society; tourists gain meaningful understanding of culture by immersion (when appropriate) and/or self-education.
Tourist service standards	Western standards of safety, comfort, and hygiene are maintained where possible; tourists may want to consume western food and drink.	Tourist does not require western-oriented comforts (especially if these put a strain on local resources); tourists may want to try local dishes as part of the cultural learning.
Preserving the quality of the natural resource	Preference for "pristine" natural enclaves may result in preservationist policies where humans (including indigenous peoples) are excluded from natural areas.	Tourist destination need not be preserved and protected from the influence of humans as long as human activity is integrated with efforts to maintain biodiversity and ecological integrity of land.
The value(s) of nature	Instrumental valuation of nature	Recognition of intrinsic values of all elements of nature (not just those needed by humans)

are used and developed. The model recognizes that the form of development, including the tourist activities conducted onsite, are equally important components of ecotourism, as is the site itself. Thus, using this framework, ecotourism programs could also be described in terms of the amenities and facilities introduced to a natural or cultural area. The mode of learning about the natural or cultural resource could also be a source of differentiation between programs.

Conceptually, however, the model revolves around the tourists and their activities rather than the destination. Although it suggests forms of develop-

ment or tourism services that may be introduced to the environment, these follow from the types of trips that visitors seek. The tourists' motivations as well as their attitudes toward both the journey and the destination determine whether the trip will be considered deep or shallow.

It may be possible, in theory, for a site to be visited by both shallow and deep ecotourists.

Hard and soft ecotourism

Acott et al. describe shallow ecotourism as a form of ecotourism that verges on mass tourism. Weaver (2001) goes a step further by arguing that ecotourism, as reality and as ideal, could be perceived as a form of mass tourism, and not its opposite. Arguing that ecological or socio-cultural sustainability "beyond the shadow of a doubt" is unlikely for any form of tourism (eco- or otherwise), Weaver subscribes to a reasonable intent definition of ecotourism. This means any form of nature-based tourism "that strives to be ecologically, socio-culturally and economically sustainable," while at the same time enabling visitors to appreciate and learn about the natural environment.

Given such a broad definition, a wide range of ecotourism activities can thus be included. Weaver proposes that these ecotourism activities can be arranged along a hard-soft continuum. Hard (or active) ecotourism closely corresponds to the notion of deep ecotourism described by Acott et al. Soft (or passive) ecotourism, on the other hand, appears to be very similar to shallow ecotourism.

Weaver notes that soft ecotourism is usually associated with steady-state sustainability, or the idea that visitors should leave a place in the same condition where they found it. In contrast, hard ecotourism supports a concept of sustainability wherein visitors can "enhance" or improve the natural environment through donations or volunteer activity. Weaver's hard-soft approach differs slightly from the deep-shallow model as it applies to both the destination (and the form of development taking place on it) and the tourist. Table 2 lists other characteristics of hard and soft ecotourism.

Note that Weaver also includes some characteristics that suggest the intensity (active or passive) of the visitors' interaction with the natural or cultural environment. For purposes of developing a classification framework, the elements that could prove to be difficult would be the measurement of environmental commitment and sustainability. Whether a community or tourist exhibits strong or moderate environmental commitment is a highly subjective proposition—one that is particularly vulnerable to political or ideological controversies. As with Acott et al.'s deep-shallow take, the visitors' motivations and attitudes would determine how strongly they feel about using ecotourism to enhance or, at least, sustain the quality of the resource.

Table 2. Characteristics of hard and soft ecotourism

Hard (Active)	Soft Passive)
Strong environmental commitment	Moderate environmental commitment
Enhancement sustainability	Steady-state sustainability
Specialized trips	Multi-purpose trips
Long trips	Short trips
Physically active	Physically passive
Few services expected	Services expected
Emphasis on personal experience	Emphasis on interpretation

An operational definition of ecotourism programs

The official Philippine definition of ecotourism, as adopted by the National Ecotourism Development Council, is that it is "a form of sustainable tourism within a natural and cultural heritage area where community participation, protection and management of natural resources, culture and indigenous knowledge and practices, environmental education and ethics as well as economic benefits are fostered and pursued *for the enrichment of host communities and satisfaction of visitors*" (underscoring added). This definition implies a supply-oriented form of ecotourism programs that take place within a specific site. Reference to benefits to communities and visitors from ecotourism appears only at the end of the definition.

For the purposes of this study, a relatively inclusive, as opposed to restrictive, definition of ecotourism programming is preferred. Based on Weaver's suggestion (2001), ecotourism programs as have three basic elements. First, the focus of attraction is the natural environment or some specific components of it. Any natural setting can be a venue for ecotourism. The presence of an endangered or threatened specie in the area may provide additional value or novelty to the program, but it is not an essential characteristic of ecotourism. Similarly, the presence of indigenous communities or traditional cultures within an ecotourism site can enhance the "sense of place" experienced by the visitor. But their mere existence, devoid of any relations to their natural environment, cannot be considered ecotourism.

Second, an ecotourism initiative should emphasize learning as an outcome of the tourist's interaction with the natural environment. Thus, programs that merely use the natural environment as a setting for tourist activity—such as some forms of adventure tourism or the traditional "sun, sand and beach" activities in beach tourism—without any educational value do not qualify as ecotourism.

Finally, the initiative should be sustainable, implying a desire to ensure that the integrity of the resources is not undermined. Given the difficulty in

measuring sustainability, this paper subscribes to Weaver's "reasonable intent" standard, which highlights "every reasonable effort to ensure that its operations are sustainable, in line with current best practice principles."

Figure 1 illustrates ecotourism as a form of sustainable tourism and distinguishes it from other types of nature-based tourism.

Figure 1. Ecotourism as a form of sustainable tourism
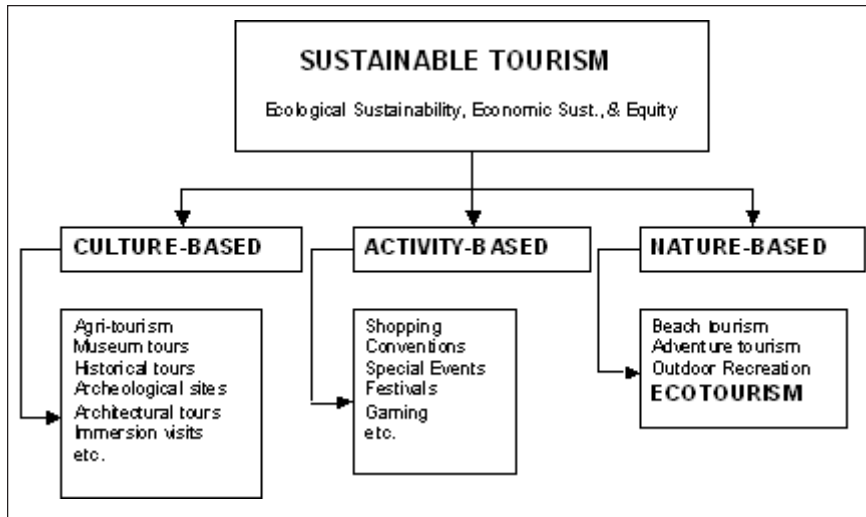
This paper thus defines an ecotourism program as:

> Any project that is organized and designed to promote the observation and appreciation of nature through the provision of facilities and opportunities for visitor education in a manner that, where appropriate, fosters community involvement and seeks to ensure and sustain the integrity of the resources around which the tourism activity is based.

The qualification that community involvement is desirable "where appropriate" comes from Honey and Rome (2001), who also argue that local communities should benefit economically, socially, and culturally from ecotourism. The definition thus implies that while a community-based approach to ecotourism development is the ideal arrangement, programs in private lands or in uninhabited, remote areas can also be considered as ecotourist in nature.

Methods

The bulk of the research activities conducted for this study revolved around the collection of information on the various ecotourism programs in the Philippines. These included projects that were already underway, as well as potential or emerging sites identified by different agencies. The working definition of a "program" employed by the research team limited the scope of the study to site- or place-based projects. This is compatible with definitions of ecotourism adopted by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) and the DOT. Both agencies refer to a form of sustainable tourism within ". . . a given natural environment" (Joint DENR-DOT Memo Circular 98-02) or ". . . a natural and cultural heritage area" (NEDC Resolution No. 2000-01).

Thus, this particular research project looked only at ecotourism products offered by an entity that directly managed or supervised the ecotourist itinerary within the natural destination. This approach avoids the double counting that could occur if this study included ecotourism offerings that merely packaged or linked different ecodestinations together to form various tourist products.

This paper recognized, for example, the Olango Birds and Seascape Tour as a valid ecotourism program and therefore deserved to be included in the study because it referred to the birdwatching tour specifically developed and managed by a community-based cooperative on Olango Island. However, a birdwatching tour package offered by a Manila-based tour operator that just happened to include Olango as a destination would no longer be considered as a distinct ecotourism program.

In other words, this study generally focused on programs offered by primary suppliers such as communities, local government units, parks, etc. Offerings from tour operators were only included if these packages were specific to a particular natural destination and if the ecotourism activity within the site were an exclusive offering of the tour agency. For example, an ecotour developed by a private operator utilizing the resources of Marinduque's Tres Reyes Islands would be considered a distinct program if no other similarly oriented programs were offered by other operators, the community, or the government agencies overseeing the islands.

Data collection on the existing or proposed ecotourism programs around the archipelago began with an examination of the outputs of a 1999 workshop co-organized by the DOT and the DENR for the various regional ecotourism stakeholders. Different government offices and nongovernment organizations (NGO) were then surveyed to validate as well as to supplement the initial list of identified ecotourism programs. This phase of the project employed various modes of data collection, including personal interviews, documentary research, and questionnaires mailed to various NGOs and donor agencies known to be involved in resource management and community-

enterprise building. These NGOs were identified through a snowballing technique in which respondents or interviewees were asked to refer other NGOs or agencies that they knew to be involved in ecotourism.

The respondents from the various offices were also queried on their understanding of ecotourism. The question put to them referred to official working definitions adopted by their respective offices as well as off-the-top-of-the-head definitions of the concept based on their personal experiences and beliefs.

Five respondents from the NGOs and government offices contacted for the study submitted their respective definitions of ecotourism. These ranged from very broad to more detailed definitions. One respondent simply described ecotourism as a "community enterprise that is environmentally friendly." Another said ecotourism "generates conservation and livelihood benefits."

One NGO, the Kitanglad Integrated NGOs, Inc., said its working definition of ecotourism projects was one that "should provide benefits to conservation, and also provide benefits to the local or host community." The Laguna Lake Development Authority adopted the official definition of ecotourism used by DOT and DENR. The definition provided by a respondent from the Alliance of Volunteers in Development Foundation, Inc. was interesting in its incorporation of visitor benefits. It said that ecotourism involved "linking with nature, deriving pleasure while protecting it, conserving natural resources for the use and enjoyment, tourism for future generations."

The management plans developed by DENR's Conservation of Priority Protected Areas Project (CPPAP) for its 10 priority areas also provided additional inputs to the researcher's appreciation of the growing list of ecotourism projects. In almost all of the CPPAP management plans, ecotourism was identified as a key component of the plan for protecting and managing the various resource areas.

Resource-based classification of ecotourism destinations

Below is a summary of the ecotourism programs the team was able to identify through a combination of primary and secondary data collection methods. These were described by different government agencies and NGOs as being "ecotourism" programs or projects. The team observed that the proponents tended to recognize or nominate ecotourism sites based mainly on the type of natural or cultural resource around which a destination hoped to build its ecotourist offering.

Building on this observation, the team's initial classification exercise involved a summary of the various initiatives by location and type of natural or cultural resource on which the ecotourism activity is based. This was done a priori based primarily on the program name and whatever limited informa-

tion about each project might have been provided by the team's sources. This was therefore a purely deskbound classification exercise.

Given the limitations of the project, the different programs in the inventory could only be evaluated on a very cursory basis. Without an actual examination of each program, it was impossible to determine the form of tourism development that was supposed to have taken place in it. It was also difficult to determine how the ecotourism plans were formulated and implemented.

Table 3 provides a summary of the relevant information about the programs. (See the appendix for a complete list of the projects.)

Table 3. Summary of ecotourism programs in the Philippines by location and by type of tourism resource base

Tourism Resource*	Region			
	Luzon	Visayas	Mindanao	Total
Marine ecosystem	36	38	17	91
Terrestrial	66	25	23	114
Freshwater	36	15	24	75
Cultural sites	23	7	2	32
Manmade	3	4	3	10
Total	164	89	69	322

*Categories:
Marine – marine-protected areas, coral reefs, islands, beaches, bays
Terrestrial – mountains, volcanoes, caves, trails, forest areas
Freshwater – lakes, rivers, hot and cold springs, waterfalls
Cultural – churches, historic sites, festivals
Manmade – urban parks, reforestation sites

Given the subjective nature of the classification process used (a form of content analysis through which the researchers determined the type of tourism resource based on the program name or description), some items on the list may have been excluded. However, the purpose of this exercise was simply to develop a starting point for describing and, eventually, differentiating the types of ecotourism initiatives being developed in the country. Thus, the methodology employed was sufficient for this limited objective.

Table 4 lists examples of programs and sites identified by our sources as falling under ecotourism. The subjective, even liberal, definitions of ecotourism among the various stakeholders is illustrated by the inclusion of manmade (e.g., Cape Bojeador Lighthouse in Ilocos Norte, the Capas Death March National Monument in Tarlac) and indigenous or cultural attractions (e.g., Banaue Rice Terraces, Guling-guling Festival) in the list. This is consistent with the inclusive definition adopted by the NEDC. Relying on this

definition, the Ecotourism Technical Working Group (ETWG) of the DOT and DENR also recognized heritage, agricultural, and cultural ecotourism in addition to the other more conventional variants such as nature-based, wildlife, and adventure ecotourism.

Table 4. Examples of ecotourism sites or programs identified for each type of tourism resource base

Resource Base	Example of Ecotourism Sites and Programs
Marine Ecosystem	▪ El Nido Protected Areas – Palawan ▪ Whale shark watching - Donsol, Sorsogon ▪ Boracay Island – Aklan ▪ Danjugan Island and reef system – Negros Oriental ▪ Agoo-Damortis Seashore – La Union
Terrestrial	▪ Mt. Pinatubo – Pampanga/Tarlac ▪ Calbiga Caves – Samar ▪ Chocolate Hills – Bohol ▪ Mt. Apo – Davao
Freshwater	▪ Paoay Lake – Ilocos Norte ▪ Tinago Falls – Iligan City ▪ Governor's Rapids – Quirino ▪ Siraan Hot Spring – Antique
Cultural Sites	▪ Cape Bojeador Lighthouse – Ilocos Norte ▪ Banaue/Ifugao Rice Terraces – Ifugao ▪ Guling-Guling Festival – Ilocos Norte ▪ Farm Tourism Village – Tangalan, Aklan ▪ Capas Death March National Monument – Tarlac
Manmade	▪ San Jose Ecotourism Park – Tarlac ▪ Bucari-Aganan Reforestation – Iloilo

Ecotourism programs based on terrestrial resources (e.g., mountains, forests, caves) represent the single largest grouping with 91 items on the list (Table 3). This accounts for more than a fourth of the entries in the list. Combined with some 75 freshwater resource- based projects (e.g., lakes, rivers, falls), the inland ecotourism destinations represent about half (52 percent) of the national inventory. However, the predominantly island-based nature of the tourist product in the Visayas is reflected by the fact that marine ecosystem programs comprise its largest grouping.

About half (164) of the programs on the list are found in Luzon (which includes Palawan and the other island provinces of Regions 4 and 5); the Visayas and Mindanao account for 89 and 69 entries, respectively. This does not mean, however, that Luzon is richer in terms of ecotourism resources. It could only mean that the Luzon tourism sector is more prepared to identify ecotourism products than its counterparts in the Visayas and Mindanao.

On a per region basis, no ecotourism programs were nominated from the National Capital Region (NCR). Heavily urbanized metropolitan regions such as Metro Manila as well as Cebu City may not have much in terms of natural environments having potential for ecotourism. Nevertheless, given the liberal interpretation of ecotourism by some sectors, it would not have been a total surprise if a couple of cultural or historical places in Metro Manila were nominated.

While useful as an exploratory description of the state of the art, a classification framework based solely on the type of resource or attraction used is inadequate for this study's purposes. A purely resource-based framework addresses only half of the issue. From our perspective, the application of ecotourism is incomplete without any reference to how the resource is used or enjoyed.

In turn, the specific behaviors or activities of tourists in situ could suggest the intensity of impact that visitation would have on a site. High-impact activities such as adventure tourism would be classified similarly with low-impact nature tours. Thus, this initial categorization would not facilitate a comparison of the potential environmental impacts of different activities such as whitewater rafting down the Chico River, scuba diving down the Tubbataha Reef, or trekking up Mount Apo via the Sibulan trail.

Proposed classification framework for ecotourism programs

Based on the initial propositions of Acott et al. and Weaver, a framework for classifying ecotourism programs was developed (Figure 2). It incorporates the major elements of the "deep-shallow" and "hard-soft" perspectives of the authors. For this particular framework, "active" and "passive" labels were placed on either end of the x-axis. These were deemed more appropriate adjectives to describe the intensity with which the community (in the form of development chosen) as well as the ecotourist (in the activities engaged in) experience the environment.

The active-passive continuum is essentially Weaver's hard-soft framework. However, this application does not address the issues of environmental commitment and type of sustainability sought. An active ecotourism program therefore promotes physically rigorous tourist activities such as trekking, swimming, diving, among others. Trips and itineraries are specialized, that is, designed to emphasize the ecotourist's personal experience of the natural or cultural resource. Active ecotours are generally longer in duration,

because final destinations tend to be remote and relatively inaccessible. Finally, active ecotourists do not expect western-type services and facilities at the destination.

Figure 2. Proposed classification framework for ecotourism programs

	LARGER SCALE		

A C T I V E	Higher volume; larger groups
	Emphasis on personal experience
	Western standard services not
	    essential
	Some degree of standardization for
	    trips and itineraries
		Higher volume; larger groups
		Emphasis on interpretation
		Services and facilities expected
		Example: Gardens of Malasag
		Ecotourism Village
			P A S S I V E

	Lower volume; smaller groups Emphasis on personal experience Few, if any, services expected Specialized trips and itineraries Example: Ulugan Bay	Lower volume; smaller groups Emphasis on interpretation Services and facilities expected Example: Olango Birds and Seascape Tour	
	SMALLER SCALE		

Passive ecotourism, on the other hand, stresses interpretation. Activities are generally less physically taxing. Examples are guided sightseeing tours, visits to interpretation centers, and photography. In terms of duration, passive ecotours are shorter; some can be taken as day tours. Visitors expect a relatively higher degree of comfort based on western standards of service. This suggests that more artificial structures and facilities may be introduced to the site.

The proposed framework is consistent with Weaver's position that ecotourism need not be limited to a niche market. Thus, the y-axis describes ecotourism programs according to the volume of activity that they can or aspire to serve. Larger-scale ecotourism offers destinations and activities that can absorb a greater volume of visitor traffic. This form of ecotourism is closer to traditional tourism activity, which can accommodate larger groups at any given time. However, sustainable tourism practices and concerns about carrying capacity still require some form of cap on group sizes.

Smaller-scale ecotourism, on the other hand, requires visitation by individuals or small travel parties. Whether a program goes for the mass market or smaller-scale ecotourism depends on the destination. The more sensitive or threatened the environment is, the more ecotourism should move away from larger-scale ecotours. In this regard, smaller-scale ecotourism would more

closely adhere to the niche conception of ecotourism that PATA espouses (Dowling 1998), which implies the nonsustainability of volume visitation. Larger-scale ecotourism, by the same token, may be interpreted as hewing more closely to the mainstream tourism industry.

For a better illustration of this framework, the following section briefly discusses three programs, classified according to the proposed system discussed above.

Smaller-scale passive ecotourism: the Olango birds and seascape tour

Initially conceived to meet the need for more exciting day tour activities for guests of Mactan hotels and resorts, the Olango birds and seascape tour (OBST) is a package tour of a bird sanctuary that also featured glorious waters, scenic seascape, and diverse coastal village culture in and around Olango Island. The OBST site is located in barangay Suba, on the island of Olango, approximately two nautical miles east of Mactan Island in the province of Cebu (Figure 3). The island is considered an important wildlife sanctuary in the province of Cebu, possessing a rich and diverse marine ecosystem while also serving as a major stopover for thousands of migratory birds using the East Asian Flyway. Thus, for about eight months of the year, thousands of migratory birds complement the native bird species on Olango, making the island one of the premiere birding sites in the country.

The project was undertaken by the Coastal Resource Management Project (CRMP) of the DENR with funding from the United States Agency for International Development. From the beginning, CRMP set out to ensure that the site would be a true community-based ecotourism destination. Thus, the complete marketing package of the site is dubbed "Olango Birds and Seascape Tour: An Ecotourism Venture and Conservation Initiative of the People, by the People, and for the People."

CRMP chose the village of Suba, located on Olango Island's southeastern tip, over three other barangays to host its ecotourism project on the island. Suba's main advantages were its strategic location, accessibility from Mactan, and the community's readiness for coastal management work (Flores 2000). CRMP identified ecotourism as a viable response to the community's need for income generation options. As part of the project, the residents were organized into an ecotourism cooperative so they could play a major role in the development and operation of ecotours to Olango Island. Today, the cooperative manages almost every facet of the OBST, including the backroom operations such as monitoring and accounting.

The role of Olango Island, however, is not limited to serving as a birdwatching destination, having been packaged as a bird and seascape tour site. Complementing this effort was equipping the whole community to turn it into an ecotourism destination based on the totality of biodiversity in the area.

Figure 3. Map of Olango Island Birds and Seascape Tour
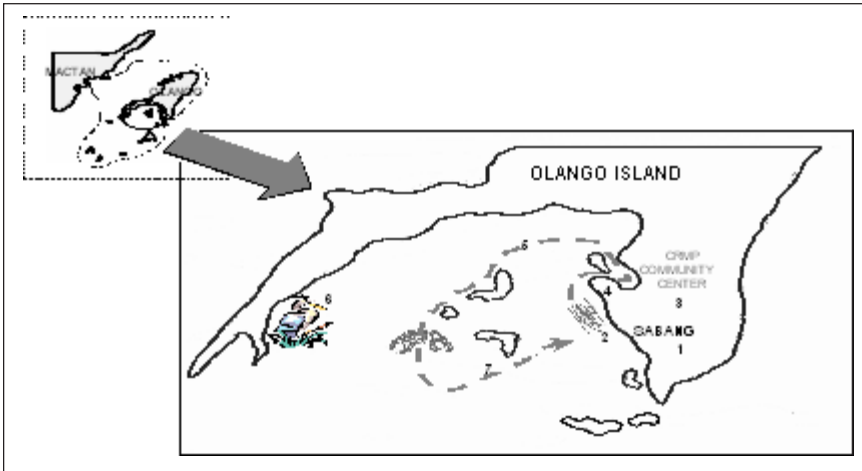
Note: Tour begins and ends on Mactan Island. The bird sanctuary component of the tour is magnified here (shown in the circle on the smaller map, upper right). No. 6 shows the best location for viewing birds on the tour.

One acknowledged strength of the destination is its proximity to Mactan Island, one of the most important source regions of tourists in the country. Then, too, there is the Mactan International Airport, the country's second major airport that serves as an entry point to Olango for foreign as well as domestic visitors. The proximity between the two islands makes day tours possible, made more attractive by the presence of several major resorts on Olango Island. These and other inherent advantages—unique, high-quality natural resources, a cooperative local community, and accessibility of tourist markets.

Olango Island's proximity to the resort areas of Mactan also makes it easier for OBST to implement a "no overnight visit" policy on Olango. The policy serves two purposes. One, it facilitates visitor management. Two, it minimizes the potential social impacts from the disruption that tourists could bring to the social and cultural fabric of the Suba community.

Reflecting on the Olango project's initial years of implementation, Monina Flores, a key member of the CRMP team that saw the project through to its completion, notes some critical lessons that other communities could learn from the OBST experience (1999). One, they must identify and focus on the unique attractions of their areas (migratory birds and seascapes in the case of Olango). Two, they should complement these attractions with others that will make visitors want to prolong their stay or come back to their areas. Suba's village culture and the people's warmth are examples of these.

How does one classify the Olango program? In terms of market, the program falls under the niche classification. Although it is only a short banca ride from a mass tourism destination (Mactan), the tour takes only small groups at a time and the trips are limited to day tours. This means the program remains within the bounds of a conservation strategy and is guided by the principle of minimizing, if not preventing, the potential negative impact of volume traffic and congestion on the coastal resources and the host community life.

The nature of the Olango bird tour is also more passive than active. In keeping with the conservation theme, the tour places a great deal of emphasis on interpretation. "In Olango, an articulate naturalist guide who did biological work on the birdlife and mangroves in the sanctuary was hired by the community to do the natural interpretation. Interpretation of village culture, however, was performed by the community" (Flores 1999). Because the tour has been designed only as a day trip or excursion, there is little need for western-type facilities on the island. Nevertheless, Flores notes, "paying attention to comfort, safety and enjoyment in getting there (the island) adds great value."

Smaller-scale active ecotourism: community-based sustainable tourism at Ulugan Bay

The "Ulugan Bay Experience" is a community-based sustainable tourism project (CBST), being a component of a bigger integrated coastal resource management project implemented by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in collaboration with the Puerto Princesa City government. The bay is situated on the central western coast of Palawan Island, approximately 47 kilometers from the provincial capital of Puerto Princesa (Figure 4). It covers more than 7,000 hectares and stretches over more than 110 kilometers of coastline.

Ulugan Bay is characterized by a high level of biodiversity. More than 1,200 hectares of coral reefs, 790 hectares of mangrove and almost 500 hectares of seagrass beds ensure a large diversity of fish and marine invertebrates. Sea turtles, dolphins, and dugongs may also be found there. Extensive areas of primary rainforest and karst outcrops also provide an interesting array of terrestrial flora and fauna. Based on 1998 data, Ulugan Bay is home to a population of more than 6,000, occupying 254 hectares covered by the five Ulugan Bay barangays. The total population includes the indigenous cultural communities of Tagbanuas and Bataks. Two areas in Ulugay Bay are the subjects of tribal ancestral domain claims. Ulugan Bay is considered one of the major coastal and marine ecosystems of the entire province, acting as the most significant source of fish for Puerto Princesa City.

The entire Ulugan Bay project involves five barangays (Bahile, Macarascas, Buena Vista, Tagabinet, and Cabayugan). From Puerto Princesa City, Barangay Bahile is approximately one hour by land while Barangay Cabayugan can be

reached in two hours. However, Cabayugan is only some 15 minutes from Sabang, the jump-off point for the popular Puerto Princesa (formerly St. Paul) Subterranean River National Park.

Each barangay comprising the Ulugan Bay Experience offers a different form of ecotourism. Bahile, for example, offers its visitors a paddle-boat tour along a mangrove-lined river to Kayulo waterfalls. Spelunking (or cave exploration) and trekking are the main ecotourist activities in Tagabinet. These examples show that each barangay is an ecotourism destination on its own. Yet, the diversity of activities and attractions from one barangay to the other makes the entire Ulugan Bay a uniquely multifaceted ecotourism destination.

Beginnings of the Ulugan Bay project

In 1996, following the conduct of the UNESCO-sponsored Strategic Planning Workshop for the stakeholders of Ulugan Bay, an Interim Ulugan Bay Multi-Sectoral Management Committee tasked to integrate all planning activities and actions for the bay was established. A series of consultations with national, provincial, and local stakeholders (including local communities and indigenous groups living around the Bay) followed.

The following year, UNESCO organized a series of training activities designed to upgrade the capability of local institutions and organizations in

Figure 4. Location of Ulugan Bay on the Island of Palawan
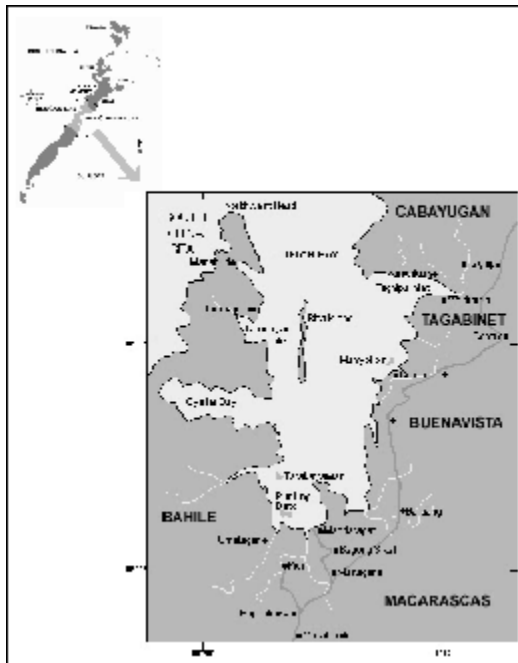
data collection by direct community involvement. These provided the basis for the plans and activities that eventually made up the Ulugan Bay Project.

In 1998 UNESCO, in collaboration with the city government of Puerto Princesa, embarked on a two-year project called "Coastal Resources Management and Sustainable Tourism in Ulugan Bay." It aimed to develop a model for coastal resource management for Ulugan Bay using a community-based, multisectoral approach. After a series of studies on potential livelihood and resource management options was completed in 1999, several activities were implemented.

These included the establishment of community-based areas for fish farming and crab fattening, as well as a master plan for community-based sustainable tourism. While the plan was designed to provide a sustainable tourism framework for the entire Bay, it adopted a bottom-up approach to planning, which led to the formation of initiatives from each of the five barangays and two ancestral domains in the area.

The ensuing community-based proposals were then evaluated and integrated into Puerto Princesa City's broader development and conservation plans. This practice extended to the implementation phase, where local communities were directly involved in the organization and management of their respective sustainable tourism programs. The first phase included capacity-building initiatives such as the formation of community tourism associations and tourism management teams, training programs on small business management, as well as training in specific tourism activities such as tour guiding, snorkeling, spelunking, and sailing.

The program was launched around the end of 2000. Its full implementation, however, suffered serious setbacks. In May 2001, for example, resort employees and guests, including two Americans, at the Dos Palmas Resort on Puerto Princesa's Honda Bay were kidnapped by the Abu Sayaff group. This incident brought the Puerto Princesa tourism industry to a virtual standstill. As though this was not enough, heightened fears of terrorism brought about by the terrorist attacks against the United States in September 2001 gripped both the local and international tourism industry, which saw a significant decline in tourist arrivals.

Quite apart from these unfortunate incidents and their adverse effects on the tourism industry, the Ulugan Bay project is beset by other problems such as poor infrastructure. The roads leading to the five barangays have not been fully paved. Telecommunications between Puerto Princesa and the Ulugan Bay barangays are anything but efficient. Arrangements are made through the Puerto Princesa City Tourism Office, which then contacts the barangay concerned to relay the arrangements and check on the condition of the site. Add to these the weather and sea conditions, which can wreak havoc on even the most well planned visiting arrangements.

Like the Olango tour, the Ulugan CBST project is considered a niche ecoactivity. Visits are limited to small groups or limited numbers of individuals. There are no tour packages yet. By international standards, the facilities and services offered in the area are rather modest in keeping with the limited community resources. By and large, CBST projects are pursued and evaluated within the limits of the community's resources. Economically viable projects that can be successfully implemented without the need for sophisticated infrastructure are preferred under this policy.

The diverse activities possible in each barangay could cater to the wide range of interests of visitors, who can also take advantage of varied combinations of attractions and activities. Visitor activities—such as trekking, snorkeling, cave exploration and kayaking—rather than interpretation appear to be the emphasis in Ulugan Bay even if there are adequate educational or interpretative facilities present. Thus, Ulugan Bay appears to be a more active ecotourism site than Olango Island, especially now that it appears to be developing into a smaller-scale active ecotourism area.

Larger-scale passive ecotourism: the Gardens of Malasag Eco-Tourism Village

The Gardens of Malasag Eco-Tourism Village (GMETV), located in the Cugman Watershed approximately 20 minutes by land travel from the center of Cagayan de Oro City, offer a view of Macabalan Bay and hills of Malasag (Figure 5). Operated by the Philippine Tourism Authority (PTA), GMETV was conceived in 1991 to serve as the Philippine counterpart of such sites as the gardens of Granada in Spain and the Bouchart Gardens in Canada. It occupies some 6 hectares of land and is connected to 200 hectares of reforested land.

DOT's project brief on GMETV states that the gardens "give visitors a colorful glimpse of the ecology and rich ethno-Filipino heritage of Northern Mindanao showcased through various artifacts, customs and traditions, flora and fauna amidst a reforestation setting." This description seems to suggest that some ecotourism programs (the gardens being part of an "ecotourism village") can exist in an artificial environment. This is what GMETV is trying to pursue in keeping with ecotourism's vision of educating visitors on the environmental and cultural resources of an area.

That such education takes place in a setting where flora are exhibited in landscaped gardens rather than wild natural settings, or regional fauna such as butterflies and deer are displayed in gardens and cages rather than observed in their normal environs, is not important. The cultural learning experiences are conducted in similar conditions through what the project brief describes as a Tribal Village.

The cultures of various indigenous groups (Talaandigs, Higao-non, Subanon, Maranaos, and Ifugaos) are interpreted in separate huts that showcase the traditional architecture and design of the cultural community, comple-

mented by household furnishings and implements that are on display inside. Inside the huts, members of each indigenous community (temporarily residing in the GMETV) demonstrate various traditional arts such as weaving and woodworking, as well as perform traditional songs and dances. Indigenous artifacts and tourist items are also sold in each hut.

According to PTA data, almost 100,000 day and overnight visitors come to the park every year, making GMETV a mass tourism destination. Whether it offers a passive or active tourist experience is not difficult to determine, as will be shown in the succeeding parts of this discussion.

Figure 5. Location of Gardens of Malasag on Cagayan de Oro City map
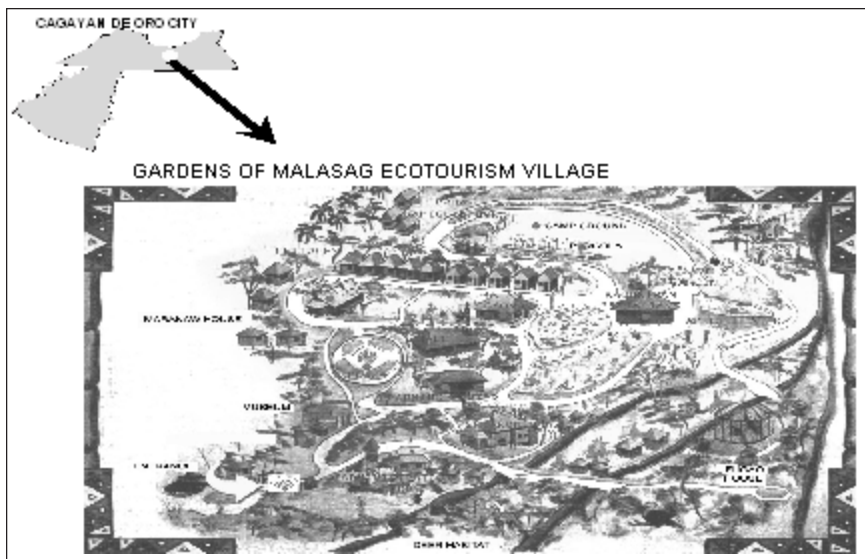
Given the extent to which mainstream facilities and infrastructure have been installed in GMETV, it may well be called a resort development. There are 27 cottage rooms, a swimming pool, a multipurpose hall (with a maximum capacity of 120 persons), an 80-seat restaurant, and an amphitheater.

The emphasis on interpretation is evident. On entering the Gardens, one will be readily greeted by the sight of the Ethnic Museum, which is under the supervision of the National Museum. On display are handicrafts, musical instruments, indigenous ornamentation, and weaponry. The layout of the botanical gardens, animal exhibits, and miniature canopy walks follows the traditional design of interpretation centers.

Thus, there is no question that GMETV caters to the mass market and offers a passive tourist experience. However, some may question whether GMETV and similarly built developments qualify as ecotourism. Do they qual-

ity as ecotourism if they are part of a city? In this case, it can be argued that GMETV minimizes the socio-cultural impacts on indigenous cultural communities, because it keeps tourists away from actual settlements modeling indigenous village life. Furthermore, since GMETV is located inside a watershed, its advocates may describe it as a mechanism for conservation of the resource. It may also be reasonably expected that a buffer zone will be maintained up to the foreseeable future between the GMETV and the urban developments around the watershed area.

In other words, it is GMETV's location within a natural environment that makes it an ecotourism destination and distinguishes it from, say, the Manila Zoo. Following the same criterion, other areas that could qualify as mass passive ecotourism sites include the La Mesa Dam watershed in Quezon City and the Jungle Environmental Survival Training course in Subic Bay.

Are there examples of Philippine mass ecotourism that are active in form? There are none today unlike other countries, where the recreation function among conservation agencies is more developed. For example, the park systems in the United States (e.g., National Parks Service, US Forest and Wildlife Service, etc.) have historically recognized the twin mandates of recreation and conservation. Thus, many US parks pursue programs that allow hundreds of visitors to undertake active ecotourism. The relevant activities include trekking, camping, bird watching, among others.

In the Philippines, a possible candidate for mass active ecotourism development is the eastern coastline of Luzon, starting with the Quezon-Aurora area. Reduced travel time to the area resulting from improved highway access could open up opportunities for surfing, trekking, and other forms of adventure ecotourism in the area. Its relative proximity to the NCR could lead to its discovery by the mass ecotourism market may discover the region relatively quickly through word-of-mouth or through the mass media.

Conclusion

This paper has developed a framework for classifying ecotourism initiatives in the Philippines based on a relatively inclusive, as opposed to restrictive, definition of ecotourism. Based on Weaver's definition (2001), it describes ecotourism as having three basic elements. First, the focus of attraction is the natural environment or some specific components of it. For the Philippine setting, the focus was expanded to include elements of the cultural environment. Second, an ecotourism initiative should emphasize learning as an outcome of the tourist's interaction with the natural environment. Thus, programs that merely use the natural environment as a setting for tourist activity without any educational value do not qualify as ecotourism. Third, the initiative should be sustainable to protect the resources. Though admittedly difficult to measure, sustainability in this regard follows Weaver's "reasonable intent" standard. This means an ecotourism proponent makes "every reason-

able effort to ensure that its operations are sustainable, in line with current best practice principles."

What are the implications of this classification framework for the development of ecotourism in the Philippines? Policymakers, planners, and host communities can use this framework as a tool for deciding what form of ecotourism is appropriate for their respective areas. The framework can assist them by highlighting the trade-offs between the economic benefits and environmental hazards that ecotourism could bring to their areas. Figure 6 illustrates these trade-offs in terms of the possible advantages and disadvantages associated with each ecotourism category.

This proposed framework does not claim that poverty alleviation and environmental preservation are mutually exclusive. If ecotourism is to be a truly sustainable form of tourism development, it must aspire for both environmental preservation (to address the ecological sustainability aspect) and poverty alleviation (in response to the economic sustainability and equity aspects of sustainable development). However, it will be very difficult for any destination or community to maximize both socio-economic and environmental benefits from ecotourism.

As a general approach, the form or category of ecotourism that a given area or community may adopt will depend on the community's objectives for proposing ecotourism in the first place. If its development priorities lean

Figure 6. Advantages and disadvantages of each ecotourism category

	LARGER SCALE		
A C T I V E	(+) More visitors bring in more economic returns (+) Active ecotourism might encourage more return visits because of promise of novelty (-) Congestion, pollution, degradation of quality (-) Active ecotourism has higher impact on resource	(+) More visitors bring in more economic returns (+) Mitigate impact of tourists through passive ecotourism (-) Congestion, pollution, degradation of quality	**P A S S I V E**
	(+) Active ecotourism may encourage more return visits because of promise of novelty (+) Smaller groups may be easier to manage (-) Smaller economic returns	(+) Lower-impact ecotourism in the form of passive ecotourism (+) Smaller groups may be easier to manage (-) Smaller economic returns	
	SMALLER SCALE		

more toward resource conservation, it will be preferable to develop smaller-scale, more passive ecotourism programs. However, the choice to minimize market scope could threaten the economic sustainability of the program. In such cases, alternative economic activities may be necessary to complement the ecotourism component. If ecotourism is the only source of revenue for the area, there may soon be pressure to expand market reach to the mass or mainstream tourist markets.

Conversely, more popular and active forms of ecotourism may be more attractive to destinations interested in the livelihood opportunities from ecotourism. However, these areas must be conscious of the negative environmental effects that high-impact or high-volume tourist activity can bring—particularly to an environmentally sensitive ecosystem. Management will contend with the obvious risks of congestion, pollution, and other negative effects from mass visitation. It should recognize that the continued economic viability of the attraction is directly related to its success in maintaining or enhancing the quality of the environmental resource. For this reason, mass ecotourism destinations must be ready with visitor management plans and programs. Figure 7 lists some planning considerations for each class of ecotourism program.

Figure 7. Planning implications of category of ecotourism

	LARGER SCALE		
A C T I V E	Need to prepare visitor management plan Install measures to mitigate impacts from expected congestion, pollution and degradation of resource quality Impact mitigation measures given more active tourists	Need to prepare visitor management plan Site hardening measures to mitigate impacts from expected congestion, pollution and degradation of resource quality Quality interpretation facilities and other visitor amenities	**P A S S I V E**
	Product-enhancement initiatives to increase the value of the visitor experience. Measures to counter expected pressures to expand scale of operations and scope of market	Product-enhancement initiatives to increase the value of the visitor experience. Measures to counter expected pressures to expand scale of operations and scope of market	
	SMALLER SCALE		

Given the relatively young state of ecotourism in the Philippines today, there is not enough information to develop a full database according to the framework proposed in this paper. While potential areas have been identified in most cases, programs have neither been designed nor implemented. Thus, much of the data available so far have been limited to physical descriptions of the sites. Ecotourism proponents and planners would do well to gather information that could help in fill out the proposed framework with all the necessary information.

For each proposed ecotourism initiative, the following questions need to be asked:

- Does the program have an explicit educational objective? If so, what is the strategy for educating the ecotourist?
- Are there going to be caps on visitor volume? If so, how is visitor volume going to be controlled?
- What facilities and infrastructure does the program intend to introduce in the area?

These basic data are vital to the framework. First, researchers must determine that the program complies with the educational objective of ecotourism. The primary approach (interpretation vs. personal experience) adopted suggests whether the program is more active or passive. Second, the framework will require information regarding the market scope that the program aspires to. Proposed caps on visitor volume, including programs for controlling the flow of visitors through the area, suggest whether the area is aiming for a niche or mass market. Similarly, the form and scale of facilities and infrastructure to be introduced to a natural or cultural area will also indicate whether the ecotourism program has been planned on a small or large scale.

Ecotourism standards and certification

One specific means by which this information may be collected consistently would be through the institution of a certification system for ecotourism projects in the Philippines. Not only would such a system allow the industry to gather the data needed for classifying various ecotourism projects, it would also allow the establishment of benchmarks and standards that the various stakeholders can use to monitor the programs over time.

To date there is yet no ecotourism certification system in place in the country. Internationally, there are around 100 different schemes for certifying and approving ecotourism programs (Crabtree et al. 2002). Most of these tools have been designed by tourism experts, governments, and NGOs to promote sustainable tourism practices at varying levels—from the destinations and countries to individual tourist establishments. Furthermore, most of these certification schemes are voluntary in character (Sanabria 2002). Among the more well known certification systems are Green Globe 21, ISO

14001, Australia's Nature and Ecotourism Accreditation Program, Costa Rica's Certification for Sustainable Tourism, the Blue Flag system for accrediting beaches and marinas, Europe's Protected Areas Network Parks, and ECOTEL.

However, the absence of a single international standard for ecotourism has confused consumers and thus has limited the effectiveness of these schemes in identifying true and high-quality ecotourism ventures. Thus, there have been calls for industry to move toward a unified certification scheme (Honey and Rome 2001; Crabtree et al. 2002; Sanabria 2002). However, such a setup would undoubtedly be expensive for communities and destinations in the less developed countries. Further, there are concerns that a single international standard would not be able to address the unique conditions of each country.

Thus, the industry seems to be moving toward a two-tiered international certification system. The first level of certification would represent the minimum or basic requirements for any destination to be considered as ecotourism. Places that qualify for this first-level certification would be recognized by the tourism industry—and, more importantly, the tourist markets—as complying with ecotourism's basic economic, social, and ecological objectives. The second level of certification would then represent the award or recognition standard for destinations that aspire to be recognized as models of ecotourism's best practice.

A similar structure could be employed in the Philippines. Again, there would be basic certification level corresponding to some locally adapted variant of the Mohonk principles (Table 5). By staying true to the Mohonk Agreement, the system would ensure that the Philippine ecotourism product is comparable to those in the global marketplace. Best-practice sites for specific types of environments (e.g., marine, mountain, etc.) could then be identified through a second, higher-level certification standard. Once instituted, a regular system of certification and recertification would then allow the industry to continuously track each ecotourism site as they evolve and to adopt or propose measures for mitigating the negative impacts from tourism development.

Who will take the lead in this certification program? In many countries, the certification process for sustainable tourism or ecotourism is usually led by a private, self-regulating organization. A voluntary accreditation system run by a private entity would be built on the potential marketing benefits that the industry's de facto stamp of approval brings to successful applicants.

Table 5. Ecotourism criteria as suggested by the Mohonk Agreement

"Ecotourism is sustainable tourism with a natural area focus, which benefits the environment and communities visited, and fosters environmental and cultural understanding, appreciation, and awareness. In any ecotourism certification scheme, the criteria should address standards (preferably best practices) for sustainable tourism (as described above) and at least minimum standards for:

- Focus on personal experiences of nature to lead to greater understanding and appreciation
- Interpretation and environmental awareness of nature, local society, and culture
- Positive and active contributions to conservation of natural areas or biodiversity
- Economic, social, and cultural benefits for local communities
- Fostering of community involvement, where appropriate
- Locally appropriate scale and design for lodging, tours and attractions
- Minimal impact on and presentation of local (indigenous) culture"

Source: Honey and Rome (2001).

However, none of the so-called national trade associations, including the Philippine chapter of the Ecotourism Society, appears to have the resources, technical expertise, or interest to begin implementing a national ecotourism classification scheme. National and international NGOs may have the technical expertise with regard to the environmental and social aspects of tourism development. Yet, many NGOs in ecotourism—including those whose operations are national in scope—are focused on communities and not industries.

Thus, the DOT appears—by default—to be the entity best positioned to take the lead in developing the minimum standards for classifying ecotourism programs. In the short term, the agency may also have to provide accreditation and classification services for ecotourism programs in the Philippines. The national trade associations can support the DOT-led system by providing inputs related to the quality of the ecotourism product, as well as by conducting advocacy campaigns designed to boost industry acceptance and adoption of the ecotourism standards and guidelines. The NGO community, on the other hand, can work with DOT and DENR on the more technical criteria related to environmental and social impacts of ecotourism activity.

A national classification system will help ensure that quality and commitment to ecotourism principles are consistent all regions. However, the ultimate success of the certification standard, in particular, and Philippine ecotourism, in general, will still be determined at the local level. Thus, it will be critical to strengthen the ecotourism partnerships among LGUs, the organized community, and the local tourist industry.

The accreditation of tourism establishments has long been devolved to the local government units, as required by the Local Government Code. However, few local officials are formally trained in tourism development. This could be an argument for allowing a national agency like DOT to develop minimum ecotourism standards.

Local officials, however, have the power to enforce compliance with ecotourism principles through such controls as the issuance of building permits and business licenses as well as through various modes of local taxation. Furthermore, the LGU can make sure that ecotourism initiatives are integrated and coordinated with local development plans. In particular, the ecotourism ventures must be compatible with LGU plans in terms of infrastructure, land use, and resource management.

As with any other sustainable tourism ventures, the pursuit of ecotourism takes time, which, under the present system of holding local elections every three years, is difficult to achieve. Thus, it is important for the accreditation and classification systems to be institutionalized and quickly insulated from the constantly swirling winds of political change. This is where community organizations and private business can come in.

Community organizations, people's organizations, and NGOs represent the residents' interests and concerns. They help organize the community, thereby facilitating dialogue with government by providing residents with a collective voice. If the projects are community-based forms of ecotourism, the NGOs will be directly involved in the planning and implementation of these programs. Thus, they will likely be deeply involved in educating local residents on the behaviors consistent with the principles of sustainable tourism and ecotourism. Because of their intimate relationship with the community and its environmental resources, an NGO is possibly the local stakeholder with the most direct access to information about the environmental and social impacts of tourism development. Thus, it is best positioned to monitor and evaluate the impacts of ecotourism programs.

Such impacts can be magnified by tourism businesses such as lodging establishments, dining facilities, tour guides, and local shops that encourage additional local spending by ecotourists. Moreover, these support services affect the overall quality of the visitor experience even if there is no direct link between the operations of these businesses and that of the ecotourism program. Private businesses can also contribute to the success of the program by linking the ecodestination to the national and international marketing systems operating outside the community.

However, much like the organizational work done for local residents, the local tourism industries will also need to be organized. An organized tourism sector can become a more effective lobbying group relative to the LGU as well as to the national government agencies. Similarly, organizing the local tourism industry can enable the small businesses to pool their limited marketing

funds with those of the LGU, and market the destination collectively rather than do their own separate promotions.

The LGU-community-industry partnership can thus be described as follows. The local government unit takes its cue from the national tourism industry and establishes the framework within which local groups and private businesses will operate their ecotourism ventures. This framework will be defined largely by the LGU's development agenda and its regulatory mechanisms such as permits, licenses, and taxes.

Community-based as well as commercial ecotourism operations can, as part of the normal licensing and building regulations, be asked to provide the preliminary, as well as longitudinal data that the ecotourism classification system will require. While the individual programs and businesses can be expected to have their individual promotional priorities, the marketing of the community or destination as a whole can be a collective effort. Whether this is an LGU- or industry-led campaign will depend on the degree to which the local businesses can be organized for collective action.

As a final point, the foregoing discussion more or less assumes participation in the classification scheme. This premise will become valid only when the national ecotourism sector can convince developers, planners, and investors of the value that an ecotourism certification will bring to a given program or project. The national ecotourism advocates must demonstrate that the classification and accreditation scheme will benefit the programs by enhancing the destination's image as well as actual product quality.

Future questions

The classification framework proposed in this paper revolves around a reasonable intent standard of sustainability. This standard is broad enough to cover most definitions of ecotourism—whether these come from commercial ecotourism organizers or from environmentalists interested in ecotourism as a conservation tool. Conversely, this decision to accept a liberal interpretation of ecotourism, admittedly, will not lack for criticism, particularly from groups who might insist on determining "true" ecotourism.

For such interests, the smaller-scale forms, more likely the passive variations, of ecotourism would probably conform to what is traditionally considered true ecotourism. However, the economic concerns of private as well as community groups may well continue to fuel a strong advocacy for the more commercial variants of ecotourism.

This lingering issue highlights some of the questions that this paper has left unanswered for others to take up. Perhaps researchers may address them in the future as more information and knowledge is gained from the ecotourism experience in the Philippines.

As presented here, ecotourism programs would be classified according to a set of descriptions collected about the attractions at any given time. It may

be necessary to track these programs over time to see if they evolve to the point that they would have to be classified in a new category. In other words, do destinations or programs move from one quadrant to the other? One may surmise that of the three major elements of classification framework presented in this paper—educational strategy, introduced facilities and infrastructure, and volume of visitors—the third is likely to be the most fluid. As a destination's objectives and strategies regarding visitor volume change, it may be expected that the education and infrastructure facilities will follow.

Destination lifecycle theory suggests that this evolution will likely involve a movement from smallscale ecotourism to largescale—even mass—ecotourism. Is this change inevitable and unavoidable? To an extent, much of the rhetoric about sustainable tourism argues that it is possible to achieve a steady state that maintains the quality of the environment. Researchers may also want to take the issue further and ask if the reverse is possible—that a mass ecotourism program can evolve (or devolve) into a smaller, niche-oriented activity.

Image studies will also be useful in determining if tourists also view ecotourism programs as catering more to mass markets or niche markets. Similarly, they can determine if tourists perceive ecotourism programs as being oriented more toward interpretation (passive) or toward personally experiencing (active) the natural environment.

Bibliography

Acott, T. G., La Trobe, H.L., and Howard, S.H. 1998. An evaluation of deep ecotourism and shallow ecotourism. *Journal of sustainable tourism* 6(3): 238-253.

Ballantine, J.L. and P.F.J. Eagles. 1994. Defining canadian ecotourists. *Journal of sustainable tourism* 2(4):210-214.

Beeh, J.E. 1999. Adventure vs. ecotourism. *The environmental magazine* 10(3):46-47.

Boo, E. 1993. Ecotourism planning for protected areas. In *Ecotourism: guide for planners and managers*, edited by K. Lindberg and D.E. Hawkins. North Bennigton: The Ecotourism Society.

Crabtree, A., P. O'Reilly, and G. Worboys. 2002. Sharing expertise in ecotourism certification: developing an international ecotourism standard. A paper presented at the World Ecotourism Summit, May 19-22, Quebec City, Canada.

Doan, T. 2000. The effects of ecotourism in developing nations: an analysis of case studies. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 8(4):288-304.

Department of Tourism (DOT). Undated. Ecotourism technical working group. *Ecotourism in the Philippines* (informational flyer). Manila: DOT.

Flores, M. 1999. Resource management and community involvement in ecotourism. CRMP experiences and initiatives. Proceedings of the Conference-Workshop on Ecotourism, Conservation and Community Development, Nov. 7-12, Tagbilaran City, Bohol.

Gabor, M. 1997. Building a sustainable future for Asia-Pacific (final report). Panel Presentation by the Philippines on Tourism 2000. Asia Pacific Ministers' Conference on Tourism and the Environment, 16-17 February, Maldives.

Guerrero, A. M. 2000. *Philippine ecodestinations.* Philippines: Anvil Publishing, Inc.

Honey, M., and A. Rome. 2001. Protecting paradise: certification programs for sustainable tourism and ecotourism [online]. Institute for Policy Studies. Washington. Available from the World Wide Web: (http://www.ips-dc.org).

Libosada, C. 1998. *Ecotourism in the Philippines.* Manila, Philippines: Bookmark, Inc.

Marshall, A. 1996. Myths of ecotourism making industry miss a major market. *Hotel & motel management* 211(15).

Orams, M.B. 1996. Using interpretation to manage nature-based tourism. *Journal of sustainable tourism* 4(2):81-94.

Sanabria, R. 2002. An accreditation body for sustainable tourism certifiers. STSC project summary, feasibility study, organizational blueprint and implementation plan for a global sustainable tourism stewardship council. A paper presented at the World Ecotourism Summit, 19-22 May, Quebec City, Canada.

Sirakaya, E., V. Sasidharan, and S. Sönmez.1999. Redefining ecotourism: The need for a supply-side view. *Journal of travel research* 38(11):168-172.

Steele, P. 1995. Ecotourism: an economic analysis. *Journal of sustainable tourism* 3(1):29-44.

Weaver, D. B. 2001. Ecotourism as mass tourism: contradiction or reality? *Cornell hotel and restaurant administration quarterly* (4):104-112.

Whelan, T., ed. 1991. N*ature tourism: Managing for the environment.* Washington, D.C.: Island Press.

Wight, P. 1996. North American ecotourism markets: motivations, preferences and destinations *Journal of travel research* 34(Summer):3-10.

World Tourism Organization. 2000. WTO-UNEP concept paper— international year of ecotourism 2002 [online]. Available from the World Wide Web: (http://www.world-tourism.org/sustainable/IYE/WTO-UNEP-Concept-Paper.htm).

Chapter 5

Perceived Tourism Impact on Indigenous Communities: A Case Study of Sagada in Mountain Province

Juline R. Dulnuan

Introduction

The emergence of new forms of tourism has focused the discussion of tourism impact on indigenous peoples (IPs) whose pristine and biologically diverse homelands have become natural targets. In particular, ecotourism, often defined as nature-based sustainable tourism, is currently the most aggressively promoted product of a global tourism industry that sells "relatively undisturbed and preserved natural environments and exotic areas" (Chavez 1999). These destinations are usually found among indigenous communities in the Third World, where ecotourism is being pursued as a national priority development strategy for its promise of environmental conservation and protection, sustainability, and economic returns. Ironically, it is also ecotourism that has mobilized IPs around the world to come together "to articulate their own experiences with tourism and reflect on its impacts and meaning" (Third World Network Clearinghouse No. 20, 2002).

Indigenous peoples comprise 5 percent of the world's population and "occupy 20 percent of the world's land surface but nurture 80 percent of the world's biodiversity as ancestral lands and territories." Even prior to the advent of ecotourism, IP communities for the past several decades have been witnessing the growth of tourism in their midst. Yet, they have not received much attention as a marginalized sector of the global economy, who "until recently were rarely considered in tourism research, planning, development and economics" (McLaren 1998).

This changed with the declaration by the United Nations (UN) and the World Tourism Organization of 2002 as the International Year of Ecotourism to promote ecotourism as a tool for sustainable development; and the drafting of the "Guidelines for the Conduct of Tourism in Territories Traditionally Occupied or Used by Indigenous and Local Communities" under the framework of the UN Convention on Biological Diversity. As they were not consulted in these two international processes that directly concerned them, IP groups organized their own conferences and fora to assess the impacts of tourism on their lives. They also attended international meetings to express their concern. During the technical meeting of the UN Convention on Bio-

logical Diversity in Montreal, Canada, held in November 2001, the participating IPs pointed out the devastating impacts of tourism on their ecosystem.

> "Ecotourism is particularly damaging to Indigenous Peoples, who have maintained high biological diversity within their traditional territory over generations and millennia; their homelands and cultures are now the prime target globally for rapid commercialization and exploitation by the ecotourism industry. *The only successful models for tourism involving Indigenous Peoples are those designed by Indigenous Peoples themselves, on the basis of their own traditional knowledge, practices and innovation systems, including their own customary laws*" (emphasis added).

In March 2002, delegates to the International Forum on Indigenous Tourism held in Oaxaca, Mexico, came up with a similar declaration stating that ecotourism and other forms of tourism should not be concept-driven but instead be "based on a long-term analysis of the pros and cons of tourism development, recognizing and following collective decisionmaking processes, and integrated into our long-term realities and visions of sustainable use and access to collective goods." This was affirmed two months later at the World Ecotourism Summit held in Quebec, Canada, where the participants acknowledged that ecotourism development must consider IPs' rights to land and property, self-determination and cultural integrity, "including their protected, sensitive and sacred sites as well as their traditional knowledge. They also stressed that:

> "(T)o achieve equitable, social, economic and environmental benefits from ecotourism and other forms of tourism in natural areas, and to minimize or avoid potential negative impacts, participative planning mechanisms are needed that allow local and indigenous communities, in a transparent way, to define and regulate the use of their areas at the local level, including the right to opt out of tourism development" (Quebec Declaration on Ecotourism, May 2002).

In the Philippines, a number of popular tourist destinations are traditional territories of indigenous peoples (Table 1). Emerging destinations like Lake Sebu, Batanes, and Kalinga are also inhabited by indigenous groups. A literature review reveals a dearth of studies on the effects of tourism on the lives of the indigenous peoples who inhabit these destinations.

However, a visit to the area would reveal that the Mangyan, like the Iraya of Puerto Galera, have long been displaced from their ancestral lands, now home to tourism infrastructure. The is also true of the Ati of Boracay, the Aeta of Subic, the Batak of Palawan, and the Ibaloi of Baguio. If the principles of equity, sustainability, environmental protection, and conservation are to be achieved, the experiences of indigenous peoples in relation to tourism must be looked into and considered in tourism policy formulation and develop-

Table 1. Popular tourist destinations and their indigenous inhabitants

Destination	Indigenous Group
1. Boracay	Ati
2. Puerto Galera	Mangyan, Iraya
3. Palawan	Tagbanua, Batak
4. Subic, Clark	Aeta
5. Baguio City	Ibaloi, Kankanay
6. Banaue	Ifugao
7. Davao	Mandaya, Manobo, Samal
8. Sagada	Kankanay
9. Bontoc	Bontok
10. Batanes	Ivatan
11. Kalinga	Kalinga
12. Zamboanga	Subanon
13. Lake Sebu	T'boli

ment planning. The dearth of studies on the impacts of tourism on indigenous communities therefore needs to be addressed.

Purpose of the study

This study describes the impacts of tourism as perceived by the residents of Sagada, a mountain resort town in the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) in Northern Luzon. The Cordillera (Figure 1) is home to the most number of indigenous peoples in the country, accounting for almost 1.4 million out of the 7 million inhabiting the Philippine uplands. The region is vast and rich in natural resources. It is where most of the country's mineral reserves, particularly gold and copper, are found. It is also the watershed cradle and prime ecological zone of Northern Luzon.

In spite of its natural wealth, the region lags behind in terms of economic growth, which explains why the majority of its people remain poor. One of the strategies adopted by the government to address this problem was to boost tourism in the Cordillera. Thus, in the 1991 National Tourism Master Plan, the region was identified as a priority area for tourism development. Citing "nature" and "culture" as the region's two main tourism assets, the development plan is pursuing an ecotourism thrust whose "overriding goal is to preserve, conserve and enhance the area's natural environment and its rich tribal culture, for people and visitors to appreciate, enjoy and learn from" (Cordillera Tourism Master Plan 1995).

In 2000, the Cordillera Autonomous Region (CAR) drew 1.1 million visitors representing 12.5 percent of the total 9.1 million total visitors to the regions. While ranking second to Region IV in terms of total visitor arrivals, CAR also topped all regions in terms of total domestic tourist arrivals in 2000 (Table 2).

Figure 1. Map of the Cordillera Region
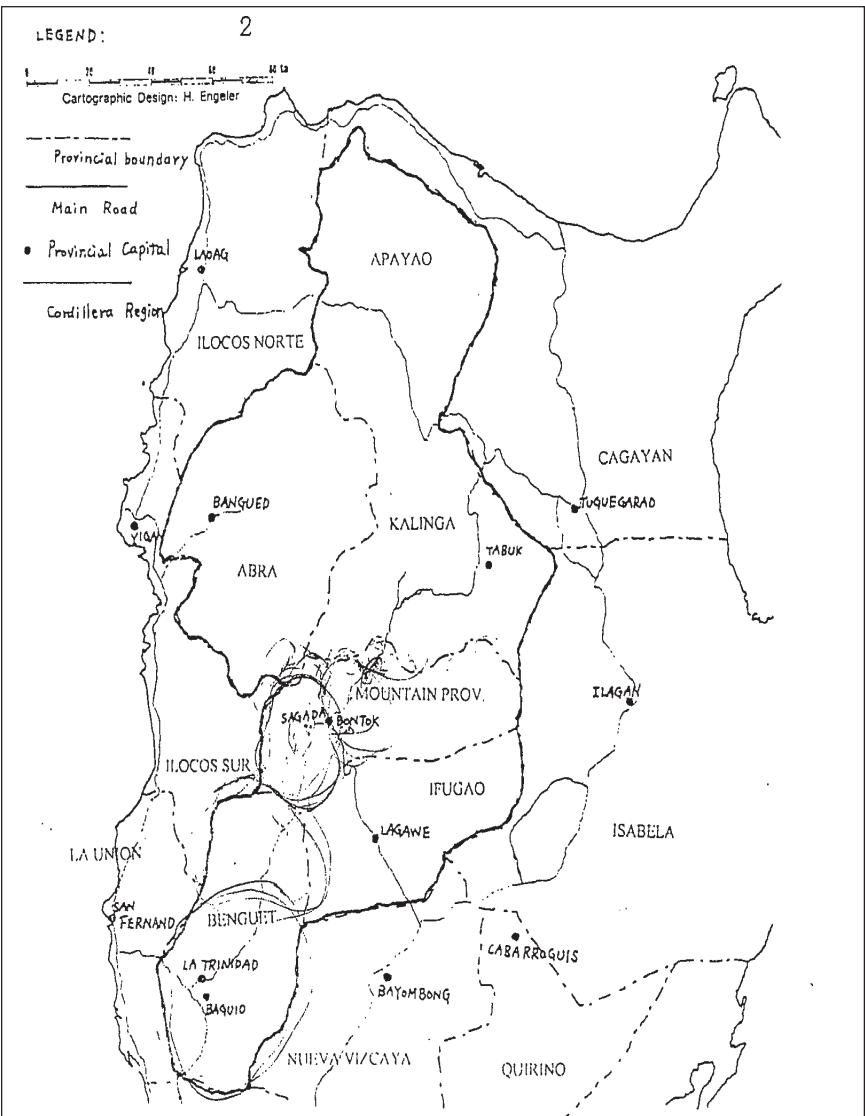
Table 2. Distribution of regional travelers in the Philippines (2000)

Region	Number of Foreign Travelers	Number of Overseas Filipinos	Number of Domestic Travelers	Total
CAR	53,879	40,749	1,044,744	1,139,372
I	46,982	1,453	241,288	289,723
II*	24,534	0	419,236	43,770
III	47,538	1,192	185,629	234,359
IV	47,180	22,591	2,977,141	3,146,912
V	18,913	3,558	334,724	356,724
VI	96,078	889	473,931	570,898
VII	322,514	2,468	680,089	1,005,071
VIII	9,819	2,532	123,286	135,637
IX	10,548	2,155	231,163	243,866
X	19,706	2,050	524,452	546,208
XI	58,813	5,917	496,227	560,957
XII	1,678	347	201,657	203,682
XIII	1,143	402	240,121	252,006
Total	869,665	86,303	8,173,217	9,129,185

Source: Department of Tourism
*Data for Overseas Filipinos are lumped under Foreign Travelers.

No study on tourism and its impacts has ever been conducted in Sagada despite the fact that visitors paying for their temporary stay began arriving in the community as early as the late 1960s. With no benchmark studies, it is difficult to know what has changed because of tourism. The observation of Hall and Page (2000) that "one of the immediate problems facing the researcher in reconstructing patterns of tourism visitation, activity and expenditure is the absence of up-to-date, reliable and consistent tourism statistics," very well applies to Sagada.

In the absence of benchmark information to compare the area today to how it was prior to tourism development, the study used time lines based on a community profile focusing on the growth of tourism in the area. Information on the current tourism situation (i.e., visitor trends, attractions, accommodations, transport, amenities and other tourism-related activities) was gathered. It then looked into the tourism plans and programs being undertaken, particularly by the national and local government, as well as the community's responses to and participation in these tourism activities. The findings of this study can serve not only as baseline information for future researches on tourism in indigenous mountain settings, but can also be utilized by

policymakers in the formulation of a sustainable tourism development framework that will guide planners in future tourism projects involving indigenous communities.

Review of related literature

Tourism impact research has been growing, as can be gleaned from the literature (Mathieson and Wall 1982; Theobald 1994). Tourism impacts are typically grouped into three categories: economic, socio-cultural, and environmental. However, as Mathieson and Wall (1983) point out, "this distinction is somewhat artificial for, in reality, the boundaries between the categories are indistinct and their contents merge." Yet, early studies focused frequently on the economic aspect, citing tourism's contribution to income, tax revenues, balance of payments, employment opportunities, and improvement in the standard of living (Archer 1977; Pizam 1978; Belisle and Hoy 1980; and Sheldon and Var 1984). While economic effects were quantifiable and generally found to be beneficial, the opposite was true for the socio-cultural impacts of tourism on host destinations, where change in social values, increase in crime and prostitution, and commoditization of culture are among the negative effects (Smith 1977; Cohen 1978; Liu and Var 1986). As ecology, biodiversity, conservation, traditional cultures, sustainable development, and ethics became global concerns and buzzwords, the adverse impacts of tourism on the environment, particularly that of fragile host destinations, brought into the spotlight the inhabitants of these destinations—the indigenous peoples (Archer and Cooper 1994).

The literature surveyed on the impacts, both negative and positive, of tourism on indigenous populations present specific cases that describe them. Pleumarom (2001) describes the expansion of protected areas and construction of national parks and golf courses cum casino resorts, which that has resulted in the displacement of ethnic minority groups in northern Thailand. Similar cases have also been reported in Kenya and Tanzania among the Masai tribes (Kamuaro 1996) and the Keiki O Ka'Aina of Hawaii (Ling 1995). McLaren (1998), for his part, cites similar other cases studies describing the negative effects of tourism on indigenous communities. On the positive side, some exploratory works on indigenous communities show how the people in these cultural settings have responded to the opportunities created by tourism (Cone 1995; Long and Kindon 1997; Fairburn-Dunlop 1994), developing their entrepreneurial skills and providing them work "in a society where there are few income-generating avenues" (Fairburn-Dunlop 1994).

In the local scene, even if tourism as an academic field has been around for almost three decades, tourism impact studies, particularly in the area of society and culture, are scarce. Researches along this line have mostly focused on sex tourism (e.g., pedophilia, child prostitution, women trafficking, drug abuse and breakdown of social values and norms). (See, for ex-

ample, Mananzan 1991; Eviota 1992; Chant in Sinclair 1997; and Azarcon 1985). Except for two qualitative studies both done in Banaue, Ifugao (Alangui 1999; Dulnuan and Mondiguing 2000), not much has been written about the experiences of Philippine indigenous peoples, who have been invisible in tourism research. This study hopes to contribute to the literature in this area.

Scope and limitations of the study
The study area, the town of Sagada in Mountain Province, is one of the top three tourist destinations in the Cordillera, coming after Baguio City in Benguet and Banaue in Ifugao. Of the three destinations, it is the least developed in terms of tourism facilities and infrastructure. Moreover, where tourism development in Banaue and Baguio was massive and fast, the development in Sagada had been small-scale and slow. The scale of tourism impacts would naturally vary among the three destinations with Sagada, being the least developed, presumed to have experienced the least negative impacts.

As earlier pointed out, the difficulty in doing an impact study arises from a lack of baseline information that describes the situation prior to the entry of tourism. Except for the number of tourist arrivals reported by the Department of Tourism (DOT), there are no hard data on the visitors' profile (i.e., the tourists' length of stay, seasonality, type, activities, expenditures, purpose of visit and other pertinent data). Basic statistics on tourism employment, labor force distribution, crimes (specifically committed by or on tourists) are absent. Whatever exist are outdated. Moreover, ever since the task of licensing tourist facilities was devolved from the DOT to the local government units (LGUs), guest monitoring by accommodation facilities has become lax, being no longer a requirement of LGUs. Prior to devolution, reporting the total number of guests registered for the year, as well as the number of rooms, beds and other amenities available, was mandatory for an accommodation establishment seeking renewal of its license from the DOT. Given the present situation, data accuracy is doubtful. It was within this context that the study proceeded to use an emic approach, or "the view that researchers should consistently take the actor's point of view in trying to understand how they think, feel and speak about tourism phenomena" (Pearce et al. 1996).

The perceived impacts of tourism form the core of the data collected. The lack of hard data from which these perceptions can be verified is a limitation of this study. Moreover, the lack of baseline information makes it difficult to distinguish the changes that are solely attributed to tourism. Nevertheless as Pearce (1994), a noted authority on tourism, points out, real and perceived impacts are equally important "from the point of view of assessing community feeling" (Pearce in Theobald 1994)**.** As such, it is hoped that these data will be considered carefully by tourism policymakers and planners alike.

The report starts with a community profile of Sagada, then discusses the tourist products (i.e., the attractions of the place, accommodations, transport facilities and other amenities), and traces the growth of tourism using statistics (e.g., tourist arrivals). This is followed by a discussion of the government's tourism strategies and programs and the community's participation. Community perception of tourism development and its effects on their environment, society, and culture are then presented. These specifically include the concept of tourism/tourist, and the perceived positive and negative impacts of tourism. The last part of this paper presents the researcher's reflections and analysis , which then form the basis for the conclusions and recommendations.

Methodology

This is a qualitative research project that tried to explore the impacts of tourism on an indigenous community. Secondary data (e.g., the volume of tourist arrivals and number of tourist accommodation and transport facilities, as well as the tourism plans and programs) came from the central office of the DOT and its regional office in Baguio City. The primary data were gathered mainly through in-depth interviews, group discussions, and participant observations. Key informants were adults, elders, and youth, including local government officials and employees; church and school authorities, retired teachers, tour guides, owners of tourism-related establishments (e.g., inns, lodging houses, restaurants, etc.), sari-sari store proprietors, farmers, vendors, a nongovernment organization community worker, traditional community leaders and students (see Appendix 1 for list of key informants). The interviews were interactive, informal, unstructured, and guided by one major question:

> "What are your thoughts on tourism and how has it affected you, your community and your environment?"

A total of 41 resource persons were interviewed for this study from November 2001 to May 2002. Sampling was purposeful and key informants were selected based on the depth of information they had about the topic of inquiry. Maximum variety in terms of age (elder, adult, and youth), gender, and work was sought in the selection of the key informants. More indepth information was also elicited through a focus group discussion involving eight women. All interviews were transcribed and the recurring themes that surfaced from the material became the basis for data organization and presentation. The approach to data analysis was self-reflexive and guided by the researcher's experiences as a native of the place and an advocate for responsible and culture-sensitive community-based tourism that respects indigenous people's right to self-determination.

Study area

Sagada is a municipality in Mountain Province, one of the six provinces that form CAR in Northern Luzon (Figure 2). A fifth-class municipality, it has 19 barangays and a total population (as of 2000) of 10,575 (Table 3). Located 5,000 feet above sea level, the town has a land area of 8,568 hectares and a mountainous terrain and is classified as forestland.

Geographical formations like limestone valleys, a connected cave system with underground pools, glistening stalactites and stalagmites, cliffs, mountains and hills rich in biodiversity, waterfalls, lakes, swidden farms, stone-walled rice terraces and gardens planted with vegetables and root crops, characterize the place. Some of the caves have been utilized as burial sites by the locals, and to this day, hanging coffins, some of which believed to be more than a century old, have also become tourist attractions.

The people who inhabit Sagada are the Kankanay, one of seven major ethnolinguistic groups in the Cordillera (the other groups being the Ifugao, Bontok, Kalinga, Ibaloi, Tingguian, and Isneg). It was in this mountain village that American missionaries built the Episcopal Church in the Philippines in 1902 along with an Anglican community that grew and co-existed with the traditional village. To this day, the people of Sagada are steeped in tradition, combining Christianity with traditional customs and beliefs. It is typical to witness, for example, a couple getting married first in the Anglican church and then at home, undergoing rituals attendant to a traditional marriage feast. The paradox of animism and Christianity is manifested in the everyday lives of the i-Sagada (people of Sagada), who believe and practice both to this day. Their cultural events have become tourist attractions in themselves with both foreign and domestic visitors flocking to the area during Christmas and summer time when these community activities and rituals are traditionally held.

The 19 barangays of Sagada are grouped into five political divisions based on their geographical locations. These are the following and the barangays comprising each:

1) Central Barangays—Poblacion, Dagdag, and Demang;
2) Northern Barangays—Aguid, Banga-an, Fidelisan, Madongo, Pide and Tanulong;
3) Western Barangays—Ambasing and Balugan;
4) Eastern Barangays—Antadao, Kilong, Tetep-an Norte and Tetep-an Sur;
5) Southern Barangays—Ankileng, Nacagang, Suyo and Taccong.

Most tourist facilities and services are found in Barangay Poblacion.

The main source of livelihood of the majority of the people of Sagada is subsistence farming, with almost 70 percent working either as farmers or

Figure 2. Map of Sagada in Mountain Province
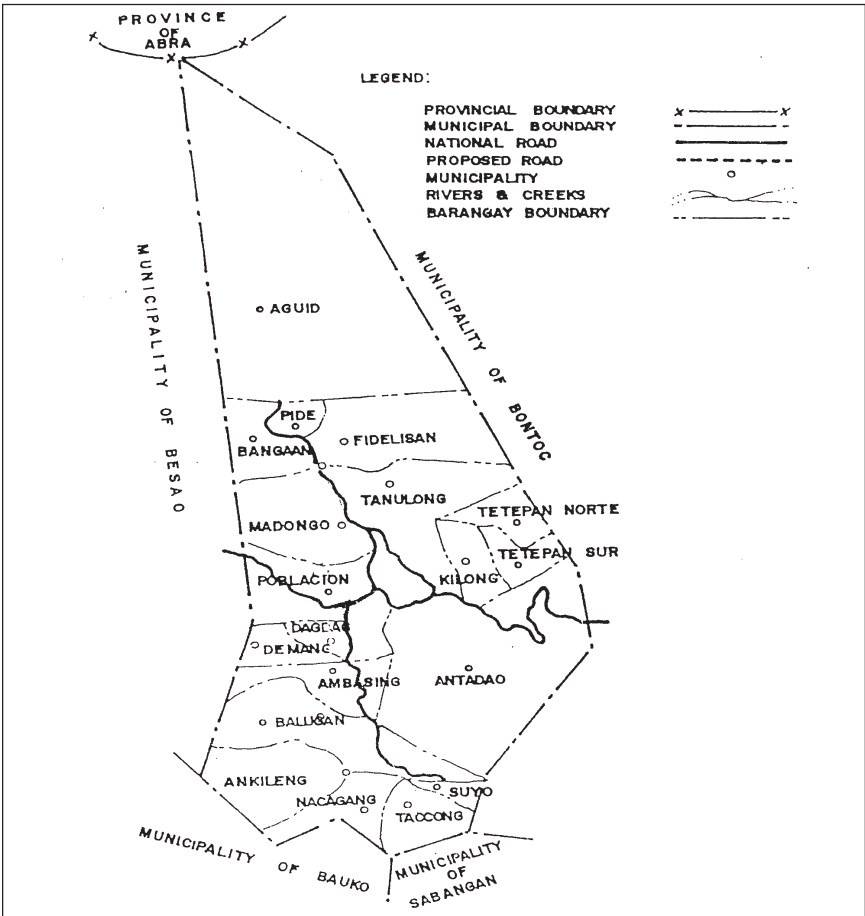
farm laborers. Individuals engaged in other professions also do farming as a complementary activity (Reyes 1998).

Modern telecommunication facilities have reached Sagada. Cable television was introduced in 1994 and cellular phone services in December 2001.

While Sagada is only 145 kilometers away from Baguio City, CAR's commercial and regional center, travel from this main gateway takes six to seven hours on the rugged Halsema Highway, the region's main access road and the highest point in the country's highway system. It takes longer during the rainy season when the roads are blocked by slices of boulder and earth. Poorly maintained roads have always characterized accessibility to the place. Only one private bus line services the Baguio-Sagada route. At least four buses

Table 3. Population by barangay and number of households, municipality of Sagada (2000)

Barangay	Population	Area Sq. Km	Gross Density Person Sq. Km (1995)	Number of Households
Aguid	512	23.358	25	111
Ambasing	675	2.868	231	147
Ankileng	886	4.770	163	187
Antadao	397	12.080	33	81
Balugan	694	5.316	118	121
Banga-an	583	3.808	130	111
Dagdag	647	1.203	598	135
Demang	626	1.298	538	123
Fidelisan	402	5.050	81	94
Kilong	484	2.023	222	88
Madongo	478	4.640	81	88
Nacagang	254	1.584	159	49
Patay				
Poblacion	1,347	2.638	506	272
Pide	382	0.755	566	75
Suyo	450	1.870	224	93
Taccong	384	1.920	176	88
Tanulong	423	5.380	65	91
Tetepan Norte	502	2.070	291	115
Tetepan Sur	449	3.050	141	89
Total	10,575	85.681	121	2,158

Source: National Statistics Office

leave for Sagada daily. This number increases during the peak months—December, March, and April.

Sagada can also be reached via Bontoc, the capital town of Mountain Province. Public jeeps ply the Bontoc-Sagada route daily. One can also reach Sagada from Manila by passing through the Maharlika Highway, where provincial buses pass every hour of the day. From Solano, Nueva Vizcaya, one can take a jeep to Banaue, Ifugao, and from there, take a two-hour bus or jeep ride to Bontoc and then transfer to another jeep for a 30-minute ride up to this mountain resort town.

Tourism in Sagada

There are no formal records to describe how tourism began in Sagada. Like the beginnings of tourism in the country, tourism in this mountain community "grew without any form of control from either the government or the private sector" (Cruz 1998). The guests of the early American missionaries who established the Anglican Church in Sagada in 1902 could have been the early tourists of the place. Based on interviews, a historical sketch of tourism in the area has been drawn (Table 4).

The writings of Dr. William Henry Scott, an American scholar who was sent by the Episcopal Church in the US to teach in the church-founded St. Mary's School in August 1953, may also have influenced local writers, researchers, artists, and students to come to Sagada, not only to see the place but to engage in intellectual conversations with Scotty, as he was popularly called. This historian and teacher of Philippine history and Cordillera studies became a "tourist attraction" himself.

It was in the '70s when Sagada's tourism industry began. As Julia Agayo, owner of one of the first inns there, called Julia's Guest House, recalled during the First Manila Consultation Workshop on Alternative Tourism held in 1986:

> "(A)round the '70s, people started to come to Sagada. These were the Filipino writers, poets and painters who came to Sagada most probably because during those times these young people were becoming restless."

Around the late '70s backpack tourists came to Sagada and grew in number through the '80s, most of them coming from Europe. As there were more guests than accommodation facilities and private houses that could accommodate them, the others had to stay in the hospital (Vergara 1986).

Table 4. Chronology of tourism development in Sagada

1902	The Anglican Church was established by American missionaries in Sagada; the guests of the missionaries were the early tourists to the place.
1953	Dr. William Henry Scott, an American missionary and scholar, began teaching at St. Mary's School, where he also started his research on the Cordillera. His writings are said to have attracted local writers, artists, and students to visit the place and meet and talk with "Scotty" himself.
Late 60s	The filming of a local movie, "The Flight of the Sparrow," led to the opening of private homes to accommodate some of the crew and actors. Some of these houses eventually turned into commercial guesthouses.

Table 4. (cont'd.)

1975	St. Joseph's Guest House was opened to become Sagada's first accommodation facility for tourists. It used to be an orphanage managed by Anglican sisters who decided to convert part of the building into a guesthouse to generate funds for the orphans under their care. It is now wholly managed as an accommodation facility by the Northern Diocese of the Philippine Episcopal Church.
1977	Julia's Guest House opened and later was sold and is now known as Masferre Inn. Other houses were turned into accommodation facilities like Greenhouse and Sagada Guesthouse. Aside from local writers and artists from Manila, the foreign visitors who came at this time were of the backpack type originating mostly from Europe. These backpackers taught the owners of these guesthouses how to prepare foreign varieties of food and gave others the "idea that a house with several rooms can be used for accommodating people."
1980s	For the first time, buildings specifically designed to cater to tourism began to be built. One of these was Mapia-aw Pension, which was built in 1982 and with 14 guestrooms, a conference hall, parking space and fireplace.
1993	The Sagada Environmental Guides Association (SEGA) was organized. This came about after the fatal accident of a tourist, who while exploring the cave unguided, fell to his death. The local guides decided to organize themselves to protect tourists from harm.
1994	The Sagada Tourism Council was formed in compliance with a DOT memorandum circular issued to all resort towns. The Sagada Tourism Council objected to a proposal to construct a youth hostel and a DOT view deck in Kiltepan, one of the tourist sites. The Council said funds instead should be allotted to more urgent priority concerns of the community like the development of roads and water systems.
1995	The Asia Pacific Consultation on Tourism, Indigenous Peoples and Land Rights, the first international conference on tourism was held in Sagada. Aside from the Philippines, participants came from Thailand, Indonesia, Taiwan, Australia, Papua New Guinea, Nepal, Bangladesh and Hawaii.
2000	The Department of Tourism accredited 10 accommodation facilities from which 17, 088 tourists reportedly registered. Of this

Table 4. (cont'd.)

	total, almost 97 percent were domestic tourists. 2001 The Northern Diocese of the Philippine Episcopal Church converted the Convent of St. Mary the Virgin, situated right behind the Episcopal Church, into a lodging house. Members of the community, particularly the women, protested its use as a tourist facility, especially during the Holy Week, but the church continued to accommodate visitors.
Dec. 2001	At the height of Typhoon Feria, a Filipino tourist and his tour guide drowned in the Big Cave (the first case of a tourist drowning inside the cave). It was believed that garbage deposits blocked the waterways and eventually loosened, causing the sudden rush of water that swept the two; their companion, another tourist, survived.

A retired public school teacher, however, recalls that it was during the filming of a Filipino movie entitled "Flight of the Sparrow" in Sagada in the late 60s when private homes had to be opened to accommodate the crew, actors, and actresses. The movie could have "advertised" Sagada. With tourists starting to come, some of the private homes were eventually turned into guesthouses.

The first to operate an accommodation facility was the Anglican Church, which opened the St. Joseph's Guest House in 1975. St. Joseph's used to be an orphanage managed by Anglican sisters who decided to turn part of the orphanage into a guesthouse to generate funds to support the orphans under their care. In 1977, the second accommodation establishment, Julia's Guest House, opened. Other members of the community also started the construction of their lodging houses. With the influx of tourists, housewives were also encouraged to provide extra rooms in their private homes, signaling the beginning of homestays in Sagada. Other related cottage industries like handicraft making began. A few individuals guiding guests to the caves. Others put up restaurants, with some of the tourists teaching the owners how to prepare varieties of European, American, and Middle East dishes; bake English muffins, cinnamon rolls, and bread; and make Israeli yogurt and pita, and wines from local fruits like guava, pineapple, passion fruit, and strawberry. It was from the tourists that the lodging owners also initially learned how to run their business. As Agayo recounts:

> "As travelers came, they gave us new ideas, especially these Europeans who gave us the idea that a house with several rooms can be used for accommodating people, particularly the backpackers. We do appreciate very much the influx of Europeans because without them, we would not have ideas on how we could …run our business . . ." (Vergara 1986).

Today, Sagada has 10 accommodation facilities accredited by the DOT (Table 5). All these facilities are owned and managed by people from the

place. Of these, St. Joseph's has the most number of rooms available, with 25 rooms and five cottages that can house families and groups. The community hospital, high school, and what used to be a convent—all church-owned— accept guests when there are no more rooms available in the commercial facilities. Private homes complement these rooms during the peak months of December, April, and May.

An association of tour guides called the Sagada Environmental Guides' Association (SEGA) has also been formed to assist in the regulation of the entry of tourists to the caves. Prior to this, anyone could easily enter the caves, but after a number of accidents where unaccompanied tourists either drowned, fell, or got lost, the municipal government passed an ordinance requiring the registration of all tourists, local or foreign, at the Tourist Infor-

Table 5. DOT-accredited accommodation establishments in Sagada (2001)

Name of Establishment/ Owner	Number of Rooms	Room Rate	Facilities/Services
A Seven House Flora Abeya	7	P60/head	Antique shop, parking space, veranda
Ganduyan Inn Marina A. Biag	5	P75/head	Restaurant, laundry, tour arrangement, parking space
Green House Inn (Lodge) Cristina Deg-awan	5	P75/head	Dining room, terrace, hot water as requested
Mapiya-aw Pension Lazaro Solang	14	W/ T & B—P350-500 Dorm type—P100/head	Conference hall, parking space, fireplace, viewpoint
Masferre Inn & Café (pension) Monette Masferre	11	P85/head	Parking space, laundry, massage, fireplace, dining room
Olahbinan Resthouse and Restaurant (Pension) Hilda Piluden	11	Single w/ common bath —P200 Double w/ common bath—P400 Triple w/ common bath—P500 Double w/ hot shower—P1,000 Family room—P1,500	Conference hall, recreational hall, tour arrangement, fireplace, terrace

Table 5. (cont'd.)

Name of Establishment/ Owner	Number of Rooms	Room Rate	Facilities/Services
Rocky Valley Inn (Pension) Prisca Palangcha	8	P75/head	Parking area, conference room, terrace, bar & restaurant
Sagada Guest House Café Veronica Daoas	15	P75/head	Restaurant, laundry, tourArrangement, parking space
Sagada Prime Hotel Dennis Piluden	18	Double bed w/ T&B —P1,000 Family room (6)— P1,000 Extra bed w/ bedding—P150	Multipurpose hall, dining room, parking space
St. Joseph Resthouse Fr. Alex Wandag	25 rooms 5 cottages	Room—P75/head Cottage— P500-1,000	Multipurpose hall, parking space, fireplace, tour arrangement, catering, laundry, camping space, abundant water, viewpoint

Source: DOT-CAR Tourism Situationer 2001

mation Center within 24 hours upon entering the municipality (Municipal Ordinance No. 19-94, Section 9). Section 11 of the ordinance further reads:

> "No tourist shall be allowed to roam around within the municipality of whatever means unless duly registered . . . . Failure, neglect or unwarranted refusal on the part of an operator, manager and/or cashier of hotels, inns and lodging houses to instruct or cause the registration of their tourist visitors shall be a sufficient ground for the revocation of their business permit."

Furthermore, the ordinance stipulates a registration fee of P10, to be collected from every tourist who enters the municipality, to cover incidental expenses incurred in the registration (Municipal Ordinance No. 19-94, Section 12). With the organization of the guides, guide fees were also standardized (Tables 6a and 6b).

Table 6a. Standard cave guide rates in Sagada

No. of Persons	Guide Fee (in Pesos)	No. of Guides
1-4	300.00 (Lamp fee included)	1
5	350.00 (Lamp fee included)	1
6-9	600.00 (Lamp fee included)	2
10	650.00 (Lamp fee included)	2
11-14	70.00/person + 150.00 lamp fee)	3
15	1,050.00 (Lamp fee included)	3
16-19	70.00/person + 200.00 Lamp fee)	4
20-24	50.00/person + 200.00 lamp fee)	4
25 and above	60.00/pax + lamp fee (1:5 guide-to-tourist ratio)	

In spite of the influx of visitors to Sagada, during the '70s and '80s there were no conscious attempts to monitor the volume and distribution of tourist arrivals, seasonality patterns, and other travel characteristics of visitors. In a 1997 study on regional travel of the DOT, the profile of the regional tourist to CAR was obtained from sample surveys conducted in Baguio City and Banaue. The results of the domestic tourism survey became the basis for the formulation of tourism policies and programs for all destinations in the region, including Sagada (no study has been conducted since then). While visitors during this time were reported to be mostly foreign nationals of the backpacking type, locals in later years have become the main domestic tourists (Table 7).

Almost 97 percent of the total visitor arrivals to Sagada in the year 2000 were domestic tourists; foreign visitors, including Filipino balikbayans, comprised only 3.percent. The same trend could be observed in the previous years (1995 to 1999). In addition, in 2000, the total number of visitor arrivals to Sagada comprised slightly over 41 percent of the total volume of visitors to Mountain Province, and 11.0 percent of the total arrivals in the region, excluding Baguio City. In the same year, it posted higher arrivals than the provinces of Abra, Apayao, and Kalinga (Table 8). The number could actually be higher, since the data that came from the DOT were generated solely from the registry logbooks of commercial accommodation facilities and did not include those who stayed with friends and relatives and those who brought their tents and camped out.

Government tourism plans and programs
The framework for tourism development in the Cordillera is embodied in the Cordillera Tourism Master Plan (CTMP), which was jointly developed by Orient Integrated Development Consultants, Inc., and Planning Resources

Table 6b. Standard trekking guide rates in Sagada

No. of Heads	Guide Fee (in Pesos)	No. of Guides
Big Falls		
1-10	P500.00	1
11-15	600.00	2
16-20	700.00	3
Mt. Ampucao		
1-10	500.00	1
11-15	600.00	2
16-20	700.00	3
Mt. Polis		
1-10	700.00	1
11-15	800.00	2
16-20	900.00	3
Sightseeing		
1-10	300.00	1
11-15	450.00	2
16-20	600.00	3

Conditions:
- Minimum — three spots only
- Maximum — three-hour touring time starting from the municipal hall

Notes:
- Lamp fee of P 50.00/lamp
- Additional guides could be provided upon request.
- Children are charged full rates.
- Accidents are not the sole responsibility of the guide.
- Cave connection has a different rate.

Source: DOT-CAR Tourism Situationer 2001

and Operations Consultants Inc. for the DOT in 1995. Its goals are aligned with the goals of the Master Plan for Tourism Development in the Philippines earlier crafted in 1991. With a 15-year time frame (1996-2010), the CTMP focuses on the two major tourism assets of the region:

> "The CAR Tourism Master Plan adopts 'culture' and 'nature' as its main thrust and vision for development. This thrust is sufficiently embodied and summed up in what is popularly known today as 'ecotourism.' The overriding goal is to preserve, conserve and enhance the area's natural environment and its rich tribal culture for people and visitors to appreciate, enjoy and learn from."

Table 7. Visitor arrivals in Sagada by classification (1995-2000)

Classification	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Domestic	7,134	7,202	11,930	18,899	15,456	16,524
Foreign	381	416	428	353	302	276
Overseas/ Balikbayan	154	105	162	206	187	288
Total	7,669	7,723	12,520	19,458	15,945	17,088
Tourist receipts (in US$)	1,150,350	1,158,450	1,878,000	2,918,700	2,391,750	2,563,200
Growth rate		0.70%	62.11%	55.42%	-18.05%	7.17%

Source: DOT, Cordillera Administrative Region

The objectives of the CAR Tourism Plan are:
- To reorient the focus of regional tourism along the concept of ecotourism;
- To empower local communities through participation in the development and management of tourism resources;
- To develop spatial priority staging areas for ecotourism development, including support systems and infrastructures; and
- To provide income and livelihood opportunities to the various peoples of the Cordillera and contribute to the regional growth.

To attain these objectives, the plan identifies six program interventions:

1. *Physical infrastructure program.* This is intended to address accessibility, communications, and other basic infrastructure problems such as water supply, electrification, sanitation, and waste management.

2. *Site facilities development program.* This should address specific cluster/site development requirements for tourism development such as the array of accommodation facilities and support infrastructures, site enhancement projects, and other tourism products to be established in each cluster/site identified.

3. *Sociocultural and livelihood program.* This covers community-based schemes to enhance participation and expression of local culture by the host communities, on one hand, and tourists' appreciation of cultural values and learning experiences on the other. It also provides for opportunities to the local communities to generate livelihood and income from tourist activities.

4. *Environmental protection and enhancement program.* This provides appropriate intervention for ensuring environmentally friendly tourism activities including restoration and enhancement of natural assets.

Table 8. CAR tourist arrivals by city/province (1990-2000)

Province	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995*	1996*	1997	1998	1999	2000
Abra	3,357	3,871	1,081	5,390	1,933	6,821	5,426	10,932	14,144	12,592	12,767
Baguio	160,316	163,691	230,218	318,801	388,988	542,230	656,525	704,353	795,834	896,347	986,230
Benguet						6,427	8,517	25,092	36,500	35,210	37,396
Ifugao	9,348	14,405	10,823	12,837	23,206	23,502	28,392	49,674	49,936	47,257	49,441
Apayao							1,725	508	888	652	635
Kalinga	1,571	908	4,895	2,384	3,604	3,915	4,639	6,955	12,288	11,510	11,373
Mt. Prov.	7,959	11,538	12,784	10,309	22,175	17,339	18,699	30,038	42,430	39,863	41,530
CAR Total	182,551	194,413	259,801	349,721	439,906	600,234	723,923	827,552	952,020	1,043,431	1,139,372
Growth Rate		6.00%	33.00%	34.00%	25.00%	36.00%	20.00%	14.00%	15.02%	9.60%	9.19%

*Data for Baguio and Benguet, Apayao and Kalinga are separated.
1989 total tourist arrivals numbered 480,000
Source of data: Different accommodations in CAR
Source: DOT-CAR

5. *Tourism promotion and marketing program.* This calls for a sustained tourism information development to promote CAR tourism, particularly ecotourism in the local and international markets.
6. *Institutional/policy development program.* This is designed to create a conducive policy environment and acquire capabilities and resources to implement and manage a coordinated multisectoral effort for tourism development in CAR, including encouraging private sector participation/investment in identified programs and projects.

The total investment cost for the implementation of the plan is P63.07 billion. Of this amount, about 90.0 percent, or P55 billion, shall be spent on the physical infrastructure component of the program. The estimated costs of the other programs are distributed as follows:

- Site development program—P7, 248,000,000
- Socio-cultural enhancement and livelihood program—P930 million
- Environmental enhancement program—P60 million
- Institutional development and policy support—P150 million

The 15-year time frame within which the Cordillera Master Plan is to be implemented is divided into three five-year periods: short, medium, and long term. Short-term priority targets consist of sites already known and visited by tourists while medium- and long-term targets are those that are relatively unknown, have poor accessibility and limited facilities and infrastructure (DOT 1995). Sagada, already known to tourists, is a priority target for the short term. No significant tourism projects were accomplished in the munici-

pality during the first five years (1996-2000) of the plan's implementation except for some training that involved tour guides and the building of a public toilet. The building of a Sagada Cultural Center and the improvement of the Bontoc-Dantay-Sagada Road have yet to be done.

On the municipal level, an ordinance regulating the tourism industry in Sagada (Municipal Ordinance No. 19-94) spells out the policies of the local government on tourism. It is the policy of the municipality to establish a tourism industry that is 1) socially and ecologically sustainable; 2) continuing; and 3) is beneficial to tourists and the local populace.

The objectives of the tourism ordinance are as follows:
1. Rationalize tourism development in the municipality;
2. Preserve the Sagada people's identity and heritage;
3. Improve organizational capability and institutional mechanisms related to managing tourism development;
4. Maintain the natural beauty and attractions of Sagada;
5. Promote a more meaningful interaction and interrelationship between visitors and the community.

Community participation and control
The regulatory function of the DOT was devolved to the LGUs by virtue of the Local Government Code of 1991. Since the devolution, the issuance of business permits to tourism establishments and other tourism-related activities has become the task of LGUs, with the DOT involved only in the inspection of those who apply to the agency for accreditation. Accreditation by the DOT requires compliance with certain minimum standards to ensure the quality of service to tourists. Unlike licensing, however, which is a requirement, accreditation by the DOT is not mandatory.

In 1994, the DOT issued a memorandum for all resort towns to form a tourism council. The people of Sagada welcomed this move and set out to form one without necessarily conforming to the DOT guidelines. This was learned during the community consultations for the preparation of the Plan.

The DOT memorandum specified that membership in the council should come mostly from the business sector. Sagada balked at the idea. They thus formed a 24-member multisectoral tourism council composed of representatives from the local government as well as business, farmer, women, tourist guide, and church, and education groups (DOT 1995).

The municipal tourism council manages the tourism industry in Sagada and advises the municipal government on all tourist-related matters (Municipal Ordinance No. 19-94). It has also taken positions on proposed tourist projects for Sagada. In October 1994, for instance, the council objected to the proposal of the provincial government to construct a youth hostel costing P5 million, because "it will compete with existing local accommodations, bring moral decadence and worsen the water problem at the Poblacion" (DOT

1995). The council also objected to the DOT-initiated construction of a view deck in Kiltepan as a tourist site. It found the project "useless," saying anyone could just stand anywhere in Kiltepan and enjoy the same view (DOT 1995).

In lieu of a hostel and view deck, the council requested instead that the funds be used for the more pressing concerns of the community such as the development of roads and water systems and the improvement of *dap-ays* (translated as "traditional meeting places where community rituals are performed") (DOT 1995). These concerns have not been addressed.

Organization and licensing of tour guides

Locals guiding tourists to the caves began as early as the '70s. However, this was done on an individual basis, there being no organized tourist guides' group at the time. Besides, tourists at that time could explore the town, enter the caves, and go spelunking without the benefit of local guides. In 1993, because of a growing number of unguided tourists either getting lost or figuring in accidents like drowning while spelunking, which eventually resulted in deaths in some instances, the Sagada Environmental Guides Association (SEGA) was formed. SEAGA's whose main aim was to protect tourists from accidents. After an ordinance regulating tourism in the community was passed, all tour guides were required to secure a license from the municipal government.

To apply as a tour guide in Sagada, one must be at least 15 years old. To get a license, the applicant should first undergo an apprenticeship program of SEGA, which normally takes months. Today, there are 35 active tour guides, eight of whom are women. Unlike in Banaue, where all tour guides are male, membership to the guides' association in Sagada is open to both males and females. Caving or spelunking, however, is limited to the younger members.

Self-regulation is strictly imposed on SEGA members, who set their own standards for their work and fees (Table 5). Anyone found engaging in unauthorized tour guiding shall be penalized. Section 22 of Municipal Ordinance No.19-94 states:

> Any person who, without a valid license issued pursuant to this Ordinance to engage in tour guiding activities within the municipality, shall on first offense suffer the penalty of reprimand and on second offense . . . suffer the penalty of 1 month imprisonment or both at the discretion of the court.

Registration and monitoring of tourists

All tourists are required to register at the Tourist Information Center within 24 hours upon arrival and pay a registration fee of P10. Exempted from registering are "government officials/employees whether national or local and foreign dignitaries who are on official visit to the municipality . . ." (Sagada Municipal Ordinance No.19-94). Also exempted are students on field trips

or on camping activities, provided their names are included in a list required to be submitted to the Center by the teachers or adults accompanying them.

Owners of vehicles are also requested to register even if they do not avail themselves of the services of a tour guide. Monitoring all vehicles entering the municipality became mandatory to SEAGA members immediately after the abduction of a boy five years ago right in front of the church in Sagada.

Community perceptions

Interviews conducted for purposes of this study brought to the fore some recurring themes, which became the basis of the organization of the data presented here.

Concept of tourism/tourists

The people's concept of tourism depended on their involvement in tourism activities and their experiences with tourists. For example, those engaged in the tourism business, like inn keepers, described tourists as individuals who use tourism establishments (i.e., inns, restaurants, and other commercial facilities) and avail themselves of the services of tour guides and jeepney drivers who bring them around the town. Tourists are "visitors who pay for their stay in Sagada," said a restaurant manager). To the female youth, tourists are those "who come to learn about us." To a male community elder, visitors are "outsiders who come and see Sagada, go to the caves, climb the mountains and take pictures of anything they see including abandoned native houses." The Anglican missionaries and their visitors, the community elders added, are not considered tourists but part of the community, since they come to Sagada for church-related reasons.

Tourism peaks during the Holy Week or the summer break and long weekends, when domestic tourist arrivals mostly originating from Manila dominate the foreign tourists who come from Europe, the United States, Canada, Australia, the Middle East, and other parts of Asia. During the early years of tourism in Sagada all Caucasian tourists were generally identified as "Amerikano" (American). But constant interactions with foreign visitors taught the residents, particularly the tour guides, to differentiate tourists by nationality. The seasonality of tourist arrivals, or the time of the year when tourists come to Sagada, has also been noted. One tour guide described thus:

> "(F)or the months of December to March, the majority of our foreign tourists are South Koreans, because according to them it is cold in their country at this time [and prefer to be elsewhere where the weather is not as cold]. From March until May, we have the Israelis (whom we call Kibbutz), who have just ended their military training and go on an Asian tour. The Philippines being usually their first stop, they come to Sagada being nature lovers. The French, German, and the Dutch—we get them all year round."

There are good tourists and bad ones, said a young male tour guide. He described Israelis as the worst among the tourists who come to Sagada. They argue endlessly with you before they pay up, he said. One time I came close to begging with a group of Israeli women before they finally paid me, he recounted.

Europeans, particularly the French and Italians, on the other hand, are said to be the best spelunkers and are appreciated for the mountain gear that they have donated to the local guides' association. These, together with the other guiding tools provided by the town mayor and his friends, are what the tour guides use inside the caves. Europeans are also appreciated for not complaining about the condition of the caves. The tour guide said this attitude contrasts with that of some of the locals who tend to make comments like, " 'This would be better if it had a railing, if it had lighting." The tour guide added, "I have never heard comments like this from foreigners who might have seen better caves." In fact, he said, Europeans consider their visit to the Sagada caves their "best caving experience" yet. Imagine, he quoted them as saying, they can even remove their shoes before they can walk inside. It is a truly natural experience for them, he said.

Tourists also vary according to their purpose of visit, said the tour guide. Some tourists come for pleasure and culture. There are the student groups who come for field trips; researchers and anthropologists who come to do research; and those who just come to see the caves, and these are mostly locals.

There are tourists, however, who openly ask to meet women to engage them in sex. "We tell them outright that our culture is different and it is very difficult to court women here where you might get rejected," said the tour guide. This, on top of giving them remarks that are meant to insult them and thus discourage them from pursuing their prurient motives. The tour guide said he and his colleagues are aware of sex tours, some of which come to Sagada. "These are usually Americans and Europeans who originate from Angeles, Pampanga, before they come here."

In general, tourism and tourists are welcome in Sagada. The people are not known to discriminate against visitors because of nationality or race. Being self-assured and content with simple living, the local folk do not feel inferior to their more affluent visitors. Said a female tour guide, who used to assist her mother run the first restaurant in Sagada:

> "The people here treat visitors as co-equal, as friends, with respect. . . . That is one of the positive impacts of tourism [on Sagada]. Though we were raised to think that the whites were superior to us, over the years when tourists started coming and we interacted with them, we learned to treat tourists like one of us—not as individuals who were superior to us. The community does not suffer from colonial mentality. Constant visits of tourists have had a positive impact on us."

Tourists who have been accepted as part of the community have been have been granted lease to some lands. Other tourists eventually married locals. All these tour guides are now abroad and regular visit Sagada with their families. Along the way, there have been unhappy incidents such as when one of the locals, a male, left his wife in favor of an Australian female tourist, who claimed to have fallen in love with him as well.

An interesting finding is that the community elders who have no direct gains from tourism perceive it positively. They also do not see anything wrong with tourists observing them when they do their rituals for as long as they do not cross the line, that is, they respect and obey the community's established rules. As one male community elder explained, "There are places where tourists can go, but there are also places where they can't and they should respect that, because if they go against the rule, it will affect the community."

In 1980, the traditional council of men "adopted" Joachim Voss, a long-time Canadian tourist, and his wife as members of the community, thus allowing them to participate in the *dangtey*, a most celebrated community ritual held once every 10 years. As a participant observer, Voss, an archaeologist by vocation, documented the unfolding events.

Tourists, especially foreigners, learn about Sagada by word-of-mouth, that is, from friends and other tourists who have visited the place and are frequent visitors themselves. If foreign tourist arrivals have grown in number, so have domestic tourists, mainly as a result of documentaries about Sagada that they have seen on local television. It must be noted that the community does not advertise itself and the nearest to a reference material that international tourists can refer to would be the *Lonely Planet* guidebook. The lack of local brochures and other information materials advertising, for example, a local inn or restaurant is evident. The only reference material available in local shops is a map prepared by a foreign tourist that shows the sites, tourist facilities, and landmarks in Sagada.

Perceived positive impacts
Creation of jobs

The creation of a number of tourist-related jobs is one perceived positive economic impact of tourism on the community. Among others, tourism has become a major revenue earner for local entrepreneurs who are directly engaged in tourism activities, such as operating inns, lodging houses, restaurants, handicraft stores, souvenir shops and transport vehicles. Local weavers also derive their income from selling their products to the inns and handicraft stores, who in turn sell these to tourists. Friendship bonds, hand-woven bags, and rattan baskets are sold in souvenir stores. Still another significant impact of tourism is the shift among farmers from subsistence to market-oriented farming, planting fruits and vegetables that lodging houses, inns, and restaurants look for (e.g., lettuce, broccoli, cultured mushrooms, toma-

toes, and potatoes). Strawberries, which used to be raised only in La Trinidad, Benguet, are now being grown in Sagada and sold as jam and wine.

Tour guides consist mostly of youth. At the time of the interview, the tour guides' association had 75 members, eight of whom were female. The tour guides who are still students use some of their earnings to pay for their tuition fees and another portion for the support of their families. Those who have graduated from college but cannot find work yet have stuck to tour guiding as their profession. One young male tour guide said there were 10 of them in the association who were students of Trinity College in Sagada. There are parttime and fulltime guides.

There are no estimates of income derived from tourism. Yet, there is no doubt that it has been a viable source of income for some households, particularly those that are directly involved in tourism work.

Cultural understanding

Considered another positive impact of tourism in Sagada and which is often mentioned by the residents is the crosscultural understanding that it has created between tourists and hosts (Urry 1995). By interacting with foreign tourists, the local people learned about different places and cultures. As the mayor said, the locals learn by being exposed to and relating with people of different nationalities. Why, they do not even have to travel to other places to learn about them and their people. They have learned much about them just by interacting with tourists.

Another indication of the positive effect of tourism is the locals' appreciation for some of the tourists' efforts to for teach hem how to prepare foreign dishes, which have become specialties of some local restaurants and inns. For their part, locals invite tourists to join them in community feasts, partake of the local cuisine, and participate in the singing and dancing while learning to play the gongs and drums.

What is also significant is that even the male community elders have allowed tourists, even women, to join them in their traditional celebrations. Said a tourist guide:

> " . . . the old men have changed, allowing visitors to join them, answering questions of tourists while they are performing. This enables the elders to articulate their customs and rituals while making it a learning experience for the tourists. Once, they even allowed a woman from the Netherlands to record what they were doing.

Environmental consciousness

According to Sagada Mayor Tom Killip, the "members of the community . . . have become more conscious of their environment, knowing that it is what tourists go to their place for—to see the pine forests, terraces, waterfalls, and caves. This realization has evoked a sense of concern among the members of

the community to protect their environment, because that is their wealth. This is what tourists come to enjoy."

Some informants, however, pointed out that the community has always been practicing waste management the traditional way, and garbage was never an issue until the tourists came. While environmental consciousness is strong in the community, the growing garbage problem has become a community concern, which is blamed on tourism. (This issue is discussed in detail in the succeeding paragraph.)

Perceived negative impacts
Environmental impacts

Garbage accumulation

One negative impact of tourism is environmental destruction due to garbage—consisting largely of plastic water containers, plastic cups, soft drink bottles, tin cans, Styrofoam containers, sanitary napkins, pampers, candy and food wrappers, and plastic bags. It is said that the amount of litter during peak seasons like Holy Week is such that tourists can find their way to certain sites without the benefit of a guide just by following the trail of empty plastic water containers and other pieces of garbage strewn all over the pathways. The change, according to one tour guide, is now being felt by the community. He said:

> Five years ago, the amount of garbage was minimal, but now it has reached such a proportion as to force members of SEGA to clean up. There is no proper disposal, and this sight (where garbage is thrown) is hidden from the town.

While members of the local tour guides association have taken it upon themselves to regularly clean up the caves and other trekking areas, the informants see the need to come up with a proper garbage disposal system in the community. The occurrence of flooding whenever there is a strong typhoon is attributed to the accumulation of garbage that has blocked water pathways. Garbage is also piling up in the caves and affecting the southern villages. Continues the tour guide:

> "When it rains, the garbage that comes from the small Falls, Echo Valley, Calvary, and Kenkitongan, are washed off to the Big Cave, which is the lowest portion of the community. This is where the garbage gets stuck. They say that Sagada is just like a honeycomb, where all the water systems and the caves are interconnected so whatever is dumped in one area comes out in the other area. The villages in the south are affected by the garbage from the town center."

Another informant cited garbage as the cause of the unfortunate drowning of a tourist and his tour guide at the height of a strong typhoon in Decem-

ber 2001. He said "a sudden onrush of water caused by the loosening of stuck-up garbage in the cave" killed the two.

Popular trekking sites, too, in the northern villages, like the Big Falls or "Bumod-ok," are being destroyed by garbage. As described by a retired priest who lives near the area:

> In Bumod-ok, tourists have destroyed the environment because they leave their garbage behind. They use it as a picnic ground and they don't clean up afterwards. Those who go there pay a certain amount, but it is not much compared to the garbage that they leave behind and the ensuing destruction that they inflict on the place. When it's dirty and has no more water, what use will it be to the community and tourists?

Vandalism

In their seminal work on the impact of tourism, Mathieson and Wall (1982) conclude that "the future of tourism is paradoxical for tourists who are destroying the very resources that they come to enjoy." This conclusion is evidenced by what Sagada tourists have done, especially with the caves, through the years. The vandals of the '70s left their mark in Sumaguing Cave, known to tourists as the Big Cave, by inscribing their names and the date they were there. Other names are etched on the rock walls and stone floor. Yet, the worst damage has been inflicted on the stalactites and stalagmites that have been chipped off. As one tour guide explained, cutting of stalactites still happens, especially in big groups, even if they were briefed. This is really unfortunate, he said, since one stalactite grows one inch in 10 years, and once it is touched, the growth is disturbed. The oil in our hands can disturb the growth.

In 1996, the tour guides' association decided to close Crystal Cave to prevent its snowlike stalactites and stalagmites from further destruction. Noting that the regeneration of stalactites takes years, another tour guide informant said, "it might take years before the cave is open again to tourists." The destruction of natural resources, however, is not done only by tourists. Members of the community are to be blamed as well. With no zoning regulations, some people have constructed accommodation facilities and residences atop old rock formations, thereby destroying what used to be scenic views, trekking sites, and natural landscapes.

Noise

What used to be a quiet town must now contend with the noise brought about by tourists, especially during peak seasons such as Holy Week, which has always been considered sacred, with everyone in the community expected to comport oneself. Unfortunately, this has changed. As one adult female informant described the situation:

> "Noise is right here in the church grounds as the convent has been opened to tourists. Growing up in this community which considers Holy Week as solemn, people are shocked, knowing that this used to be occupied by nuns, and now it's very noisy."

The decision of the church to convert the convent just beside the church into a lodging house has raised concerns from the community, particularly the women who believe that the former convent has been desecrated by allowing "questionable couples" to stay there. Aside from the noise, the solemnity of the occasion has now become an amusing spectacle for tourists, said a male community worker. He observed that the Station of the Cross on Good Friday used to take place undisturbed. The community of Sagada—the men, women and children—would undertake a pilgrim's progress without being disturbed. Today, curious tourists would stand by and look amused at them in the procession, and they don't like it.

Even the manner by which Holy Week is now being observed has not escaped notice from community members concerned with the negative impact of tourism. Said the community worker:

> "In the past, community activities at this time would revolve around the church. Starting Wednesday evening, then onto Maundy Thursday until Black Saturday, the atmosphere was solemn, with everyone actively taking part in the religious activities like the *tenebrae*, night vigil or the watch, and the stations of the cross. Now, locals have become busier attending to the needs of mass tourist arrivals instead of the traditional religious rites. The town center has become a site of hustle and bustle. Pubs, restaurants, and inns are filled with tourists. Gone is the solemn quiet of the occasion, having been replaced by crowd noise. What used to be Holy Week has turned into Holiday Break, thanks to tourism."

The owner/manager of an inn located a few steps across the church agrees with this observation. "Holy Week is when tourists are so many that we (local entrepreneurs) celebrate our Holy Week after that," he said.

Water supply

Water is one important resource that has been greatly affected by tourism. As one long-time tourist observed, washing machines and lots of water used for baths are major changes brought about by tourism. The increasing number of tourists, particularly during the peak months of April and May, is perceived to have aggravated the prevailing water problem. The inequitable distribution of water has resulted in varying degrees of frustration and even anger among households who must contend with lack of water for several days, especially during the summer months while commercial establishments such as inns, lodging houses, and restaurants have running water everyday for

their guests. Whereas there used to be sufficient water supply for all households, now the locals have to walk distances just to fetch water for drinking and cooking while tourists use these for nonessentials. "There is a growing hostility among people, who quarrel with each other, because of water shortage," said the community worker. This is borne of the knowledge that commercial facilities have running water while many private homes must suffer its lack for days.

Moreover, the water problem has resulted in the privatization of watersheds, which, by tradition, were communally owned. Said a female school administrator:

> "What used to be communal watersheds are now being declared as privately owned. In addition, there are a lot of claimants. Water rights are now being privatized like land rights, and if there is someone who should do something about the water problem, it should be the local government. What happened to the P5-million iron pipes that the local government was supposed to have bought. Too much money came for a water system, but where is it? There should be a more comprehensive resource plan, because there are many sources of water but these are inequitably distributed. Just look at the water from the Mission. An ordinary household pays a flat rate of P60 a month, and how much do commercial establishments, which use much more water, pay? I say, meter the water.

The water problem has come to a point where some residents have expressed willingness to buy water. That's how serious the situation is, according to a source. She finds it ironic that those of the community members who are not engaged in business have not felt the benefits of tourism. On the contrary, she adds, the water problem has been aggravated by the influx of tourists.

It is difficult to assess the volume of water utilized by tourists and residents, since there is no meter system. Those who get their water supply from the church-managed water system—and these are usually the business establishments (lodging houses and restaurants) and houses in the town center—pay very minimal flat rates. Others pay monthly flat rates to owners of privately owned watersheds. While there are no hard data on water use, the lack of water, however, is felt mostly by the residents during summer when tourist arrivals are at its peak.

Social effect
Demonstration effect
The youth are the most susceptible to the demonstration effect of other cultures, observed Murphy (1985). This has been found to be true in Sagada, where adults and youth alike agree with the observation. A former restaurant manager rues the fact that the youth in Sagada have changed dramatically since the advent of tourism in her community. "I can attest to that because I

have a son who is a victim (of drug addiction)," a fact she blames on the effect of tourism on her community. Prohibited drugs are readily available in her place, she said. Add to this the declining moral values of the youth, which she also blames on tourists whose examples they follow.

A young female student echoes the above observation:

> "We, the youth, are affected by what we see, like how tourists are dressed. Too much flesh is being shown, which our elders don't like. Moral behavior is also loose, with tourists holding hands and kissing in public. This has affected our own moral and social values. How many early marriages are happening? How many single parents are there?"

A former parish priest of the local church has similar observations. He said used condoms are strewn on the pathways. He relates this and similar situations brought about by tourism to the significant rise in teenage pregnancies, which he said is worrisome. "I think this is because the youth see what the tourists are doing and they follow them. Students, for example, go to karaoke joints where tourists normally go, and they come to class sleepy the following day. "It's really a bad influence," he laments.

The lack of respect for their elders is yet another reflection of the youth's declining moral values, according to teenagers interviewed for this study. One female student describes disrespect as calling one's parents by their first names and not bothering to greet elders when one meets them. A male tour guide said addressing an elder with the customary "alitao" (uncle) or "alapo" (grandmother/grandfather) is now a thing of the past

Another perceived negative effect of tourism is the growing disparity between the rich (i.e., tourists) and the poor (i.e., people of Sagada). To an adult male informant, this was never more evident than now, when tourists have flock to Sagada in droves. He bewails the fact that during holiday breaks, for example, one could only see three public buses pulling through the limestone rocks as they arrived from Baguio during mid-afternoons. "Now look at what we have here. Mid-afternoon is dusty and bustling with the arrivals of private luxury cars," he said, referring to tourists. He thinks the city denizen's display of opulence in a simple farming village is not only out of place in Sagada but also reflects the obscene economic inequality between the rich and the poor in this country, he opines. On the other hand, carriding visitors create traffic when they use their vehicles to go to the caves, crowding out the locals who must walk the narrow, unpaved roads without sidewalks.

Drug problem

Tourism is blamed for the introduction of marijuana to Sagada, which is believed to have been brought to the locality by tourists in the '70s. A foreign tourist who got arrested and eventually deported reportedly introduced the cooking of marijuana leaves into hashish. The effects were far-reaching, particularly on the youth. "There was one student who came to school running and wanting to jump from the rocks because he thought he could fly," recounted a retired parish priest, who believed he had smoked pot. The prime bishop of the Philippine Episcopal Church, who hails from Sagada, agrees that while tourism may not be stopped, its impacts on the community must be addressed, particularly the drug menace. He said lives have been destroyed by of the use of marijuana and hashish among some members of the community, as evidenced by the eventual arrests and confinement in jails of some of them.

Crime

If one goes by police record alone, Sagada may appear to be a relatively peaceful place for tourists and locals alike. The police, after all, dutifully make nightly rounds beginning at 9 o'clock p.m., which is when curfew starts. Then, too, not many crimes are being reported. In 2001, for instance, only two cases of theft and one case of death by accident were reported. Sources interviewed, however, the key informants pointed to the rise in petty crimes committed not only on tourists (e.g., incidents of unattended cars being forced open and burglarized) but also on the residents (e.g., houses burglarized). It appears that most of these cases were not entered in the police blotter, as petty crimes, particularly those committed on locals, are usually amicably settled at the barangay level.

What used to be considered a safe and secure town has changed into an unsafe environment and made the community wary of car-riding tourists after a boy was abducted a few years ago. This was not an isolated incident but appears to be one in a slew of similar incidents that reportedly happened in other Cordillera provinces. According to the community worker interviewed for this study, there have been three incidents involving the abduction of young boys. One happened in Ifugao a few years ago, another in Sagada in 1999, and still another in Dantay. In one case involving an eight-year-old boy, he said it happened to him thrice. He managed to escape in all these instances, he claimed.

It is believed that these abductions are related to child sex tourism or forced labor in the cities. Instances of FX-riding men luring young boys with chocolates and candies have also been reported and are believed to be related to the reported abductions. "I fear that this might be a syndicate," said the community worker. Concerned members of the community, particularly the tour guides' association, have tried to prevent similar incidents from

happening by requiring all vehicles that enter the municipality to register at a designated center, as mentioned earlier.

Notwithstanding the lack of statistics to validate the growing incidence of crimes related to tourism, a number of the key informants say more crimes are being committed during peak seasons.

Negative economic impacts

While tourism has increased household income, the economic gains from it are inequitably distributed, since only the entrepreneurs, who make up a minority, benefit from it while the majority, comprising largely of farmers, enjoy little benefits or none at all. Says the town mayor,

> "(T)hose who benefit from tourism are only these few sectors that can afford to set up their own businesses. But the gains do not necessarily trickle down to the majority. Ideally, the benefits should spread to the grassroots—or to the poor farmers who plow their ricefields which, are the attractions. But they don't."

The mayor admits, however, that while one cannot stop tourism, efforts must be exerted to find ways by which the farmers can share in the profits.

Another perceived negative impact of tourism is fixed pricing of goods. For tourists, there are standardized rates for accommodation facilities fixed by the lodging house owners themselves. Also standardized are tour guide fees for caving and trekking services as well as transport services. This affordable price cap has been cited by tourists, especially repeat visitors, as one reason for returning several times to Sagada. Handicraft products such as woven bags, shirts, and other souvenir items are also found to be cheap. For the locals, however, tourism has jacked up food prices, particularly those of fruits and vegetables. While tourists find these food items very cheap and would readily buy, locals find them expensive. With tourists telling them to keep the change, vendors now sell their goods at fixed prices, making it difficult for locals, used to haggling, to bargain for lower prices—which were readily granted to them in the past.

Negative cultural impacts

Compared to Banaue and Baguio City, where one sees people dressed in their native costumes posing for a fee, Sagada has no cultural representations of any kind that are staged for tourists. One can therefore only see a traditional ritual if there is one scheduled by the community. *Babayas* (traditional wedding feasts) are usually scheduled during Christmas or summer time. What has changed is the scheduling of traditional community rituals (*begnas, dangtey*). The *dangtey,* which is celebrated every 10 years, has not been held for more than a decade now. Some of these celebrations have also been shortened, like the *begnas*, the duration of which has been shortened to

three days from seven days. While tourism is not solely blamed for some of these changes, it is nevertheless cited as a major factor along with education and migration.

Says a female adult informant:

> It seems like the old men are changing. They are not as strict as before. I the past, women were not allowed to sit in the *dap-ay* but now they are. Today, the old men also allow visitors to join them, answering the latter's questions while they are performing. This practice enables the elders to explain their customs and rituals to the tourists.

Cultural events in Sagada like the *babayas* are community celebrations where everyone is invited to participate and partake of the abundant food. With the rise in tourism, the solemnity of these important events seems gone, according to the retired parish priest, having become, in his words, "touristic." Tourists, for example, come and take pictures without even asking permission, he complained. In some instances, tourists even do odd jobs knowing that they get free food. It is a community tradition that help is extended to the ones who are hosting the affair, who in turn feed the people who help them out, he explained.

Changing land tenure patterns

In December 2001, one of the key informants interviewed said land ownership was still controlled by the locals. Having been away for 18 years, he was happy to note that the local government had not allowed outsiders to own land or set up business in Sagada. By May 2002, the picture appeared to have changed, based on interviews an inn owner/manager, a land owner, and a retired pries. There are parcels of land that have already been bought by tourists. In fact, a rest house is supposed to have been built on one of them, only construction has not yet started. A couple who have been staying in Sagada for some time used to live in the *ili* (traditional community), then left, and came back. They have since kept coming back to Sagada. "Now I understand they have leased a piece of land and are now building their house there," said the retired priest.

Confirming the above, another informant said a Canadian couple who used to stay in Sagada in the '70s has just leased a piece of land there to build a house on. Whether land lease or purchase, some of the informants observed that this never happened in the past. Even outsiders, including Chinese business people, were not allowed to set up businesses there because of the competition they could create, which would disadvantage the locals.

Foreigners have also been observed to undertake certain activities from which they make money, such as those "who paint and engage in pottery and then sell their products," according to a source. "They're making use of the

natural resources of the place but I'm not sure if they give back something to the community."

Carrying capacity

During peak months, more tourists come to Sagada than it can possibly accommodate. Starting from Baguio, where most tourists take a ride en route to Sagada, locals often have to compete with tourists for bus seats. Moreover, the available number of rooms and beds becomes insufficient to accommodate tourist arrivals. Guests who cannot be accommodated have no recourse but to go down to Bontoc, a nearby town. Some repeat visitors in anticipation of such a situation bring their tents and camp out in the church grounds; others sleep in their vehicles. For the past five years, Sagada has been experiencing this kind of situation, prompting a young male tour guide to voice his concern. He said even if the sites tourists come to see are beautiful, if water and rooms are not enough, then making the trip will not be worthwhile. "Something has to be done," he said. "Perhaps the DOT office in Baguio can do something about it."

Key insights and conclusions

Tourism development level, access and control

Tourism in Sagada is in place and can be categorized as community-based. Its development which was unplanned ("tourism just happened") started small and slow and remains to be so. This may change, however, in the next few years as the tourist arrivals grow. In 2000, for example, the total number of visitors to the community accounted for 40 percent of the total tourist arrivals in Mountain Province. The number was also higher than the registered arrivals in Abra and the combined total arrival volume in the provinces of Kalinga and Apayao. Clearly, Sagada is now one of the most visited destinations in the Cordillera, notwithstanding the fact that the local tourism industry does not advertise itself.

Yet, tourism remains relatively within the control of the community in Sagada, as evidenced by the accommodation facilities, which have not significantly increased in number. The type of facilities has not also changed inspite of a growing number of visitors that can very well afford to stay in first-class hotels or facilities, which are still lacking in this town. Unlike Banaue, the community rejected a proposal to construct a youth hostel in 1994, and there are still no plans to develop high-end facilities that would cater to an upscale market in the near future. Nevertheless, the growing mass market may lead to tourism infrastructure development that may not be favorable to the residents unless the lack of building and zoning policies as well as sanitation standards is addressed.

Despite the apparent relative control of the growth of tourism in Sagada, gains from tourism business are not equitably distributed, because only the local elite who have the capital to set up business enterprises (e.g., inns, restaurants, handicraft and souvenir shops and transport services) are enjoying them. The poor farmers who comprise the majority are not getting any or most of the benefits. Tourism has in fact reinforced the existing class structure that favors the rich and is grossly disadvantageous to the poor. Unless this situation is addressed by enforcing appropriate measures, tourism will only perpetuate such inequity. Among others, a household survey must be conducted to determine who the direct beneficiaries of tourism are and what its contributions are to household income. The survey should also identify who should be the target of tourism development, with equity in mind. The varying effects of tourism on people, including the indigenous communities, should also be taken into account in tourism planning and development.

Land ownership

Under Philippines laws, all lands in the Cordillera, which include Sagada, are public forest lands, inalienable, and indisposable, notwithstanding the fact that these lands have long been in the hands of indigenous peoples by virtue of customary laws on the management, use, access, and control of these lands. With the enactment of Republic Act 8371, otherwise known as the Indigenous People's Rights Act (IPRA) of 1997, the state "recognize(s) the applicability of customary laws governing property rights or relations in determining the ownership and extent of ancestral domain" (Section 2b). IPRA further states that "individually owned ancestral lands, which are agricultural in character and actually used for agricultural, residential, pasture, and tree farming purposes, including those with a slope of eighteen percent or more, are . . . classified as alienable and disposable agricultural lands" (Section 12).

By tradition, the transfer of land ownership in Sagada is through inheritance and through the years, tax declarations were sufficient legal documents to prove one's claim to land ownership. The enactment of RA 8371 and related laws has brought about conflicts and competing land claims even among relatives. Land conflicts, which used to be settled by customary laws, are now being settled in courts.

A notable observation which has occurred only during the last few years is the accumulation and consolidation of small inherited lands in the hands of a few for future tourism business (accommodation facilities in particular). Another observation is the acquisition by outsiders of real estate. While some of the key informants voiced their concern about allowing outsiders to own land, others were not even aware of it. Others said that this kind of situation was only temporary, although some leases were rumored to be for at least 15 years. Whether the acquisition is through lease or purchase, land ownership, which used to be limited to the locals, is now open to outsiders.

The implications of the change in land tenure patterns on tourism can be seen in two ways. With land titling, one can use the title to obtain loans from banks, using it as collateral. Locals interested in attracting tourism investors and expanding their business will find this to be to their advantage. On the other hand, the issue of ancestral domain is a very ticklish one, where accurate delineation of boundaries is very difficult to do, especially when these are communal lands involved. Five years since its implementation, registration has become a lengthy process as conflicts of ownership and boundaries arise. Unless these conflicts are resolved, tourism development cannot proceed. The case of an unfinished hotel in the Poblacion is proof of this. A family dispute involving the land where it stands has stopped the construction of what could have been one of the biggest accommodation facilities in Sagada.

Environmental sustainability

The government tourism strategy in Sagada and the whole of Cordillera falls under ecotourism and the environment has become a key tourism resource for the region. The tourism assets of Sagada are its natural attractions, alongside its semi-temperate climate and pristine environment, its caves, cliffs, lime, stones, and valleys, rice terraces, mountains, and hills. For many generations, these natural resources have been ably managed and protected by the people who must be credited for their deep knowledge of when and how best they can be utilized. Yet, a number of these natural assets have been vandalized. Stalactites and stalagmites have been chipped off while coffins stacked in the burial caves have been forcibly opened and the centuries-old bones and skulls they contain stolen. The community has acted a number of times to stop these destructive acts, putting up signs to indicate where tourists are not allowed to go. The Crystal Cave, for instance, so called for the glittering stone formations that it contains, has been temporarily closed to allow the chipped off stones to regenerate. The Sagada Environmental Guides Association whose members have taken it upon themselves to protect the cave from further destruction has appealed to tourists to stop desecrating and destroying the caves.

Environmental consciousness is strong in the community. The residents are aware that what tourists come to see and enjoy are their natural assets. Briefing tourists on what to do and what not to do and "continually telling them to 'leave nothing but footprints and kill nothing but time'" is done by the tour guides who clean up the garbage after the tourists are gone. Tour guides have also told tourists to pick up their own trash. However, if tourism is to be sustained, more has to be done in the area of conservation and management of the environment. Equally important is the role of tourists themselves in protecting the natural resources that attract them to Sagada in the first place. Managing waste had never been a problem of the residents until

the tourists came with their plastic and Styrofoam containers, tin cans, and all kinds of garbage that defiled the otherwise clean surroundings of Sagada. The garbage problem is, by any measure, a tourist problem that has to be addressed. Education and environmental awareness programs should involve not only the locals but visitors as well.

Sociocultural impacts

One of the popular theoretical frameworks on host-guest interactions and relationships is Doxey's "irridex" or irritation index. Doxey (in Ryan 1991) identifies four main stages in the assessment of tourist impacts on hosts: 1) euphoria—which means tourists are welcome and there is little planning or control; 2) apathy—meaning tourists are taken for granted and the relationship between hosts and guests is more formal; 3) annoyance—which implies saturation is approached and residents have misgivings about tourism; and 4) antagonism—which means irritations are openly expressed by residents toward tourists. The stage in which residents feel "irritated" about tourism and tourists would probably be between apathy and annoyance, which can become more intense during peak seasons, particularly during Holy Week when tourists flock to the place; do not "show respect to the solemnity of the occasion and walk around the church while Mass is going on, their radios blaring"; leave a lot of trash; use up lots of water at the expense of the locals; "dress so scantily"; and display their affections in wild abandon. The stage of irritation, however, is not constant and can revert to apathy or even euphoria once the tourists leave or "when it is not Holy Week." Moreover, the level of irritation may not be the same for all residents, some of whom may be less critical than others, such as those who are engaged in tourism activities themselves. Wariness and fear on the part of children and their parents toward "car-riding tourists" have been felt as a result of the reported abductions of young boys by car-riding men.

According to Pearce (1989), "the social and cultural characteristics of a host community will influence its attractiveness to tourists, the process of development and the nature and extent of the impacts which occur." In spite of outside influences like religion, education, and tourism, the culture of Sagada is remarkably intact. Cultural commoditization has not occurred unlike in Baguio and Banaue, where Ifugao elders dressed in their native costumes pose for tourists for a fee. While changes have been observed in traditional practices, rituals have not been staged to satisfy the curiosity of tourists. What tourists therefore get to see when they have the opportunity are authentic community events, which they are welcome to attend. To be sure there are no "front regions" or "back regions" for "staged authenticity" (MacCannell 1989) in Sagada. One of the most common assertions about tourism is that it preserves rituals and traditions of indigenous cultures. In the case of Sagada, tourism is not a factor in the preservation of its culture, as

the community prides itself on its cultural integrity. This attitude distinguishes Sagada from other tourist destinations in the Cordillera.

Tourism planning

The Cordillera Regional Development Plan (1999-2004) positions the region as an ecocultural tourist destination pursuing "development that is responsive to the needs of the Cordillerans while working for the welfare of all." Baguio is identified as the primary tourist destination. In the national tourism master plan, Sagada, together with Baguio and Banaue, has been identified as one of the existing destinations in the region for priority tourism development. This was reiterated in the regional tourism master plan, which has a 15-year time frame (1996-2010), to be implemented across three five-year periods: short, medium, and long term. The total investment cost of the implementation of the plan is P63.07 billion. Of this amount, about 90.0 percent, or P55 billion, shall be spent for the physical infrastructure program. Sagada, already known and visited by tourists, is a priority target for the short term.

This study, however, found out that, unlike in Banaue and in Baguio, no significant tourism projects have been accomplished in the municipality during the short term except for some trainings that have been conducted for tour guides and the construction of a public toilet. Commitment on the part of the national government seems to be lacking. While infrastructure development, like the building of roads and improvement of trekking paths and walkways to tourist sites, is specified in the plan, the relevant projects have yet to materialize. The massive infrastructure development approach of the government to tourism development should further be studied to reflect a development that is appropriate, doable, and equitable for the people of Sagada and other indigenous communities in the Cordillera. This can be achieved by consulting the people and planning with them, empowering them to decide on the type of tourism that their community would pursue, bearing in mind that the object of the planning is their community.

Tourism and the community

Compared to other destinations inhabited by indigenous peoples, tourism as an indigenous enterprise seems to be succeeding in Sagada. One major factor for its success is the willingness of the community to learn. There is harmonious co-existence with interventions, as in the case of the Anglican religion, and tourism. The local folk in general have never been against tourists who are responsible and respectful of their environment and culture. They have been known to share their indigenous knowledge and stories with tourists who ask about them. Their culture has never been for tourist consumption. Anyone is welcome to witness rituals that are held to celebrate traditional events but never staged for the benefit of tourists. This is the

culture—where traditional institutions are still in place—that can be tapped by responsible tourism advocates to make this town, with its rich biodiversity, a model for sustainable tourism in an indigenous setting.

Recommendations
Following are recommendations for tourism policymakers.

Research and planning
Research must become a permanent activity in the monitoring, evaluation, and management of tourism impacts. Planning should be based on research, which in turn should be conducted to determine the indicators of tourism growth in the area, namely:

- Types of tourists, sociodemographic characteristics, etc.
- Nationality, country of residence
- Purpose of visit
- Length of stay, seasonality
- Mode of transport, traveling companion
- Preferences, activities desired
- visitor attitudes and perceptions
- Expenditure patterns, tourist receipts
- Direct beneficiaries of tourism, income distribution
- Volume of water used by tourists compared to locals
- Volume of waste
- Tourism-related crimes
- Status of tourism resources, inventory of tourism product

Education and training
Educating both hosts and guests is very important in mitigating negative tourism impacts. Workshops on visitor management and seminars on inn keeping and tour guiding should regularly be conducted to ensure visitor satisfaction and quality service. Seminars on tourism awareness and environmental consciousness and waste management, planning workshops, and training programs on security and safety should also become regular activities.

The establishment of a Visitor Information Center (VIC), where long-time residents like the community elders can be tapped for their indigenous knowledge and orient tourists to become more appreciative of what they have come to see, is recommended. The VIC can take care of trekkers, middle-aged visitors, and children who do not engage in spelunking, as well as repeat visitors who may opt to engage in some less strenuous activity. The VIC can later on put up a museum, which this town lacks. The creation of a museum will be educative for tourists and local youth alike. The lack of information materials can also be addressed in the VIC with the provision of collat-

eral, brochures, magazines, maps, audio-visual materials, and other educational media for visitors.

Community Involvement

The community should actively be involved in tourism planning and program implementation. Community participation in such activities should involve not only the members of the local tourism council but also other groups in the community, particularly the farmers who comprise the majority of the population of Sagada. Tourism planning consultations should be conducted with all sectors to ensure that people's participation leads to consensus; the community should never be taken as a homogenous group as tourism is not the same for all levels of society.

Government's Role

For its part, the national government should show a proactive commitment to assist the community in realizing a sustainable tourism that would mitigate negative impacts and work for the benefit of both tourists and hosts. One area that needs to be addressed immediately is infrastructure development (i.e., the improvement of roads as clearly spelled in the 1995 CAR Tourism Master Plan). The roads to Sagada and those leading to trekking sites are in terrible disrepair. Accessibility is one vital element that can hasten tourism growth.

It is further recommended that Congress enact a bill making mandatory the conduct of socio-cultural impact assessments prior to any planned tourism development in indigenous people's communities. Such assessments are necessary to determine the suitability of the tourism development being planned in fragile and sensitive areas like Sagada. To ensure the implementation of the proposed law, the study moreover recommends the creation of a national body that will ensure that the tourism development plan is guided by cultural sensitivity, sustainability, equity, respect for indigenous peoples and their right to self-determination.

Bibliography

Alangui, W. 1999. Tourism's lethal impact: The case of Banaue, Ifugao, Philippines. *Indigenous Perspectives* 2(1).

Ap, J. 1998. Developing and testing a tourism impact scale. *Journal of Travel Research* (1)37.

Archer, B. 1977. Tourism multipliers: The state of the art. Bangor Occasional Papers in Economics. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Archer, B. and C. Cooper. 1994. The positive and negative impacts of tourism. In *Global tourism*, edited by W. Theobald. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Asian Institute of Tourism (AIT). 1997. The study on regional travel in the Philippines. Quezon, City, Philippines: AIT.

_____.1993. The study on regional travel in the Philippines . Quezon, City, Philippines: AIT.

Azarcon, P.1985. Filipinas for sale: An alternative report on women and tourism. Quezon City, Philippines: Philippine Women's Research Collective.

Belisle, F. and D. Hoy. 1980. The perceived impacts of tourism by resident. *Annals of Tourism Research* 7(1).

Chavez, R. 1999. Globalization and tourism: Deadly mix for indigenous peoples. *Tebtebba Magazine* 1(1):23-27.

Cohen, E. 1978. The impact of tourism in the physical environment. *Annals of Tourism Research* 5(2).

Cruz, R. 1998. *Principles of travel and tourism*. Quezon City: Asian Institute of Tourism.

Department of Tourism (DOT). 1995. The Cordillera tourism master plan. Manila: DOT.

_____. 1991. Tourism master plan of the Philippines. Manila: DOT.

_____. 2001. Cordillera tourism situationer. Baguio City: DOT-Cordillera Autonomous Region.

Doxey, G.V. 1975. A causation theory of visitor-resident irritants: Methodology and research inferences. Proceedings of the Sixth Travel and Tourism Research Association Conference, San Diego, California.

Dulnuan, J. and R. Mondiguing. 2000. Gender and tourism in the Cordillera. Masteral thesis. Quezon City: University of the Philippines.

Eviota, E. 1992. *The political economy of gender*. London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd.

Fairburn-Dunlop, P. 1994. Gender, culture and tourism development in Western Samoa. In *Tourism: A gender analysis*, edited by V. Kinnaird and D. Hall. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Kamuaro, O. 1996. Ecotourism: Suicide or development. *Voices from Africa: Sustainable Development* 6 (1).

Ling, C.Y. 1995. A rough deal: Golf displaces people. *Focus* 1 (Spring)

Liu, J. and T. Var. 1986. Resident attitudes towards tourism impacts in Hawaii. *Annals of Tourism Research* 13(2).

Long, V. and S. Kindon. 1997. Gender and tourism development in Balinese villages. In *Gender, work and tourism,* edited by M. Sinclair. London and New York: Routledge.

MacCannell, D. 1989. *The tourist: A new theory of the leisure class.* New York: Schockem Books.

Mananzan, S.M.J. 1991. *Essays on women.* Manila: Institute of Women's Studies, St. Scholastica's College.

Mathieson A. and G. Wall. 1982. *Tourism: economic, physical and social impacts.* New York: Longman.

McLaren, D. 1998. *Rethinking tourism and ecotravel.* West Hartford: Kumarian Press.

National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA). 1999. Cordillera regional development plan (1999-2004). Pasig City, Philippines: NEDA.

Pearce, D. 1989. *Tourist development.* 2nd edition. Harlow: Longman and New York: Wiley.

Pearce, P., G. Moscardo and G. Ross.1996. *Tourism community relationships.* Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd.

Pizam, A.1978. Tourism impacts: The social costs to the destination community as perceived by its residents. *Journal of Travel Research* 16(Spring).

Pleumarom, A. 2001. *Mekong tourism model or mockery? A case study on sustainable tourism.* Penang: Third World Network.

Chapter 6

Impact of Whalewatching on the Cetaceans and Coastal Populations in Bais City, Philippines

Florence C. Evacitas

Introduction

Whales and dolphins are marine mammals belonging to the order of cetaceans. They have been known to be present in Philippine waters for a long time (Tan 1997). Since the mid-18th century, these mammals have been hunted and killed for food and livelihood. They also face continued threats of incidental catch, habitat destruction, and growing competition for food supply. Although the status of most species is insufficiently known (Klinowska 1991), their distribution and migration route in the Indo-West Pacific makes the Philippines an important component of the world's effort to manage and conserve them.

In 1992 the Department of Agriculture issued Fisheries Administrative Order (FAO) 185, which bans the capture, trade, processing and exportation of dolphins in the country. This was later revised in 1997 to include whales and porpoises. Full implementation of this law and other related government policies requires a positive change in the attitude and behavior of the local folk toward the uses and values of cetaceans and their habitat. Such change requires incentives for the people, often in the form of alternative sources of income (McNeely 1988).

One program that may be of help is the establishment and development of whalewatching stations (DENR and UNEP 1997). Until 1993, very few people Filipinos realized the viability of whalewatching as an alternative source of livelihood to poaching. Through the efforts of Siliman University, the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR), Bookmark, and private volunteers, the first whalewatching expedition in the Visayan waters was launched (Libosada 1998). Studies conducted by Dolar and Perin (n.d.) showed that there were at least 19 species of dolphins and whales in the Philippines and the potential to develop whalewatching as an ecotourism activity was great.

Today there are two established areas in the Philippines where chances of sighting are high. One of these and, considered the most popular, is the Tañon Strait between the islands of Negros and Cebu (Figure 1). Whalewatching activities in the area are based in Bais City in Negros Oriental.

Statement of the problem

Bais City is among the first local government units (LGUs) in the Philippines to package watching dolphins and whales in the wild into a tourist attraction. Being a nonconsumptive resource and a promising source of economic opportunities, whalewatching seems an ideal choice of a management strategy for the cetaceans in Tañon Strait. However, the activity was established in 1996 without prior environmental impact assessment or baseline study which would have served as bases for monitoring and evaluation.

Although the increasing annual revenue from whalewatching in Bais is potentially financially viable, it does not indicate how effective whalewatching has been in promoting conservation and what its benefits are to the local community. As in most countries with established whalewatching industries, assessments usually focus on monetary returns. Hence, the ecological and socioeconomic implications of this form of tourism have yet to be understood.

The study assessed the impact of whalewatching on the cetaceans and coastal populations in Bais City. Following were its objectives:

1. To determine the changes in species diversity and population size of dolphins and whales in the watched area from 1992 to 1998;
2. To determine the impact of whalewatching on other fisheries in the area;

Figure 1. Vicinity map of Bais City, Negros Oriental
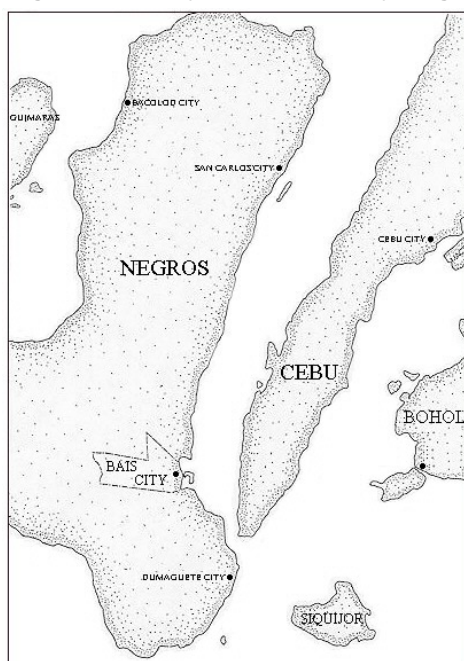
3. To ascertain the changes in the income and income disposition of coastal households and in the revenue of the local government following the establishment of whalewatching in the area; and
4. To assess how the perception of the local community toward cetaceans has changed as a result of the establishment of whalewatching in their coasts.

The established impact of whalewatching will not only confirm or refute its potentials as an ecotourism activity but will also lead to the identification of management gaps so improvements can be to any existing management scheme and tourism guidelines. The study also tried to analyze the implications of whalewatching on Philippine ecotourism.

Significance and limitations of the study

Most of the studies conducted on the cetacean species in the Philippines are focused on the population, distribution, reproduction, social organization, habit, and behavior of these species. Numerous accounts of these studies have been published (Dolar and Wood 1992; Leatherwood et al. 1992). With these reports also came the identification of ideal dolphin and whalewatching sites in the country.

In its biodiversity assessment and action plan (DENR and UNEP 1997), the DENR has identified the establishment of whalewatching stations in the Philippines as a high-priority project. One of its aims is to identify additional potential whalewatching sites to be developed as whalewatching stations. But before additional whalewatching stations can be established, the ecological and socioeconomic implications of whalewatching must first be assessed. Given the dearth of research on whalewatching and the management of dolphins and whales, the results of this study will be useful in formulating management guidelines appropriate to this form of tourism in the country. This is to ensure that the economic, social, and aesthetic needs of whalewatching sites are satisfied while maintaining essential ecological processes, biological diversity, and life support systems.

The study is limited in scope for the following reasons:

1. Much of the data used in this study were derived from secondary sources.
2. The study was conducted in 1999, or only three years after the establishment of whalewatching in the Philippines. Literature suggests that cetacean behavior may vary over time.
3. The study was conducted in only one coastal barangay—Capiñahan, Bais City has 13 barangays fronting its shoreline.

Review of literature

Cetaceans in the Philippines

The archipelagic nature of the Philippine islands and the proximity of the

islands to very deep waters have provided a great diversity of habitats for a good variety of marine organisms, including cetaceans (e.g., dolphins, whales, and porpoises). To date, 21 species of these marine mammals belonging to six families have been confirmed present in Philippine waters (Alava and Yaptinchay 1997; Libosada 1998; Tan 1997). These are the following:

1. Spinner dolphin (*Stenella longirostris*)
2. Pantropical spotted dolphin (*S. attenuata*)
3. Fraser's dolphin (*Lagenodelphis hosei*)
4. Bottlenose dolphin (*Tursiops truncatus*)
5. Risso's dolphin (*Grampus griseus*)
6. Short-finned pilot whale (*Globicephala macrohynchus*)
7. Melon-headed whale (*Peponocephala electra*)
8. Pygmy killer whale (*Feresa attenuata*)
9. Dwarf sperm whale (*Kogia simus*)
10. Pygmy sperm whale (*K. breviceps*)
11. Humpback whale (*Megastera novaeangliae*)
12. Minke whale (*Balaenoptera acutorostrata*)
13. Bryde's whale (*B. edeni*)
14. Rough-toothed dolphin (*Steno bredanensis*)
15. Striped dolphin (*Stenella coerulealba*)
16. False killer whale (*Psuedorca crassidens*)
17. Killer whale (*Ornicus orca*)
18. Blainville's beaked whale (*Mesoplodon densirostris*)
19. Sperm whale (*Physeter macrocephalus*)
20. Curvier's beaked whale (*Ziphius cavirastris*)
21. Finless porpoise (*Neophocaena phocaeroides*)

Recent surveys conducted by Aragones et al. (1998) confirmed that the first 10 species in the list above were present in Tañon Strait, which bounds the eastern side of Bais City. This high diversity of cetacean species in such a small area as Tañon Strait is both rare and unique (Aragones et al. 1998). The area reportedly has a very rich food supply for these species, such as squid, fish, and zooplankton. It is also believed to provide shelter during the southwestern and northeastern monsoons. These unique features were the primary considerations of DENR in declaring the area a Protected Seascape in May 1998 by virtue of Presidential Proclamation No. 1234, pursuant to Republic Act No. 7586, otherwise known as the National Integrated Protected Areas System Act.

Importance of protecting the cetaceans

The proclamation of Tañon Strait as a Protected Seascape and the formulation of specific policies such as FAO 185 and FAO 185-1 are clear indications

that the Philippines recognizes the need to protect cetacean populations from depletion.

Unlike fish and other marine species, cetaceans and all other marine mammals are very vulnerable to depletion because of their very low reproductive rates. They produce one young at a time after a gestation and nursing period that lasts for as long as four years. Most species mature sexually at ages six to 12 years. Hence, their population cannot withstand a mortality rate exceeding more than a few percent a year without a decline in population. For the same reason, a population takes a long time to recover. In cases of population depletion or extinction, the situation may be irreversible notwithstanding all efforts to restore it.

Perrin (1994) lists the following reasons why people should be concerned with the condition of cetaceans:

1. Cetaceans are part of the fishery resources by themselves. In countries like Japan, India, Sri Lanka, Norway, Spain, and the United States, some of these species are consumed as food. If they are driven to a point of extinction, the possibility of using them as food source is lost.

2. Cetaceans are part of natural systems that function in ways that humans are not fully aware of. In the eastern Pacific, for example, the population of tuna is bigger than it would otherwise have been if not for the species' symbiotic relationship with dolphins.

3. Cetaceans are valuable in tourism and education. In countries like Australia, Japan, and Mexico, whales and dolphins in the wild attract very large numbers of tourists who spend considerably for the chance to watch them, resulting in substantial economic benefits to the local economy. Whalewatching and similar activities are also opportunities for tourists to learn about the history and culture of the local community.

The fact remains that dolphins and whales are vulnerable to depletion and require better treatment and management than most other marine resources.

Whalewatching as a management strategy

Whalewatching is a worldwide industry accepted as a "sustainable use" of cetacean populations, compatible with Agenda 21 of the 1992 Rio de Janeiro United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (IFAW et al. 1997). It began as a commercial activity in 1955 in North America along the Southern California coast. As of 1995, more than five million people in 65 countries and overseas territories had engaged in whalewatching (Hoyt n.d.). Monetary returns are estimated at US $504 million per year and have nearly doubled since 1991 (IFAW et al. 1997).

At its best, whalewatching teaches people to appreciate whales and dolphins, facilitates research, contributes to the conservation of the animals, and helps ensure the economic security of local communities that protect the marine habitat. Whalewatching that is purely commercial is a wasted opportunity.

Components of quality whalewatching
A survey conducted by Hoyt (1998) among several whalewatching operators worldwide resulted in the identification of five important components of quality whalewatching. The most important of these is the presence of a good naturalist or nature guide. Ideally, the nature guide should be enthusiastic and personable, and can combine practical knowledge of cetaceans at sea with knowledge of marine species and ecology.

Quality whalewatching can be extremely valuable as form of recreation and learning experience. Learning takes place not only informally, that is, while one is whalewatching aboard a vessel, but also formally, that is in a formal setting where planners and operators alongside their clients educate themselves about ecotourism as it applies to whales, resulting in deeper environmental awareness (IFAW et al. 1997). The presence of scientists, who can act as naturalists, during whalewatching trips can help ensure responsible tour operations. In addition, when scientists are allowed to do research on board, the whalewatching visitor can learn much about whales.

Whalewatching is further enhanced by the presence of certain equipment and other items that can be used on the ship. These include hydrophones for listening to the sound of whales, binoculars, and guidebooks about whales. The provision of these devices is part of customer service and can boost a tourist's understanding of whales.

Whalewatching is enhanced by strict compliance with safety requirements, not least of which are those mandated by government. Minimum safety requirements include the use life jackets, lifeboats, and radio. Equally important is strict compliance with whalewatching guidelines or regulations that seek to ensure that whales are not disturbed. Despite the existence of these regulations, however, some areas remain unregulated, because either whalewatching is new or it has become highly commercial.

Impact of whalewatching
When whalewatching was introduced in the Philippines, many hoped that whales would be accorded ample protection to ensure at the very least their survival (Tan 1997). Among others, appropriate regulations were needed, without which whales could be easily endangered. Cliff-top watching, for example, of some species as they migrate or linger close to shore cannot harm them. Yet, a large number of boats approaching too closely, moving too quickly, or operating too noisily could interrupt their breeding and feeding patterns (IFAW et al. 1995).

Some species (e.g., Spinner and spotted dolphins) use shallow bays to rest during the day. Certain tourist development efforts, including dolphin-viewing trips, are considered a threat to the habitat of these species and may adversely affect resident populations, as in the case of the spinner dolphins off Brazil (Alava and Yaptinchay 1997). In addition, some species are reported to move away from the sound of boats, although some are found to habituate with humans. Frequent contacts with humans can make the wild unafraid. Thus, cetaceans may begin approaching every boat they see and unwittingly expose themselves to danger.

Inappropriate human activities, with and around them, may significantly change their behavior by disrupting their normal feeding and reproductive patterns. Feeding dolphins and whales has been shown to affect their ability to feed themselves in their natural habitat. This was what happened to the dolphins in Monkey Mia, Australia, where whalewatching is conducted from shore and includes feeding of animals. This brought about a host of problems: (a) substantial alteration of natural behavior, including foraging for food and migration; (b) the loss of wariness of humans, placing the animals at increased risk of injury or death due to interactions with vessels, gear, or intentional harm by those who consider them as pests; (c) unsuitable or contaminated food being fed to whales; and (d) increased injuries to humans due to the predictable increase in aggressive behavior of habituated animals.

Because the dolphins are being regularly handfed by the people from the shore, there was a noticeable change in their foraging behavior. The resulting long-term impact of this was an increased dolphin juvenile mortality. Juvenile dolphins have not been trained to forage, which makes it difficult for them to do so independently. There is reduced maternal investment in protecting juveniles from predators. Juvenile mortality rate could increase for a number of reasons linked to certain feeding practices. For example, feeding male dolphins allows them more time to harass the females, which could significantly inhibit the latter's ability to adequately take care of and train their young. Additionally, the greatly increased number of people drawn to the area cause environmental problems like overflowing sewage systems, which in turn could cause the transfer of pathogens to dolphins (IFAW et al. 1995).

In addition to its possible effects on whale and dolphin population and habitat, whalewatching, like other forms of tourism activities, could easily result in overcrowding, especially in areas accessible from already crowded metropolitan areas. This may in turn create changes in the socioeconomic and cultural patterns of the local communities, including ex-whaling communities, in both rich and poor countries.

A major concern confronting the conservation of marine mammals is their potential to affect fisheries. Some species are reported to damage fishing gear and feed on the captured fish. They also disturb schools of fish,

causing the fish to stop biting on the baits set by the fisherfolk. The fishermen attribute the decrease in their fish catch to the presence of whales or dolphins in their fishing sites.

An examination, however, of the stomach contents of the dolphins and whales in one area showed that not all of them feed on the fish varieties that were the fishermen's targets, the perception that they do remains. It behooves the host community to use the economic benefits of whalewatching to make conservation of cetaceans beneficial to the households comprising it. It must also be used to compensate those who may suffer loss from being denied resources that are rightfully theirs.

Conceptual framework

Whalewatching is an ecotourism activity accepted as a sustainable use of cetacean populations. Like other forms of ecotourism, it affects both the objects of the activity, the cetaceans, and the populations involved in doing it, specifically the residents of the area where the activity occurs. Effects on cetaceans include changes in population size and species diversity in the watched area. Frequent whalewatching trips and the presence of cetaceans that feed on fish also affect fisheries.

Whalewatching becomes a source of much-needed income both for the households and the local government. This in turn leads to improved income disposition among families and, it is hoped, better services for the community.

The residents' general perception of cetaceans changes as a result of whalewatching in their area. Such perception is a function of their knowledge of and attitude toward whales.

Whalewatching as a form of ecotourism requires management strategies to enhance or mitigate its effects on the cetaceans and the coastal inhabitants on which its sustainability depends. Figure 2 shows the various components of the ecotourism industry. It also shows that tourism and the environment need not be mutually exclusive, provided management is integrated.

Statement of hypotheses

The study considered the following hypotheses:

1. Whalewatching in Bais City significantly affects the population size and species diversity of the dolphins and whales in Tañon Strait.
2. Whalewatching in Bais City affects the catch levels of associated fisheries.
3. Whalewatching improves the household income and local government revenue in Bais City.
4. Whalewatching improves the perception of local residents toward the value of dolphins and whales.

Figure 2. Conceptual framework on the assessment of the impact of whale-watching on cetaceans and coastal populations in Bais City in Negros Oriental
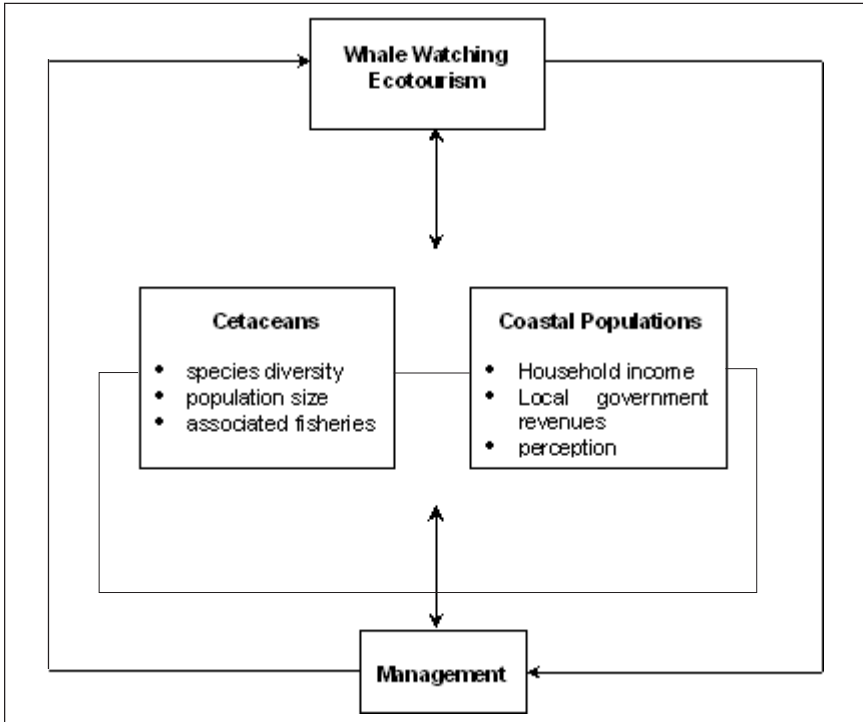
Methodology

Characterization of the whalewatching industry

Knowing the characteristics of the whalewatching industry in Bais City is key to understanding its impact on the environment. Secondary information such as monthly and annual tourist arrivals, visitors' origins, revenue, and future development plans of the city government on the said industry was obtained from the Bais City Tourism Office, the City Planning and Development Office, and available literature.

Tourist arrivals in 1997 and 1998 were compared to those of the preceding years. Average monthly arrivals for 1996 and 1998 were also determined. Data on the operation and conduct of whalewatching activities were obtained through semistructured interviews with boat operators, crew, and tour guides. The questions asked were intended to assess the different whalewatching activities that could have had significant impact on the cetacean species, associated fisheries, and the socioeconomic condition of the area.

Assessment of whalewatching impact

On cetaceans

Studies on the short- and long-term impacts of whalewatching on cetaceans ordinarily include experimental and observational studies of behavioral and physiological reactions to human presence such as changes in sound production, elevated heart rate, avoidance patterns, reproductive rate, recruitment, and mortality. These were not employed in this study due to time and cost constraints.

Assessment of the impact of whalewatching on the cetaceans is limited to a comparison of the species diversity data from the surveys conducted by Leatherwood et al. (1992) and Aragones et al. (1998). Published results of surveys indicate rough estimates of population size and therefore cannot be used in comparing the status of the different cetacean species. In this study reference was made to various case studies abroad on the impact of various anthropogenic activities on cetacean species and populations to determine possible long-term effects due to various human activities related to whalewatching.

On associated fisheries

Impact of whalewatching on associated fisheries may be determined by monitoring catch levels, shifts in fishing grounds, fishing effort, and changes in fishing gear used.

This study used secondary data on catch levels from the Participatory Coastal Resource Assessment (PCRA) conducted in 1996 in barangay Capiñahan. The data included a historical diagram of fish catch from 1975 to 1995. The fishing households interviewed for the socioeconomic and perception survey were also asked on the level of fish catch. The information obtained was used to assess the possible impact of the existence of whalewatching activities on the fishing activities and catch levels of the fisherfolk in the barangay.

On coastal populations

An initial survey was conducted in barangay Capiñahan—the base of the whalewatching activities in Bais City—to determine the number of households that were engaged in tour operations and fishing and those that were not . From this survey, the respondents to the survey proper were chosen based on a stratified sampling design to get a representative sample from each household group. A total of 125 households, or 41 percent of the total number of households in the barangay, were interviewed. These respondents were the primary source of information on the effects of whalewatching on the socioeconomic conditions of the community.

The survey was guided by an interview schedule (Appendix A). Data obtained related to the socioeconomic and demographic profile of the re-

spondents—including household income, income disposition, education educational attainment, household size, age structure, public services, and social amenities—before and during the establishment of the whalewatching tourism. Frequency analysis was used to compare the different household groups in terms of demographic characteristics. Analysis of variance, or ANOVA, was used to determine if there was a significant difference in the socioeconomic conditions among different household groups by comparing household income and income disposition. Social services before and after the establishment of the whalewatching tourism were also compared.

The same sets of respondents were asked to answer a 30-item questionnaire to assess their perception (20 items) and attitude (10 items) toward the resource and relevant issues by using a five-point Likert scale for the response format. Perception items were classified according to: (1) the existence of the cetaceans in the area; (2) the practices and activities affecting dolphins and whales; (3) the effects of the presence of whales on other marine resources; (4) the economic benefits of whalewatching; (5) the sociocultural effects of whalewatching; and (6) the operation of whalewatching. Attitude items were grouped into the following categories: (1) attitude toward the practices affecting dolphins and whales, (2) attitude toward other marine resources, (3) attitude toward the economic effects of whalewatching, and (4) attitude toward the conduct of whalewatching.

The data collected from the survey were processed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences software (Norusis 1993). Multivariate tests were applied to determine whether significant differences existed in the perception and attitude by respondent type and independent variables. Correlation analysis was done to determine the relationships between respondents' perception and attitude scores.

Results and discussion

Bais City is one of the three cities in Negros Oriental, the others being Dumaguete and Canlaon, and one of the LGUs bordering the Bais Bay. The city is located 45 km north of Dumaguete City and lies southwest of the province of Cebu (Figure 1). It is accessible by land from the cities of Dumaguete and Bacolod, which are the two major seaports and airports on the island of Negros.

The city has a land area of 31,690 hectares, 60 percent of which is agricultural land, 30 percent grassland or shrub land, 3.9 percent forestland, 3.3 percent wetland, and 2.5 percent built-up areas. The city consists of 27 barangays, 13 of which are located along the coast.

Recognizing the potential tourist attraction of its coastal area, the city, through the Tourism Operation Unit of the Mayor's Office, established a Marine Ecological Appreciation Tour in 1996. Operation of the tourism activities is based in barangay Capiñahan, a coastal barangay located 123°9.2 E

and 9°34.5 N, 4 km east of the city. It is one of three barangays comprising the Dewey Island, which separates the North from the South Bais Bay (Figure 3).

Capiñahan has a land area of 64 hectares, or only 0.2 percent of the city's total land area. In terms of coastal resources, the 1996 PCRA results showed that mangrove cover was estimated at 6.65 ha and classified as good with a variety of invertebrates, fish, and avian species. Sea grass cover is estimated at 63.5 percent, with a variety of invertebrates. Coral reef condition was assessed as low to poor (24.5 percent) with live hard corals at 16 percent and live soft corals at only 8.5 percent. Ten cetacean species belonging to two families were also listed.

Whalewatching tourism profile

With the diversity of marine life in the coastal and offshore areas, the site has become an ideal base for the Marine Ecological Appreciation Tour. The tour, which features dolphin and whale watching as its main attraction, also includes a trip to the 7-km sandbar in the North Bais Bay and a visit to the 200-ha protected mangrove forest in the South Bais Bay. It officially started operating in April 1996 using with a government-owned pump boat *Dolphin I*. A smaller pump boat, *Dolphin II*, was added in June of the same year. Privately owned pump boats later came into operations. At present, there are five fully operational boats, three of which *Vania I, Vania II* and *Horizon,* are privately owned (Table 1). There are also two other seasonal private operators but none of the operators hold exclusive operating rights. Based on an interview with the tourism officer of the city, anybody can invest or operate in the area provided he or she registers the vessel with the Maritime Industry Authority.

Operation of all whalewatching vessels is based in the new Hindungawan Wharf located in Capiñahan (Figure 4). The wharf, together with other tourism support facilities such as the Tourism Extension Office, the Bahia de Bais Restaurant located on the wharf, and the Bahia de Bais Hotel located in the same barangay, is owned by the city government. Also located on the wharf is the Coast Guard Detachment, which monitors the compliance of the vessels with the Philippine maritime regulations. The wharf also serves as a docking area for cargo boats and private yachts.

The Tourism Extension Office coordinates all whalewatching activities from reservations to scheduling and conduct of trips. It is responsible for vessel assignment , giving priority to *Dolphins I* and *II*. The office also monitors and records tourists joining the ecological tour on monthly and yearly bases. It is open daily and is manned by one tourism personnel who also serves as the tour guide of *Dolphin I*.

In addition to the tour guide, *Dolphin I* is operated by a boat captain, one mechanic, and two boatmen/spotters. *Dolphin II* and the three other vessels are each operated by one boat captain, one boatman/spotter, and one more crew who is either a mechanic or a tour guide or an additional boatman/

Figure 3. Map of Bais City showing barangay Capiñahan (Scale: 1 : 120,000)
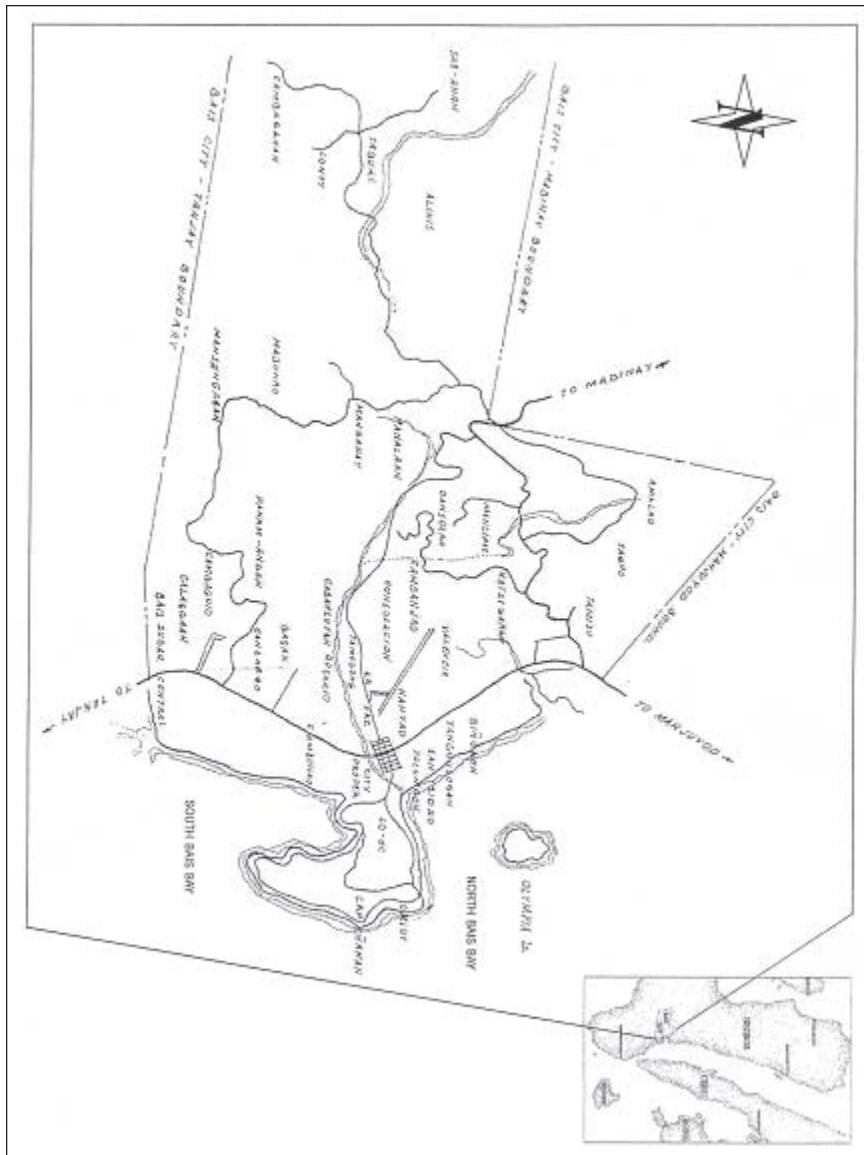
spotter. In the absence of a guide, either of the boatmen/spotters will also act as one. With the exception of the crew of the *Horizon*, all are employed by the city government and receive a daily wage of P136 to P215, depending on the nature of the job, that is whether the person works as a boatman or the captain.

Figure 4. Map of Barangay Capiñahan showing the location of the Hindungaan wharf and other government-owned facilities in the barangay
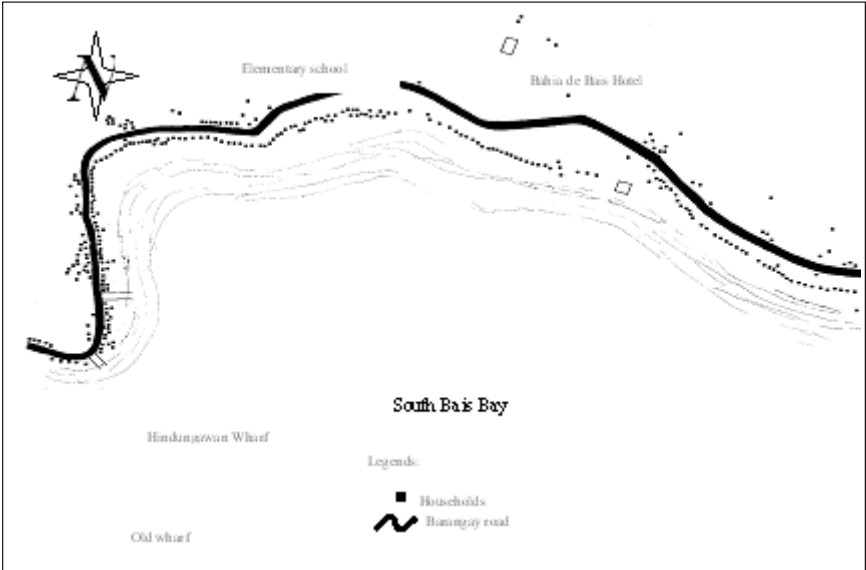
Source: Baldemero Garzon, Barangay Secretary

Table 1. Relevant information on the five regular operating vessels in the whalewatching industry in Bais City

	Dolphin I	Dolphin II	Vania I	Vania II	Horizon
Operator	City LGU	City LGU	Villanueva	Villanueva	Not known
Engine	135 HP	85 HP	85 HP	175 HP	85 HP
Capacity (max)	30 ind.	15 ind.	15 ind.	30 ind.	20 ind.
Cost per trip	P3,500	P2,500	P2,500	P3,500	P3,500
No. of boatmen	5	3	3	3	3
Communication facility	Two-way radio	Two-way radio	Two-way radio	Two-way radio	Two-way radio
Safety facility	Life vest	Life vest	Life vest	Life vest	Life vest

Tours are conducted daily, depending on the weather and tourist demand. According to the crew and captain interviewed, trips are most frequent during summer months starting April until August in time with the southwest monsoon (*Habagat*). During these months the seas are calm and the waves are small and low. Frequency of trips is relatively low during the northeastern monsoon, especially in January, when winds are strong and the sea is rough. Under such conditions, the boat operators and captains usually

refuse to conduct tours for safety reasons and low chances of sighting. During this slack in tourism activities, the boatmen engage in boat maintenance.

These observations jibe with the monthly record of visitors participating in the ecotour. In 1998, for example, the greatest number of visitors came in May and the least in November, December, and February, with practically none in January (Figure 5). Visitors who joined the whalewatching trips in 1998 totaled 4,935, representing a 51 percent and 88 percent increase over 1997 and 1996, respectively. Figure 6 shows the number of visiting domestic and foreign whale watchers from 1996 to 1998. The office of the City Tourism Operation Unit attributes the increase in the number of visitors to active participation in travel fairs and festivals in the neighboring cities of Bacolod and Cebu.

Figure 5. Number of whalewatching visitors in Bais City, by month (1998)
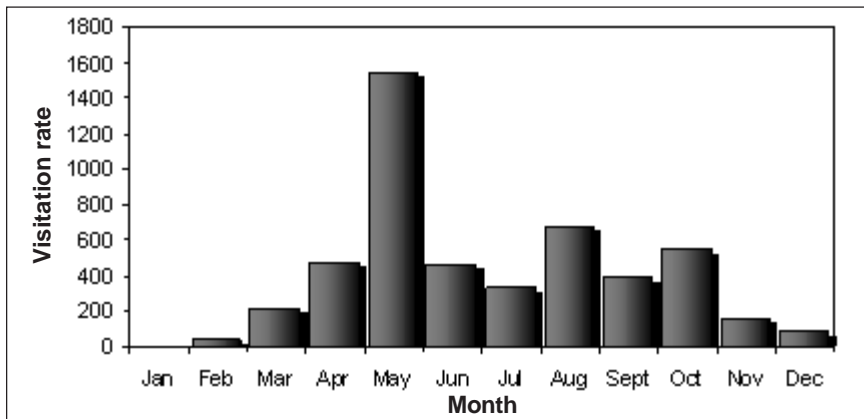
According to the crew, weekends are the busiest, with all five pumpboats rented out, especially during the peak season. Based on the 134 paid trips recorded in 1996, the number of visits per month, and the capacity of each boat, the average number of trips during peak season is estimated at one to two daily per day, and two to three every 15 days during the lean season. These figures must have changed with the increase in the number of visits in the succeeding years, as shown in Figure 6. Unfortunately, there are no data in the revenue and number of paid trips for 1997 and 1998. Still, an attempt was made to estimate the number of trips and the total annual revenue based on 1996 data and the annual number of tourists.

Assuming that the cost per trip is constant for three years at P2,500 for the 15-seater boats (i.e., *Dolphin II, Vania I,* and *Horizon*) and P3,500 for the 20-seater boats (i.e., *Dolphin I* and *Vania II*), and given that the annual revenue in 1996 was at P259,100 from the 134 paid trips, the total revenue for 1997 would amount to about P322,908 based on an estimated 167 trips; and P487,263 for 1998 from 252 paid trips.

Figure 6. Number of visiting domestic and foreign whale watchers in Bais City 1996-1998
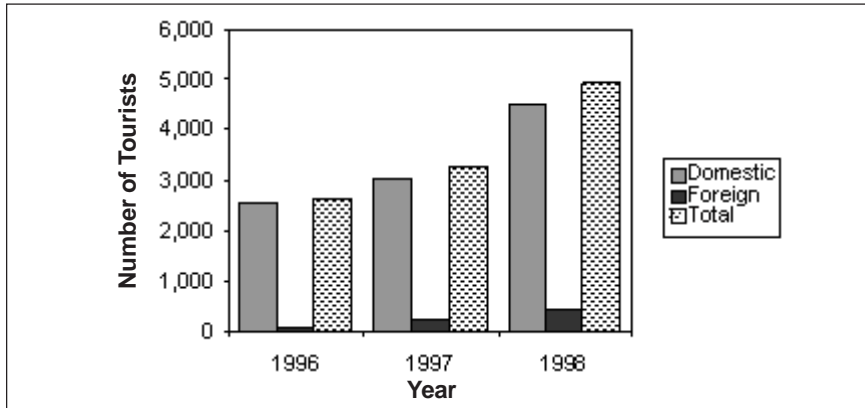
These figures provide rough estimates of the actual figures since there were 19 to 20 tourists per paid trip. In reality, only two of the operating vessels can accommodate a maximum of 20 passengers each while the other three smaller boats can serve only a maximum of 15 passengers per boat per trip. In addition, the computation did not consider the special rates (50 percent of the regular rate) given to students and in cases of failure to sight whales. Hence, the actual total revenue and number of trips could be higher or lower than the computed estimates. In addition, since fees were charged per boat trip regardless of the number of passengers per trip, it could be that the estimated number of trips based on the number of visitors was not highly reliable.

The work of Abrenica and Calumpong (2000) shows a decrease in the number of visitors from the 4,935 recorded in 1998 to 3,541 recorded from April 1999 to March 2000. Yet, the industry generated a total of P504,000 during this period, 53.4 percent (P269,151) of which went to the local government and 46.6 percent (P234,864) to the private sector. According to the barangay captain of Capiñahan, the barangay receives 10 percent of the income from the tourism activities. It was not clear, however, if this figure was based on the gross income or the revenue of the local government. If it is based on the former, then the 53.3 percent that goes to the local government is shared by the city and the barangay (Figure 7a). If it is based on the latter, then the barangay receives 5.34 percent of the gross amount and the city 48.06 percent (Figure 7b). In both cases, the private sector is assured of a 46.6 percent share.

Figure 7. Income derived from whalewatching (based on specific schemes)
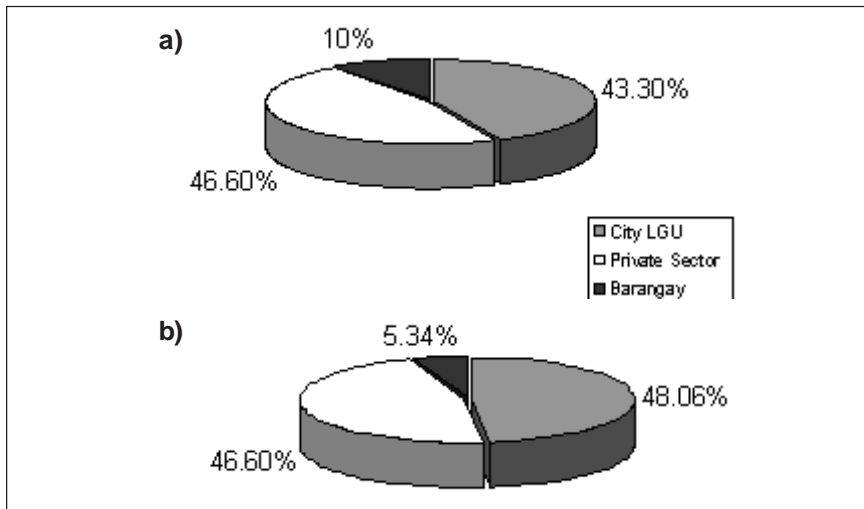
Notes: (a) The barangay receives 10% of the gross income;
(b) the barangay receives 10% of what the city government receives.

Assessing the whalewatching activities based on the components identi-fied by IFAW et al. (1997), interviews with the respondents yielded the fol-lowing observations made and information gathered from the respondents.

Absence of a trained naturalist or nature guide
Only *Dolphin I* has a regular tour guide. Boat crews were mostly (66 percent) fisherfolk prior to their employment by the tourism office and are therefore familiar with the cetacean species there. However, mean perception scores of boat operators/crew/captain on the effects of unregulated practices on the cetacean species, particularly on feeding and touching of the cetacean spe-cies, and on the effects of boat noise on the feeding and reproductive habits of the species, are relatively low (1.70 and 2.10, respectively, in the range of 1 to 5). This is reflective of certain misconceptions on, or lack of awareness among the crew of, some very relevant issues on whalewatching. Such percep-tions could be passed on to the average tourists.

In an interview conducted among the crew/captains of the different boats, it was learned that they received training or orientation from the city tourism officer when they were first employed by the city government. Mini-mum requirements for employment were skills in handling a motorized boat and swimming. None of those interviewed from this particular sector said

they were engaged in hunting or poaching of whales and dolphins prior to their employment by the city government.

Presence of the coast guard detachment in the wharf
Operators observe strictly the passenger capacity of their vessels. They do not operate during bad weather. All five boats have radio and life vests, which are two of three minimum requirements for safety set by IFAW et al. (1997), the third being a lifeboat. The crew, however, do not require passengers to wear life vests during the tour, saying the matter was up to them.

Absence of a code of conduct
When asked if they follow certain codes of conduct or rules and regulations in the operation of the tours, the respondents, including the crew of the same boat, had different answers. For the common do's and don'ts, five out of nine respondents said that clapping of hands and shouting are allowed near packs of dolphins and whales, as the animals respond actively to such noises. One of the five respondents, however, said that allowing such activities on board depends on the species sighted. Pilot whales, for example, are bothered by the sound while spinner dolphins become more acrobatic in response to the noise. Two of the nine respondents said they allow feeding; another two said they allow tourists to touch the cetaceans if they are brave enough to do so while three respondents said they just let their passengers watch the cetaceans.

Falling under the list of don'ts are swimming with dolphins, which is a common answer among all respondents, and shouting when around the more sensitive species. Agitated movements on board the vessels are also kept at a minimum for safety reasons. When asked on who informs the tourists of these code of conduct, respondents replied that they do it themselves. Other questions asked were in line with the manner of conducting the trip with and around the cetacean species. Usually, boats leave the bay and ply the Tañon Strait at a speed of 7 to 10 knots. When approaching a pod of cetaceans, they decelerate at the speed of 0.5 to 2 knots, and approach is made parallel to the direction of the cetaceans. Five of the respondents said they pursue the dolphins and whales even if they show signs of avoidance, that is, they move at a different direction from the boat. This does not apply to the spinner dolphins that approach the boat themselves. The rest of the respondents said they would look for other groups on such occasions. Approach is made up to a distance of 1 meter or shorter. Viewing time depends on the passengers.

During peak season, all five boats can approach the dolphins and whales at the same time. On the contrary, three respondents said that boats can approach the cetaceans one at a time as some species are bothered by the sound of so many boats and thus show signs of avoidance and evasion. When all five boats are in the same area to watch a group of whales or dolphins, they usually maintain a distance of less than 2 to 200 meters from each boat.

Absence of whalewatching equipment and field guides

Equipment such as camera, binoculars, and hydrophones, and field guides to enhance the whalewatching experience of the visitors are not provided during the trips. Visitors have to bring their own equipment and materials.

Impacts of whalewatching activities on cetaceans

Animals react in various ways to noise and other indications of human presence. They either change their behavior or physiology or response to human presence in the short or long term, or they ignore such presence. An apparent lack of response to human presence may indicate no effect due usually to habituation in which the animal no longer reacts to stimulus. Alternatively, it may indicate tolerance, a condition in which the animal may be stressed physiologically but tolerates the stimulus anyway simply because the area is important for other activities, such as foraging, or because the animal is unable or unwilling to show an avoidance reaction (IFAW et al. 1995).

Although it is more difficult to measure reactions in cetaceans than in terrestrial mammals, observational studies and anecdotal reports indicate that cetaceans may react to a variety of disturbances related to whalewatching and other human activities. The most important goal of researchers has been to find links between short-term behavioral and physiological reactions and the potential for long-term changes due to human actions. If reproductive success is reduced, physical condition compromised, or distribution affected drastically, then one can assume that whatever caused the change was a negative influence on the dolphins and whales. Repeated changes on short-term behavior or physiology could result in stress, with the potential for declined health or long-term shifts away from important areas of habitat. Thus, population may change and species composition may vary over time.

The case of Monkey Mia, Australia (IFAW et al. 1995), for example, has demonstrated a clear causal link between human activities (i.e., hand feeding of dolphins), and a long-term impact on the dolphin population (reduced recruitment). Due to the regular hand feeding by people from the shore, there has been a change in the foraging behavior of dolphins. As cited in an earlier section of this paper, males have more time to harass the females, which may have significantly inhibited the latter's ability to adequately take care of and train their young. Juvenile dolphins are less able to forage independently. There is also reduced maternal investment to protect them from predators, resulting in increased juvenile mortality.

In lieu of comparing population sizes before and after the establishment of whalewatching to assess impacts on the cetaceans in Tañon Strait, this study examined the different whalewatching activities in Bais, as characterized in the previous section, for their potential impact on the same. The answers of the whalewatching crew and boat captains show that they either do not comply strictly with regulations or they are not aware of such regulations.

Allowing or encouraging tourists, for example, to feed the cetaceans would have short-term and long-term negative impacts on the organisms, as shown in the case study in Monkey Mia, Australia. Clapping of hands and shouting may not cause a significant disturbance among dolphins and whales as refraction at the air-water interface disperses the sound and transmission into water is considerably reduced, as it is mostly reflected from the sea's surface. Noise from above the water surface is not generally a problem for whales and dolphins, provided the source, like an aircraft, is not directly or within an inverted 13° cone above the animals (Baxter and Donoghue undated). Reactions may differ among species and, as observed by the tour guides and crew in Bais, some species like the pilot whales are more sensitive to human sounds.

Sounds coming from the vessels should be treated differently, as noise can travel considerable distances underwater and whales and dolphins will be aware of an approaching boat from a long distance away. Noise generated from tourist boats should not be significantly different from the background ambient noise or from the levels that cetaceans normally have to cope with (Baxter and Donoghue undated).

Anecdotal reports of the crew and boat captains indicate that the dolphins, particularly the spinner dolphins, are not disturbed by the sound of the vessels, especially with those regularly operating in the area for whalewatching. According to them, the dolphins are drawn instead by the familiar sounds of the vessels.

Studies of terrestrial animals (Schultz and Bailey 1978; MacArthur et al. 1982) have shown that wild mammals often habituate to a variety of background human activities that are steady and predictable. Disturbance response patterns of wild mammals may, however, vary from species to species. Hence, the observation that some species are drawn by the sound of the vessels while others show avoidance to the same. On the other hand, wild mammals are less likely to habituate to disturbance involving close approaches and pursuit, or to unusual unpredictable events (Mainini et al. 1993). These general observations should be taken into account in regulating the whalewatching activities in Bais and anywhere else in the country.

In terms of impact of the whalewatching activities on species diversity of the cetaceans, there is no recorded evidence to indicate significant change in the species composition in the area. The survey conducted in 1992 by Leatherwood et al. (1992) recorded nine identified and one unidentified species of cetaceans off Tañon Strait. Survey conducted by Aragones et al. (1998) between 1997 and 1998 in the same area confirmed 10 species of these marine mammals (Table 2). With the exception of the melon-headed and the pygmy sperm whales that are not listed in the former survey and the beaked whale, which is not listed in the latter survey, all species identified have been present since the earlier surveys. Even the reportedly sensitive pilot whale is still sighted in the area to date. Species diversity, however, should be closely monitored through the years.

**Table 2. Cetacean species found in Tañon Strait in 1992 and 1998**

1992	1998
Spinner dolphin	Spinner dolphin
Pantropical spotted dolphin	Pantropical spotted dolphin
Fraser's dolphin	Fraser's dolphin
Risso's dolphin	Risso's dolphin
Short finned pilot whale	Short finned pilot whale
Pygmy killer whale	Pygmy killer whale
Dwarf sperm whale	Dwarf sperm whale
Beaked whale	Melon-headed whale
Unidentified species	Pygmy sperm whale

Impact of whalewatching on associated fisheries
Since fishing is the major source of income in the local community and given the perceived conflict between marine mammal conservation and the status of fisheries that exist in other countries, the situation of the local fisheries in relation to the existence of the whalewatching tourism industry in Capiñahan is worth looking into.

The trend diagram made during the PCRA in 1996 defined the average fish catch per unit effort per fisherfolk from 1975 to 1995 (Figure 8). The fisherfolk attribute the decline in fish catch to illegal and destructive fishing methods employed by some of the local fisherfolk (Barangay Capiñahan Three-Year Coastal Management Plan 2001) and the increase in the number of fishing individuals. Further, the trend diagram projected an increase in fish catch to 5 kg in 2000 from 3 kg in 1995. This projection is based on the plan to set up fish cages to be managed by a fishing cooperative in 1997 and the implementation of coastal resource management methods such as mangrove reforestation and pollution/waste management. However, the fish cages, although started in 1997, did not continue operating due to emerging conflicts among the cooperative members. Interviews among fisherfolk revealed that in 1999, the average fish catch per unit effort per fisherfolk still stood at 3 kg (ranging from 0 to 7 kg).

For this study to assess the possible conflict between the existence of whales and dolphins and the local fisheries, fisherfolk were asked about observed patterns in fish catch in relation to the abundance of cetaceans in the Tañon Strait. The various answers were given were relative to the location of their fishing ground. For those who fish within the bay area and use nonmotorized boats and gillnets, the volume of their fish catch is not affected in any way by the presence or absence of dolphins and whales in the deeper parts of the strait nor by the whalewatching activities. Those who fish outside the bay (i.e., in the deeper parts of the strait), on the other hand, have ob-

Figure 8. Catch per unit effort in barangay Capiñahan (1975-2000)
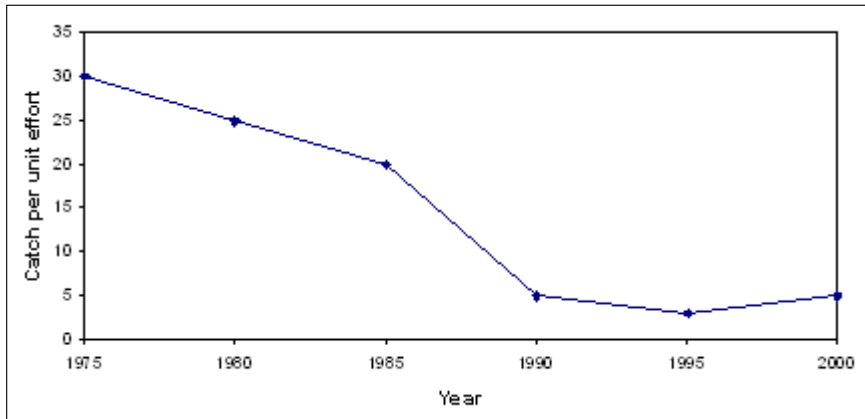
Source: PCRA 1996

served that some species of dolphins actively feed on the fish caught by their hook, particularly the "galonggong" (*Decapterus* sp.), which appears to be the favorite diet of dolphins. The fisherfolk do not consider this as cause for concern since not all of their target fish are not consumed by the dolphins unless their number increase significantly in the area.

The fisherfolk who use fish corrals near the wharf claim to be the most affected by the presence of cetaceans in the strait. According to them, although the dolphins and whales never enter the bay area unless they become weak or disoriented, whalewatching tourism has caused them problems. These include damages to their fish corrals caused by the vessels used in whalewatching. Water has become turbid due to constant vessel operations and waste oil coming from the vessels has driven the fish away from the area. Consequently, the volume of fish catch has declined since whalewatching began in their area.

The season during which the catch level of the majority of the fisherfolk interviewed is highest—that is, from March to June—coincides with the peak season of tourism. Yet, the increased arrival of tourists during these months does not create a corresponding increase in the demand for fishery products. The fishermen said the higher catch level during this season is due to favorable weather that allows them to catch more fish. This observation implies that the presence of the dolphins in the strait has no direct effect on the fishery resource as fish catch per unit effort is also highest during the months when the cetaceans are most frequently seen in the strait.

Impact of whalewatching on the coastal populations
Socioeconomic conditions in Barangay Capiñahan

As of 1997, Capiñahan had a population of 1,376 individuals (2.12 percent of Bais City's population). This represented a 4.2 percent increase from the projected 1,318 individuals in 1995 based on a 1.8-percent annual growth rate from 1990. The number of households also increased from 274 in 1995 to 346 in 1997. When this study was conducted in 1999, there were only 306 households recorded (Table 3) or a 13 percent decrease from 1997. Average household size from 1995 to 1999 was at five.

Table 3. Demographic profile of Capiñahan, 1995-1999

	1995	1997	1999
Population	1,318*	1,376	(no data)
Number of households	274	346	306
Average household size	5	5	5

* *Projected*

Out of the 306 households recorded in 1999, 110 were engaged in fishing, 166 were either employed in government offices or private firms or engaged in entrepreneurial activities, 10 were in the whalewatching ecotourism, and 20 were not classified. The interview conducted covered 43 percent of the fishing households, 41 percent of the nonfishing/nontourism households, and all of the tourism-related households. Table 4 lists the characteristics of the majority of the respondents from the three household groups while Appendix Table 1 lists the sociodemographic characteristics of all respondents to the study.

Table 4. Sociodemographic characteristics of the majority of the respondents from each household type

Respondent Characteristics	Fishing	Nonfishing/ Nontourism	Tourism
Age	< 60	< 60	30-40
Gender	Male	Female	All male
Educational attainment	Elementary	Elementary/high school	Elementary–college
Civil status	Married	Married	Married
Average household size	5	5	5
Daily household income	≤ P150	≤ P200	≤ P200

More than 80 percent of those interviewed from the fishing households were males, below 60 years old, and married. Seventy-four percent reached elementary education while the remaining 26 percent either reached high school or college, or had never gone through formal education. Average household size was five and daily household income ranged from zero to more than P250, depending on the fish catch; 64 percent of the households were earning P51 to P150 per day. Sixty-five percent of these households spent more than 75 percent of their income on food and the remaining, 25 percent or less, on shelter, clothing, education, health care, and vices. Most said they did not have enough money to spend for recreation.

Sixty percent of those interviewed from the nonfishing/nontourism-related households were females, more than 80 percent were below 60 years old, married, and either reached or finished elementary or high school education. Average household size was also five. Daily household income ranged from none to P150. Similar to the fishing households, the majority (62 percent) of these households spent more than 75 percent of their income on food and the remainder on clothing, education, shelter, health care, minor vices, and sometimes recreational activities.

Respondents from households engaged in tourism were all males; 70 percent were in their 30s or 40s, with educational attainments ranging from elementary to college. Most were married, with an average five household members. Household income ranged from P100 to more than P250 daily. Only 40 percent of the respondents spent more than 75 percent of their income on food. The other 60 percent of the respondents spent less than 75 percent of their income on food and the remaining 25 percent or more on shelter, education, health care, clothing, and minor vices. More respondents spent for recreational activities compared to other household groups.

All of the fishing households could only afford to send their children to public schools either in the barangay (for elementary education) or in the city (for high school education). Only about 25 percent of the nonfishing households and the tourism-related households could send their children to private schools in the city.

Based on the records of the barangay for 1997-1998, 75 percent of the residents in Capiñahan were landowners while the rest were renting land. Fifty percent of the houses were made of light materials and the rest of concrete and iron. Ninety percent of the households had electrical power supply and the majority had level-three water supply. Expenses for shelter for most of the respondents from the different household groups included repair or renovation of existing structures and payment for electricity and water bills.

Health care-related expenses covered purchase of generic medicines, as most of the respondents did not avail themselves of the health services from the barangay health center, where medicines were seldom available. A

common practice among the respondents was consulting physicians only when ailment was already severe. The prevalent disease among adults was tuberculosis while pneumonia, H-fever, and gastroenteritis were common among children. Only 10 percent of the respondents, usually with higher daily household income, consulted medical or dental doctors on a regular basis.

Most respondents from all household groups seldom bought clothes in a year. If ever they did, they usually bought from the local stores selling relief goods. Those with higher income bought their clothes from stores in Dumaguete City almost at the same frequency.

Although income was low and sometimes not enough to feed the entire family daily, the respondents said they still set aside a portion of their income for vices like smoking, drinking, and gambling. They said these were not luxuries but mere diversions that they engaged in after a hard day's work.

Recreational activities among the respondents included going to the beach and playing basketball in the barangay court. Only those who were either barangay officials or public school teachers have took part in whalewatching tours. None of those interviewed from fishing households had ever gone whalewatching through the tourism office. They were discouraged by the coast guards to conduct the activity on their own as it was risky and against maritime regulations.

A comparison of household incomes showed no significant differences among household groups. In terms of income disposition, both fishing and nonfishing/nontourism-related households spent most, if not all, of their income on food and other basic needs. Those employed or engaged in the tourism industry, on the other hand, spent significantly ($P < 0.05$) less for food and other basic necessities than the other two household groups. Moreover, they spent significantly ($P < 0.05$) higher for recreational activities than the other two groups. According to Engel's principle, the greater the percentage of income spent on food and basic needs, the poorer the household is. This, therefore, means that the fishing and nonfishing/nontourism-related households were relatively poorer compared to those engaged in tourism activities.

If the tourism industry has not contributed to the improvement of the standard of living in the barangay, what then are its benefits to the local community? According to the barangay captain, the barangay receives 10 percent of the annual revenue of the industry while the rest goes to the operator or to the city government. This additional revenue for the barangay is expected to be used for the provision of better social services and facilities.

When asked if there had been significant improvements in the economic condition of the barangay since the whalewatching industry began in their area, most of the fisherfolk said no, not even with the advent of whalewatching ecotourism. The nonfishing/nontourism-related households

expressed the same view. The social services and facilities of the barangay, for example, had remained the same. In fact, the local community did not even have its own barangay hall. The 3-km barangay road was still in poor condition. The elementary school had not had any improvements since it was built during the Marcos administration. The health center still did not have adequate supply of medicines for the community. Water supply remained inadequate and could even worsen, according to the respondents, once the planned construction of an additional swimming pool in the Bahia de Bais Hotel finally pushed through. The respondents said the amount of water needed to fill the pool would deprive them of what little was left of the available water supply. The only significant changes in the barangay, according to the respondents, were the tourism facilities.

The respondents were unaware of the revenue share of their barangay from the whalewatching industry. When asked if they would be happy with a 10 percent share, some said yes provided it would be utilized properly and translate into improvements of the social services in the barangay. Others said it was too small, considering the perceived exploitation of their barangay in view of the whalewatching operations taking place there. Thus, the share should at least be 15 percent, they said.

The only benefit that the community had been able to derive from whalewatching, added the respondents, what that their barangay became known as a whalewatching site in Bais. Others, however, felt that such popularity was misplaced, since the dolphins and whales were not really found in Bais Bay but in the deeper parts of Tañon Strait, an area shared by several other municipalities in Negros and Cebu. Whalewatching, they said, was best done off the coastal waters of Malabuyoc, Cebu, during certain times of the year, and in Manjuyod, Negros Oriental, not in Bais. Since the boats still had to get out of the bay area, it took longer for whalewatchers to find dolphins and whales if the take off point is Bais.

Community perceptions and attitudes
An assessment of perceptions among different household groups of the existence of the cetaceans in the Tañon Strait, the practices and activities affecting cetaceans, the effects of the presence of cetaceans on associated fisheries, the economic benefits of whalewatching, and the sociocultural effects of whalewatching ecotourism revealed that respondents from tourism-related households had relatively higher mean scores than those from the fishing and nonfishing/nontourism households (Figure 9).

Perception scores, however, are not significantly different among household groups. Figure 9 also shows that, in general, respondents had low mean scores relating to the items on the impact of human activities on cetaceans. Results of correlation analysis showed that these perception scores were significantly correlated ($P < 0.05$) with the level of education of the respon-

dents. The mean perception scores on the economic benefits of whalewatching, on the other hand, were significantly correlated ($P < 0.05$) with the household income of the respondents.

Figure 9. Mean perception scores of the different household groups
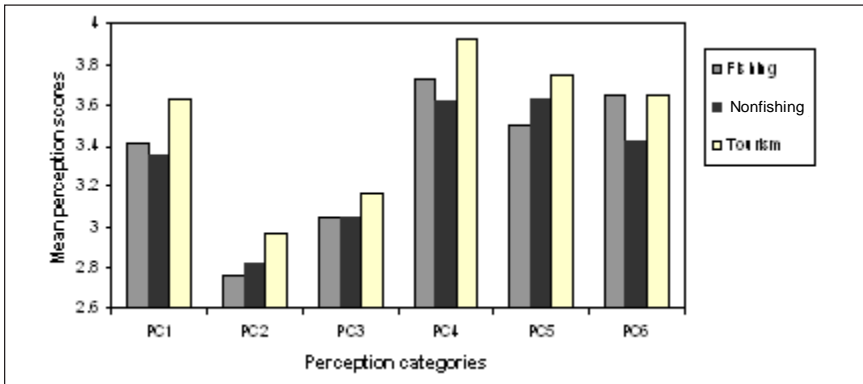
Notes:
PC1 = perception on the existence of the resources in the area
PC2 = perception on practices and activities affecting dolphins and whales
PC3 = perception on the effects of presence of whales on associated fisheries
PC4 = perception on the economic benefits of whalewatching
PC5 = perception on sociocultural effects of whalewatching ecotourism
PC6 = perception on the operation of whalewatching

The high perception scores on the economic benefits of whalewatching reflect the community's belief that conserving the dolphins will generate more economic benefits than hunting them. The low perception scores among households on the effects of human activities on cetaceans and the effects of cetaceans on associated fisheries despite the existence of the whalewatching industry in the locality show a need to actively educate the community and to get them more involved in activities relating to whalewatching ecotourism.

The mean attitude scores among tourism-related households are relatively higher than those of the two other types of households except for the attitude cluster on whalewatching (Figure 10). The mean score of tourism-related households for attitude items pertaining to practices affecting dolphins and whales (AC1) is significantly higher ($P < 0.05$) than the two other households. The same household group has a significantly lower ($P < 0.05$) mean attitude score on whalewatching operations. This means that those involved in tourism activities do not agree that the fisherfolk should be allowed to conduct whalewatching tours for reasons of safety. They also do not believe that whalewatching can be more effectively managed by the community.

Figure 10. Mean attitude scores of different household groups
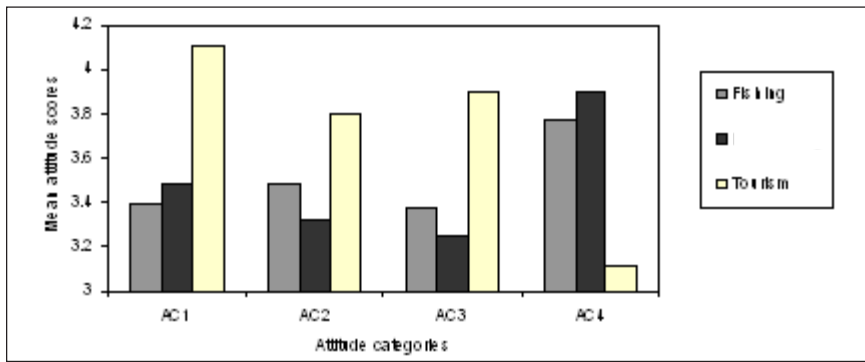
Notes:
AC1 = attitude toward practices affecting whales and dolphins
AC2 = attitude toward other marine resources
AC3 = attitude toward economic effects of whalewatching
AC4 = attitude toward operation of whalewatching

No significant correlation exists between attitude items and the sociodemographic variables. Significant ($P < 0.05$) correlation, however, exists between attitude items on the economic benefits of whalewatching and the perception items in the same category.

Results of interviews also revealed that fishing and nonfishing/nontourism households believed that tourism households were earning more than they were. Although they, too, wanted to be employed in whalewatching tourism, they felt that politics was getting in the way of their getting hired. When told, however, the tourism industry had a limited need for crew, the respondents suggested that a rotation system be followed so that the majority of the community members could be employed. As an alternative, the proposed that the community's revenue share from the tourism industry be increased so that the entire community can benefit from its economic benefits.

Implications of whalewatching on Philippine ecotourism
With increasing environmental consciousness among people, ecotourism destinations have become popular to both local and foreign tourists. The establishment of whalewatching station in Bais City has not only made the city famous but it has also provided a new venue for the country's ecotourism industry and served as an additional source of tourism revenue. Now other municipalities in the country are planning to establish their own whalewatching stations.

Based on a study conducted by Abrenica and Calumpong (2000) on the tourism aspect of whale watching in Bais, a total of 1,126 visitors had gone whalewatching in the area as of May 1999. This figure is lower than what was

recorded in same month of 1998, which was 1,538. The total number of visitors from April 1999 to March 2000 was only 3,541 compared to the 4,395 visitors in 1998. The Filipino-to-foreigner ratio in 1999 was the same as in 1998.

Do these figures indicate a decline in whalewatching ecotourism? It is hard to tell, since there could be several factors behind such decrease in tourist arrivals. It would interesting to find out, however, if visitors, after a whalewatching ecotour, would still be interested to undertake this activity in the same area. The findings would have implications on the demand for and sustainability of the industry. The challenge now lies with the tourism office of the area as well as the private operators to make the industry competitive in the face of potential competition in the future.

Conclusion

There is no evidence that whalewatching in Bais City has significantly changed the species diversity and the population size of the cetaceans in the Tañon Strait since it began operating three years ago. What is certain, however, is that it has led to the intensification of observation on the cetaceans in the watched area. If the whalewatching operations in Bais will continue without regulations, it may, in the long run, cause changes in the population and diversity of the cetaceans in the strait and the associated fisheries in the bay area.

To be sure whalewatching activities have caused damage to fishing gear and led to poor seawater quality and consequently low fish catch in the area near the wharf. Fisheries, however, in the eastern side of the bay and in the deeper parts of the strait are not affected by the ecotourism activities.

Whalewatching ecotourism has provided a new source of income to the residents of Capiñahan. Although the income from whalewatching ecotourism is not significantly higher than that of fishing and other livelihood activities, the households involved in the conduct of whalewatching spend significantly higher on items (e.g., recreation) other than their basic necessities.

Whalewatching has influenced the residents' perception of the economic benefits from cetaceans. This in turn has led them to believe that keeping the cetaceans alive is more beneficial than hunting them. Yet, there are opposing perceptions about whalewatching activities among the households.

Recommendations

Any manifestation of disturbance in the population and diversity of cetaceans must be regularly monitored and addressed, since it has a long-term effect on species composition and population. Indicators of stress in cetaceans include changes in sound production, elevated heart rate, change in diving patterns, and shifts in habitat use.

Although studies on the long-term negative impact of whalewatching on cetacean individuals, groups or populations continue, a precautionary approach to the conduct of whalewatching ecotours is still necessary. The tourism office and all tour operators and crew should follow a code of conduct or set of guidelines in their operation. Such guidelines should specify the appropriate and inappropriate behaviors among both crew and tourists during whalewatching trips, taking into account the biology and ecology of cetaceans. The guidelines should cover the following:

- Number of vessels that can operate in the area
- Number of vessels that can approach a pod of cetaceans at one time
- Distance of vessels from the cetaceans that should be maintain during in the duration of whale watching
- Manner of approach (i.e., it should be parallel to the direction of the cetaceans and never head on or perpendicular)
- Speed of vessel during approach
- Appropriate behavior of whale watchers and tourism crew around cetaceans
- Standard operating safety measures

The guidelines should be properly and promptly communicated to the operators, crew, whale watchers, and community members. Orientations on the do's and don'ts of whalewatching should be done prior to the trips to ensure that the tourists will keep them in mind.

Guidelines developed by other countries offering whalewatching tours can temporarily be adopted while research continues. It would also help to take into account the General Principles for Whale Watching (Appendix B of the Report on the International Workshop on the Educational Values of Whale Watching) recommended by the Scientific Committee to the International Whaling Commission (IFAW, WWF and WDCS 1997) in any efforts to formulate a code of conduct or guidelines for whalewatching. The following should also be considered (IFAW 1995):

- The conduct of whalewatching, if permitted, should foster positive interactions between whales and whale watchers to avoid causing irritability or overt stress among the whales.
- Whalewatching should not be allowed to change the cetaceans' vital population characteristics such as birth rate and mortality.
- Whalewatching should affect neither the cetaceans' distribution and habitat usage nor their behavioral modes such as feeding and mating.

It is important to develop training programs for operators and crew on the biology and behavior of the cetaceans, whalewatching operations, and management conditions. Also recommended is the strict enforcement of maritime laws by the coast guard in the area, if only to avoid accidents and

ensure that tourists travel only with licensed operators, who can best secure their comfort and safety while traveling. Efforts must be made to communicate this clearly as well as its rationale to the fisherfolk and the entire community who might feel that they are being deprived of an additional source of income by conducting trips on their own.

The relatively low perception and attitude scores among households underscore the need to educate the community and involve them in whalewatching activities. The presence of whalewatching tourism in their barangay does not guarantee awareness of its importance or of the issues involved such as whale conservation if there is very little community participation in relevant activities.

Unlike the people in Pamilacan, Bohol, the local folk in Capiñahan, Bais City are not traditional whale hunters although some of them did patronize dolphin meat when doing so was not yet prohibited by law. Thus, enforcement of FAO 185 and 185-1 has not adversely affected their livelihood opportunities. This does not mean, however, that if economic opportunities will arise from the proper use of the cetaceans as a resource, community involvement should be given priority since no losses will be incurred.

The respondents said the community was never consulted before whalewatching tourism was introduced in their barangay in 1996. They said this was an issue not because they did not want it operate in their community but because they felt it deprived them of some of their rights as well as of the economic benefits being generated from the industry. To them making them aware of the benefits of the existence of the cetaceans in the Tañon Strait means increased community participation and more tangible benefits for them.

Involvement does not just mean employment in the tourism office or by the private sector. It also means creating opportunities for the locals to interact with the tourists to share their knowledge and experience dealing with cetaceans. This should enable the tourism office to promote environmental awareness on both sides. As it is, the locals have very limited interactions with the tourists and therefore feel they are outsiders in their own community where whalewatching is concerned. Still another opportunity that should either be provided or enhanced is letting the community experience whalewatching themselves so they will appreciate their own resource and its proper use.

Not the least of opportunities that should be created for the community are income-generating ones, which should naturally result in increased community involvement in whalewatching tourism. These could come in the form of organized selling of souvenirs and provision of services catering to the needs of the tourists.

Finally, there should be greater transparency when it comes to informing the community of how much revenue is being realized from whalewatching operations in their area and how it is used. How much of this revenue should go directly to the community can be determined in a dialogue among the households, the tourism office, and the private operators.

Bibliography

Abrenica, B.T., and H.P. Calumpong. 2000. Whalewatching in Bais City, Negros Oriental, Philippines: An ecotourism enterprise. In *Abstract of the 9th International Coral Reef Symposium,* edited by D.M. Hopley, P.M. Hopley, J. Tamelander, and T. Done. Bali: Indonesia.

Alava, M.N. and A.A. Yaptinchay. 1997. Marine mammals. In *Philippine red data book,* edited by M.L.L. Dolar and W.F. Perrin. Makati:Bookmark, Inc.

Aragones, L.V., R.B. Merto, and M.T. Clarion. 1998. Temporal variations of cetaceans off the southern area of Tañon Strait. Proceedings of the Symposium on Marine Biodiversity in the Visayas and Mindanao. University of the Philippines – Visayas, Miag-ao, Iloilo.

Barangay Capiñahan. Undated. Three-Year Coastal Management Plan 1999-2001.

Baxter, A.S. and M. Donoghue.Undated. Management of cetacean watching in New Zealand. Available from the World Wide Web http://www.Physics.helsinki.fi/whale/newzea/manage.

Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) and United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). 1997. *Philippine biodiversity: An assessment and action plan.* Makati, Philippines: Bookmark, Inc.

Dolar, M.L.L. and W.F. Perrin. 1994. Cetaceans of the Philippines. A paper presented at the Symposium-Workshop on Marine Mammal Conservation, Quezon City.

Dolar, M.L.L. and C.J. Wood. 1992. Survey of marine mammals in central Visayas and northern Mindanao (Phase I). *Enviroscope* 7(8):1-8.

Hoyt, E. Undated. Whale and dolphin watching: The best way to look at cetaceans – Rating whale and dolphin watch operators around the world. Vier Pfoten. Available from the World Wide Web:http://www.vier-pfoten.at/ e.V.

International Fund for Animal Welfare, TETHYS Research Institute & Europe Conservation. 1995. Report of the Workshop on the Scientific Aspects of Managing Whale Watching, Montecastello di Vibio, Italy.

International Fund for Animal Welfare, World Wildlife Fund and Whale and Dolphin Conservatory Society. 1997. Report of the International Workshop on the Educational Values of Whale Watching, Princetown, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

Klinowska, M. 1991. Dolphins, Porpoises and whales of the world - The IUCN red data book. IUCN. Gland, Switzerland.

Leatherwood, S., M.L.L. Dolar, C.J. Wood, L. Aragones, and C. Hill. 1992. Marine mammal species confirmed from Philippine waters. *Siliman J.* 36:65-86.

Libosada, C.M. JR. 1998. *Ecotourism in the Philippines.* Makati: Bookmark, Inc

MacArthur, R.A., V. Geist, and R.H. Johnson. 1982. Cardiac and behavioral responses of mountain sheep to human disturbance. *Journal Wildlife Management* 46:351-358.

Mainini, B., P. Neuhaus, and P. Ingold. 1993. Behavior of marmots (Marmota marmota) under the influence of different hiking activities. *Biol. Conserv.* 64:161-164.

Marine Mammal Protection Regulations. 1992. New Zealand. Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.Physics.helsinki.fi/whale/newzea/manage.

Master Plan For Bais City Ecozone. 1996.

McNeely, J.A. 1988. Economics and biological diversity: Developing and using economic incentives to conserve bilogolical Resources, IUCN. Gland, Switzerland.

Norusis, M.J. 1993. SPSS for windows. Base system user's guide (Release 6.0). SPSS, Inc. Chicago, IL.

Perrin, W.F. Undated. A brief introduction to marine mammals. A paper presented at the 1994 Symposium-Workshop on Marine Mammal Conservation, Quezon City.

Perrin, W.F. 1994. Interactions between marine mammals and fisheries: Problems and possible solutions. Proceedings of a Symposium-Workshop on Marine Mammals Conservation. Makati, Philippines: Bookmark, Inc

Schultz, R.D. and J.A. Bailey. 1978. Responses of national park elk to human activity. *Journal wildlife management* 42:91-100.

Tan, J.M.L. 1997. *A field guide to whales and dolphins in the Philippines*. Makati, Philippines: Bookmark, Inc.

Chapter 7

Contested Space: Tourism, Power, and Social Relations

Jose Eleazar R. Bersales

Introduction

How does rapid and accelerated change brought about by the appropriation of space reconfigure local power and social relations? This study intends to answer this question by looking at tourism development in two islands in Central Philippines. Specifically, it will look at the political dynamics of Philippine tourism development at the local level. This involves the study of space its appropriation and development, and how this relates to tensions 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 reveal the culturally mediated manners in which issues are disputed and resolved. They also show the kinds of claimants to 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.

Research overview

Using the anthropological perspective, this study looked at the intrusion of tourism into the socioeconomic and sociocultural 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, the research agenda developed an anthropological approach to understanding tourism development in the Philippines. The approach was shaped within a critical position that looked at the appropriation of space for tourism development as a product of the distribution policy and decisionmaking power in tourism.

It is important to look at the political organization of power (i.e., tourism agencies, national and local government units, nongovernment and peoples' organizations as well as local residents) and its expression within a specific locale vis-à-vis the emergence of tourism as a means of economic growth as well as a source of tension and active resistance by residents. 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 70s when anthropologists began to seriously consider the study of the social and cultural dimensions of the phenomenon (see for example Smith 1989). This 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 how 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 1991). Contested tourist space is where cultures begin to appear problematic.

Research sites

This study was 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" (Cohen 1983), though 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 located in 30 barangays. 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, this time 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 located in 10 barangays. It is connected to Bohol Province by two concrete overflow bridges leading to Tagbilaran City, the provincial capital. 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 large strips of sandy beach; the latter is dotted with craggy beaches with a few patches of white sand. A common feature of both is the presence of subsistence fishing communities and 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 hotel's shoreline. As a result, the source island almost disappeared from the map. Beach authenticity notwithstanding, tourist arrivals in Mactan have been increasing. The Department of Tourism (DOT), 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 (Schema Konsult 1995; UP PLANADES 1990). Tourism has figured prominently in both plans.

Two barangays in Panglao and one in Mactan were selected as study sites, based on 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. Of the three sites, Maribago on Mactan Island has the largest concentration of resorts that cater to both local and foreign tourists. It has about seven world-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, Panglao's barangay Tawala has a total population of 2,425 in 419 households, while Danao has 2,635 in 506 households. Barangay Maribago on Mactan has a total population of 7,235 in 1,452 households.

Major research problem and subproblems

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

Subproblems:

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?

Major research concepts

This paper tackles the following major concepts:
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; and
6. Impacts of tourism on local social and power relations

Review of literature

The study of tourism has been claimed by anthropologists as largely falling within the subject of development and acculturation (Nash 1994), 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. Pizam (1983) defines these impacts 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, posits that tourism is an important mechanism for increasing international understanding. However, numerous studies have challenged the validity of such a position (Nash 1994). The impact of tourism on subsistence communities, for example, can be seen in Robbens's (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 1983). In their discussion paper, Arroyo and Cunanan report 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, a study of tourism in Pagsanjan, Laguna, (Arroyo and Buenventura 1983) concluded that income in that town had increased rapidly when compared with other towns. However, tourism did not improve the size distribution of income, since employees were not recruited from the poorer sections of the community. In addition, the opportunities for female entrepreneur-

ship and employment generated were not outside the traditional gender-determined occupations. Moreover, tourism's impact on the income of residents in the area was not significant.

A study of rural beach resort development (Olofson and Crisostomo 1999) compared two types of resort development in Cebu. One type of resort was developed with little participation from locals or "insiders." This, they referred to as "induced" or "industry" type of tourism. The other type of resort development was referred to as "craft tourism" because it was composed of small firms established by individuals from the immediate vicinity, province or region. Here, the chances for local firms/households to supply goods and services to resorts were greater. However, in both types of resort development, the authors found 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; how space is planned and developed reflects 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. 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" that 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 1999). This physical demarca-

tion in tourist space also results in social demarcation, controlling the circulation of people and creating situations of privilege and domination (Olofson and Crisostomo 1999). This then is how tourism becomes part of the struggles over symbolic representations of reality. An unpublished social acceptability study undertaken in one barangay of Mactan already observed this scenario, when it noted two possible disadvantages from tourism in Mactan: eviction from home sites and the blocking of access to the sea (Bersales and Nolasco 1996). The study further noted that,

> "For 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."

The German sociologist Erhard Berner (2001) describes this phenomenon in 2001 as the result of the creation of what he calls "(excluded) citadels and (included) ghettoes," which he notes 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 fences, gates, and walls) as well as the economic (through high-entrance fees and prices inside the resort).

Seen from the perspective of globalization, tourism deterritorializes (Kearney 1994) 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."

The production of leisure spaces becomes most contentious when seen 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, for whom tourism becomes part of the struggle for the control of space, 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" (literally Maya World) helps elucidate this. The study traced the evolution of the Maya landscape from its use value to its value in ex-

change, 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 (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 (1996), 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. Vital 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 2000). It is also 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.

It is also in the community where the "fragmentation of power" (Richter 1991) 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 decisionmaking is beyond community control and influence (Sindiga 1999). Either that or such control passes from the local community into the local government with vested interests in tourism development (Faulkenberry et al. 1999). This is an important point to consider, since ultimately, the success of tourism development depends on its acceptance by 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:

> "People 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."

Elaborating on the role of the community in tourism, Besculides et al. (2000) point out that community attachment, seen in terms of the level of social bonds such as "friendships, sentiment and social participation" (Gursoy et al. 2000), can affect how 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 toward it than those who do not (Williams and Lawson 2000). 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. 1999).

Tourism development follows its own dynamism, or 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 1986). It is the task of tourism planners and policymakers 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 and 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 socioeconomic 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 1996).

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 1999). 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 recommends that tourism policy be matched with tourists' preferences, suggesting the importance of the strategy offered by nongovernmental and private-sector stakeholders, who provide tourism facilities outside of major economic centers. In terms of policymaking, the study reveals that the organization of tourism in the region was marked by a lack of finetuning 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, and that influence and policy direction be given to stakeholders to make them more accountable for 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 et al. 1996), of creating "equality and economic and social welfare of the local community" (Aronsson 1994), and meeting the needs of the host population through 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 et al. 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.

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. It involved the use of three important research methods: the survey, the key informant interview, and the focus group discussion (FGD). While the original proposal did not call for the conduct of a Knowledge, Attitude and Perception Survey (or KAPS), it was deemed necessary to conduct one using a mostly closed-choice instrument to elicit initial information that will guide the drafting of key informant and focus group questions.

A purposive sampling method was applied to 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 (that is, without the presence of the 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 nongovernment 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 to elicit important and more in-depth information that could not otherwise be elicited in the survey.

The FGDs among local stakeholders were undertaken using a purposive recruitment procedure that involved local contacts. These contacts were briefed on 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 fisherfolk. Because all lands around the tourist resorts as well as most of the properties on the island of Mactan have been converted to residential and commercial uses, 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 adopted based of a simple inquiry which on the information that in Panglao (as in many rural coastal communities in the

Visayas), farming communities were also fishing communities, where households engaged 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.

Knowledge, attitudes and perceptions of tourism: data from the survey of community residents

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

Table 1. The sample of households and household size

Barangay	Sample Universe (households)	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

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.

Fifty-six households in Barangays Tawala and Danao in Panglao and 81 from Barangay Maribago in Mactan were surveyed for this study. Mean age for the Panglao respondents was 39 years compared to 40 for Mactan. The oldest respondents from Panglao and Mactan were 73 and 75 years, respectively. Majority of the respondents were female. They represented 73 percent of the respondents from Panglao and 84 percent of the Mactan sample. In terms of educational attainment, the majority of the respondents from Mactan had either elementary (36 percent) or high school education (37 percent), while a much larger majority from Panglao had only elementary education (57 percent), or 25 percent reached high school. The majority of the respondents—80 percent in Panglao, and almost 60 percent of those from Mactan—were married. Almost all of the respondents described themselves as belonging to the Roman Catholic religion.

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

percent were employed. Furthermore, 58 percent of the Panglao and 36 percent of the Mactan respondents were in tourism-related occupations.

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

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. Over 60 percent of households surveyed in Panglao and Mactan had members who were holding tourism-related jobs or livelihoods. However, the majority of these jobs were manual in nature, i.e., as carpenters, gardeners, laborers, cooks, waiters/waitresses and laundrywomen.

As mentioned earlier, respondents were asked to ascertain what role they thought tourism played in their community. Table 2 shows 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 seem to indicate that the majority of Panglao respondents did not depend on tourism as much the Mactan respondents did.

Table 2. 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 see tourism's role in their economy despite the high percentage of

household members working in the industry. This ambiguity is borne out further by the next data set where respondents were asked to rank a set of industries in terms of their desired form of economic development.

That data show that Panglao respondents ranked the tourism industry as the 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. Many landholdings beyond the resorts are still family-owned, subsistence farms. While one member may work in a tourist establishment, the rest may be working in farms or fishing. This may explain the respondents who still desire agricultural development over that of tourism.

For the Mactan respondents, there was no ambiguity between agriculture and tourism. Agriculture was ranked last by 54 percent while tourism was ranked first by over 60 percent. Clearly, the absence of farms on the island meant that agriculture was no longer a desired form of economic development. Cottage industries were the next preferred modes of development, after tourism and trade. This is probably because Mactan is still home to various shellcraft, stonecraft, furniture woodcarving, and other artisan subcontracting activities that have been a source of livelihood for a number of locals since the export boom began in the late 70s.

When respondents in Panglao were asked to ascertain their degree of dependence on tourism (Table 7), 86 percent reported that part or majority of their community's products and services went to tourist resorts. In contrast, 92 percent of the Mactan respondents made the same claim.

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, where farm produce and available human resources go to the resorts. In Mactan, however, family farms and fishing activities have long given way to residential, tourist, and export processing activities. Thus, resorts are not expected to avail of local produce or resources except for human resources.

When it came to employment dependence on tourism, almost 94 percent of Panglao and Mactan respondents reported that employment was somewhat-to-very dependent on tourism.

Tourist-host interactions

What is the extent to 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, since the degree of contact with tourists might affect resident opinions and attitudes regarding tourists.

Almost 60 percent of the respondents from both Mactan and Panglao reported frequent contact with tourists in the community. This indicated that tourists did not only spend their times inside the resorts but also strayed into the community. In a similar vein, almost two-thirds of the respondents from both

Panglao (64 percent) and Mactan (69 percent) indicated that they enjoyed meeting and interacting with tourists. Such interactions are inevitable since the survey sites are adjacent to the resorts. The data suggest that residents are receptive to having tourists in their midst as they would most likely interact with tourists who do come or stray into the community around the resorts.

Community attachment

Two questions determined how attached the respondents were to the community that they lived in. Their responses may indicate how they react to changes and developments that affect their community. Where community members feel strong attachment to their community, active stakeholder participation, or even resistance to, decisions regarding any introduced- or induced-type of development may be expected.

The majority of respondents from both sites agreed to statements indicating attachment to the community. This was most especially true for 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 large number of respondents who felt attached to the community may be a result of long residential tenure—more than 80 percent of the respondents had lived in their respective communities from 6 to 20 years.

Land use and decisionmaking issues

The attachment expressed by community members, in turn, reflected a strong concern about the use of land as well as a desire to be consulted for future tourism development decisions. Most of the Panglao (71 percent) and Mactan (64 percent) respondents agreed that there was still adequate open space in their community. Most respondents (77 percent and 64 percent in Panglao and Mactan, respectively) also expressed concern for the potential disappearance of open space. Similarly, over 70 percent of respondents from both sites supported regulation of land use.

However, the problem of access to the sea was more pronounced among Mactan respondents, with over half expressing this problem, while only 36 percent said so in Panglao. In addition, a larger portion of respondents from Mactan (50 percent) than from Panglao (36 percent) felt that their leisure and recreation opportunities were now limited by the presence of tourists.

With regard to decisionmaking on tourism development, there was overwhelming agreement across both sites that community residents needed to be consulted. They also agreed that decisionmaking could not just be left to government and business interests.

Tourism's influence on quality of life

Respondents were also 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.

In general, the majority saw tourism as a positive influence on quality of life factors. Cost of living was the exception, as the respondents from both sites perceived tourism as having 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 just 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).

However, a relatively large proportion of respondents from Panglao indicated that they did not see any influence of tourism on education (39 percent) there. In Mactan, the three factors which overall ranked highest in terms of tourism's positive influence were cleanliness of the place (73 percent), road condition (69 percent), and job opportunities (69 percent).

Yet, only 48 percent 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, a fourth of Panglao respondents and a fifth of Mactan respondents found tourism to be both a positive as well as a negative influence on overall community livability. These results imply that respondents were quick to appreciate the visible signs of progress from tourism, such as new or improved infrastructure. However, they were aware that prices of commodities increased because of tourism.

Perceived benefits and disadvantages of tourism

Panglao and Mactan respondents were clearly divided on the perceived benefits and disadvantages brought about by tourism. The majority of Panglao respondents agreed that the jobs open to locals were those that paid low wages. In contrast, only 40 percent of Mactan respondents agreed with the statement. On whether resort owners cared for the well-being of the surrounding community, the Panglao respondents were ambiguous in their response. An equal proportion of 48 percent indicated agreement and disagreement among these respondents. However, more than half of Mactan respondents affirmed that resort owners cared for the community, with only 38 percent in disagreement.

The helpfulness of tourists in both Mactan and Panglao were clearly perceived by an overwhelming number of respondents from both sites (around 84 percent). This was 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.

Fifty-three percent of the Panglao respondents agreed with the statement on crowding in the community due to too many tourists. Conversely, more (46 percent) Mactan respondents disagreed with this observation than those that did (43 percent). As for overcrowding from foreigners settling down in the community, over half the Panglao respondents agreed with the statement but another 44 percent disagreed. The opposite result again came up in Mactan, with almost 52 percent disagreeing that foreigners deciding to live in the community were causing the overcrowding.

Limited access to recreation and leisure spaces resulting from the presence of resorts was perceived by nearly 60 percent of Mactan respondents but only by 40 percent of Panglao respondents. Fifty-five percent of Panglao respondents also disagreed that their access to livelihood opportunities was now limited due to resorts proliferating on the beach. However, for Mactan residents, almost the majority, or 48 percent, agreed that this was happening to them.

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 appeared to be 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 perceived problems of carrying capacity and access to these resorts.

A second set of statements, this time overwhelmingly supportive of tourism development, was drafted and read to the respondents for them to agree or disagree with. In Panglao, the statement that received the most positive response talked about opportunities for economic advancement through jobs brought about by tourism, with 95 percent of the sample in agreement. However, over 50 percent of respondents in Panglao disagreed that government should promote tourism and encourage more tourist arrivals. This was the only statement on tourism support that elicited a negative response from more respondents.

In contrast, the majority of Mactan respondents agreed with all the tourism support statements. The statement that obtained the most number of agreements concerned tourism helping to make the respondents' community grow in the right direction, with 90 percent.

Both Panglao (69 percent) and Mactan (89 percent) respondents believed that their community was a good place for further investment in tourism. Almost two-thirds of the respondents from both sites also agreed that the overall benefits of tourism outweighed its negative impacts. Two statements 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 their personal incomes would also increase or be more secure if tourism increased in their community. Seventy percent from

both groups also agreed that they would personally benefit if tourism increased in their community.

Tourism and community information

The respondents were fairly divided in terms of how well informed they were about the tourism and travel industry. Almost 40 percent from both sites claimed to be well informed, while 20 and 25 percent from Panglao and Mactan, respectively, said that they were not informed at all. The remainder considered themselves to be somewhat informed.

On issues such as tourism's impact on the local economy, as well as on local quality of life, the proportion of well-informed respondents was higher for Mactan than for Panglao. Conversely, the proportion of those that were not at all informed was significantly higher for Panglao. Overall, information dissemination on all aspects of the tourism industry appeared to be present in Mactan. However, Panglao respondents still needed adequate information on how tourism affected their lives and well-being.

In general, there appeared 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 a large majority of the respondents have household members holding tourism-related jobs helps explain the positive opinions 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, were almost evenly divided on the role of tourism in their economy. Such ambiguity was absent among the Mactan respondents who saw tourism as dominating their economy. As a result, Mactan respondents ranked tourism as the most desired form of economic development in their locality, with manufacturing ranked next. In contrast, Panglao respondents ranked tourism and agriculture almost equally as their most desired form of economic development. The majority of Panglao and Mactan respondents, however, are in agreed that employment opportunities were not totally dependent on tourism.

The majority of respondents enjoyed meeting and interacting with tourists. However, they were concerned about the resorts' relationship with the community around them, overcrowding by tourists and limited access to beaches. Respondents apparently saw the glaring difference between the physical appearance of their community and those of the resorts. They also seemed to have already perceived problems of carrying capacity and access in the future.

Thus, while the respondents across both study sites appreciated the economic benefits that tourism brought to them individually and as a community, they were also wary of the problems attendant to tourism development.

This may explain the ambivalence exhibited by Panglao respondents, who would rather not encourage tourism promotion and yet saw their area as a good place to invest further for tourism. The Mactan respondents were aware of some of tourism's disincentives. However, for them, as a community along a fully developed resort enclave (with no more farms and fishing ventures to pursue), tourism appeared to be a fait accompli.

It is important to note further that a very large majority indicated their attachment to their respective communities, where they had lived for over 20 years. This helps explain the overwhelming agreement from both sites that community members should be consulted regarding decisions having to do with tourism.

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

Tourists, tourism development and local perspectives: data from focus group discussions

Four FGDs—each involving from 7 to 12 participants—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. The Panglao focus groups were relatively evenly divided between males and females, while there were more males in the Mactan sessions. The average age of participants across all four groups was 40 years old, the youngest being 18 years old and the eldest 73 years old. A total of six questions were prepared to serve as the FGD Guide, with further probing undertaken to elicit additional information.

Panglao residents and farmers/fisherfolk groups still believed that agriculture and farmlands had definite places on the island, despite the presence of tourism. In contrast, Mactan residents and fisherfolk groups no longer saw much potential for agriculture or farming on their land. They saw their land as better suited for residential, commercial, and tourism development.

The development of resorts in Mactan and Panglao was initiated by outsiders, or those who lived near the beaches. For Mactan, resorts began to appear in the '70s, although American service personnel from the nearby US air force base had come to the beaches even in the mid-1960s. The first resorts consisted largely of privately owned rest houses that were later opened to tourists. The same phenomenon occurred in Panglao, where the first resorts were established in the early 1980s. Again, outsiders or nonlocals were the ones who initiated resort development.

Across all four focus groups, tourists were seen as different both in appearance and language. Individual participants perceived tourists as either

helpful to them or not. There had been many reported instances of tourists helping the poor in their midst. These were seen as a positive effect of having tourists visit the community.

Focus group participants generally acknowledged tourism's advantages through the economic benefits that accrued to them, especially in terms of resort jobs as well as opportunities to sell souvenirs to tourists or supply fish to the resorts. Others reported the network of tour guides and operators, or *hupu-hupo* in the vernacular, provided financial gain to many. A few point to the friendships with tourists as financially and materially useful in helping them emerge from poverty.

In Panglao, the perceived disadvantages of tourism were 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 expressed lack of certainty about their future in relation to the airport planned for construction in Panglao. There also appeared to be an absence of information regarding development plans for the island—even as the provincial government continued to buy lands from them. Lack of access roads was also a problem in Mactan. Many participants pointed to the construction of illegal dikes as limiting movement along the beaches. At least one participant warned that Panglao should learn from the resort sprawl now obtaining in Mactan.

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

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

Tourism development and the community:
data from key informant interviews
Six interviews in Mactan and Cebu and nine in Panglao and Tagbilaran were conducted with individuals selected purposively for their influential roles in the respective tourism industries. These included regional officials from DOT and PTA, municipal planning and development officers (MPDO), barangay chairs, religious leaders, as well as officers of nongovernmental organizations or community organizations.

Tourism advantages
Almost all the key informants interviewed in this study identified income generation as the most important advantage of tourism. Jobs were the most visible results that these informants appreciated. There was also an apprecia-

tion of the multiplier effect of the establishment of resorts, especially in the provision of additional income for fisherfolk, who sell to the resorts. In Mactan, being able to sell locally made guitars and shell craft was mentioned as a positive result of the presence of tourism in the barangays.

Among the informants from the government sector, the most palpable benefit of tourism was the provision of improved infrastructure, of which 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 some informants to tourism. One key informant cited income generated from tourism and accruing to the municipal coffers in Panglao was another benefit. Finally, a key informant from the government sector in Panglao also enumerated positive changes in the landscape, more beautiful surroundings, and sense of pride in one's place as benefits from tourism.

Problems in resort development

The problem singled out in almost all the key informant interviews in both sites was accessibility. In Mactan, the concrete jetties or groins (locally called dikes or seawalls) set up by individual resorts effectively controlled 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 visitors. Locals, understandably, took this development negatively, because it forced them to swim elsewhere. This was also 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.

Compounding the problem resulting from jetties was the lack of access roads and boat landing sites in Mactan. The local barangay executive, wanting to address the situation, sought the support of his constituents by starting a petition to have more access roads for locals. As for the lack of boat landing sites, the same informant pointed to the continued violations of the salvage/exclusion zone.

The problem of access in Panglao was not so much about concrete dikes as it was about the actual fencing of resorts that effectively blocked access from one resort to the next. Alona Beach was quite different from Maribago in that locals and nontourists were not denied access to the white sand beach segments. However, actually gaining access to the beach was the problem. Fencing by some resorts had forced locals (as well as tourists) to take a detour so they could move around. Related to the problem of accessibility was the lack of access by fisherfolk to the beach fronting the resorts after a day's catch.

Increasing prices of real estate coupled with the so-called fake land titles for sale had resulted in a fencing frenzy around Alona Beach and the two barangay study sites. This brought to the fore a second problem in Alona (and elsewhere in Panglao), which came about when the Department of Environment and Natural Resources lifted its ban on the titling of real prop-

erty five hectares and above located on the island. This caused a frenzied dash for formal titling of properties by dint of of mere tax declarations. Consequently, this spawned intrafamily squabbles over whose name or names should be placed on the land titles. It also resulted in the so-called "double-selling" of land and the appearance of fake titles in the real estate market in Tagbilaran.

The problem of multiple claimants to real property also emerged in Mactan, albeit to a lesser degree. Nevertheless, cases were filed in at least one land dispute involving multiple claimants.

Both Mactan and Panglao shared the problems of drug addiction and prostitution, albeit in varying degrees. The Panglao informants traced the negative changes in youth attitudes, particularly the perceived loosening of their moral values, to the presence of tourists in their area for the past more than two decades. Such changes were evident, among others, in young people wearing skimpy clothing, which the locals blamed on the almost constant sight of bikini-clad tourists. They said the presence of tourists had influenced the youth into drug addiction and, to a lesser extent, into prostitution.

Moreover, they noted that many of the younger generation now refuse to farm or fish, preferring instead to spend their time doing all kinds of chores at the resorts. Some members of the fishing families, for instance, were now reportedly devoting more time at the dive shops so they could serve as guides and errand boys to tourists. The result was fewer fish catch, which was traditionally vended from house to house. However, one local official was not alarmed by changes like this. He believed that this was a mere problem of "acceptability level" between two generations, pointing out that young people had a higher level of acceptability. Finally, one of the barangay chairs in the Panglao study sites tacitly admitted that only resort owners became rich from tourism.

Government tourism programs and policies

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).

According to a key informant, accessibility problems would not have emerged had the resort owners as well as local government units followed the mandate of the Philippine Tourism Authority (PTA) to control any forms of development in Mactan as well as in Panglao, among others. However, with the Local Government Code vesting authority and jurisdiction to local government units, many national line agencies could only inform LGUs about violations because the ultimate authority in these matters now rests with them.

Thus, for example, it is now up to the local government in Panglao to ensure that the exclusion/salvage zone is strictly observed.

Concerning tourism projects, all government informants from Panglao expressed some familiarity with the Panglao Tourism Estate project in terms of some of its components. Awareness among the informants from the farming/fishing sectors of the project hinged on an implied concern for the future should the proposed airport materialize. To date, the project remains on the drawing board although some of its infrastructure components have already been realized.

Interviews with the key informants revealed a sense of uncertainty about the planned construction of an airport. Only the municipal engineer in Panglao could categorically state that the planned airport would be constructed, but that it had been downgraded from a subinternational to domestic type. At the regional tourism office, the person tasked to oversee the Panglao Estate projects could not say with certainty what the status of the airport project was.

The same was true of key informants 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 at all about its status. This finding is significant because Barangay Tawala, is one of the barangays covered by the tourism estate project.

In Mactan, key informant interviews elicited information regarding the plans and programs of the local government unit there. A city tourism office had already been set up to coordinate all plans and activities in relation to tourism. Four barangays (Maribago, Mactan, Punta Engano and Marigondon) had already been identified in the latest comprehensive land use plans as tourism zones. Unfortunately, the barangay chair interviewed for this study could not identify any policies or programs concerning tourism in his barangay, and pointing instead to other programs pursued by the municipality in his barangay that were hardly related to tourism (e.g., 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 because they were all concerned with city beautification. Further probing elicited no additional information.

Community participation

There is quite a long history in Panglao about whether locals were consulted in tourism development projects or not. According to the key informants, the government learned its lesson in 1989, when it sent Manila-based academics to develop a framework plan for Panglao's development. Locals did not take kindly to this Tagalog-speaking group. 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 that stretched up to 1993.

The informants 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, seemed to be one of acquiescence among the farmer leaders because they felt there was no mope avenue left to stop the estate project. Locals had apparently come to accept that Panglao was now going to host a tourism estate, and their only concern was their possible displacement from their own lands.

In Mactan, the growth of resorts in Maribago was not attended by community consultations. Since all resort properties were privately owned and formally titled, the need to consult the surrounding communities was deemed unnecessary by resort developers. Moreover, most of the resorts were built under martial law. Thus, it was quite expedient on the private owners to convert their properties for whatever purpose they saw fit.

Local leaders in Maribago claimed that resort development in Mactan was largely an autonomous affair involving private entrepreneurs. Many of these showed little regard for local and national laws, as exemplified by the construction of seawalls and the subsequent resort sprawl. Local government officials in Mactan could only provide prescriptions on how development in the area should have proceeded but without making any reference whatsoever to community participation in the decisionmaking for tourism development.

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

For the barangay chairs in both the Mactan and Panglao study sites, community participation meant calling residents to barangay meetings and public hearings to explain a certain project and to hear their opinions. One informant said that the reason why no community participation, other than public hearings, ever occurred in the study site was because these resorts were hurriedly developed one after another. Such forms of development and investment in tourism were very profitable and locals simply accepted what was going on around them.

Local social and political dynamics

The emerging impact of tourism on the social dynamics in Panglao and Mactan largely revolved around the observable changes among the youth. In Mactan, informants reported problems like young people now gallivanting late at night. One informant cited the tourists as the main culprits behind

this change. A few others mentioned changes in the social status of residents who were either working in the resorts or married tourists.

The most obvious change that informants, most of whom from Panglao, cited concerned the breakdown of kinship ties resulting from intra-family fights over real estate in the light of increasing land values in Panglao. One other informant observed that life was much simpler when farming and fishing were predominant in Mactan. However, with the arrival of tourists, clusters of communities were physically separated as lands were sold off. People had also become less religious, rarely ever going to church.

There is a 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, the Catholic church, as early as 1992, had begun actively opposing further tourism development. Based on perceived erosion of moral values that emerged from the arrival of more tourists, the ensuing rallies and demonstrations accordingly compelled the local government as well as national agencies to take of local sentiments seriously. The period 1992-1995 was 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 that emboldened them, according to an informant, to actively participate in meetings, especially now that an airport was being planned.

From talks with Mactan key informants, none of the situations described appeared to have been obtained in their area. Neither did Mactan witness seen rallies or demonstrations organized by the Church against tourism development.

Local dependence on and alternatives to tourism

Farming and fishing continued to be identified as alternatives to tourism in Panglao. The informants still believed that the future allows for farming and fishing to exist in Panglao. Besides, they argued, locals did not depend totally on tourism for their livelihood anyway. One alternative pursued by the local government in Panglao involved the establishment of a craft village in Barangay Lourdes. Funded by the Province of Bohol, the village is a 1.1-hectare site composed, for now at least, of a loom-weaving center with 25 handlooms and two warp mills. Selected local residents were trained by DOLE and monitored by the Department of Trade and Industry to ensure quality production. A nursery for *buri* plant was set up by the municipal government to provide the raw materials for the center. Unfortunately, by the time of the interview, the center had run out of funds and appeared idle.

In contrast, key informants from Mactan reported that with the absence of farms and local boat landing sites, locals who lived adjacent to the resorts were now very dependent on tourism. For those living further inland, two other alternatives existed. One was 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 was to work at the Mactan Export Processing Zone or in the city proper. However, according to one informant, the latter option might be difficult to pursue for those who lacked the necessary education and skills.

Summary of findings

Indepth interviews confirmed most of the findings and issues raised during the FGDs. The key problems raised by the stakeholders, both in government as well as those outside it, pertained to accessibility and demonstration effects as well as land ownership disputes.

Significantly, the pattern of development of resorts differed between Panglao and Mactan. In Mactan, tourism had already taken root before large-scale government plans or comprehensive zoning activities were undertaken. 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 finally got its act together, resorts had already installed fencing and other barriers to the locals. The only recourse left was to challenge these resort owners in court.

In Panglao, problems of accessibility for locals did not seem to have reached the same proportions as those Mactan. This was due in part to the community's history of opposition to tourism development, which may have made locals more aware of their situation vis-à-vis tourism development. The early learning experiences of Panglao appeared to have institutionalized community participation, with consultations as its most concrete expression. Nevertheless, the confusion about the status of the estate project might be construed as a sheer lack of information among the affected sectors and government stakeholders. On the other hand, this may also be indicative of too many government agencies handling the project, none of which provided a venue for coherent exchange of information.

The emergent problem of intra-familial squabbles in Panglao, however, evinced changes in the social dynamics of a hitherto kinship-based community. These signaled the beginnings of breakdowns in community cohesion as personal interests began to subsume kin and community relations. Conflicts between local government executives (attributed to personal stakes in the municipality's tourism development) highlighted the evolving changes in power relations as what some construed as progress began to take shape.

Perhaps it was most telling that such community cohesion was not demonstrated in Mactan, now highly urbanized and developed, its days of pristine conditions long gone. Mactan's people had begun to rely on tourism for their livelihood. Where this was not possible, the study site's proximity to other sources of livelihood provided locals with alternatives, as long as they had the necessary skills.

Locals in Panglao still saw hope for farming and fishing in the midst of tourism development. This is most interesting in light of the fact that there seemed to be tacit acceptance of the inevitability of the planned tourism estate project. This may be because the project itself had already undergone significant changes since local stakeholders voiced their protests. It may also be because of strong attachment by the community members to their place—be it farm or fishing ground. They were willing to accept tradeoffs for as long as they remained in their communities, or, where others were concerned, were properly resettled by the government. The tourism estate project had taken this possibility into account in that agriculture formed part of the overall development plan vis-à-vis tourism. Unfortunately, the lure of tourists and the resorts were pulling young people out of traditional forms of subsistence and livelihood, and more importantly, away from community-accepted values and norms. This did not bode well for the future of farming and fishing activities in the communities under study.

Conclusions and recommendations

This study is about local communities in the midst of varying levels of tourism development. Using the anthropological perspective, the paper scrutinized two resort communities in two islands using the triangulation method of survey, focus group discussions, and key informant interviews. The findings of this study can be understood only when seen against the backdrop of important issues raised at the beginning of this report.

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 from Panglao and Mactan. For the former, space is constitutive not just of its physical dimensions but also of its capacity to provide subsistence and livelihood for its occupants. In Panglao, locals see much value in land for farming and the sea for fishing. Thus, there is potential for conflict when forms of development overlap with traditional views of resource utilization. Locals in Panglao, for example, find it hard to comprehend why beaches that used to be open must now be off limits, following the establishment of resorts. In Mactan, on the other hand, the absence of farms and boat landing sites has meant that, for locals, their space is congruent to a mere place of residence. However, the sea is still seen as a valuable source of subsistence.

Because space in Panglao is also perceived in terms of its agricultural value, 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 to the extent that it is able to support their livelihood. In the case of Mactan, these livelihoods are tied in some way to tourism—whether as vendors, *hupo-hupo* tour guides, boatmen, or resort employees. Place has become nothing more than habitat. The sense of place—the essence of being in a community—has been expanded to include tourists, as tourist life now pervades the local communities there (or at least, in Barangay Maribago).

How is space appropriated for tourism development? What are the major conflicts that have sprung up as a result?

The appropriation of space for tourism in both Panglao and Mactan came independent of local interests and land/sea use by local residents. In both study sites, tourist resorts failed to emerge from the initiatives of locals (what Cohen [1983] calls "insiders") because of two things. First, they simply did not have the capital to start any type of tourist accommodation. Second, locals did not see the meaning (and sense) of privatizing hitherto open space and charging fees for its use. On the other hand, neither the local nor the national government played a role in initiating the emergence of resorts in both study sites. Government interest in spatial appropriation, while deeply pronounced today in Panglao, was absent when the first resorts started to emerge in the early '80s. 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 supervision of development, from the time resorts were first built in the early 1970s to their growth into high-end international resorts in the late '80s. By the time the comprehensive land-use plans for the city of Lapu-Lapu were approved in 1995, most, if not all, of Mactan's beaches were teeming with resorts.

The form and timing by which space was appropriated for tourism vary and provide some important insights into the type of tourism development that was pursued in each study site. In Mactan, beachfront properties were largely owned by wealthy urban Cebu-based families with titles to their properties. Thus, resort development emerged during the period of martial law, when severe restrictions on individual freedoms as well as on public assembly were in place. Thus, no protests could be expected from the locals. 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 sources of livelihood was not as strong as it was in Panglao. Thus, private resort developers created an enclave of sorts, cordoning their properties off the surrounding community. The locals, powerless because they held no title to beachfront properties, could only complain to their barangay officials who were just as powerless. This, coupled with a seeming lack of political will on the part of city chief executives, exacerbated the situation.

Unlike Mactan, tourism development in Panglao happened on an island where landowners held only tax declarations, not land titles. Moreover, such

development appeared in a very rural environment, initiated by backpackers staying away from the expensive resorts of Mactan and elsewhere. The character of Alona's tourists (Bersales 1999 and Blijleven and van Naerssen 1999) dictated the type of accommodations that were eventually offered by resort owners. Because the early tourists were young and adventurous types who loved to travel individually or in small groups, no largescale high-end resorts appeared in Alona. To borrow from Cohen (1983), Alona hosts craft-type tourism as opposed to the bungalow tourism in Mactan, thus preventing the creation of resort enclaves. This is best evidenced by Alona's architecture and spatial arrangements 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 the island's potential for economic growth, thereby proposing the implementation of the Panglao Tourism Estate project in the early '90s. 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. 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 in decisionmaking. The rallies and mass actions that followed might have resulted in sharpening local awareness of and concern for their community in the midst of spatial appropriations 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.

A decade after this period of turmoil in the development of Panglao, locals now see development through 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. 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 play a role amid this type of development. 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 conflict over tourism has now shifted from the community level to that of family and individuals. With land titling now an inevitable event, many families are undergoing internal stress as members assert their right to land. Hitherto absentee family members, long settled elsewhere, now want to be involved in the apportionment of

benefits from the sale of lands to resort investors and real estate brokers. The conflict between the local executives in 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. One cannot also 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, now more than two decades old, revolves around accessibility for locals. 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 onto the legal front, pitting wealthy private entrepreneurs (and important city taxpayers, if one 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.

Judging from past and current government action, no immediate solution is in sight insofar as the seawalls are concerned. 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 actors, the local government unit included, 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 locals would have had a say in its future has long receded into the horizon. It would not be surprising if the illegal structures that control human circulation within the resort enclave will remain in place.

The mobilizations of locals that occurred in Panglao will not happen anymore in Mactan, where even the Catholic church has not been active. For as long as economic growth is ensured by these global players, locals have no recourse but to play along in whatever way they can. For the local government unit, Lapu-Lapu city, such growth translates into much needed revenues that allow more infrastructure to be built, making the city truly world-class.

The experience of Mactan should serve as an eye opener to 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 institutionalize local power as the island creeps toward the orbit of globalization. This may arrest the social inclusion and 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 derived from friendships with them. There is, however, some apprehension over 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 seemed to have had any hand in the early development of the resorts on the island. The major force that ushered in the establishment of resorts in Mactan might have been the urban-based Cebuano elite who began buying small parcels of beachfront properties that were successively developed into resorts. Whether such acquisitions were products of land grabbing or resulted in the proliferation of squatter communities has not been clearly elicited from the respondents to this study. An earlier study, however, did report the emergence of squatters when another group of squatters sold their property to the owners of an adjacent five-star hotel (Bersales and Nolasco 1996). Since resorts are privately developed, privately owned, and stand on titled land, the 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. As gleaned from the key informant interviews, the development of tourism in Panglao was attended by conflict and struggle in the early '90s 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 of the proposed Panglao Tourism Estate caused the coalescing of community aspirations with the moral position of the church against tourism. This made locals acutely aware of their place in the economic progress of Panglao, a picture that did not emerge from the relevant data on 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 in their future.

Given the fairly recent role of government in planning Panglao's tourism—a role absent in the history of Mactan—the uncertainty surrounding the tourism estate plan is not very reassuring to 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, it can be a result of too many government agencies working at crosspurposes, 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 to 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 to performing menial jobs and vending for tourists and resorts in the 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 form part of the everyday lives of locals, both in Mactan and Panglao.

Panglao, which is still undergoing a transition from rural to urban life via tourism, 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. Despite the increasing financial value of land as a result of tourism, these ties are beginning to loosen. Proof of this is the emergence of intrafamilial strife resulting from speculations on land prices, which has put a strain on family relations. Multiple claimants to properties sold many times over expose the schemes that real estate brokers in Tagbilaran and their local counterparts have resorted to for financial gain.

The strain across two generations, young and old, is reflected in the demonstration effects of tourists on the youth. Farmers and fishers fear they are declining in number as more and more young people are lured to the resorts to find jobs, no matter how temporary or menial these may be. Others lament the change in attire among the young, as was observed by both Panglao Mactan key informants. Drug addiction and prostitution among the young, more pronounced in Mactan than in Panglao, is a major concern of community members. Another emerging issue is the changing attitude of locals toward the enhanced economic status of their neighbors or friends who have married foreign 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 amid 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 being 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 is now 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 decisionmaking and participation in tourism development and the craft- or small-scale type of resorts (in Alona) have resulted in a contest over space, as 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 earnestly resolved by the local government units with the support of national line agencies. This requires coordinated and concerted efforts 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 attention by appropriate government units—specifically those concerned with land titling and surveying—from the barangay up to the national levels. This needs coordination and the setting up of a multisectoral body composed of all stakeholders to regulate the sale of land.

3. A proper information dissemination system across all the government agencies coordinating tourism development, both in Mactan and in Panglao, should be put in place to avoid further confusion at the ground level on tourism-related projects.

4. Finally, government agencies and local government units should seek avenues for coordinating activities to avoid implementing tourism programs or issuing policies at cross purposes.

Bibliography

Aronsson, L. 1994. Sustainable tourism systems: the example of sustainable tourism in Sweden. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 2 (1-2): 77-92.

Appadurai, A. 1996. *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Arroyo, G. M., & V. Cunanan. 1979. The impact of tourism: a review of the existing literature and knowledge base. Economic and Social Impact Analysis/Women in Development (ESIA/WID) Micro Discussion Paper No. 79-12. Manila: ESIA/WID.

Arroyo, G.M. and M. San Buenventura .1983. The economic and social impact of tourism. Philippine Institute for Development Studies Working Paper No. 83-91. Makati City: PIDS.

Besculides, A., M. E.Lee and P. J. McCormick. 2000. Residents' perception of the cultural benefits of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 29 (2): 303-319.

Bersales, J. E. R. 1999. Life's a beach: Notes on everyday life in a tourist report community, Panglao Island, Bohol. *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 27: 3-4.

Bersales, J.E.R. and F. Nolasco. 1996. Social acceptability survey for the proposed Filinvest resort in Mactan. Cebu: USC Rudolf Rahmann Research Center. Unpublished manuscript.

Bersales, J.E.R. 1994. Ethnography of a beach resort commmunity. Master's Thesis. Quezon City: U.P. Asian Center.

Blijleven, E. and Van Naerssen, T. 1999. European tourists and tourism development in the Central Visayas. *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 29: 267-283.

Brown, D. 1999. Mayas and tourists in the Maya world. *Human Organization* 58 (3):295-304.

Castells, M. and J. Henderson. 1987. Techno-economic restructuring, socio-political processes and spatial transformation: a global perspective. In *Global restructuring and territorial development,* edited by J. W. Henderson and M. Castells. London: Sage

Cohen, A. 1985. S*ymbolic construction of community.* London, England: Travistock.

Cohen, E. 1983. Insiders and outsiders: The dynamics of development of bungalow tourism on the islands of Southern Thailand. *Human Organization* 42:2.

Cater, E. 1993. Ecotourism in the Third World: Problems for sustainable tourism development. *Tourism Management* 14(2).

Damaso, E. J. and M. Castañeda-Rivera. 1983. Sociocultural impact of tourism in the Philippines. Paper presented at the 15th National Conference of the Anthropological Association of the Philippines.

De Kadt E. 1979. Tourism passport to development? *Perspectives on the social and cultural effects of tourism in developing countries.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Department of Tourism Region VII. 1996. *Central Visayas Tourism Plan (Final Report)* Volume I: Executive Summary. Cebu City: Department of Tourism.

Faulkenberry, L., J. Coggeshall, K. Backman, and S. Backman. 1999. A culture of servitude: the impact of tourism and development on South Carolina's coast. *Human Organization* 59(1): 86-95.

Gursoy, D., C. Jurowsky, and U. Muzaffer.. 2000. Resident attitudes: A structural modeling approach. *Annals of Tourism Research* 29: 79-105.

Hall, C. 1994. *Tourism and politics: policy, power and place.* England: John Wiley and Sons.

Kearney, M. 1994. Local and the global: The anthropology of globalization and transnationalism. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24:547-565

Lefebvre, H. 1976. The survival of capitalism: reproduction and relations of production. London, England: Alison and Busby.

Lefebvre, H. 1991. *The production of space.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Lim, C. T. 2003. Shangri-la to upgrade facilities for P356M. *Cebu Sun-Star Daily.* Friday, January 24, p. 18.

McCool, S., C. Burgess, and N. Nickerson. 1996. *Toward a sustainable tourism and recreation industry in Montana: an examination of concepts and industry perceptions.* Montana: University of Montana Institute for Tourism and Recreation Research.

McElroy J.K. and K. de Alburqueque 1986. The tourism demostration effect in the Carribbean. *Journal of Travel Research* 25 (2): 31-34.

Meethan, K. 1999. *Tourism in global society: place, culture, consumption.* New York, USA: Palgrave.

Nash, D. 1994. *Anthropology of tourism.* USA: Elsevier Science Ltd.

Nash, D. 1981. Tourism as an anthropological subject. *Current Anthropology* 22(5).

Nash, D. and V. Smith. 1991. Anthropology and tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 18(1).

National Economic and Development Authority Regional Office, Central Visayas. 1999. *Regional Development Plan.* Cebu City: NEDA-CV.

Nuñez, T. 1964. Tourism, tradition and acculturation: weekendismo in a Mexican village. *Ethnology* 3(4).

Olofson, H., and L. Crisostomo. 1999. Touristic space and contested space: resistance and competition in two beach communities in Central Philippines. *Pilipinas* 35 (September):1-41.

Pertierra, R. 1996. *Philippine localities and global perspectives.* Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Pizam A. 1983. Development and organization of tourism in the USA and New Orleans. In *Tourism and culture,* edited by Eddystone C. Nebel, III, New Orleans: The University of New Orleans.

Reid, D. and R. Mitchell. 2001. Community integration: island tourism in Peru. *Annals of Tourism Research* 28: 113-139.

Richter, L. 1991. Tourism policy in Southeast Asia. In *Tourism in Southeast Asia,* edited by V King and M. Parnwell. London, England: Routledge.

Robbens, A. 1982. Tourism and change in a Brazilian fishing village. *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 6:3.

Schema Konsult. 1995. The study of the Mactan Island Integrated Master Plan. Cebu, Philippines. Unpublished manuscript.

Seastems Inc. 2001. *Profile of Panglao Island for the Panglao Island Tourism Estate Project.* Manila: Seastems Inc.

Smith, A., and N. David .1995. The production of space and the house of Xidi Sukur. *Current Anthropology* 36.

Smith, V. 1989. *Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism* 2nd edition. Philadelphia, USA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

U.P. PLANADES .1990. *Panglao Island development project reports.* Quezon City, Philippines: U.P. Planning and Development Research Foundation, Inc. (PLANADES). Unpublished manuscript.

Van Beek, W. 1995. Comment. *Current Anthropology* 36.

Vincent, J.F. 1995. Comment. *Current Anthropology* 36.

Williams, J. and R. Lawson. 2000. Community issues and resident opinions of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 28: 269-290.

Winslow, D. 2002. Space, place and economic anthropology: locating potters in a Sri Lankan landscape. In *Theory in economic anthropology,* edited by J. Ensminger. New York: Altamira Press.

Wood, R. 1991. Tourism, culture and the sociology of development. In T*ourism in Southeast Asia,* edited by V. King and M.J.G. Parnell. London, England: Routledge.

Chapter 8

Maintaining Competitive Advantage in Tourism Organizations: Emerging Patterns of Employment and Challenges for HRD

Susan L. Solis

Introduction

In recent years, organizations in the Philippine tourism industry have experienced many challenges due to factors like globalization and the Asian economic crisis. To survive, companies must build a competitive advantage by relying on their employees to implement improved service delivery processes. Tourism establishments, being service-oriented, depend highly on employee performance.

A company achieves competitive advantage when it gains a superior marketplace position relative to its competition. One way to achieve it is to create a better-quality product or service than what is offered by one's competitor. Research shows that a firm's human resource management (HRM) practices can have a strong impact on competitive advantage (Kleiman 1997).

Due to the labor-intensive nature of services in the accommodation sector, human resources is a key issue. The tourism industry is above all a "people industry" and the guest's impression of the service in an accommodation establishment is to a large extent governed by the attitude and efficiency of its staff. Employees who are enthusiastic and involved, proud of their company and who have internalized its goals and values, are the core of excellent operations.

Among hoteliers, there is wide recognition that survival in the international hotel industry depends upon developing well qualified, thoroughly trained staff focused on providing quality service to the customer (Go and Pine 1995).

Effective HRM is critical to the success of tourism organizations, which cannot compete globally with second-rate workers. Companies formulating and implementing business plans must consider human resource issues.

There is therefore an urgent need to address issues arising from changes in work and employment, such as those facing the tourism industry, brought about by globalization and the Asian economic crisis. Factors such as globalization and the Asian economic crisis have brought about changes in work and employment in Philippine tourism organizations. Since a competitive advantage is more readily achieved in organizations that can assess and adapt

to their changing environment, this study explores the scope and intensity of such changes and attempts to address the emerging challenges.

Objectives of the study

The study attempted to 1) identify the emerging patterns of employment relationships that have resulted from such factors as globalization and the Asian economic crisis in selected hotels; 2) assess the impact of the new patterns of employment on HRD strategies and interventions as hiring, training and development, performance management 3) determine the impact of the new patterns of employment on worker competence and employee perception of work-related issues; and 4) recommend measures related to the impact of the new employment patterns on HRD strategies and interventions.

Significance of the study

The effective utilization of human resources is essential in tourism establishments as competitive success depends on the organization's capacity to deliver high-quality, value-added service, which in turn is dependent on its people. Through an assessment of human resource-related issues brought about by emerging patterns of employment and work relations, new challenges can be addressed.

By taking into account the strengths and weaknesses of HRD strategies and interventions adopted due to the utilization of new patterns of employment, management would be in a better position to devise an HRD program that shall help maintain its competitive advantage amid changes in the work organization.

The information generated in this study should guide workers and their organizations in seeking better work terms and conditions and the improving their quality of work life.

Policymakers in government shall also benefit from the study as they enact and enforce work-related laws aimed to protect workers and ensure continued sustenance of service organizations in response to changes brought about by the new employment patterns.

Review of related literature

Recent developments such as globalization and changes in the world economy have resulted in drastic changes in employment patterns and labor utilization. Stiffer competition for scarce demand in the market has forced many businesses to adopt mechanisms that would achieve efficiency and competitiveness to ensure continued operations.

Globalization

Globalization has taken on a variety of conceptual meanings, including one that is macroeconomic in origin and another which focuses on the firm or

microeconomic agents. The first view focuses on the globalization of markets for commodities and factors, deemed most visible in the globalization of financial markets with magnitudes in flows of capital across borders. The second view posits firms behave differently, rather than traditionally, with respect to suppliers and markets. As production processes differ, relations among firms evolve differently, and trade takes on varying configurations (Alburo 1997).

The main manifestations of globalization in the world economy lie in the rapid growth in world trade, foreign direct investment, and cross-border financial flows over the past decade. The lowering of tariff and nontariff barriers to international trade, the encouragement of direct foreign investment, and the deregulation of financial markets are major economic liberalization measures that have driven globalization. Globalization has meant an increase in competition that is felt not just by multinational players but also by domestic ones, threatened by new players from abroad. Firms have had to increase their operational effectiveness by doing things better, cheaper and faster, and also to increase their organizational capability consisting of technical systems, people skills and cultural values. Moreover, the need to pay attention to the development of their human capital as a source of competitive advantage was underscored (Evans et al. 2002).

Worldwide, many firms and even entire industries in different countries are adapting their employment practices to the new terms of international competition. In many countries around the world, a new approach to employment relations has emerged. The employment practices that have been adopted, however, vary considerably across countries, firms, industries, and regions.

Globalization and the hotel industry

Go et al. (1999) says organizations in the hospitality and tourism industry have experienced a great deal of turmoil as the competitive forces within the industry have shifted under the weight of globalization. Structural and cyclical changes in the local, national, and international business environments have challenged the survival of organizations. Globalization is said to have prompted consolidation, brought about by an increase in market dominance of transnational companies, as well as the growing popularity of mergers and strategic alliances.

Within the hotel industry, globalization is commonly perceived to have a standardizing effect as products and institutional services originally offered domestically appear on the worldwide market. Globalization of the industry has increased competitive pressures by bringing more entrants to the domestic market, increasing consumer expectations and expanding their options. Hence, domestic hotel performance is greatly affected by high and consistent service levels and brand names of hotels operating worldwide (Go and Pine 1995).

Knowles et al. (2001) support this notion and advance the idea that globalization's effect on hotels and the accommodation sector is mainly evident in the resulting increased competitive pressure, which in turn creates a new way of thinking about human resources. This situation makes it more difficult to distinguish hotels from one other, as stiff competition has spawned a generally high standard for basic products and services. Increasingly, what distinguishes one provider from another is personal service and attention to detail.

The nature of service hotels offer underscores the role of human resources in ensuring the success of their operations. To hotel guests, their choice of a hotel does not simply mean picking a room with bed and bath but also with food and beverage and entertainment. The experiential nature of the services delivered involves all the physical senses, henceforth encompassing style and quality.

Given the competitive pressure brought about by globalization, hotels must rely on their human resources to deliver personal servicewith style and quality . Hence, organizations should place more emphasis on the important role played by their human resources in building a competitive advantage. A workforce that is skilled, well motivated, and works as a team is a major key to delivering quality service and giving hotels an edge over their competitors in a globalized world (Go and Pine 1995).

Economic crises and their impact on tourism

The Asian financial crisis, which struck countries in the East and Southeast Asian region beginning the second half of 1997, created a surge in unemployment due to firm closures and layoffs in most industries in Asia. An International Labour Organization study reported a loss of over 20 million jobs in countries within the region. This was further aggravated by the impact of the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States of America, adversely affecting major industries worldwide, leading to a worsening of the unemployment situation.

The tourism industry was one of the first to feel the effects of the economic crisis. As priorities shifted, tourism activity declined drastically, leaving the demand for transportation and travel and tourist accommodation services to a low level. A survey conducted by the World Tourism Organization in 1999 revealed that many countries within Asia were hard hit by the Asian crisis as intraregional tourism went down by 10 percent in 1998, and total arrivals by 5.6 percent.

There were a few exceptions such as Thailand, which was able to increase its tourist arrivals as it took advantage of cheaper prices resulting from the currency depreciation and its proximity to large adjacent markets seeking lower travel cost opportunities.

Overall, the study concluded that the Asian crisis impacted the hotel sector in Asia in two ways: 1) it increased the cost of debt servicing because

much of the new hotel investment was borrowed in $US currency; and 2) it squeezed the regional market's capacity to pay for the many upmarket hotels developed. As a result, the performance of hotels deteriorated with a significant collapse in yield (i.e., average earnings per available room) and gross operating profits as hotel operators scrambled for whatever business they could get. Thailand, which was not spared from the adverse effects of the economic crisis, experienced this same predicament.

Deep staff reductions and greater reliance on casual contract staff was a major cost reduction strategy resorted to by accommodation operators and owners in the hotel sector. Other strategies employed included extensive cost cutting, closure of unprofitable establishments, mergers and acquisitions (WTO 1999).

As the tourism industry was still trying to recover from the effects of the Asian financial crisis, the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks against the United States dealt another blow to the industry. Tourism was one of the major industries all over the world that was adversely affected by the aftermath of the attacks, as people from all over the world, concerned about their safety, avoided traveling. Tourism activity suffered an all-time low alongside most sectors within the industry (i.e., airlines, hotels and tourist accommodations, travel agencies, etc.). The resulting inactivity led to massive layoffs and retrenchments, causing thousands of workers to lose their jobs.

According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC 2002), from 2001 to 2002, travel and tourism demand declined by 7.4 percent worldwide and 10.9 in Southeast Asia. This translated to a loss of 10.45 million and 1.23 million jobs worldwide and in Southeast Asia, respectively

The Philippine scenario

In the Philippines, global competition has altered the economic landscape on which employer-employee and labor protection are based (Macaraya 1999).The lowering and eventual removal of tariff and free trade have made competition even stiffer, which resulted in an increased pressure to reduce costs and restructure enterprises. Many businesses unable to compete had to close down while those that continued operations had to resort to labor-related measures, one of which was flexible employment arrangements (Amante 2000; Fernando 1999; Jabar 1998; Noriel 1999; Ofreneo 1999; Szal 1999).

A landmark survey on industrial relations in the workplace (DOLE 1999) revealed the prevalent use of such arrangements as a means to cope with the impact of globalization in most industries in the Philippines. Other measures that establishments employed included improvement of product and service quality, acquisition of appropriate technology, investments in human resources development (HRD), streamlining of work practice, and diversification.

For the hotel and restaurant industry, the same survey showed that a substantial number of respondent establishments (44 percent) admit to the utilization of flexible employment arrangements among other mechanisms to cope with globalization.

Owing to the Asian economic crisis, unemployment worsened as more firms resorted to closures, layoffs, and retrenchments (Ofreneo 1999). Although international media reports in 1997 claimed that the Philippines was one of the least affected among ASEAN countries compared to Indonesia, South Korea, and Thailand, repercussions on the Philippine labor market were nevertheless significant.

Data gathered by the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) revealed that the number of establishments reporting closures and retrenchments trebled from 1997 to 1998. Displaced workers, on the other hand, doubled within the same period. Respondent companies cited factors relating to the economic crisis. These included lack of market, redundancy, high cost of production, peso depreciation, lack of capital, reorganization and financial losses.

Flexible work arrangements became commonplace in many Philippine businesses in the late 1990s. A survey conducted by the DOLE showed that the percentage of workers employed under flexible labor contracts (part-time, contractual, and casual) reached almost 21 percent of the total workforce in 1997 as against 14 percent in 1994.

As companies continue to feel the effect of the Asian financial crisis and reel from the currency turmoil that is expected to drag the economy to a lower growth path even beyond the new millennium, more workers are expected to lose their jobs or be subjected to various coping mechanisms that are undertaken by establishments to survive.

The Philippine tourism industry was adversely affected by the impact of the Asian financial crisis. Although air visitor arrivals was maintained at the 2 million mark in the period 1997-1999, there was a noticeable shift in the type of visitors. A drop in arrivals for holiday, business and convention purposes, those more likely to stay in tourist accommodation establishments, was recorded at 15 percent, 5.8 percent, and 5.9 percent respectively. A 28.6 percent increase in arrivals with the purpose of visiting friends and relatives offset the decline in the aforementioned categories. However, this category of arrivals comprised mostly of *balikbayan* (returnees) and Filipino overseas contract workers who are more likely to stay with families or friends, hence with no perceived significant impact on demand for tourist accommodation establishments and related tourist services.

In 1998 occupancy rate among accommodation establishments declined by 17.66 percent from the previous year. This can be attributed to the increase in rooms for sale arising from additional hotels in operation, coupled by a slowdown in visitor arrivals to the country. Occupancy rose by 4 percent in

1998 from the previous year's level. This, however, did not bring a corresponding rise in the demand for rooms.

As in the rest of the world, travel and tourism demand in the Philippines was further aggravated by the 9/11 attacks. The WTTC estimated a decrease in travel and tourism demand by 8.9 percent for the years 2001 and 2002. This led to the loss of an equivalent of over 205,000 jobs in 2001 and an estimated 108,000 jobs in 2002, for a total of over 300,000 jobs in the same period covered.

Government initiatives

As a response to the impacts of the crisis, the Philippine government undertook specific measures to assist both employers and workers to protect jobs and prevent company layoffs and closures. One initiative was the signing of an accord that would help promote industrial peace and stability. On February 6, 1998, representatives of labor and employer groups (i.e., Labor Advisory and Consultative Council, Trade Union Congress of the Philippines and the Employers Confederation of the Philippines) signed a Social Accord for Industrial Harmony and Stability, with DOLE and the Department of Trade and Industry as witnesses. The accord committed the employers to "exercise utmost restraint in the layoff, termination or rotation of their employees which should be used only as a last resort." Labor, on the other hand, was obliged "to exercise utmost restraint in declaring or going on strikes, slowdown of work and other forms of concerted work stoppages which should be availed of only as last resort" (DOLE 1997).

In effect, the accord required both employers and labor to work together for mutual adjustments, and the sharing of sacrifices, for the common objective of sustaining the viability of the business and at the same time protecting the jobs of workers amid trying times.

In 1997 the DOLE issued a policy guideline allowing contingent employment arising out of "contracting and subcontracting arrangements" (DOLE Department Order No. 10 1997). Prior to the issuance of these guidelines, labor-only contracting was expressly prohibited, as specified in Article 106 of the amended Labor Code. The new policy guidelines provided restrictions in the use of contingent employment by specifying clauses consistent with the promotion of employment, protection of workers' welfare, enhancement of industrial peace, and the right of workers to self-organization and collective bargaining. The policy in effect recognizes "flexibility for the purpose of increasing flexibility and streamlining operations essential for every business to grow in an atmosphere of free competition." It expressly condemns any form of flexibility that is intended to circumvent or evade workers' rights.

In May of 2001, the DOLE issued another policy guideline revoking Department Order No. 10. The order also reiterated the prohibition of la-

bor-only contracting. Government was evidently against the prohibition of contingent employment, which it firmly believed violated workers' rights (DOLE Department Order No. 3 series of 2001).

However, in February 2002, another guideline governing contracting and subcontracting arrangements was issued. Department Order No. 18-02 series of 2002 again expressly allowed for such employment arrangements but which now were subject to regulations for the promotion of employment and the observance of the rights of workers to just and humane conditions of work, security of tenure, self-organization and collective bargaining. Again the prohibition of labor-only contracting was reiterated.

Flexibility arrangements in industry and services

Firms resort to flexible work arrangements to achieve a perfect match between labor demand and changing labor supply and/or between changing individual needs and work supply (Gust 1999). Such arrangements refer to "flexibility in the deployment of human resources, in working practices and wages; the ability to reduce or increase employment or wage levels with ease; the ability to increase mobility; the ability to make more elastic use of skills and to introduce nonconventional working arrangements" (Kanawaty 1989).

Palafox (1990) identifies two types of flexible work arrangements, internal and external flexibility. Internal flexibility measures are utilized by companies to flexibly utilize labor, which it employs within its plant, and with which the employer has an employment relationship with the workers. Examples are overtime, forced leaves, and scheduled vacations. External labor flexibility measures, on the other hand, are utilized by companies outside of the firm and which usually involve other employers as agents or subcontractors.

Aside from scheduling of work time (e.g., overtime, forced leaves, scheduled vacations), one type of internal flexibility measure is a high-level flexibilization. Workers are encouraged to develop new skills and expose themselves to various types of work so that they can become multi-skilled and hence capable of doing a variety of tasks in a flexible environment. This strategy involves instilling among workers the idea that they are strategic partners facing the common enemy: competition in a global market.

External flexibility, on the other hand, is achieved primarily through labor turnover, (i.e., establishments hire or retrench workers depending on the business volume). Practices to enhance numerical flexibility may include temporary layoffs, greater reliance on causal or contractual labor, increasing the ratio of part-time to full-time workers, resorting more to probationary workers and contracting out employment. This permits establishments to adjust their direct labor inputs more easily, which involve numerical adjustments. Greater external flexibility potentially has an added advantage for the firm, which is the avoidance of many wage and nonwage labor costs associated with employing regular workers.

External flexibility practices, as identified by Edgren (1990), include the following:

a) Reducing the core of permanent workers while increasing the proportion of temporary and casual employment
b) Increasing the use of women, apprentices, and migrants
c) Subcontracting the production of components previously manufactured within the company
d) Subcontracting services like transport, packaging, maintenance, security, etc.
e) Increasing the number of shifts per day or the use of overtime
f) Reducing pay systems based on price rates and bonuses
g) Introducing internal training systems which facilitate redeployment of workers within the enterprise
h) Reducing influences from external trade union organization by either eliminating unions or establishing a controllable union

In essence, external flexibility practices permit establishments to adjust their direct labor inputs more easily. This type of measure is also called low-level flexibilization, or the ability of employers to reduce the labor cost, increase labor productivity, and strengthen management control over the work process and workers.

The Philippine Labor Code distinguishes the various forms of flexible employment arrangements from regular employment. An employment is deemed regular where the employee is engaged to perform activities that are usually necessary and desirable in the usual business or trade of the employer. Regular employees enjoy security of tenure, and as such their services cannot be terminated by employers unless for a just cause, as mandated by the Labor Code or when authorized by existing laws. They are also protected by labor standards and are entitled to the right to collective bargaining and benefits and services prescribed by law.

Beyond the regular employer-employee relationships, other forms of employment which fall under the classification of flexible arrangements are 1) casual; 2) temporary or substitute; 3) contractual; 4) agency (subcontracting, job contracting); 5) project employees (i.e., not part of a work pool; hired on a per project basis); and 6) apprentices and student trainees.

Workers hired under these forms of employment arrangement do not enjoy security of tenure as they may be dismissed at any time. While such employments are covered by specific provisions of the Labor Code, they are not covered by social benefits such as membership in the Social Security System, Medicare, and Pag-ibig Funds, nor are the workers entitled to other benefits and services prescribed by law that regular employees enjoy.

A DOLE 2000 survey shows that the average wages, salaries and allowances of nonregular rank and file workers in hotels and restaurants as well as

in all other industries are definitely much lower than those of regular employees. The 2000 DOLE report showed a difference of 3,600 pesos in monthly earnings between regular and nonregular rank-and-file workers in the hotel and restaurant sector.

In a review of previous studies conducted on flexible labor arrangements, Esguerra (1997) points out that flexible labor arrangements have been explained as a cost reduction mechanism in response to protective labor standards that increase labor costs or that prevent firms from varying their labor inputs in response to changes in economic circumstances. This mechanism of employing flexible workers henceforth enables employers to circumvent the effects of protective labor standards without necessarily reducing employment. This is the case when labor standards are strictly enforced. Hence, when labor standard enforcement is weak, as has been observed in developing countries, firms may not need to resort to various forms of nonregular employment if their main objective is to circumvent labor laws.

Esguerra further explains that the practice of employing nonregular workers in effect segments the workforce between the highly valued core workers, who are trained and enticed to stay with generous compensation packages, and others who get little training and no inducements to stay. The negative effects may show in terms of lower worker morale as workers know they can be replaced anytime.

Ofreneo and Barriatos (1991) advance the idea that in the Philippines, establishments employ external labor flexibility measures for several reasons. First, it permits the realization of cost differentials through lower wages and other overhead costs compared to the hiring of regular and unionized workers. Second, it is also more convenient and practical as the tedious and time consuming exercise of advertising, screening, selecting and training additional workers, especially if the demand for such workers is immediate, is avoided. A third reason is that it provides for flexibility in length of service, meaning once the need for additional workers is over, the employers can easily terminate the workers.

The authors further contend that labor flexibility, as has been found in the Philippines, has serious implications on employment security in the informal sector. Labor flexibility as practiced in the Philippines largely leads to a reduction in the regular workforce and therefore, of the number of workers with regular tenure. In essence, it erodes the bargaining power and overall employment security of regular workers. Other problems that labor flexibility practices bring to the fore are possible "enmities" between regular and casual workers and management problems of having to attend to complaints of flexible workers.

Scope and methodology

The survey undertaken for this paper was limited to the accommodation sector, because hotels, relative to other sectors in the Philippine tourism industry, have more developed and organized human resource departments. The range of frontline functions (rooms, food and beverage, concierge, travel facilitation, etc.) within the setting is expected to provide for the time being a suitable proxy for the tourism industry as a whole. Ultimately, this particular study can serve as a pilot survey that will help fine tune the research methodologies and instruments for application to the other tourism sectors in the future.

One major constraint encountered in obtaining data was resistance from target establishments in participating in the study. Notwithstanding the legal provisions on the prohibition and/or restrictions on various employment arrangements, the issue of employment practices is a sensitive one. Due to the difficulty in convincing target establishments to participate, only 11 establishments were included in the study. They were chosen based on their willingness to participate in the study, not random sampling.

The majority of the respondent establishments claim they do not keep records on statistics on employment for long periods of time. As only figures for recent years were made available, a number of items in the questionnaires were left unanswered and therefore excluded in the analysis.

Survey instruments

A survey of the emerging patterns of employment and the consequent HRD strategies and interventions adopted by management was undertaken in selected hotels and tourism accommodation establishments in Metro Manila. Data gathering was done primarily with the use of structured questionnaires, which were designed to elicit information that would address the issues on adequacy of worker protection, and the implications of HRD strategies like hiring, training, and performance management, including their consequences, on service delivery.

Three types of survey questionnaires were developed:

a) *Questionnaire for HRD managers.* This is designed to solicit information on employment arrangements, the reasons for their adoption, and the various conditions that accompany the arrangement such as compensation and benefits, training, and performance management (Refer to Appendix A).

b) *Questionnaire for managers/supervisors of the three operational departments, Front Office, Food and Beverage, and Housekeeping.* This will compare regular versus nonregular employees in terms of their levels of competence based on the occupational standards for the positions involved. The occupational standards were derived from those developed by the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority.

c) *Questionnaire for employees.* This is intended to compare the perceptions of regular versus nonregular employees on seven work elements: clarity of purpose, morale, fairness, recognition, teamwork, participation and communication. Each element is comprised of four statements for a total of 28 statements rated by the employees on a five-point scale.

Follow-up interviews were also conducted to supplement the data gathered through the survey questionnaires, and validate the information and obtain more in-depth responses.

Presentation and analysis of data

Profile of respondents

The respondents to the study consisted of employees from various departments involved in operations. Management as well as workers, both regular and temporary, were represented in the sample selected.

A total of 212 respondents from 11 establishments participated in the study: 45 managers/supervisors from the Front Office, Food and Beverage, and Housekeeping departments; and 158 employees and nine human resource department managers. Also among the respondents were those occupying the posts of Front Office Manager and Front Office Head Cashier (Front Office), Executive Housekeeper and Housekeeping Supervisor (Housekeeping Department), and Food and Beverage Manager and Captain Waiter (F & B Department), all of whom were in the position to rate their staff's performance based on a checklist of competencies.

Respondents who were either regular or contingent employees had the following positions: Front Desk Clerk/Guest Services Agent and Concierge (Front Office), Room Attendant (Housekeeping) and F & B Attendant (Food and Beverage Department). Both regular and nonregular employees filled out the questionnaire for employees. Table 1 shows the profile of the establishments that participated in the survey.

Employment arrangements and reasons for adoption

The most prevalent flexible employment arrangement utilized by the respondent establishments are the use of casuals, contractuals, agency hires, extras, seasonal hires, and apprentices. These are primarily used for positions as food and beverage attendants, banquet waiters, room and public area attendants and bellmen (Table 2).

A number of establishments also utilize apprentices, a form of employment that requires more than three months of practical on-the-job training supplemented by related theoretical instruction. The majority of the establishments also rely on student-trainees (practicum), who are assigned to positions in the Front Office, Food and Beverage, Housekeeping, and all the other offices.

Table 1. Profile of establishments

	Classification	Years in Operation	Ownership	Number of Rooms	Total Number of Employees (2002)
1	Standard	less than 2 years	Chinese-Filipino	150	
2	Standard	27 years	Chinese-Filipino	89	
3	Standard	8 years and 6 months	Chinese-Filipino	110	
4		Filipino		64	
5	First Class	60% Filipino 40% foreign		150	170
6	Standard	35 years	Filipino	73	159
7	Standard	less than 2 years	Filipino	64	98
8		less than 2 years 25% foreign	Filipino plus	151	99
9	First Class	2 years	Singaporean	138	75
10	Standard	8 years	Filipino		93
11	De Luxe	8 years 9 and months	Taiwanese	284	388

Most of the respondents reported that flexible employment arrangements were resorted to for projects of limited duration and as an alternative to hiring regular workers. Other reasons given were that they were used as a stopgap measure to cover for unusual workload and to cut on labor costs.

Hiring policies
The following table shows the practices with respect to screening regular and nonregular employees.

Compensation (rate of pay and benefits)
Nonregular employees received either the same or lower rate of pay than regular employees (Table 4). In terms of benefits and employee services, the regular employees received more items than the nonregular employees (Table 5) did. Even when establishments opted to give the nonregular staff a share of the service charge, it was found smaller than what the regular workers received.

Table 2 . Summary of flexible employment arrangements and positions assigned

Establishment	Flexible Employment Arrangement	Position Assigned
01	Casual Extra	Front Office Agent (FO) Public Area Attendant (HK) Room Attendant (HK) Public Area Attendant (HK) Room Attendant (HK)
03	Casual Agency Contractual Extra	Room Attendant (HK) F & B Attendant (F & B) Kitchen Helper (F & B) Steward (F & B) House Detectives (Security) Room Attendant (HK) Room Attendant (HK) Banquet Waiters (F & B)
04	Casual	Front Office Agent (FO)F & B Attendants (F & B) Room Attendant (HK)
05	Agency Contractual	HK Attendant (HK) Security Officers (Security) Carpenters (Engineering) Electrical Technician (Engineering)
06	Casual Contractual Extras Seasonal Apprentice	Waiter (F & B) Food Attendant (F & B) Steward (F & B) Painter (Engineering) Banquet Waiters (F & B) Food Checker (F & B) Waiter (F & B) Room Attendant (HK)
07	Casual/Agency Extras Seasonal	HK Attendant (HK) Front Office Agent (FO) Bellman (FO) F& B Attendant (F & B) Kitchen Helper (F & B) Banquet Waiters (F & B) F & B Attendant (F & B) HK Attendant (HK)
08	Casual/Agency	Housekeeper (HK) Technician (Engineering) Clerk/ Messenger Public Area Attendant (HK) Security Officer (Security)
09	Agency	Room Attendant (HK) Janitor Security Guard
10	Casual	Room Attendant (HK) Front Office Agent (FO)

Table 2 (cont'd)

Establishment	Flexible Employment Arrangement	Position Assigned
11	Casual Agency	Room Attendant (HK)
	Contractual	Collection Attendant
	Extra	Accounting Clerk
	Apprentices	House Officer/Security
	Seasonal	Food Attendant (F & B)
		Houseman/ Powder Girl (HK)
		Painter (Engineering)
		Waiter (F & B)
		Houseman (HK)
		Room Attendant (HK)
		Kitchen Helper (F & B)
		Houseman/Powder Girl
		Waiter (F & B)

Legend:
a. Casual—hired directly by the company for a five-month term
b. Agency—hired through an agency/contractor for a period of five months
c. Contractual—employment fixed for a specific project or undertaking termination of which has been determined at the time of engagement
d. Extra—hired daily, or as needed

Employee training

Both regular and nonregular employees appeared to have been be given training in general programs such as those on guest service, safety and security, and telephone etiquette (Table 6). The same is true for on-the-job trainings and job rotation programs.

Performance monitoring

Regular employees are evaluated either annually or semiannually by the direct supervisor or department head. For nonregular employees, some establishments no longer evaluated their performance. Others conducted the evaluation at the end of the five-month period of temporary employment.

Worker competence

In terms of manager ratings of the job skills of regular compared to nonregular employees, significant differences were noted for some specific skills and knowledge standards for front office agents, food and beverage attendants, as well as room attendants (Tables 8, 9, and 10).

However, there were virtually no significant differences between the perceptions of regular employees and those of the nonregular ones of the seven work elements: 1) clarity of purpose, 2) morale, 3) fairness, 4) recognition, 5) teamwork, 6) participation, and 7) communication.

Table 3. Minimum qualification requirements, recruitment methods, and screening measures

	Frequency of responses	
	Regular Employees	Nonregular Employees
Minimum Qualification Requirement		
High school graduate	2	6
Vocational technical graduate	4	5
College level	1	3
College graduate	9	4
Skills-certified	3	3
Recruitment Method		
Agency	1	5
Advertisement/Want ads	7	2
Internal promotion	8	2
Personal referrals	8	5
Walk-ins	8	5
Screening Measure		
Employment interview	9	7
Employment test	7	5
Background investigation	8	4
Physical/medical check-up	9	5
Curriculum vitae	9	7

N = 9 (multiple responses)

On the three operational departments included in the study—Front Office, Food and Beverage and Housekeeping—a statistically significant difference (Mann-Whitney U = 180, p=.014) between regular and nonregular employees was found in only one specific item (Individual effort is rewarded appropriately). This was among F&B respondents.

Analysis

The type of nonregular employment arrangement often resorted toby the participating establishments are those that provided for numerical flexibility. Employing casuals, contractuals, agency hires, extras, and apprentices permits establishments to adjust their labor inputs easily, depending on the requirements for a given period. The nature of tourism's peak and low sea-

Table 4. Rate of Pay: regular versus nonregular employees

Nonregular	Frequency of Responses
Lower rate of pay than regulars	5
Same rate of pay as regulars	4

N = 9

Table 5. Benefits of regular versus nonregular employees

	FREQUENCY OF RESPONSES	
Benefit	Regular Employee	Nonregular Employee
SSS/GSIS	9	7
First aid/emergency services	8	6
Company medical and dental services (regular consultations)	6	1
13th month pay	9	7
Retirement plan	5	
Pension plan	1	
Company financial assistance	6	1
Credit union	1	
Legal advice	3	2
Counseling services	8	6
Duty meal	9	7
Uniforms	7	5
Service charge	8	2 (less than regular)
Use of safety equipment	6	5
Life insurance	3	
Company outing	1	1

N = 9 (multiple responses)

sons carries with it seasonal requirements that call for adjustment in manpower size. During times of financial difficulty, when hotels feel the impending need to cut costs, this measure becomes a suitable coping mechanism for establishments.

How labor flexibility is implemented suggests efforts on the part of management to simulate the conditions surrounding the employment of regular workers. This can be gleaned on several counts: screening practices, provi-

Table 6. Types of training of regular versus nonregular employees

Type of Training	Regular	Nonregular
General orientation	9	9
Guest service	9	8
Values and attitudes	8	6
Team building	7	4
Safety and security	8	6
Telephone etiquette	9	8
On-the-job training	6	7
Job rotation	5	4
Facilitation/coaching skills	1	

N = 9 (multiple responses)

Table 7. Performance evaluation of regular versus nonregular employees

	Regular Employees	Nonregular Employees
Frequency of Evaluation		
• Monthly	5	
• Quarterly	4	1
• Five/six months		4
• Annually		
• None		4
Rater		
• Supervisor	5	3
• Department Head	2	1

N = 9

sion of training, and benefits and services schemes. With respect to screening of potential nonregular employees, hotel establishments take measures to ensure they hire only individuals deemed suitable for employment, notwithstanding their anticipated limited stay with the company. These measures include employment interviews and tests, physical-medical check-ups, and screening through the use of curriculum vitae. These are the same screening procedures observed for prospective regular employees.

In terms of rate of pay, more than half of the respondent establishments admitted they gave a lower rate to the nonregular workers compared to the regular ones. As far as benefits and services were concerned, the majority of the respondents provided the same entitlements—specifically SSS, first-aid emergency services, counseling services, duty meal, and 13th month pay—to

Table 8. Comparison between regular and nonregular employees on occupational standards for the position of front office agent

ItemNo.	Occupational Standard	Mann-Whitney U	P-Value
	Skill		
2	Receiving/registering FITs/returning guests	11.000	.026*
6	Responding to guests' request for extension of stay	18.500	.051*
7	Responding to guests' request for additional room facilities	16.500	.033*
8	Responding to guests' request for room transfer	18.000	.051*
10	Handling messages, incoming or outgoing faxes	17.000	.041*
15	Handling procedures in checking out guests	11.500	.012*
17	Accepting manner of settlement	11.500	.035*
18	Applying procedures after accepting payment	12.500	.046*
20	Remitting cash sales and foreign currency	8.500	.019*
21	Preparing guest arrival report	17.000	.029*
	Knowledge		
28	Bed sizes and types according to accommodations	15.000	.026*
30	Room features	14.500	.020*
32	Rooming terminology	16.000	.033*
34	General information	16.000	.033*
35	Word Processing	17.000	.041*
36	Different types of front office equipment	13.500	.015*
38	Computer/Desktop	17.500	.041*
41	Registration procedures for:		
	• Walk-in and pick-up guests		
	• Returning guests		
	• Group and FIT arrangement	15.000	.026*
45	Selling/rooming dialogue	7.500	.002*
46	Upselling techniques	18.500	.036*
47	Upgrading versus discounting	17.000	.029*
48	Communicating in English	16.000	.023*
58	Emergency procedures	18.500	.036*
59	Fire prevention and control	19.500	.045*

* Significant difference between regular and nonregular employees

both regular and nonregular employees. Uniforms and safety equipment were also among those mentioned by a number of respondents as being enjoyed by both groups of employees.

Two establishments said their nonregular employees got a share of the service charge, albeit it was smaller than what the regular workers received.

Table 9. Comparison between regular and nonregular on occupational skills standards for the position of food and beverage attendant

Item No.	Occupational Standard	Mann-Whitney U	P-Value
	Skill		
9	Presenting menu	15.000	.046*
14	Assembling order on the tray	13.000	.014*
16	Asking for additional orders and guest service	17.500	.022*
28	Handling guest complaints	12.000	.006*
	Knowledge		
38	Menu specification	17.000	.022*
43	Wine liquor specification	13.500	.027*
44	Different types of equipment and table appointment and wares	19.500	.035*
52	Preservice operation	18.500	.028 *
53	Postservice operation	20.500	.043 *
56	Methods and procedures	20.500	.043*
57	Composition	19.500	.036 *
60	Selection and sequence	15.000	.013 *
61	Procedures/methods of assembling foods on the tray	12.000	.021 *
86	Handling complaints	10.500	.003 *
	Attitude		
96	Attention to detail	20.500	.043 *

* *significant difference between regular and nonregular employees*

Only one establishment reported providing company financial assistance and medical/dental services. Needless to say, regular employees usually received more in terms of total compensation than what the nonregular employees got. In terms of training provided, the respondent establishments said they provided almost the same types of programs to nonregular and regular employees. As far as team building programs were concerned, only four of the respondent establishments claimed they covered both types of employees.

While it was apparent that the respondent establishments wanted both their regular and nonregular employees to develop the necessary knowledge, skills, and attitudes through training, significant differences in some aspects of worker competence were noted through the survey. One explanation for this could be that while nonregular workers were also allowed to participate in the training programs, the transient nature of their employment prevented them from fully benefiting from such activities.

Table 10. Comparison between regular and nonregular employees on occupational standards for the position of room attendant

tem No.	Occupational Standard	Mann-Whitney U	P-Value
	Skill		
1	Securing key	14.500	.002*
2	Checking room status	27.000	.036*
6	Removing soiled dishes, old newspapers and amenities	25.000	.025*
7	Stripping bed	21.500	.025*
8	Making bed	26.000	.049*
9	Vacuuming carpets and edges	15.000	.003*
10	Dusting furniture, fixtures, walls and baseboards	27.500	.036*
11	Checking and charge mini-bar consumption	18.500	.030*
12	Checking appliances	27.500	.036*
13	Checking room amenities and supplies	27.500	.036*
18	Cleaning light diffusers	33.000	.049*
21	Cleaning wash basin	36.000	.041*
23	Cleaning toilet bowl	35.000	.035*
	Knowledge		
41	Storage and handling of chemicals	26.000	.007*
43	First aid treatment	28.500	.021*
47	Bed-setting	33.000	.026*
48	Curtains/draperies installation	35.000	.035*

Significant difference between regular and nonregular employees

In a comparison of Front Office agents, significant differences in the perceived competence between regulars and nonregular workers were noted in 47 percent of the occupational standards (or 29 out of 65). This is a serious concern, as the front office agent is usually the first point of contact between employees and guests.

Also interesting was the clustering of the items where significant differences were observed. Such differences were noted mainly in the standards for handling of guests (44 percent; 4 out of 9 standards), checking out of guests (66 percent; 4 out of 6 standards), and product knowledge (80 percent; 8 out of 10 standards). Other standards where differences were found fell under the classification of checking in of guests, preparing and maintaining records and reports, and knowledge of hotel operational procedures, communication and safety practices.

For food and beverage as well as room attendants, significant differences in the perceived competence in favor of regular versus nonregular employ-

ees were observed in 14.14 percent (14 out of 99 standards) and 17.52 percent (17 out of 97 standards) of the occupational standards, respectively. The smaller percentage of standards where a significant difference was noted may be explained by the fact that standards for food and beverage and room attendants are not as complex as that of the front office agent.

As was observed among front office agents, a clustering of significantly differentiated standards between regular and nonregular room attendants was also observed. In particular, differences were noted in the standards for cleaning guest rooms (75 percent; 6 out of 8 standards) and bathrooms (50 percent; 3 out of 6 standards). Other standards where differences were found revolved around preparing to clean, checking of rooms, product knowledge, and safety practices.

These findings highlight the need for closer performance monitoring among nonregular employees. While performance evaluations applied to the regular employees in all the respondent establishments, it not the same for nonregular employees. Only a handful of respondent establishments reported undertaking the process for their nonregular staff. Half of the respondent establishments reported they did not evaluate their employees at all. Needless to say, stricter monitoring and performance evaluations are in order to ensure attainment of the standards.

There were hardly any significant differences in the perceptions among regular and nonregular employees of work-related elements such as clarity of purpose, morale, fairness, recognition, teamwork, participation, and communication. One possible explanation for this could be, as mentioned earlier, management efforts to provide both types of employees with the same working conditions. However, regular employees were found to receive more than nonregular employees did in terms of rates of pay and some benefits. Otherwise, all employees could participate in the same company activities, including training and development as well as recreational and health-related ones.

Nonregular workers appear to acknowledge that some companies must resort to temporary employment in the face of an economic downturn. They believe it is a better alternative to not having any job at all.

Based on the conditions that have brought about the utilization of labor flexibility and those that usually accompany this type of employment arrangement, the following diagram seeks to illustrate the results of the study. Figure 1 shows an apparent gap between the conditions surrounding flexible employment arrangements and those that are seen to propel workers to perform well. Contingent employees are those who have no security of tenure, as their employment with the establishment is only for a predetermined period of time. The transient nature of their engagement with the establishment has implications on the compensation (monetary and nonmonetary) and training that they receive while in the firm. Their compensation is usually

below that of a regular employee although the work performed is essentially the same. Also, they are not entitled to financial assistance and other long-term benefits such as retirement and pension.

While nonregular employees could take advantage of company training so they can upgrade their knowledge and skills, the transient nature of their employment prevents them from optimizing such an opportunity and thus fail to perform at par with the regular employees. This is particularly true for highly complex tasks such as those performed by guest services agents in front offices.

With regard to training, nonregular employees may be asked to participate in development activities that will help them upgrade their knowledge and skills. However, the transient nature of their employment may prevent from learning to the fullest extent possible the essential elements that will enable them to perform as well as the regular employees. This is particularly true for highly complex tasks such as those performed by the guest services agents in hotel front offices. These are opposite the conditions that are seen to bring about quality worker performance: equitable compensation, security of tenure and well-trained staff. These are challenges that could make it difficult for contingent employees to deliver quality service.

The impact of globalization heightens the need for quality service, especially in organizations like hotels, where there is a high degree of interaction between frontline employees and customers. Such an interaction, known as the "service encounter," has a direct impact on customer level of satisfaction, which in the long run will determine whether an establishment will continue to compete successfully with its competitors.

The foregoing conditions pose a challenge to ensuring that even contingent employees deliver quality service. Admittedly, there are some tradeoffs between quality work performance and cost reduction through the adoption of flexible labor arrangements. The economic viability of establishments employing such measures is threatened once guests turn to competitors that can provide better services. This is one of the negative repercussions of undertaking flexible labor measures.

In service organizations, as in tourist accommodation establishments, the employment of labor flexibility measures, if not managed properly, may have negative repercussions on service delivery. Hence, if no policy changes are effected, the economic viability of establishments employing labor flexibility measures is also threatened as guests turn to competitors who can provide better services.

Policy options and alternatives
Historically, turnover (i.e., the rate by which employees are hired and separated from organizations) has been viewed by hospitality organizations in two different ways: 1) as an issue of concern, since it entails costs to the company;

and 2) as something that is not necessarily undesirable, given the benefits that can be derived from it (Rutherford 1995).

As an issue of concern, companies incur costs arising from recruitment and training. There are also nonquantifiable costs are diminished image and possibly customer loyalties to previous employees in the process of turnover. *(The phrase "there are also" is necessary to distinguish the nonquantifiable costs from the quantifiable ones mentioned in preceding statements.)* This view underscores the need to control turnover. Still another of the first view's implications revolves around employee wellbeing in terms of security of tenure as well as commitment and motivation to perform well.

Under the second view, performance and longevity have an inverse "U-shaped" relationship. This means performance increases over the short to intermediate term but decreases over the longer term (i.e., the longer the employees stay, the less likely they are to increase their performance), making turover a desirable proposition. Proponents of the second view, however, believe that through constant replacement of workers, an establishment can more freely assign relatively new and presumably still young and energetic hires to front-of the-house positions (i.e., positions which entail face-to-face interactions with guests). This is particularly valuable for service organizations that are understandably conscious of maintaining a positive image—which is essentially projected through their front-of-the-house service employees.

In some companies, like McDonald's and Jollibee in the Philippines, it has become a standard HR policy to encourage employee turnover to make sure they get only young, enthusiastic, and competent contingent workers (Palafox 2002).

Policy options

The policy options and alternatives offered in this paper take into account the unique characteristics of service organizations. These are 1) the seasonality of business volume and 2) the simultaneity of production and consumption of the service, which necessitates interaction between the service employee and the guest. One or a combination of policy options and alternatives may attain the dual objectives of pursuing quality service and safeguarding employee welfare.

Policy option 1: strengthening of protection of contingent workers
Strengthen efforts to protect workers on contingent employment. Among others, DOLE must monitor strict implementation of the law. Moreover, workers need to be educated about their rights and privileges so they will not fall prey to exploitation.

A number of provisions included in the Labor Code are specifically intended for the protection of contingent workers' rights. These provisions

have been supplemented by policy guidelines issued by DOLE in more recent years. However, their implementation has been weak as many establishments are still able to circumvent existing laws. The prevalent practice of "labor-only" contracting, though prohibited, is proof of this..

Policy option 2: industry initiatives and regulations
a. Maintenance of a pool of workers for semiskilled positions, who pass certification training and can easily be hired to meet the requirements of tourist accommodation establishments.

This requires intensive training in occupational skills standards leading to certification of workers for a particular position and which would enable them to render services that meet industry standards. This mechanism serves to ensure that those who pass trade skills training programs receive the desired skills and knowledge competencies required by the industry. A centralized government agency responsible for the certification training and deployment of these personnel is needed if this alternative is to be pursued.

b. Assignment of contingent workers only to back-of-the-house posts.

It has been noted that many flexible workers are assigned to front of the house posts. Even student-trainees and practicumers are fielded to very sensitive front-of-the-house positions including assignments at the front desk. The danger in this arrangement is that the quality experience of guests in every service encounter may be difficult to achieve. The arrangement depends on workers who are not secure in their jobs or may not be prepared in terms of knowledge and skills to perform the tasks required. Given the employment conditions affecting contingent workers and their implications on their level of performance, it is best to bar them from having to interact directly with the customers.

Assigning them to back-of-the-house posts—perhaps in areas such as the HRD or Comptrollers Division—will enable them to be more closely supervised and free them having to commit mistakes in the presence of guests.

Policy option 3: emphasis on internal flexibility instead of the use of external flexibility measures
The prevalent practice when resorting to flexible employment arrangements is to adjust the labor inputs. This involves external flexibility where numerical adjustments in manpower results in a high degree of employee turnover.

The use of internal flexibility is seen as a means by which employees can maintain the regular employment relationship with the organization. This is because the measures employed are within the boundaries of the firm. This can be implemented in two ways: 1) use of work pools and 2) multiskilling of workers, a high level of internal flexibility.

Use of work pools by employing workers on a regular but "no-work-no-pay" basis
The seasonal nature of business activity in tourism organizations makes it difficult to maintain a full complement of manpower throughout the year. Hence, firms may opt to maintain work pools instead. Workers hired in this category may be regularized after the appropriate probationary period but will be engaged on a "no-work-no-pay" scheme. In other words, they shall be called upon to perform duties for the company only when there is a need for their services. This strategy allows for internal flexibility and is within the parameters set by law.

In terms of benefits and services, companies must provide at least the minimum amounts or levels mandated by law. Company benefits not required by law shall be at the firm's option. Several tiers of benefits and wages can be established, which will mean newer hires will have less benefits than their more senior counterparts. Under this scheme, a company may have to spend more for benefits and services than it would if it hired workers on casual or contractual basis. However, it can keep these additional costs at a minimum level. At the same time, employees in the work pools get to enjoy certain privileges that in the first place are due them.

There are disadvantages, however, to this kind of arrangement. Employees hired on this basis may not be able to maximize potential earnings compared to those hired on a regular basis. Though they can take on part-time work in other establishments on no-work days, they are obliged to return to work the moment they are called, lest they be charged with insubordination. Repeated violations of this policy may even lead to termination.

This alternative may not offer a perfect solution to the predicament that workers face. Yet, it allows them to enjoy regular employment.

Multiskilling of workers (high-level internal flexibilization)
Allowing workers to develop multiple skills enables them to assume other responsibilities aside from those required by their current posts. It primarily involves equipping a core group of employees with the ability to render quality service for a variety of tasks. Hence workers may have to move from one department to another as the need arises.

This strategy also involves continuous training, provision of working conditions that would instill worker loyalty and commitment, and instilling in the workers the notion that they are strategic partners of the organization.

Areas for future research
One area for future research that is worth exploring is the role of unions in safeguarding contingent workers' rights. With more companies resorting to flexible work arrangements, it is possible that trade unions and labor organizations were weakened, since regular employment served as its organizational base. Corollary to this, the relevance of the collective bargaining system un-

der the emerging conditions in the workplace becomes an issue. Studies that focus on the union and its role in bridging the gap between labor flexibility and recognition of contingent workers' rights may be vital to policymaking in the future.

Other possible areas for research are the other sectors not covered by this study. As stated earlier, this study was limited to the accommodations sector of the tourism industry. Looking into the other sectors of tourism (e.g., transportation, travel agencies, airlines and convention) in future studies can provide a more complete picture of the extent of problems and challenges confronting the whole tourism industry.

Conclusion

Globalization and changes in the world economy have threatened the economic viability of establishments worldwide. Labor flexibility, as one of the measures commonly utilized by many establishments to cope with the impact of globalization, is seen as being characterized by conditions inconsistent with the elements that would account for quality worker performance.

The need to bridge the gap between conditions surrounding labor flexibility and conditions that ensure quality worker performance must be addressed if firms, particularly service establishments like hotels, are to gain competitive advantage and thus ensure their economic viability.

Ensuring a company's survival and sustainability should, however, go hand in hand with protecting employee welfare. This should be the guiding principle of any establishment in devising strategies intended to address its needs amid the difficulties posed by globalization and other economic challenges. When the workers' welfare is upheld, chances of achieving a competitive advantage through quality work performance increase. Only then can the economic viability of an establishment be ensured.

Bibliography

Alburo, F. 1997. Effects of globalization on growth and equity in the Philippines. In *Globalization: Effects on growth and equity*. Proceedings of the Third Sustainable Human Development Forum. Manila:UNDP

Amante, M. 2000. Diversity in contingent employment in the Philippines: policy options. Study Group on Philippine Labor Law & Reform and the Future of Work Relations. Quezon City: U.P. Center for Integrative Studies

Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE).2000. *Employers' monthly reports on terminations*. Manila: DOLE

Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE). 1999. Industrial relations at the workplace survey. Manila: DOLE.

Department of Tourism (DOT). 1999. Statistical Reports. Manila: DOT

Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE). 1997. Department Order No. 10 Series of 1997. Manila: DOLE

Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE). 2001. Department Order No. 3 Series of 2001. Manila: DOLE

Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE). 2002. Department Order No. 18-02 Series of 2002. Manila: DOLE

Edgren, G. 1990. Employment adjustments and the unions: case studies of enterprises in Asia. *International Labor Review* 129:(5).

Erikson, C. and S. Kurnville. 1998. Industrial relations implications of the Asian economic crisis. Unpublished.

Esguerra, E. 1997. *Flexible labor arrangements in the Philippines: trends, theory, implications*. Japan: Institute of Developing Economies.

Evans, P., V. Pucik, and J. Barsoux. 2002. *The global challenge*. New York: McGraw Hill Company.

Fernando, N. 1999. Globalization and its impact on the Philippine labor market. Unpublished.

Go, F., M. Monachello and T. Baume. 1999. *Management for the hospitality industry*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Go, F. and R. Pine. 1995. *Globalization strategy in the hotel industry*. New York: Routledge.

Gust, D. 1999. Occupational safety and health challenges. Philippine Industrial Relations for the 21st Century: Emerging Issues, Challenges and Strategies. Proceedings of the National Conference on Industrial Relations, 8-12 November, Manila.

Jabar, R. 1998. Prospects for the Filipino workers in a globalized economy and the role of the ILO. The Social Dimension of Globalization and the Role of the ILO in the Next Century. Proceedings of the Tripartite

Roundtable Discussion in Celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Philippine Membership in ILO. Manila: International Labour Organization.

Kanawaty, G. 1989. Adjustments at the micro Level. *International Labour Review* 128(3).

Kleiman, L. 1997. *Human resource management: A tool for competitive advantage.* MN: West Publishing Company.

Knowles, T., D. Diamantis and J. El-Mourhabi. 2001. *The globalization of tourism and hospitality: a strategic perspective.* London: Thomson.

Lee, E. 1996. Globalization and employment: is anxiety justified? *International Labour Review* 135(5).

Lim, J. 1999. The social impact of and responses to the current East Asian economic and financial crisis: the Philippine case. Unpublished

Locke, R., T. Kochan, and M. Piore. 1995. *Employment relations in a changing world economy.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Macaraya, B. 1999. The Labor Code: The unprotected workers. Philippine industrial relations in the 21st century: emerging issues, challenges and strategies. Proceedings of the National Conference on Industrial Relations, 12-18 November, Manila.

Noriel, C. 1999. Philippine industrial relations in a regional perspective. Philippine Industrial Relations in the 21st Century: Emerging Issues, Challenges and Strategies. Proceedings of the National Conference on Industrial Relations, 12-18 November, Manila.

Ofreneo, R. 1999. Globalization and the Asian economic crisis: an assessment of the social accord initiatives in the Philippines. Unpublished.

Ofreneo, R. and N. Barriatos. 1991. Employment security and labor market flexibility in the Philippines. Paper contributed to the international comparative research project on labor market flexibility and employment security. Geneva: ILO.

Ofreneo, R. and B. Macaraya. 1998. The crisis: impact on Philippine labor relations. Paper presented at the Conference on The Crisis After One Year, Manila.

Ozaki, M. 1999. *Negotiating fexibility.* Geneva: International Labour Organization.

Palafox, J. July 1990. HRD srategies and labor market flexibility measures in selected manufacturing firms in Metro Manila. Professorial Chair Paper. Manila : University of the Philippines.

Rutherford, D. 1995. *Hotel management and operations.* N.Y.: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Szal, R. 1999. Globalization, employment and industrial relations. Philippine industrial relations for the 21st Century: emerging issues, challenges and strategies. Proceedings of the National Conference on Industrial Relations, 12-18 November, Manila.

Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA). 1998. *Training regulations: tourism, hotel and restaurant occupations.* Manila: TESDA Tourism Occupations.

Weiss, M. 1999. Globalization: challenges and opportunities for Philippine industrial relations in the next millennium. Philippine industrial relations for the 21st century: emerging issues, challenges and strategies. Proceedings of the National Conference on Industrial Relations, 12-18 November, Manila.

World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC). 2002. *The impact of travel and tourism on jobs and the economy.* United Kingdom: WTTC:

World Tourism Organization (WTO). 1999. *Impacts of the financial crisis on Asia's tourism sector.* Madrid, Spain: WTO.

RESOURCE PERSON
Juan Amor F. Palafox. Dean, U.P. School of Labor and Industrial Relations (2002).

About the Authors

Ramon Benedicto A. Alampay is an Assistant Professor at the UP Asian Institute of Tourism and former director of the Division of Tourism Research and Extension Services. He is presently a senior consultant at the Asia Pacific Projects, Inc. He obtained his Ph.D. in Parks, Recreation and Tourism Resources from Michigan State University, and his Master of Professional Studies (MPS) in Travel Industry Management, 1992 from University of Hawaii. He was consultant to agencies like Asia Pacific Tourism Development Corporation (APTDC), TESDA and DOT.

Maria Cherry Lyn S. Rodolfo is an economist and instructor at the School of Economics, University of Asia and the Pacific. She obtained her masters degree in Industrial Economics from the Center for Research and Communication and her bachelor degree in Management from Ateneo de Manila University. She has done research on various issues among which are air transport, tourism, retail trade and trends in the services sector. She has served as consultant for the Center for Research and Communication, Growing Business Incorporated, and Cebu Pacific Air.

Reil G. Cruz is a former Dean of the UP Asian Institute of Tourism. He finished his Master in International Studies and his bachelor degree in Tourism from the University of the Philippines. He has done research on Principles of Travel and Tourism, Tourism Strategies and Tourism Promotion and a member of the Asia Pacific Tourism As sociation.

Juline R. Dulnuan is an assistant professor and former director of the Division of Research, Training and Extension Services at the University of the Philippines' Asian Institute of Tourism. She obtained her masters degree in Women and Development and Masters of Specialization in Tourism Management from the University of the Philippines. She authored various papers and publications most of which are on women in indigenous communities and community-based tourism. She is a member of the technical committee of the Philippine Tourism Industry Board Foundation Inc. and the technical working group of the Philippine Senate Committee on Tourism.

Florence C. Evacitas is an instructor at the University of the Philippines in the Visayas Cebu College. She finished her masters degree in Environmental Studies from the University of the Philippines Los Baños and her bachelor degree in Biology from the University of the Philippines Visayas Cebu College.

Jose Eleazar R. Bersales is the chair of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of San Carlos. He has a masters degree in Philippine studies from the University of the Philippines. He has done research on development anthropology; anthropology of tourism; gender, sexuality and reproductive health; social history; archaeology.

Susan S. Solis obtained her Diploma in Industrial Relations and Master of Arts in Business Administration from the University of the Philippines. She is the college secretary of the UP Asian Institute of Tourism and formerly a training manager for Hotel Sofitel Grand Boulevard Manila. She has done research on human resource strategies, tourism development, employee training and development and a member of the Association of Trainers in Tourism and Allied Industries.

Tourism holds the promise of increased employment and income opportunities for Filipinos, particularly in the coastal and rural areas of the country. Yet, it is an industry built upon the most fragile of natural and cultural environments – environments wherein the most inconsequential and innocent of human gestures can easily result in surprisingly destructive and difficult consequences on the site's resources. Through tourism, the Philippines aspires to become a stronger player in the integrated travel industry of today. Yet, the country realizes that in order to do so, it must conserve, protect , and strengthen the cultural, historical, and natural resources upon which the Philippines draws its unique competitive advantages. All these, in a manner that can be sustained for the benefit and enjoyment of future generations of Filipinos.

This collection of research papers reflects the scope and complexity of sustainable tourism development. The various papers also mirror the complexity of sustainable tourism development, and they hint at the multi-disciplinary approach that this mode of tourism needs to succeed. Each paper applies a different disciplinary framework to its particular tourism problem: economics, sociology, anthropology, environmental science, management science, human resources development, and others. Each paper provides a unique academic angle on sustainability and tourism