

Connectivity and Interdependence:

Social Network Analysis of Community Tourism in Pamilacan Island, the Philippines

by

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Background of the Problem

In the last half century, tourism has become “one of the most important industries in the world in terms of employment creation and generation of foreign revenues,” according to the United Nations Steering Committee on Tourism for Development (2011: 3). It is now one of the biggest industries of the world, and is a major component of the global economy (Hunter & Green, 1995: 4; UNWTO, 2015b: 2). The UN World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2015a: 11) reports that 1, 135 million tourists travelled around the world in 2014, a 4.5% increase over the previous year. In 2013, South-East Asian countries became the fastest growing number of tourist arrivals, the Philippines with a reported growth of 10% (UNWTO, 2014: 7). Improvements in transportation and communication systems, the lowering cost of air travel, and increased income in industrialized countries, facilitate this rapid growth of tourism in Third World destinations (Eadington & Smith, 1992; Hitchcock *et al.*, 1993; Holden, 2008).

Tourism has become a crucial contributor to the global economic growth. The World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2015b: 3) estimates tourism’s contribution to the global gross domestic product (GDP) at some 9%. It records that 1 in 11 jobs in the world are tourism related. The potential of tourism for contributing to economic development makes the industry attractive to governments and development agencies, especially in developing

countries.¹ In the case of the Philippines, the government has invested in tourism in the past decades by improving basic facilities and offering financial assistance to various tourism enterprises. In 2014, the Philippine Statistics Authority (2015) recorded 7.8% contribution of tourism to the country's economy amounting PhP 982.4 billion, higher by 14% in the previous year.²

However, tourism is not only an economic, but is also a social phenomenon.³ In spite of the economic potential, big-scale tourism activities have had a negative impact on local communities (e.g., Allen *et al.*, 2010; Barker, 1982; Cohen, 1978). These led people to reconsider more community-friendly touristic strategies that could bring in active local participation in the industry. Governments and development agencies started to adopt community-based tourism (CBT) as an alternative approach to tourism development which aims to involve villagers in order for these people to share direct benefits from touristic

¹ Relying on natural resources and requiring no vast capital for infrastructures, many developing countries venture into tourism industry as a “quick” and “simple” solution to the problem of underdevelopment (Crick, 1989: 315; Long, 1992: 135). Through increased foreign-exchange, employment opportunities, increased income, and enlarged tax collections, these countries look up to tourism as a means to eliminate the widening gap between developed and developing societies and to contribute substantially to social development and general progress (Jud & Krause, 2010: 304; Vanhove, 1997: 60). International donor agencies and NGOs also share the same hope considering how tourism could reduce poverty (Holden, 2008: 128). It is in this regard that the first academic representations on tourism were purely economic, seeing the industry largely as a positive force in economic development in the 1960s (Crick, 1989: 314). However, some scholars argue that “globally, there is a lack of convincing empirical evidence to support the claim that tourism benefits the poor” (Chok *et al.*, 2007:49).

² Employment in tourism was estimated at 4.8 billion. Tourism has become the fourth largest source of foreign exchange earnings (Senate of the Philippines, 2014: 1).

³ Most studies on the relationship between tourism activities and the local host communities can be classified as “impact” studies (Apostolopoulos *et al.*, 1996: 4; Stronza, 2001: 262). Since the early 1980s, empirical studies have focused on the consequences and implications of touristic activities on livelihood, culture, and natural environment of local communities (Akis *et al.*, 1996: 482; Nash, 1996). Earlier analyses were “touristological”, focusing on the experiences of tourists mostly from “more developed societies” (Cohen, 1984: 376; Nash & Smith, 1991:15). Such studies tend to consider the local people as passive recipient of the effects of the industry in their localities.

activities in their own vicinities. Organizers collaborate with locals in different parts of the world to develop community-owned and managed CBT organizing projects.⁴

This community approach to tourism development has gained such popularity that it has hardly received criticism. However, scholars have started to express pessimistic views concerning the approach. Critics have argued that there has been no concrete evidence of its success in the field (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009: 4; Moscardo, 2008: 5). Empirical studies have shown how government-NGO sponsored community-based tourism organizations collapsed with the end of formal CBT projects; how tourism led to conflicts and divisions rather than unity in communities; how local resources were exhausted and depleted; how local people were left behind with the growing competition. In other words, people have invested a large amount of capital in community tourism organizing activities but have wasted time and resources gaining nothing. In spite of this, governments and NGOs still advocate this strategy in many developing countries. In the case of the Philippines, government and NGOs continue to invest resources and political means to develop CBT projects in many parts of the country since the mid-90s.

The main issue of community tourism is how villagers would be able to engage actively in and benefit from touristic activities in their backyards given their individual differences and lack of resources. Local tourism industry demands not only the attractiveness of local environments and cultures and the hospitality of the locals, but also financial, technical, and professional resources in order for it to be at least operational. However, the realities of the villages in developing countries wherein touristic activities are growing show that the locals do not have such necessary resources, which are too costly for them to acquire

⁴ Organizing agencies provide communities with necessary resources to prepare villagers to engage in small-scale touristic enterprises. These agencies also facilitate in drafting tourism development programs. Local governments, on their part, promulgate legislative mechanisms and policies that could encourage community-based tourism in their own territories.

on their own. Internal conflicts and the scarcity of local resources, which are common realities in such villages, have hindered the achievement of CBT goals. To be continuously operational, government and development agencies would have to endlessly provide villagers with the capital, which could not be the case. Are local communities doomed to be disqualified from collectively participating in the tourism industry and be marginalized within their own territories?

1.2. Objectives of the Study

Community tourism can be seen within the wider issue of community organizing activities. Village communities have similar characteristics distinct from metropolitan settings. Organizing behaviors among villagers are determined by the closeness of their inter-personal relationships and social expectations.

Earlier studies have gained insights on the basic conditions for maintaining community tourism. However, a crucial characteristic of the “community” and “tourism” has not been given much attention. That is, the interactions among actors which form social networks that determine the organizing activities and flow of resources within the community and among wider participants of the touristic industry. In addition, earlier analyses have focused more on the dynamics of formally initiated CBT organizing structures without taking into account the informal organizing activities which have sustained local touristic services.

Thus, there is a need for an alternative analytical perspective that could examine the characteristics and properties of the interactions of people involved in community tourism activities. A network approach is helpful to understand how villagers restructure their pattern

of interactions to address the problems of internal conflicts, competition, and lack of local resources in order to be integrated in and benefit from tourism. This could also give insights on why some forms of organizing structure collapse, while others persist in spite of the latter's lack of formal arrangements. This dissertation then is an effort to examine how emergent organizing networks among local people and with outsiders that form a wider touristic system maintain community tourism in the midst of internal conflicts, competition, and lack of local resources, in spite of the collapse of formal organizing structures. In particular, using social network analysis, this present study aims to:

1. Analyze the characteristics and structural properties of the social network involving a collapsed formal CBT organization and the reasons for its failure,
2. Examine the characteristics and structural properties of the emergent networks which facilitate integration of the islanders and the generation of income in spite of the collapse of formal structures, and
3. Categorize the types of networks which enable the local people to maintain a touristic livelihood in spite of internal conflicts, competition, and lack of local resources.

To do this, I first discuss the basic foundations and earlier analyses of the community tourism approach and highlight the analytical and empirical gaps that need to be addressed. Then, I propose the network approach as an alternative perspective in understanding the organizing behaviors of villagers with outsiders. After discussing concepts and methods, I proceed to examine the case of Pamilacan Island community tourism to illustrate the arguments of this present study. This dissertation does not aim at generalizations or a

prediction of success and failure of organizations. Rather, the insights from the case hope to provide wider theoretical and analytical implications that could be further examined and developed in future similar investigations.

1.3. Research Questions and Propositions

To illustrate the scenario of how a community is able to maintain CBT livelihood after the collapse of formal organizing structures, I chose the case of Pamilacan Island in the Philippines. Pamilacan community-based tourism was a pilot project in the country. However, after several attempts, formal organizing activities collapsed. In spite of this, local islanders continue to cooperate in and benefit from collective touristic services. This study then seeks to find answers to the following questions:

1. Why did the formal organizing structures in Pamilacan community tourism collapse?
2. Faced with internal conflicts, lack of local resources, and strong competition, how do villagers remain embedded within and benefit from the touristic network, in spite of the collapse of formal organizing structures?
3. What are the types of networks that maintain community tourism? And, what wider implications can be generated from the case of Pamilacan?

The basic assumptions of this study are that, (1) through social networking, villagers are capable of addressing internal conflicts and lack of local resources, in order to work

together for a collective enterprise, and (2) community based tourism is both a social and an economic activity. In particular, relating to the above research questions, I argue that the government and NGO-sponsored community tourism in Pamilacan collapsed because of exhausted organizational resources. The main reason is that the organizing activities depended heavily on the resources from funding agencies while its organizing structure did not promote widening business and marketing networks with outsiders. Thus, when the formal ties with the supporting agencies disintegrated, resources were exhausted. With the growing external competitors, the organization was not able to catch-up and income from touristic services had decreased.

In spite of this, local villagers continue to maintain collective touristic services by revitalizing the traditional mutual support system and by forming business and marketing networks with outsiders through informal arrangements. Transactions within these emergent networks formed a wider system which enabled local people to be integrated within and benefit from the wider touristic network even without formal organizing structures.

This study does not reject the formal institutional approach to community tourism; neither does it claim that the present emergent **informal** network operating in the island is more sustainable than **formal** arrangements. Rather, this study argues that in conditions where local resources are scarce and competition is high, at least three elemental structures which build up a robust system are necessary to maintain CBT. These are the *enabling network*, the *business and marketing networks*, and the *local support system*. The enabling network consists of the ties between the community and the external organizers. The business and marketing structures help the organizing activities to gain access to resources or at least access to people having the direct ties to resources which are not available locally or costly to acquire. The local support system is the given mutual help relationships among villagers. The

role of bridging actors (individuals/institutions) connecting the different forms of networks to the local community is also crucial. There is also a need for flexible social structures that encourage expanding the networks of a CBT enterprise in order for it not to be isolated from the wider tourism network when other ties collapse. The case of Pamilacan community tourism clearly illustrates these realities for at least seventeen years.

1.4. Relevance of the Study

The relevance of this study is in the wider sense, theoretical and in the particular sense, practical. In the theoretical sense, employing network approach, this study would contribute to wider insights in understanding the dynamics of the organizing activities of villagers. Earlier studies on CBT have focused mainly on the attributes of communities, individual actors, and existing programs in determining success and failure of CBT organizations. Conclusions were based on examining formal organizing activities, not taking into account the organizing activities that operate outside the formal structures which have maintained the collective touristic livelihood of the people.

Employing social network analysis, on the other hand, this study is able to explore the organizing transactions and interactions beyond formal arrangements. Through this perspective, this study is able to determine wider factors that influence organizing behaviors of villagers. For example, this approach helps researchers to track how resources are produced, outsourced, and distributed; how information is disseminated; and how conflicting behaviors are mitigated through restructuring social networks. These relational realities are crucial in maintaining an organizing activity which is both social and business in nature. The network

perspective provides insights on the influence of local and external interactions on community organizing activities in the midst of internal conflicts, lack of local resources, and competition.

In the practical sense, the case provides relevant insights for CBT organizers in the world who are facing socio-economic circumstances and issues similar to that of Pamilacan. The present study illustrates the forms of social networks necessary to maintain community tourism, and thereby make tourism truly beneficial to host communities. Learning from the experiences of the Pamilacan islanders, CBT organizers and local people could give attention not only to preparing the local people to engage in collective touristic services, but also to ways of structuring/restructuring robust social networks as part of their development programs and strategies.

The case of Pamilacan is significant in the development of tourism strategies in the Philippines. It is because Pamilacan CBT was a pilot community tourism development project of the country. Learning from its experiences could provide insights to government, non-government agencies, and local organizers on how to assist villagers in local destinations to organize their own touristic enterprises, this time avoiding the mistakes of Pamilacan and learning from the existing traditional support systems.

Finally, the findings of this study could benefit the local villagers of Pamilacan, the local government and NGOs in the province of Bohol who are involved in organizing and implementing tourism development projects. Knowing the dynamics of how local people relate with each other, identifying the personalities who occupy influential positions in the community, and learning how villagers employ social networks in overcoming conflicts and in dealing with limited resources could guide stakeholders in formulating tourism policies that incorporate these existing local social structures, tap influential people and institutions, and employ local channels for more efficient communications and organization in tourism. In this

way, the negative impacts could be avoided, resources would not be wasted, the local support system would be strengthened, and benefits from the industry would be enjoyed by the local people.

1.5. Research Methods

In this study, I employed both elements of Social Network Analysis (SNA) and ethnographic methods. Since the research questions and the overall theme of this research are concerned with relational data, I chose network analysis which could best illustrate and analyze patterns and properties of social relations. Scott (2011) describes relational data and suggests a proper way to analyze them:

Relational data... are the contacts, ties and connections, the group attachments and meetings, which relate one agent to another and so cannot be reduced to properties of individual agents themselves. Relations are not the properties of agents, but of systems of agents; these relations connect pairs of agents into larger relational systems. The methods appropriate to relational data are those of network analysis, whereby relations are treated as expressing the linkages which run between agents. (p. 3)

SNA maps out social networks, identifies and analyzes their properties through mathematical calculations and graphical illustrations. It examines systematically the pattern and properties of social interactions among people (i.e., the ways they relate to each other, the flow of information/knowledge within a network, etc.) and identifies influential

individuals/groups (based on their position within the network). In spite of the strength of SNA to analyze structures of social relations, alone it does not account for the reasons why people relate in particular ways. Thus, to compensate relational data, I used ethnographic methods in qualifying the contents of relationships, in describing social backgrounds and attributes of actors involved, and in examining cultural values which influence organizing behaviors of people. I then triangulated data gathered in the field with data from earlier studies and from official documents. Combining relational and attribute data with secondary resources could provide wider understanding of the case under investigation, and thus generate more valid conclusions.

1.5.1. Sampling and Gathering Relational Data for SNA

In this dissertation, I employed a *Sociometric approach* in social network analysis “which focuses on the pattern of connections in the network as a whole” (Scott 2011: 72).⁵ Also called *Full network method*, it requires researchers to collect information about each actor's ties with all other actors (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005: Sampling ties, para. 2). With this approach, I mapped out the degree to which each subject is connected to all other subjects in the network (see Tichy *et al.* 1979: 510).

Since network analysis focuses on social relations, “actors cannot be sampled independently to be included as observations” (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005: Populations, samples, and boundaries, para. 3). Thus, I used the non-random sampling method in selecting informants. In mapping formal organizing social structures, I employed a *Positional approach* (see Scott 2011: 55; Scott *et al.*, 2008: 147; Tichy *et al.*, 1979: 510-511). This

⁵ “Ego-centric” approach to social network analysis, on the other hand, focuses on the links surrounding particular individual/s (see Scott, 2011: 72; Chamberlain, 2006: 3).

approach is considered well suited for examining formal organizational structures. With this, I chose Key informants from among the leaders and members of formal organizations (in the community and the local government). On the other hand, in mapping informal social interactions, I chose initial informants based on their reputation, *Reputational approach* (see Scott *et al.*, 2008: 147; Scott 2011: 56; Tichy *et al.*, 1979: 511). I started from a person who is widely known as having actual/potential influence in and possessing a wide knowledge about the community and the topics related with the present research.

I continued with a *Name generator technique* to establish the connections, starting from a single subject using a set of questions designed to elicit as many names as possible. For example, from whom do you get information concerning incoming touristic activities? To whom do you talk in matters related to tourism activities in the island? To whom do you contact if you need touristic services? And other related questions. Such questioning facilitates in identifying people with whom a person is in contact, the specific nature of transactions between them, and the frequency of their interactions (see Chamberlain, 2006: 3).

The process proceeded by using the *Snowballing technique* - a method considered suited to studying social connections (see. Bryman, 2008: 184-185). The names of persons, with whom an individual considers to be in relation, were then interviewed and asked further in the same manner as above. The process then built up patterns of interactions among people until the social networks related to Pamilacan tourism were mapped out (see Scott, 2011: 57). After gathering the necessary data, I analyzed and visualized the networks through the use of the computer programs, *Gephi* and UCINET. Results from network analysis were then triangulated using ethnographic methods, particularly, participant observation, in-depth interviews, and group discussions.

1.5.2. Ethnographic Methods and Ethical Considerations

I employed ethnographic methods both in the gathering and in interpreting data. These methods provided information that could well represent the socio-cultural values of communities by representing local people's point of views and by analyzing human behaviors in naturalistic settings (see Goetz & LeCompte, 1981: 51). The pioneer of the method, Bronisław Malinowski (1922) describes the discipline:

[Ethnography draws] the line between, on the one hand, the results of direct observation and of native statements and interpretations, and on the other, the inference of the author, based on his [her] common sense and psychological insight.
(p.3)

Participant Observation and In-depth Interviews. To achieve the objectives of this research method, I did prolonged fieldwork, from July to December 2012 and again from May to July 2014, for a total period of nine (9) months. During the course of fieldwork in the island, I stayed with local host families who have been involved in community touristic activities. I came to know one of the families during my first touristic visit in the community sometime in 2007. I engaged in participatory-observation through community immersion examining daily experiences, actions, and modes of communications of the local people (see Horlick-Jones & Rosenhead, 2007: 590). This period of in-depth fieldwork gave me enough time and opportunity to know the people deeply, to build-up friendships and confidence, and thus created relationships beyond superficiality.

To counterpart data gathered from participant-observation, I conducted in-depth personal interviews using both semi-structured interview schedules and informal conversations. I made at least two group discussions with at least three participants. In addition, I recorded narratives highlighting the experiences of the local people, as used by Delcore (2004) in his study with farmers in a development project in Thailand. Ethnographic data were stored as field notes, transcripts, audio files, and photos.

Informants. Since this study does not aim at generalizing results, but at understanding a specific phenomenon, categories of probability sampling may not be of relevance. Marshall (1996) argues on the incompatibility of probability sampling, particularly random sampling, with qualitative research design:

[R]andom sampling of a population is likely to produce a representative sample only if the research characteristics are normally distributed within the population. There is no evidence that the values, beliefs and attitudes that form the core of qualitative investigation are normally distributed, making the probability approach inappropriate. (p. 523)

Therefore in this study, I used the non-probability sampling method of selecting informants for in-depth interviews and group discussions. I chose people according to their knowledge (concerning the community, its history, culture and environment, and the tourism industry in the island), participation/non-participation in tourism, and responsibility in the community (e.g., as a leader or as a member in community organizations). My informants include twelve (12) former/present members and non-members of the formal tourism organization including original local organizers, six (6) village and government officials,

twelve (12) tour agency staff/owners, and two (2) boatmen and tour canvassers from the neighboring island of Panglao. I also engaged in informal conversations with coming tourists (for detailed background of the informants, please see Appendix). From these people, I chose individuals as Key Informants (see Tremblay, 1957). I took note of the personal backgrounds of the informants, including their age, gender, and status in the community. I also give importance to the time and atmosphere of interviews. These basic elements could affect how informants correspond to inquiries, thus they need to be taken into account.

Reflexivity and Ethical Considerations. In this dissertation, I used a reflexive approach, wherein personal experiences are acknowledged with the use of “I” (see Mascia-Lees & Black, 2000). This approach acknowledges the subjectivity of the researchers in the research process by recognizing their feelings and reflections on certain experiences encountered in the field. This requires “the constant awareness, assessment, and reassessment by... researcher[s] of... [their] own contribution/influence/shaping of intersubjective research and the consequent research findings” as Salzman (2002: 806) describes it. I also employed a dialogical approach wherein informants are allowed to speak for themselves through direct quotations in the text (see Berry & Black, 1993; Tedlock, 1979).

I used a voice recorder to record most of the interviews. Other interviews were not recorded due to technical problems and personal consideration for the informants. I then transcribed the interview audio files through Word processing program. Initially, transcriptions were done word by word, in the original mixed Cebuano-Tagalog-English languages of the interviews. In translating the texts into English, I tried to be close to the original words of the informants, and thus there may be some grammatical inconsistencies in the English form. The translated transcripts can be found in the Appendix (field notes were not included). I modified some of the texts from the interviews integrated as direct quotations

in the body to fit into the over-all grammatical flow of the dissertation, but without altering their meanings.

Concerning the ethical considerations of this research, I first coordinated with the local government officials, particularly at the municipality of Baclayon (where Pamilacan Island belongs) and the village officials of the island. I discussed with them my research plan and intention to engage in prolonged fieldwork in the community. I started the interviews only after obtaining the necessary permissions from these officials and from individual informants. Confidentiality is of great value; therefore, I kept the names of informants secret by using pseudo names, except the names of organizations and institutions.

1.6. Scope and Limitations

First, I would like to set the limits on the definitions of the basic terms and concepts as used in this study. Key words include: community tourism, social network, social structure, transaction, interaction, formal, and informal. Although there has been no single definition of *community tourism*, it can be described as a type of tourism wherein the local people actively participate in every process of its development; from the planning to management and supervision of tourism activities (Jigang & Jiuxia, 2007:9).⁶ This present study focuses on community-owned and operated touristic enterprises. *Network* and *structure* are used interchangeably in this dissertation. These terms refer to an “ordered arrangement of parts or

⁶ Scholars and practitioners have not come up with a single definition of tourism (Shaw & Williams, 1994: 5; Burns, 2004:5; Nash, 1981:461). Touristic system “may be defined as the process, activities, and outcomes arising from the relationships and the interactions among tourists, tourism suppliers, host governments, host communities, and surrounding environments that are involved in the attracting and hosting of visitors” (Goeldner & Brent Richie, 2003: 6).

components... the components or units of social structure are *persons*, and a person is a human being... occupying position in a social structure” (Radcliffe-Brown, 1965: 9-10). In other words, these refer to “system of objects (e.g., people, groups, organizations) joined by a variety of relationships,” (Tichy *et al.*, 1979: 507).

Transaction and *interaction* are also used interchangeably, although the former is often used for business related relationships with outsiders, while the latter is used often to describe relationships among locals. *Formal* refers to social interactions which are “regulated by rules that have been instituted according to procedures recognized as legal in clearly defined contexts” which are written and bind individual members (Brie & Stölting, 2012: 19). Following Max Weber, Udy (1959: 192-193) describes formal organization as “any social group engaged in pursuing explicit announced objectives through manifestly coordinated efforts.” Other scholars refer to such organizations as having “prescribed” relationships (e.g., Tichy *et al.*, 1979: 510).

On the other hand, *informal* refers to social interactions that may be repetitious which, in spite of having no written agreement, involve stable expectations among participants (Brie & Stölting, 2012: 19-20). Ties among individuals in this type of relationship are primarily based on liking, friendship, kinship, group affiliations, and the like, having no explicit set of roles or written constitutions, and have existed for a considerable period of time.⁷ Social expectations in both types of relationships may be determined by the presence of leadership, differentiated roles, division of labor, performance, and reward.

In this study, the Pamilacan Island Dolphin and Whale Watching Organization (PIDWWO) and the early stage of Pamilacan Island Boat Owners and Spotters Association (PIBOSA) are considered as formal organizations. On the other hand, I treat informal

⁷ Wolf (1966:2) argues that informal relationships are “responsible for the metabolic processes required to keep the formal institution... [and] formal table of organization...fails to work, unless informal mechanisms are found for its direct contravention.”

relationships not only as “emergent” (see Tichy *et al.*, 1979: 510) or an unintended outcome from the formal tourism organization, but also social networks that have existed even before the introduction of tourism. These include kinship, traditional livelihood relationships, touristic business transactions having no formal agreements, and mutual support systems.

Second, I determine the boundaries of the network to be included under investigation. Social network is boundless since human beings relate with others in varied ways. Network analysis needs to limit the scope of the network to be examined. This can be done based on a physical boundary and/or on transactional contents. This study employs boundary in both senses. The actors under investigation include people and institutions that have been directly involved in /affected by Pamilacan tourism activities, either business transactions or support. These actors include local tour agents, hotels, resorts, government and non-government agencies, individual tourists, Pamilacan villagers, and boatmen and canvassers in Panglao Island.

Tour agents, hotels, and resorts are those businesses based in the province of Bohol. Government and non-government agencies are those who influenced and supported the organizing of Pamilacan CBT through material and technical assistance. Pamilacan villagers include people who reside on the island. Tourists include both foreigners and locals who visit the island (or its vicinities), but only those in contact with local villagers. I examine both the touristic activities of the local people (e.g., tourist guiding, serving food, etc.) and that of the tourists on the island and its vicinities (e.g., swimming, scuba diving, camping, etc.). Actors who do not have direct involvement in Pamilacan tourism are not included.

I would like also to mention some limitations of this study and how I have addressed these challenges in order to produce sufficient data. First, during the series of fieldwork investigations, I was not able to interview the NGO staff (particularly outsiders) who were

once involved in the initial organizing of CBT on the island. In spite of my effort to contact such persons through email and telephone, I was not able to get any response from them. Interviews with local organizers and data from documents and literature compensate for this limitation. Second, only few academic papers that investigate the case of Pamilacan CBT after 2003 are available. Although studies had been conducted in the island, most of them are focused on ecological preservation without giving attention to the socio-economic dimension of the issue. In-depth interviews have provided primary historical narratives recounting the development of touristic organizing activities in the community to the present.

Statistical data on the exact number of tourists and the exact amount of income gained by islanders from recent touristic activities in Pamilacan are not available. This limitation occurs because islanders do not practice recording the number of past tourists coming to the island and local service providers do not issue official receipts from touristic services. To address this limitation, I present the official statistics from the Bohol provincial tourism office on the number of tourists coming to the neighboring areas, like Panglao and Baclayon. These areas are the entry points of tourists coming to Pamilacan. Income from recent collective touristic livelihood is approximated with the local narratives and in-depth interviews.

Lastly, although I am a Filipino and speak the language of the natives of Pamilacan, with the touristic atmosphere on the island, people would still consider me as a tourist. This could influence how they would relate to me and respond to the questions during the interviews. This was the experience of some researchers in the field wherein locals treated them as tourists (e.g., Burns, 2004; Dumont, 1984). In addition, gaining the confidence and openness of the islanders was also a challenge because of their past experiences with researchers coming to the island. People suspected the earlier researchers were spying for the government which led to the banning of the community's hunting livelihood. Prolonged

immersion in the community and staying with local families engaged in touristic service during the course of the fieldwork contributed to the gaining of trust and confidence of the local people.

1.7. Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is composed of seven chapters. The preceding sections of this present chapter have presented the general background of the research. It has highlighted the overview of the problem, the objectives, the particular questions investigated, and the relevance of this study. The research methods used and the boundaries of investigation are also discussed in this chapter

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical foundations of this dissertation. It starts with a discussion on the basic ideas and goals of community tourism as an approach to local development, the critiques of the approach, and the practical challenges it faces in the field. It considers issues related to the stratified characteristic of communities and the lack of local resources. The first part of the chapter highlights the contributions and the weaknesses of earlier CBT perspectives and the need for an alternative approach to incorporate analyzing relational realities. Then, the chapter introduces the network approach as an alternative perspective in understanding human organizations, its basic assumptions, and analytical categories which could be employed in understanding community tourism organizing activities. Chapter 2 proceeds with a review of theoretical perspectives which provide conceptual categories in understanding collective activities of people. The chapter ends with a review of earlier studies employing social network analysis.

To provide an overview of the case study, Chapter 3 discusses the natural and social characteristics of Pamilacan Island. The chapter aims to present the condition of community resources and examine the relationships and the existing mutual support systems among the islanders. It also narrates the experiences of the villagers during the banning of their hunting livelihood and the introduction of tourism. The chapter hopes to provide readers with the context with which community tourism has developed on the island.

The main analytical parts of this dissertation are in Chapters 4, 5, and 6. Chapter 4 analyzes the network structures that governed organizing activities during the period of formal organizing activities and internal competition. Chapter 5 examines the network properties during the decline of the formal organizing structures and the emerging informal touristic transactions involving Pamilacan. These two chapters aim to answer the research questions 1 and 2. Chapter 6 explores the characteristics of the emergent organizing activities after the collapse of formal organizing structures. It then proceeds to examine how these informal arrangements have benefited the villagers, overcome conflicts, and compensate for the lack of local resources. It also categorizes the forms of networks that have maintained collective touristic enterprises, in spite of the absence of formal arrangements.

The final part of Chapter 6 reconnects the case to the wider discussion on community organizing and reflects on the conceptual contribution of the experience of Pamilacan. It also provides a general analytical tool that could be developed further to analyze social networks involving community tourism. Chapter 6, then, aims to answer question 3 and discuss the wider implication of the case. Finally, Chapter 7 provides a general summary of the findings and an analysis of the study. The Appendix which includes the timeline and interview transcripts follows the Bibliography. The dissertation starts from theorizing, to the case-at-hand, then back to the wider theoretical discussions.

Chapter 2

Understanding Community Organizing Activities and Community Tourism: Conceptual and Empirical Review

Tourism is a social organizing phenomenon. It brings together people of different social and economic backgrounds. It connects not only host communities and tourists, but also service providers, government agencies, NGOs, and other stakeholders whose interactions “give rise to a touristic system the evolution of which is subject to a variety of forces” (Nash, 1981: 463). Community-based tourism as a form of small-scale collective enterprise participates in the wider touristic organizing system. It demands cooperation from individuals which forms the basis for collective activities. Interactions among actors generate social networks that facilitate the operation of touristic services and the flow of resources. Thus, with these characteristics, CBT can be understood as a collective organizing activity embedded within a wider network environment.

This chapter provides the theoretical and analytical framework of this present study. First, I will examine the conceptual foundations and primary goals of community-based tourism as an approach to local development and the challenges it faces in the field. I will continue by discussing earlier analyses and views from scholars regarding CBT. Second, I will present the network approach as an alternative perspective in examining community tourism. I will introduce its basic premises and analytical categories and show its strength in examining the dynamics of CBT. Third, I will review three dominant perspectives which help

in understanding the local people's behaviors toward organizing activities. Lastly, I will review existing studies in tourism which have employed network approaches. Discussions in this chapter will reveal the theoretical and empirical gaps that need to be addressed in analyzing organizing activities involving community tourism.

2.1. Community Approach to Tourism Development

Tourism happens in local destinations where the local communities are part of the touristic experience.⁸ Therefore, the local people are “most likely to suffer from the negative impacts” of the industry “such as congestion, soaring prices, environmental deterioration and cultural assimilation” (Li *et al.*, 2007: 122). Community approach to tourism is founded on the belief that the best way to manage local tourism is to let the local communities take charge of it, so that in the process, they benefit from it. Small-scale community-run touristic enterprises hope to involve people in the process of creating a sustainable livelihood, and thereby empowering them to become self-sufficient communities. However, this belief does not come without challenges.

2.1.1. Goals of Community-Based Tourism

As a paradigm of development, community tourism has varying definitions. Scholars and practitioners have used the term both in academic literature and in development programs

⁸ However, tourism could still exist even without social encounters, for example tourism in the uninhabited ice plateaus of Antarctica and Greenland (Smith, 1992: 131). Such type of tourism is not within the scope of my present inquiry.

in different senses (Blackstock, 2005: 41). Goodwin and Santilli (2009: 5) summarize the descriptions of community tourism as it appears in existing literature as follows:

- conservation initiatives with community and collective benefits,
- joint ventures with community, including an anticipated transfer of management,
- community owned and managed enterprises,
- private sector enterprises with community benefits,
- product networks developed for marketing tourism in a local area,
- community enterprise within a broader co-operative, and
- private sector development within a community owned reserve.

These descriptions only demonstrate how the two terms, “community” and “tourism,” when put together could represent a wide array of human activities.

In this present study, I will focus on community-based tourism as small-scale enterprises “owned and/or managed by communities and intended to deliver wider community benefit, benefiting a wider group than those employed in the initiative” (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009: 4). This form of community tourism has been promoted by government agencies and NGOs in different parts of the globe. As a development model, it envisions a self-sufficient community-owned sustainable tourism industry with no or less intervention from the private sector (Mitchell & Ashley, 2010: 54; Beeton, 2006: 11). Its goal is that the local people should be the first to benefit from local tourism industries, “rather than being excluded from the tourism development within the boundary... where they are settled” (Li *et al.*, 2007:122). Emphasizing the collective actions of the villagers, this type of CBT could well represent the essence of the community approach to development. Although other

touristic activities may be managed by local individuals or families, these could be categorized more as individual private enterprises because it does not necessarily involve collective efforts by the community.

The community approach to tourism development has three interrelated elements. These include local participation, sustainable livelihood, and community empowerment. Participation is at the heart of community-based tourism from which the other two elements could generate. The renewed value of local participation in tourism industry can be contextualized within wider discourses in international development. A buzzword of the 1990s, participation has been closely identified with the notions of ‘empowerment’ and became a normative goal of development (Wearing & McDonald, 2002: 202).⁹ The United Nations (as quoted in Midgley *et al.*, 1986: 24) defines participation as “the creation of opportunities to enable all members of a community and the larger society to actively contribute to and influence the development process and to share equitably in the fruits of development.” In other words, local people are “not only the beneficiaries of economic and social progress,” but “also its agents, both as individuals and by making common causes with others” (UNDP, 1990: 9; 2002: 23).

Emphasizing self-subsistence, the economist Samuel Paul (1987: 2) describes community participation as “an active process by which beneficiary/client groups influence the direction and execution of a development project with a view to enhancing their wellbeing in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance or other values they cherish.” Chambers (2005: 87) further clarifies the objectives and functions of participation, namely (1) to make

⁹ Although engaging the local people in development activities can be traced back decades ago and has been employed by authorities with varying intentions (see Cooke, 2003; Cornwall, 2006; Vasconi & Sanchez, 1990), its adoption by governments and international development agencies, like the United Nations, the World Bank, IMF, and USAID, and NGOs - reinforced it by putting it at the center of the idea of sustainable development.

known local wishes, (2) to generate development ideas [from the people], (3) to provide local knowledge, and (4) to increase community capabilities to control affairs and resources. In other words, participation is taken as both the means and the end of development initiatives.

In tourism, the role of the local communities is crucial. It is because tourism, “like no other industry, relies on the goodwill and cooperation of local people because they are part of its product” (Murphy, 1985: 153). The community “creates the base for the community tourism development, because its nature, culture, society and even economy constitute the major, if not all, components of the tourism products,” as Li *et al.* (2007: 122) argue. This implies that the local people must have a say in any development in their own backyard so as to ensure their rights. Failing to do so, conflicts may arise affecting the sustainability of the tourism development projects, and people could become isolated from their own resources.

In the 50s, touristic activities started to grow which gave rise to a large scale tourism industry controlled by tourism companies (Britton, 1982: 336). This led to “mass tourism” with which governments hoped to generate economic benefits and employment for their people (Vanhove, 1997: 60). For decades, governments had advocated a “top-down” approach in tourism development without involving the host communities.¹⁰ In the process, it resulted to an “enclave tourism” which alienated host communities from the industry having no control over their own resources (Mitchell, 1995: 9). Eventually, this led to bitter attitudes against the industry, as has happened in many parts of the globe (see Murphy, 1985: 153; Doxey, 2010). Aside from the economic impact of tourism on local communities, in recent years, a large form of touristic activities also involved issues like commodification of cultural elements (e.g., Bulilan, 2007; Mbaiwa, 2011; Russell, 1989), collapse of traditional and

¹⁰ Chambers (2005: 87-93) identifies two approaches in development: “top down” and “bottom up.” The “top” represents government and development authorities, while “down” represents local communities. The first approach emphasizes the role of government and development agencies to influence development in local communities. On the other hand, the second approach highlights local perspectives as having a more important role in planning and decision-making in line with development projects.

family value systems (e.g., George *et al.*, 2009; Forster, 2010; Harrison, 1992), and environmental degradation (e.g., Burac, 1996; Garcia & Servera, 2003; Lukashina *et al.*, 1996).¹¹

As a response to the above issues, alternative forms of tourism have been proposed which seek to integrate local perspectives in the development processes (Moscardo, 2008: 4). Mowforth and Munt (2009: 98) characterize the New Tourism as sustainable, no-impact, responsible, low-impact, green, environmentally friendly taking into consideration its environmental, economic and socio-cultural impacts. It highlights participation and control by local people, especially for the benefit of the poor. These new forms of tourism include community-based tourism as an approach to tourism development.¹² Integrating local participation in all phases of organization and implementation of projects, CBT hopes to minimize the negative impacts of tourism activities on the local people (King & Stewart, 1996: 302). In recent years, governments and NGOs have started to promote this form of tourism as a means for local development. Development policy makers have reconsidered the role of local participation and small scale enterprises in the tourism industry (Edgell *et al.*, 2008: 103).¹³

¹¹ For example, traditional religious rituals and symbols have been manipulated and presented for tourist consumption; traditional forms of livelihood and family life have been abandoned; unmanaged garbage and waste from resorts, depletion of natural resources because of over-use and over-crowded destinations. Economic criticisms against big-scale tourism include “economic leakages, inappropriate forms and scale of tourism development, sunk costs and investment risks, over-dependence on multinationals and foreign domination” (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 88).

¹² Other forms of alternative tourism that highlights the role of the community have now taken their places in government tourism planning sheets such as nature-based tourism, ecotourism, pro-poor tourism, and many others (see Fennell, 2008; Hall, 2007).

¹³ This increasing re-awareness is caused by several factors affecting governments’ traditional paradigm of tourism development. Tosun (2005: 338-339) enumerates three stages in the emergence of the participatory tourism development approach in developing countries as follows: “(1) the emergence of pressures from internal and external factors on central governments of developing countries to accept, support and facilitate implementation of a participatory development approach, (2) the emergence of political will at the

Local participation in community tourism industry takes several forms. It occurs from the planning stage, in day-to-day decision-making, evaluation, and in the sharing of income and benefits. It achieves its highest form in community ownership and management of small scale touristic businesses and services. Through active participation in planning and managing touristic enterprises, CBT hopes to provide a stable livelihood. In the process, villagers are empowered to stand on their own feet, becoming more self-sustaining, and less and less dependent on outsiders. Scholars argue that empowerment is both a means and an end in itself – a determinant of a successful community-based tourism (see Goodwin & Santilli, 2009: 5; Okazaki, 2008: 514). It may be considered as the crowning glory of every community tourism activity or “the top end of the participation ladder,” as Cole (2006: 631) describes it.

In spite of the idealized self-sustaining community tourism industry, in reality CBT projects are facing difficulties. Empirical studies suggest that community tourism initiatives have very little success in the field (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009: 4). In spite of the potential of CBT to be a means for local development, “little evidence exists to show that this potential is being fulfilled” (Moscardo, 2008: 5). This issue prompted scholars to examine conditions which are crucial to the success and failure of CBT projects.

2.1.2. Evaluating Conditions for the “Success” of Community Tourism

Studies have been conducted to identify the conditions in which community tourism projects have the higher chances of sustainability. Equating success with economic viability, independence, and collective benefits, Armstrong (2012) provides a thorough literature review and investigation of eight successful CBT projects in different parts of the world.

central level, and (3) enacting legal measurements, re-structuring administrative system at operational level, and the actual community participation process.”

Based on her findings, she identifies the principal conditions for success as “engagement with the private sector; a strong and cohesive host community; genuine community participation, ownership and control; planning for commercial viability; sound market research and demand-driven product development; attractive, quality products based on community assets; transparent financial management; appropriate stakeholder support and effective monitoring and evaluation” (Armstrong, 2012: 1).

Rocharungsat (2008) did a similar study on conditions of successful community-based tourism. Based on secondary data from tourism scholars and practitioners, she provides a summary of criteria for successful community tourism as follows (p. 65):

- CBT should practically involve the broad community.
- Benefits gained from CBT should be distributed equally throughout the destination community.
- Good and careful management of tourism is significant.
- CBT should have strong partnerships and support from within and outside a community.
- Uniqueness of the place should be considered in sustaining the destination.
- Environmental conservation should not be neglected.

Although the above studies have provided insights on the necessary conditions for “success,” they overlooked the outcomes of CBT initiatives which failed in spite of the presence of such conditions. In other words, well-initiated community tourism could still collapse even with a good development plan. In addition, these conclusions were primary based on secondary data and on a few correspondences with informants mostly by email (in

the case of Armstrong), rather than in-depth investigations of cases in the field. There is a need, therefore, to go beyond the conditions to examine the outcomes of community-based tourism projects and to conduct in-depth field investigation in order to obtain a holistic understanding of the dynamics of CBT organizing activities and thereby generate more solid conclusions.

The uniqueness of community-based tourism as an industry is that the local people play crucial roles. Rural communities in developing countries have characteristics in common which make organizing and managing community tourism a challenge. This brings us to the next discussion.

2.1.3. Problems of Heterogeneity and Limited Local Resources

The community approach to tourism has become so dignified that it is rarely subjected to critical analysis. However, scholars have started to express critical evaluations concerning the approach. In this section, I will discuss two main issues that community-based tourism faces in the field which have become the focus of debates among scholars. These include problems related to the given stratified character of communities and the lack of local resources.

Heterogeneity of Communities. Critics have accused proponents of community tourism of assuming that local people have unified goals and aspirations for the well-being of the community.¹⁴ This image of a community as a homogenous collection of people is problematic. In examining the concept of community, Telfer and Sharley (2008: 117) summarize the meaning of the concept in three senses, namely: (1) as a group of people

¹⁴ Van Willigen (1986) calls this collective aspiration a “felt need.”

residing within a specific territory, (2) as a local social interaction of local people and institutions, and (3) as a human association with personal ties and shared belongingness and warmth. Although community members may share common traits and values, communities are not homogenous, the authors argue. In reality, “intent, belief, resources, preferences, needs and a multitude of other conditions may be different for some community members, which in turn influence the mixture of the community,” as Beeton (2006: 6) also points out.

Treating communities as having a unified vision of common good has become a major issue in community tourism. Based on organizing collective action for achieving common goals, CBT strategy encourages commonly owned and managed tourism enterprises and sharing of benefits. This emphasis on commonality has gained criticism from scholars. For example, Blackstock (2005: 40-42) accuses community tourism literature and practices of overly assuming shared interests and consensus. She argues that considering communities as homogenous blocks denies the existing differences of local attitudes, internal power struggles, competing values, and structural inequalities among community members which greatly influence the decision-making and management of local tourism.

This heterogeneity of communities could be manifested by the varying attitudes of the local people toward tourism activities in their localities (Taylor, 1995: 488). Basically, residents may either welcome tourists as valued guests or perceive the latter as creating inconvenience (Voase, 1995: 5). For example, in her study of local touristic activities in Bali, Indonesia, Tarplee (2008) examines two opposing local parties within a community: those who wanted to engage in tourism enterprise and wish to increase the industry in the village, and those who opposed it and emphasized rather the need to ensure the security of the agriculture and prevent economic dependence on tourism.

In his study on tourism activities in two cities in US (Sedona) and UK (York), Madrigal (1995) classifies three attitudes of people toward tourism within the communities. First are the “Realists” who acknowledge both the benefits and risks of tourism industry, yet are reluctant to oppose the industry. Second are the “Haters” who totally oppose tourism and disagree on its presumed economic benefits. Third are the “Lovers” who strongly believe that the benefits of tourism totally outweigh the negative impacts. These divisions illustrate how vulnerable local people are to internal conflicts with the coming of tourism in their localities.

Communities, especially in rural areas, are mostly hierarchical, dominated by local elites. Goodwin and Santilli (2009: 29) argue that community tourism projects are often controlled by these local elites, leaving the marginalized and poor members of the community on the periphery. Relating to this existing power struggle within a community, Li *et al.* (2007) examine how the traditional value of personal relationship, *guanxi*, hindered the actualizing of community participation in the tourism development of China. People employed *guanxi* connection with the elites to obtain control over touristic activities while making it difficult for others (who have no such connections) to engage in the industry. In a case in Thailand, Leksakundilok and Hirsch (2008) examine the conflicts that arose between existing traditional community leaders and local government tourism administrators over the managing of community tourism in the village.

Still on traditional social structures, Cole (2006) narrates how the Javanese patrimonial system of society (i.e., authority and power are given to people of high social standing) undermined community participation in a community tourism project in Ngadha (Indonesia). Conflicts of interests could also arise among locals who engaged in touristic activities because of differing individual values. Jiuxia and Jigang (2007), for example, narrate how the over-emphasis on economic benefit and local competition among local

villagers resulted in disorganized community touristic activities in parts of China and eventually the degradation of natural resources in the area. Although not directly stating their opposition against the CBT approach, the above scholars seem to be pessimistic of the capacity of the local people to address such conflicts in order to engage in touristic activities.

Lack of Local Resources. Community tourism, as a form of business enterprise, needs not only the hospitality of the locals but also facilities and professional skills to manage and market touristic products and services.¹⁵ Touristic activities in developing countries mostly happen in local communities wherein basic necessities (e.g., water, food, electricity, and means of transportation and communication) and economic and technical resources are scarce. The formal educational attainment of the people is usually low. This makes community-owned and -managed enterprises difficult to maintain. The coming of tourists to these communities could also add to the burdens of the local people and increase the consumption of the local resources.

To address the issue of scarcity, government and funding agencies provide assistance to communities for tourism development. Thus, these agencies offer loans and technical training to cooperating locals who had been channeled through formally initiated community organizations. However, scholars argue that receiving material and technical support from outsiders could only lead to dependency. When organizers leave the community, financial resources start to be exhausted until the local organization could no longer function. This has been the experience of CBT initiatives around the globe. One example is the case of the

¹⁵ Local hospitality and friendliness toward visitors could be considered a given local resource an important part in tourism. It could be difficult for tourism to grow in unwelcoming communities, because “virtually all tourist surveys show that [the] ‘friendliness of the local people’ rate high on the list of positive features about a destination,” as Sweeney and Wanhill (1996: 159) point. This attitude among the locals in Central Anatolia (Turkey) towards the coming visitors attracted many tourists to the village, though sometimes subject to suspicions for over-friendliness (Tucker, 1997: 113).

Khama Rhino Sanctuary Trust, in Botswana where locals were struggling to sustain their restaurant operations after funding agencies stepped out of the project (Sebele, 2010: 143).

Critics argue that income from touristic services is often not enough to maintain organizational activities and facilities. Small-scale tourism, like most community-run enterprises, generates a limited amount of profit with limited availability of other sources of income (Connell & Rugendyke, 2009: 18). In addition, it is difficult to have all members of larger communities to participate in and thus gain benefits from the small-scale industry (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009: 30). The situation becomes worse with accusations of corruption and misappropriation of funds against organizers and local leaders.

Aside from the lack of material resources, scholars also cite the lack of knowledge and technical know-how both of the organizers and the locals. People seem to be confused about the real meaning and objectives of community-based tourism. Some advocates of the approach tend to focus on ensuring the long-term business activities of CBT enterprises, while others stress empowering the local people; still others are seeking ways how to make tourism more acceptable rather than educating people (Blackstock, 2005: 40-41). On the part of the local people, scholars argue that communities lack understanding of what tourism is all about (Sammy, 2008: 76). Local people tend to see community-based tourism as a purely economic endeavor, rather than a system for mutual support, while others tend to focus on its social dimension. These conceptual and practical confusions are not only present among organizers and villagers, but also among the government agencies who are encouraging community tourism projects in their own localities.

Concerning the technical sense of scarcity, critics argue that local people are not prepared to engage in tourism since the industry comes as a totally new form of livelihood. Studies have pointed out the lack of technical training, poor business management and

marketing skills, lack of leadership, and the absence of basic skills required for hospitality related services as reasons for unsuccessful community tourism projects (Sebele, 2010: 142; Moscardo, 2008: 7). This unpreparedness on the part of the community, and also on the part of the local government, enables outsiders to take over and gain power in the development of the local tourism industry, even to the point of alienating the local residents (Moscardo, 2008: 8).

In summary, the community approach to tourism development seeks to maximize local participation in and benefits from tourism industry. It envisions a sustainable livelihood through community-owned touristic enterprises. In the process, communities are empowered becoming self-sufficient and independent from outside help. However, earlier studies of community tourism projects have pointed out the failure of the approach to address issues that arise from internal conflicts and the lack of local resources. In spite of the insights gained from analyzing the influence of community attributes in the success/failure of community-based tourism, less attention has been given to how local people address such issues through networking in order to collectively participate in and benefit from touristic activities in their localities. In addition, the above studies focused only on analyzing formally initiated CBT projects and overlooked local organizing activities that could achieve the same goals outside the formal structures. To analyze these social behaviors, a network perspective is of help.

Recent advancements in transportation, communication, and internet-based technologies have broken down boundaries and distances between communities. Access to these technologies is becoming easy even in isolated villages, for example in the Philippines. These make human interactions and communication more convenient and far reaching. Today, viewing communities as isolated social realities lacks an essential element in understanding the organizing behavior of peoples. In this study, I would rather propose an alternative

perspective which could integrate recent movements in social connectivity. Therefore, I employ the social network approach to understand the villagers' organizing activities to overcome the problems of cooperation and resource scarcity in order to achieve collective benefits in a highly competitive environment.

2.2. Network Approach to Understanding Organizing Activities:

An Alternative Perspective to Analyzing Community Tourism

Community tourism engages actors of different backgrounds and intentions. Actors include local people, service providers, tour agents, tourists, and government and development agencies that interact to facilitate provision of resources, operation of touristic services, and sharing of benefits. This characteristic makes CBT a social network phenomenon that could be well understood by examining the patterns of the relationships of the actors. Network perspective in understanding organizing activities enables analysts to have a wider view of how local people employ their positions and restructure their social networks in order to address the issues of conflicts and limited resources. Through restructuring patterns of interactions, actors are able to build new alliances and gain access to resources that would enable them to continue to participate in and benefit from wider interactions, in spite of the scarcity of local resources.

2.2.1. Basic Assumptions

Network analysis is an alternative approach in understanding human organizing behaviors. Knoke (2001: 63) argues that this is “probably the least-developed” among the other perspectives, but has the great potential of putting them together into a holistic understanding of organizational dynamics.¹⁶ In this section, I discuss the basic premises of the network approach. Then, I move on to discussing the strength of using this approach in analyzing community organizing in general and CBT in particular.

The traditional approaches to understanding organizations focus on the attributes of people as the main determinants of social dynamics. The network approach, on the other hand, treats organizations as complex networks of social relations that can be best understood by examining the emergent systems of interactions among actors. It analyzes how structures of interactions affect people, and at the same time, how people manipulate structures. This perspective finds its roots in the structuralist traditions in sociology and anthropology. For example, the anthropologist Radcliff-Brown (1956: 190), in his study of indigenous societies, argues that “human beings are connected by a complex network of social relations” which forms “social structure.” These relationships are based on blood, affiliations, interests, conventions, and other forms of relational contents. From this earlier idea of social structure, recent ideas of “network” as “the observed pattern of organization” have evolved (Nohria, 1992: 1).¹⁷ Now, this approach is used also in in the fields of administration, business and marketing management, and even in determining terrorists’ links (Vera & Schupp, 2006: 410).

¹⁶ Knoke (2001: 43) mentions five general perspectives in understanding organizations, namely (1) Organizational ecology, (2) Institutionalism, (3) Resource dependence, (4) Transaction cost economics, and (5) Organizational networks.

¹⁷ Scholars have diverse treatments on Social Network. Some treat social networks as part of Social Capital, though being the least examined (e.g., Ikeda & Richey, 2005). Others consider social network more as a

From a network perspective, organizations are composed of actors (either individuals or groups) joined by a variety of relationships (though others are not directly connected). These relationships generate patterns of social interactions (Tichy *et al.*, 1979: 507). Interactions involve at least five relational contents, namely (Knoke, 2001: 65): Resource exchange (e.g., material goods, money, capital, services, etc.); Information transmissions (e.g., technical data, advice, news, rumors, etc.); Power relations (e.g., force, pressure, etc.); Boundary penetrations (e.g., strategic alliances, political campaign, etc.); and Sentimental attachments (e.g., kinship, friendship, respect, trust, etc.). The interdependency of the actors and the exchange of relational contents matter in explaining individual or collective behaviors in organizations (Fischer, 2011: 28).

Like other analytical approaches, network perspective has basic assumptions. Nohria (1992: 4 - 8) discusses five premises of the network approach to understanding organizations. I chose four of these premises which are relevant to this present case study as follows:

(1) *All organizations are in important respects social networks and need to be addressed and analyzed as such.* Actors in organizations, either among group members or in a wider context of organizations among groups, relate with each other in particular ways. These relations form networks through which information, resources, influence, affections, and others, flow and are shared among the actors involved. Thus, ignoring this aspect of connectedness, the analysis of social organizations is lacking an essential factor. These social interactions may be formal (or prescribed) or informal (emergent) (Nohria, 1992: 5). The network approach sees these two types of interactions as equally important.

channel through which social capital including “information, ideas, leads, business opportunities, financial capital, power and influence, emotional support, even goodwill, trust, and cooperation” resides (Baker, 2000: 1).

(2) *An organization's environment is properly seen as a network of other organizations.* An organization does not exist in isolation, but is embedded within a wider network environment. It “exists only as part of a wide network of social relations, involving many other persons,” as Radcliff-Brown (1956: 191) puts it. This wider environment consists of other organizations and actors with which a single organization has to relate. Knoke (2001: 64) refers to this wider level of interactions as the “interorganizational” ties. By identifying actors and mapping-out their relations, network analysis “seeks to locate the precise source” of environmental forces that influence an organization, which the other perspectives often abstractly represent.

(3) *The actions (attitudes and behaviors) of actors in organizations can be best explained in terms of their position in networks of relationships.* The network approach to organizations highlights the importance of the actors' location in the network, rather than only focusing on their individual attributes. For example, knowing the actors' number of individual direct ties with the others and their strategic positioning between sub-groups/individuals within the network is as important as knowing the actors' gender, age, educational background, and others. Properties of the network are used to explain who has the more advantageous position in the system, and thus exerts more influence and control over the other actors. However, individual position and attributes taken together are complementary in analyzing organizations (Nohria, 1992: 7).

(4) *Networks constrain actions, and in turn are shaped by them.* Social networks are dynamic. Although the actors' actions are determined by their position in the network, actors also have the capacity to change their positions. In the process of adjustments, alterations, and repositioning, the patterns of interactions change and new networks evolve. While maintaining that patterns of social networks are to a large extent stable and recurring, network

analysis argues that new ties may emerge and old ties may collapse (Nohria, 1992: 7). In other words, actors and social structures are mutually and constantly affecting each other which result in evolving social networks. Social relations have mutual expectations that may be formally institutionalized or informally arranged among participants. These expectations could also evolve.

What knowledge then can we gain from studying organizations as social networks? Nohria (1992: 8-15) enumerates several issues which can be analyzed from this perspective. First, network analysis enables us to explain differences of power and influence in organizations and where they come from. Second, the approach enables us to examine the patterns of recruitment that may result in new organizing activities within an organization or mobilize change within the organization. Third, network analysis can give us insights into what leads to the formation of new network patterns. And last, focusing on the transactional content of relationships, the approach would enable us to see the influence of the type of transactional contents in the dynamics of social networks.

Structural analysis may have the tendency to focus primarily on patterns of interactions as its sole unit of investigation. In this present study, however, I give equal importance to the influence of the actors' attributes and the social circumstances with which collective organizing activities have evolved. Individual attributes of actors may reinforce or weaken their positions, and thus could determine their level of influence within the network. Combining relational and attribute data with narratives and qualitative descriptions provides a deeper and holistic understanding of the case at hand.

2.2.2. Network Properties

Structural Characteristics. Social network analysis (SNA), as an analytical tool, examines the characteristics and properties of relations within a given structure. It treats social organizations “as a system of objects (e.g., people, groups, organizations) joined by a variety of relationships,” and identifies structural patterns and their causes and consequences (Tichy *et al.*, 1979: 507). Graphical representation consists of Nodes (or vertices, points) which represent individual actors or groups, and Edges (or lines) which represent existing relationships between nodes (see Scott *et al.*, 2008: 8). By visualizing existing networks, SNA seeks to analyze patterns of communication and flow of resources, and identify critical actors, hierarchy, and power relations, which influence the dynamics of organizing activities.

In this study, I employ two basic properties of social networks as follows (Scott *et al.*, 2008: 148-150; Tichy *et al.*, 1979: 509):

(1) **Transactional content** answers the question what is exchanged by the actors.

This study focuses on the following transactions: exchange of influence; exchange of information, resources, goods or services; and competition.

(2) **Structural characteristic** refers to the overall pattern of relationships among the actors in the network.

Transactional content refers to the type of transactions involved. In other words, what is being channeled through the interactions. Structural characteristics include the number of actors, their number of ties, their positioning within the network, and the level of integration within the wider system. In this study examining the attributes of actors is also given importance

since these complement the structural characteristics of networks. Examining the attributes of the individual actors deepens our understanding of the structural characteristics of networks within which they are actively embedded.

Table 1 summarizes the network properties used in analyzing the present case study. The first column enumerates the properties to examine; the second provides explanations of each property; the third highlights general assumptions/implications in relation to each property; and the last column specifies the methods of data gathering/analysis employed.

Centrality. Most important among the structural properties of networks is Centrality. Actors are “central” to the network in two senses. First, if they have the most number of direct connections with other actors. Second, if they occupy “a position of strategic significance in the overall structure of the network” (Scott, 2011: 83). This present study uses two basic Centrality measures: Degree centrality and Betweenness centrality. Degree centrality is equal to the number of direct connections of a given actor (node) with the others. For example among the actors in the sociograph of Figure 1, C, D, and E have the most number of direct connections - three each. Thus, they have the highest Degree centrality measure of three (=3).

On the other hand, Betweenness centrality is equal to the number of instances an actor lies within the shortest path from one node to another in the network (without double counting pairs). For example again using the sample sociograph, C has the highest Betweenness centrality measure of six (=6) followed by B (=4). This can be determined simply by counting the number of shortest paths within which an actor is included. In the case of C, it lies in-between 6 shortest paths: (A,D) = 1, (A,E) = 1, (A,F) since there are two alternative shortest paths and both of them pass through C then it is represented as $2/2 = 1$, (B,D) = 1, (B,E) = 1, (B,F) [same explanation as (A,F)] = 1.

Table 1 Network properties employed in this study

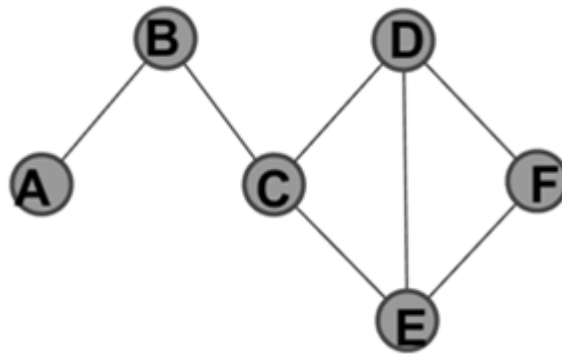
Property	Explanation	Assumption/ Implication	Method of data gathering/analysis
A. Transactional Content	Types of exchange: 1. influence 2. exchange of information, services, and resources 3. competition		Participant observation; in-depth interviews; key informants; group discussions
B. Structural Characteristic			<i>Gephi</i> and UCINET; Participant observation; in-depth interviews; key informants; group discussions
1. Size	The number of individuals participating in the network		
2. Centrality	The importance (positioning) of a subject (node) within the network	Informs how decisions are made and how transactional contents flow through the network	
a. Degree	The number of connections to which individual nodes are directly connected	Indicates who has the potential control/power over other members in the network	
b. Betweenness	Measures the extent to which an individual node lies 'between' the shortest path from one point to another in the network	Identifies the greatest influence over the flows of transactions in the network, important 'bridge' between sub- groups and individuals	
3. Isolate	Individuals who have uncoupled from the network	Individuals who are at the periphery, excluded from the group; thus have less accesses to information and less chances of participation in network activities	

Source: Based on Freeman (1978/79); Scott et al. (2008); Tichy et al. (1979)

Therefore, being central to the network does not only mean having the most number of connections, but also being part of most of the transactions between subjects regardless of the number of direct connections an actor has. In the case above, actors D and E may have the highest number of connections and know most of the actors in the network. However, actor B (having the second highest Betweenness centrality) though having fewer connections, is involved in most of the transactions flowing among actors. In this sense, B has a more strategic position as a bridge than D and E. Overall, actor C is the most central in both senses,

and thus the most influential in the network. Thus, a single actor having both central characteristics is also possible. Actors having the same measure in one centrality category may be considered to have a “structural equivalence” (see Scott, 2011: 124-126). This means that they perform similar emergent functions within the network.

Figure 1 A sample network (sociograph) of six (6) actors



Note: Visualized by the author

For smaller networks composed of few actors, Centrality can be determined easily. However, more complex networks can be analyzed using computer software. In this present study, analyzing and visualizing networks were processed through the SNA computer programs, *Gephi* (Bastian *et al.*, 2009) and *UCINET* (Borgatti *et al.*, 2002).¹⁸ In presenting

¹⁸ In more complicated networks involving huge number of actors, mathematical notation is used. Krackhardt (1992), employing Linton Freeman, defines Betweenness centrality as follows:

$$C_B(k) = \frac{2 \sum_i^n \sum_j^n \left(\frac{g_{ij}(k)}{g_{ij}} \right)}{n^2 - 3n + 2}$$

[F]or all unordered triples i, j, k , where $i < j$, n is the number of nodes in the network, $g_{ij}(k)$ is the number of geodesics (shortest paths) between nodes i and j in the network, and $g_{ij}(k)$ is the

the graphical results of this dissertation, I use size and color coding to illustrate differences in the network properties of individual actors. Color of nodes represents measure of Betweenness Centrality, that is the higher the number of points the darker the color of the node; Nodes' size represents measure of Degree Centrality, that is the greater the number of direct connections the bigger the size of the node.

Although social network analysis facilitates in examining the structural properties of networks, it does not give us an idea of the contents of transactions and the social contexts with which social relations emerge. Thus, to address this issue, this dissertation gives equal importance to both relational and ethnographic data, employing concepts from existing perspectives that help us in understanding the organizing behaviors of people in the village context.

2.3. Conceptual Categories in Understanding Organizing Activities

among Villagers

Concepts in understanding human organizing activities are necessary in examining the dynamics of community tourism. In this section, I will discuss an overview of three approaches which could facilitate analysis of CBT activities in the context of developing countries. These are the moral economy perspective, the political economy perspective, and

number of geodesics from i to j that include k . To the extent that k lies on the shortest paths between each pair (i, j) , the k would be said to have a high betweenness centrality. (p. 223)

However, since this present case study involves simple networks and the quantitative aspect of analysis is not its main concern, calculations are done by manual counting and automatically through the use of SNA computer programs, *Gephi* and UCINET. Numerical values of network properties (particularly Centrality measures) are indicated primarily to illustrate differences and facilitate comparison between subjects. For more details on algorithms please see Brandes, 2001 and Scott *et al.*, 2008: 161-162.

Ostrom's idea of self-organizing locals. These three approaches provide the basic categories in understanding community organizing activities, including the concepts of mutuality, incentives, and self-organization. I employ these categories in the dissertation to facilitate the understanding of the factors affecting the cooperation from which social networks emerge.

Moral Economy Perspective. The moral economy approach to understanding the organizing activities among villagers can best be represented by the ideas of the anthropologist James Scott. Scott (1976:11), in his work *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, argues that relationships among villagers are governed by the “norm of reciprocity” and the “right to subsistence.” These basic principles apply to community organizing activities, to maintaining cooperation, and to decision-making concerning livelihood practices.

This perspective argues that local people organize and maintain collective activities for mutual support, rather than for purely promoting individual interests. Cooperation is based on mutual expectations, moral obligations, and traditional value systems (e.g., trust and reputation) regulated by social pressures (e.g., shame and gossip). Resistance against and defection from organizing activities may occur not only because goals were not achieved, but because the above moral categories have been violated (Scott, 1976:6). Thus, this violation of rights could provoke resentment from people that could lead to rebellion. Dissenting attitudes do not aim to organize a new social order, but rather to restore balance and preserve the traditional relationships within the community.

Scott (1985) further develops his ideas in his work *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. In his study of a village in Malaysia, Scott discovers two subtle forms of local resistance against coercive personalities. He calls these collective local responses “Cautious Resistance” and “Calculated Conformity (p.241).” Weaker villagers tend to conform to new social arrangements, not because they are convinced by these, but because

their conformity serves as “a protective disguise on their relations with more powerful villagers or outsiders” (p. 284). Having no capacity to engage in open resistance, the poorer villagers challenge coercive systems and authorities under the shadows of everyday life - defecting behaviors hidden from public, but collectively practiced like arson, sabotage, boycotts, and even theft done against the powerful.

The moral economy perspective looks further to understanding community decision-making behaviors regarding livelihood activities. This approach describes villagers as “risk avert,” unwilling to take unfamiliar steps and innovations. Faced with resource scarcity, local people tend to be very cautious in trying new livelihood systems fearing that in the process they could lose the little they have, which ultimately could endanger the community subsistence. Thus, they are content with familiar ways and try to preserve traditional practices which have sustained them from the beginning.

Political Economy Perspective. The basic premise of the political economy perspective is the assumption that human individuals have the rational capacity to calculate the costs and benefits of their every action. The idea of the self-interested rational person was developed by Mancur Olson in his work *The Logic of Collective Action* (originally published in 1965). However, Olson (1998: 7) argues that although individuals tend to prioritize personal interests, there exist common interests which they think can be achieved efficiently if they work together. For this reason, people organize communities, villages, firms, and other groupings. In spite of this capacity to work together, providing collective benefits may not guarantee cooperation in organizing activities. Since people could still enjoy the collective goods even without participating in the process of production, there is the tendency to just let others do it for them (“free ride”).

Thus, Olson (1998: 51) proposes the need for separate incentives distinct from collective goods to “stimulate a rational individual... to act in a group-oriented way.” These could be complemented with external sanctions to regulate the defecting behaviors of members. “Selective incentives” are goods given only to individuals who are cooperating actively in the group. These may not only be economic in nature. In small groups, “social incentives” also play important roles in attracting and sustaining cooperation. These include “prestige, respect, friendship, and other social and psychological objectives” (see Olson, 1998: 60-65).

Employing the elements of Olson’s thoughts, Samuel Popkin (1979) examines organizing behavior among peasants in Southeast Asia. Popkin concludes that, although belonging to a community, individual peasants make rational choices that prioritize their individual/family benefits over the good of the community. He observes that people maintain the village system not so much for mutual support, but primarily because belonging to such an organization provides them with security, which they could not guarantee with their own individual efforts.

To attract cooperation from self-interested individuals, Popkin (1979) highlights the importance of special incentives in particular cases. He argues that “If an individual assumes that his contribution to a collective good has no perceptible impact on the contributions of others, and if the collective good is so expensive that an individual’s contribution will have no perceptible impact on the level of the collective good supplied” then special incentives are necessary (p.253). Unlike the moral economy approach, the political economy approach describes villagers as risk takers willing to try new things and make innovations that could promote their interests. Furthermore, people have the tendency to challenge the *status quo* and traditional systems if they think these could no longer advance their objectives.

Ostrom's Self-Organizing Villagers. The problem of cooperation in organizing activities that relate to appropriation of common pool resources is further examined by the political economist Elinor Ostrom. In her book, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*, Ostrom (1990) develops the idea of self-organizing villagers. She emphasizes the capacity of the locals to develop institutional arrangements to manage their resources with lesser or no outside intervention.

Ostrom argues that since villagers living together in communities are closely connected and have greater opportunities to communicate with each other, they are capable of devising arrangements to affect changes in their circumstances. She continues to develop her idea by discussing three basic issues that confront community organizing activities. She enumerates the issues as follows: “(1) the problem of supplying new institutions, (2) the problem of making credible commitments, and (3) the problem of mutual monitoring” (p.42). Based on her study of different community institutions around the globe, Ostrom (1990:90) formulates her “design principles” that address the above problems with less or no intervention from outside.

Long-enduring institutions have demonstrated essential elements or conditions that help sustain organizing activities and preserve local resources. The principles are as follow: (1) Clearly defined boundaries, (2) Congruence between appropriation and provision rules and local conditions, (3) Collective-choice arrangements, (4) Monitoring, (5) Graduated sanctions, (6) Conflict-resolution mechanisms, (7) Minimal recognition of rights to organize and (8) Nested enterprises. From Ostrom's perspective therefore, the failure of community organizing activities can be seen in the lack of such principles that address the above three issues.

The moral economy, the political economy, and Ostrom's idea of self-organizing villagers may have conflicting points, but demonstrate some things in common. First, they all agree on the premise that individuals have the ability to work along with others to achieve common benefits. This assumption may easily be accepted as a general truth because experience shows that, in spite of private interests, humans belong to different families, communities, societies, nations, and other social institutions. Indeed, they are by nature social animals, as the ancient philosopher Aristotle (trans. 1999, II) would say "A social instinct is implanted in all men by nature." Second, all of the above approaches attempt to explain what makes individuals cooperate in certain collective activities, while in others they do not. The problem of cooperation is at the heart of community organizing activities which these three perspectives are trying to understand. Facing challenges that concern social order and subsistence, individuals enter into the dilemma of whether to work with others or to do it alone to achieve desired goals.

The above general approaches have become the bases of understanding realities in community organizations. These paradigms also have influenced different strategies in organizing development projects, especially in developing countries. The ideas of mutual support, selective incentives, and the locals' participation are some elements of these approaches which have been integrated in different models for local development, including Community-Based Tourism. This dissertation does not aim at settling the disputes among these three approaches nor try to criticize their weaknesses. Rather, it draws out from these perspectives valuable categories which facilitate understanding the formation of social networks operating in community tourism.

2.4. Earlier Network Analyses in Tourism Studies

The network perspective has been used to examine touristic activities. Scott *et al.* (2008: 15) argue that tourism in nature is “a network industry par excellence.” It involves both big-time and small-time actors, from multinational tourism developers, resort owners and operators to community-based tourism organizations, waiters/waitresses, and tourist guides. Government agencies, on their part, intervene in touristic activities in their territories, while development agencies and NGOs work together with the local people in seeking ways to make tourism truly beneficial to the host communities (Holden, 2008: 128). With these actors operating and interacting within the touristic system, complex webs of networks generate. These networks reveal patterns of information/knowledge flow, actors who are central to the network, and the degree of collaboration between participants.

Network analysis in tourism has been employed to examine the wider-level relationships among different stakeholders and service providers in tourism related industries. Scott *et al.* (2008) compile theoretical and empirical studies on tourism that have employed a network approach. For example, Wilkinson and March (2008) attempt to formulate a model for an effective network organization in a regional tourism area and examine the nature and types of network interactions among tourism-related stakeholders particularly in competing with resources. The authors conclude that identifying scarce resources and minimizing the competition may assist in the development of sustainable tourism networks.

Emphasizing the importance of knowledge generation and transfer in innovating and developing new tourism products, Scott *et al.* (2008) provide insights on making an environment which could facilitate the sharing and adaptation of knowledge among destination networks. Dredge and Pforr (2008) highlight the use of Policy Networks for a

more democratic and participatory governance in tourism. Focusing on the cross-cultural dimension of tourism networks, Pan (2008) examines how Chinese cultural values and practices like *guanxi* (social connections), ethnic preferences, and regional cultural differences, hinder the building up of touristic networks among Chinese and Australian tour operators. Using the quantitative approach, Scott *et al.* (2008) use network visualization to examine the pattern of interactions among tourism stakeholders from different geographical locations of the same region.

Using the stakeholders' perspective, Timur and Getz (2008) examine the inter-relationships among local government, the community, and destination management organizations. Their findings show that the local government and the management organizations have the greatest power among other stakeholders in the development of tourism destination since they have the necessary resources and all others are dependent on them. Shih (2006) examines the network characteristics of 16 drive tourism destinations in Taiwan and its implications for planning where and what type of new facilities, and what kind of themed touring routes to promote.

Although not directly considered as network studies, several researches have also examined the role of intermediaries in facilitating touristic interactions. For example, Jensen (2010) explores the significance of local tour guides as social mediators between the host communities and tourists. These local guides serve as bridges enhancing relationships among hosts and visitors (see also Crick, 1992; Gurung *et al.*, 1996; McGrath, 2007). The significant role of mediators (including "government officials, tourism planners, travel agents, tour guides, and travel writers") in furthering the development of the touristic industry and in shaping touristic experience is also examined in the work of Werner (2003).

The social network approach highlights the importance of the structure of interactions among actors in understanding the dynamics of human organizations. Focusing on the patterns of interactions and the positioning of individual actors within the network, analysts are able to examine the sources of control and flow resources, the degree of importance of each actor, and the evolution of social relations through time. In tourism studies, although scholars have analyzed the wider-level touristic network, the bottom-level transaction involving community tourism and how it is embedded within a wider network environment has not been fully examined.

Conclusions

This chapter has presented the theoretical and analytical foundations of this dissertation. Community tourism is an organizing phenomenon that connects people, both locals and outsiders. Earlier studies have focused mainly on examining the internal conditions and interactions that determine the life of formally initiated CBT organizing activities. Although these analyses have yielded insights on the basic conditions and arrangements which influence the local industry, they overlooked the importance of examining wider emergent organizing networks involving villagers and outsiders that maintain CBT activities outside the formal structures. Thus, there is a need for an alternative analytical perspective to integrate wider forms of interactions within which community organizing activities are embedded.

The network approach provides theoretical and analytical tools in examining patterns of human interactions, how these structures influence organizing activities, and how actors

affect structural changes. Tourism is a network phenomenon within which different actors and levels of interactions are embedded. These networks facilitate the organizing of local people, the marketing and maintaining of products and services, and the distribution of income and benefits. These structural realities can be analyzed through examining relational data. Network analysis enables us to examine the flow and channels of resources, determine influential actors and crucial ties, and the degree of integration of people within the wider network. These factors are crucial in the life of community organizing activities, especially in addressing the issues of internal conflicts, lack of resources, and competition. To complement the structural analysis, this study gives equal importance to attribute data with narratives and other qualitative descriptions.

Community tourism, as a development approach, believes that for host communities to truly benefit from the touristic activity in their areas, they have to manage it themselves. Aiming at local participation, sustainable livelihood, and empowerment, CBT strategies involve local people in every aspect of the decision-making. In other words, CBT approach envisions communities who are self-sufficient and self-subsistent in operating livelihood activities through tourism. However, the realities in developing countries are different. The idea has encountered difficulties and has little evidence of success in the field. Two major issues challenge the approach, namely the homogeneity of the communities and the lack of local resources.

Scholars have criticized advocates of community tourism of over-assuming the common identity of the local people, not taking into account conflicting local attitudes, values, and intentions. Critics also accuse CBT organizers of making local people over-dependent on the material and technical support. Thus, organizations collapse once organizers leave the project, while the income from touristic services is not enough to sustain organizing activities.

Based on earlier analyses, the community approach to tourism development appears destined to fail because local people in developing countries simply could not maintain the necessary resources to operate such a demanding industry.

Studies on community tourism projects were based on investigations of formally initiated CBT organizations. Conclusions were made from examining the characteristics and attributes of communities and actors involved in the industry. The success and failure of community-based tourism were equated with the success and failure of the formal organizations. Communities are expected to obtain the necessary conditions for “success.” Although these studies have gained insights on basic conditions affecting CBT, they were not able to account for the existence of social networks which have maintained a community touristic livelihood in spite of the collapse of formally initiated structures. These studies also failed to recognize the local people’s capacity to address issues of conflicts and limited resources through networking in order to continue to participate in and benefit from the touristic activities happening in their vicinities.

Therefore, this present study seeks to shed light on the above theoretical and empirical gaps. Employing a network approach, it aims to provide conclusions that could contribute to the wider understating of the dynamics of CBT organizing activities in the villages in particular, and to the discussions concerning community organizations in general.

Chapter 3

Physical and Social Contexts of Pamilacan

Community Tourism

Tourism does not happen by chance, but develops as a consequence of the kind of community in which people live (Holden, 2008: 10). It does not occur in a vacuum and must be examined within a complex web of circumstances that have influenced communities even before the introduction of tourism (Douglas & Douglas, 2008: 252). In this chapter, I will first present an overview of the physical features of Pamilacan Island, the characteristics and relationships of its people, and its traditional sources of subsistence. I will then proceed to narrative accounts of the experiences of the islanders with the banning of their traditional hunting livelihood and the introduction of tourism that have brought changes in their way of life.

This chapter highlights the island's rich but restricted resources, the traditional livelihood and support systems of its people, and the struggles of the community with the banning of their hunting livelihood and with the coming of tourism. Examining the social context and the experiences of the people enables us to understand the attitudes of the local people toward tourism which affect how the industry develops in the community. This chapter also illustrates the capacity of the islanders to self-organize to cope with the scarcity of resources in operating a collective livelihood through a mutual support system.

3.1. Overview of the Island Community

Analyzing the geography of tourism, the anthropologist Valene Smith (1996: 287) categorizes four interrelated elements. Her four H's of tourism namely, local Habitat (the natural environment), Heritage (the cultural traditions), History (the effects of acculturation), and Handicrafts (traditional livelihood and products) – characterize tourism as a culture bound experience. Elements of these categories are also useful in providing a background of Pamilacan.

3.1.1. The Island Habitat

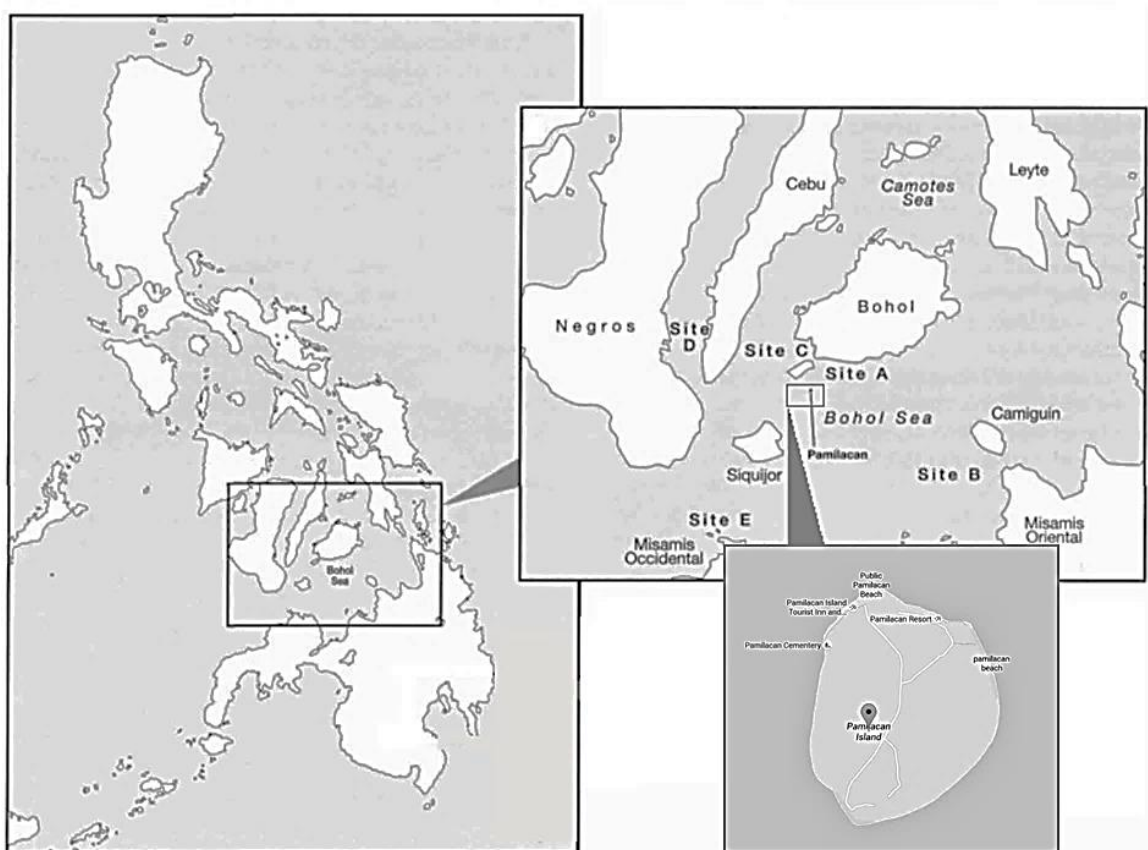
Pamilacan Island belongs to the Municipality of Baclayon in the Province of Bohol, the Philippines.¹⁹ With a population of 18, 630 people living in a 3, 443 hectare land area, Baclayon is a first class municipality consisting of 17 *barangays*, including *barangay* Pamilacan (National Statistical Coordination Board, 2012).²⁰ Like the rest of the Philippines, the dry season in Bohol is from January to May, while the rest of the year is wet with typhoons and storms with transitions between two monsoons, the *Amihan* (northeast winds) and *Habagat* (southwest winds) (Green *et al.*, 2002: 1). Open-water ecosystem covers 90% by volume of Bohol's coastal waters. This body of water is the home for giant squids, rays, 12 species of whales and dolphins, tunas, whale sharks, Spanish mackerels and other migratory

¹⁹ As of May 2010, the Province of Bohol has the population of around 1, 250, 000 people with annual growth rate of 1.8 from the year 2000 (National Statistics Office, 2010). With a land area of around 4,110 square kilometers and a coastline of around 260 kilometers long, the Province is the tenth largest island of the Philippines. It consists of a city (Tagbilaran City, the Provincial Capital), and 47 municipalities including Baclayon. The province had been a trading port since the pre-and Spanish periods (Agoncillo, 1969: 34, 24; Yankowski, 2005).

²⁰ *Barangay* is the smallest political unit in the Philippines which is composed of *Purok* (more on the concept of *Barangay* see Peterson, 2007).

fishes (Green *et al.*, 2002: 29).²¹ Because of its rich natural attractions and cultural heritage, Bohol has become a top tourist destination in the Philippines (Province of Bohol & German Development Service, 2010: 7).

Figure 2 Map showing the location of Pamilacan Island and the hunting sites A, B, C, D, and E



Source: Alava *et al.* (1997: 138); Google Maps (2015)

²¹ Bohol seas also have a large number of sea grasses, of around 14 species. Aside from these marine grasses, the Province also is internationally known for its rich coral reefs found particularly in the islands of Panglao, Balicasag and Cabilao, and Danajon Bank in the northern part of the province. These living corals with the sea grasses serve not only as breeding haven, but also as sources of food for the marine life and protect against underwater currents (Green *et al.*, 2002: 28, 32).

Kapitan (the local name for village Chairperson) described Pamilacan as an egg-shaped island lying on the Bohol Sea, in the southwestern part of mainland Bohol. It takes around an hour by motor boat from *Baluarte*, Baclayon pier, going to the northern settlement of the island. Sugary fine white beaches surround Pamilacan's shore lines. The island is primarily made of coral and fossilized seashells with limestone inland. Rock wall edges are found mostly in the northeast and northwest parts. During low tide, these uplifted coral-reef cliffs become visible measuring as high as 20 feet from the beach surface. Along these rocky walls, marine notches or grooves indicate the previous stand of sea-level which were accordingly formed between seven to four thousand years ago (Manila Observatory, 2009: 3, 13-14).

In the western part of the island, three areas are prominent. First is the public cemetery with burials on the cliff. Tombs and markers harmoniously coexist with trees and shrubs cascading to the beach. Some burials are submerged in the sea during high tide suggesting the change of the water level through time and the age of the burial site. Second is the tall *pang-pang*, a canopy of coral rock right beside the cemetery. This rock wall overshadows part of the sea making the area darker than the other parts of the island even in daytime. Underneath the green shadowy sea is an important part of the island which is the third feature of western part - the marine sanctuary measuring around 800 by 300 meters. Facing the mainland town of Baclayon, a huge stone tower stands right on the beach. A remnant of the Spanish era, the watch tower served as a guard post protecting Bohol, particularly Baclayon, from pirate invasions. Pamilacan has a strategic location facing

Mindanao from where invaders used to come. Similar Spanish watch towers, of the same function, can also be found along the shores of the towns of Maribojoc and Loay.²²

Groundwater is scarce due to the small size and limestone composition of the island which make rain water difficult to retain (Manila Observatory, 2009: 19). Community water well provides the needs of the inhabitants. Drinking water is now also being transported from the mainland town. Soil erosion is evident on the landscape with uprooted trees and exposed rocky areas which, according to informants, resulted from past heavy rains.

Pamilacan belongs to the few areas in the Philippines with diverse ecosystems left in reasonable condition (Green *et al.*, 2002: 27). In the mid-1980s the government's fisheries authority started to establish marine protected areas within which fishing is strictly prohibited. Now, there are fifteen (15) protected areas surrounding the island. These marine sanctuaries serve as haven and bearding grounds for fishes and other marine life including varieties of endangered species and corals. A total of thirteen (13) species of marine mammals can be found in the waters surrounding Pamilacan – including eight (8) dolphin species, three (3) whale shark species, whale sharks, and manta rays (Province of Bohol & German Development Service, 2010: 16 - 17).

Pamilacan Island belongs to what is called Bohol Marine Triangle (BMT), together with the neighboring islands of Panglao and Balicasag. A research sponsored by the Province of Bohol and German Development Service (2010: 12) identified five major ecosystems located within the triangle, namely the fringing mangroves (222.39 hectares), sea grass beds (467.56 hectares), sargassum beds, the dominant species of which are *Hormophysa*

²² The tower occupies approximately a 100 square meter area rising up around 25 feet from the ground. Small rectangular holes line horizontally through the middle portion of its thick walls with at least six bigger openings on the upper level. These features suggest that the tower once had two floors with a roof. Cannons were perhaps inserted through the bigger openings facing the sea. Today, local people are using this historical structure as a huge cage for their fighting cocks and chickens.

cuneiformis, *Sargassum spp.* and *Turbinaria ornate* (242.32 hectares), coral reefs (264.84 hectares), and open water or deep sea. BMT ranks among the top 10 most extensive coral reef habitat in the country.

3.1.2. The Community and Its Culture

The island has around 1, 400 people or around 200 families scattered within 144 hectares of land (National Statistics Office, 2010: 3). The *barangay* is further subdivided into 7 *Puroks* of around 290 households excluding those who had migrated to other places. A huge part of the island (of around 50 hectares) belonged formerly to a prominent clan from the neighboring island of Panglao. Later, the government awarded some parts of the property to local tenants.

The community is composed mainly of relatives from around five clans (PAWB-DENR & PCW, n.d: 36). Thus, the people are connected in subgroupings by blood relations living together in settlements. Their ancestors migrated from mainland Baclayon and from the other neighboring towns of Loay, Dausi, and Panglao.²³ As migrants, they share the traditions of the people from the mainland province of Bohol. One of the customs the *Bol-anons* (how people of Bohol are called) are known for is the elaborate and extravagant celebration of *Pista*, a religious festival in honor of the area's patron saints. This Spanish-influenced practice is both religious and secular involving voluntary organizing activities of the whole community (Agoncillo, 1969: 51). During the *pista* seasons, people are expected to contribute material

²³ There is no accurate historical record dating the migration of people to Pamilacan. However, the presence of artifacts, like the Spanish watchtower and the wooden cross inside the island's chapel (inscribed 1830, although the authenticity of the cross is not yet confirmed), gives us an idea of earlier settlements in the island (see Figure 5). Migration could also come in different periods and groups.

resources and labor in the preparing of religious ceremonies, like the Catholic Mass, prayers, and procession of religious icons. They are also expected to show case their talents during cultural presentations, community dances (e.g., *bayle*), and contests (e.g., *rayna-rayna*).

Pamilacan islanders celebrate their village *pista* every May 14 and 15, in honor of their patron saint, San Isidro Labrador.²⁴ Voluntary labor and sharing of resources facilitate the whole occasion. During the two-day celebration, houses prepare banquets for visitors, even strangers are welcome. This form of hospitality towards guests has been a patent trait shared among Filipinos which was even experienced by the early Europeans during their first landings in the country (Agoncillo, 1990: 6). Neighbors are expected to help in the preparation of food, the cleaning of houses, and the serving of guests. Villagers also contribute labor and material and financial assistance for the chapel activities. Having relatives and friends in other parts of Bohol, islanders also participate in *pista* celebrations in the neighboring areas of Baclayon, Panglao, and Dauis.

Unlike indigenous societies, there is no indication of traditional social and political stratifications in Pamilacan based on kinship or tribal systems. As migrants, they live in small clusters of settlements among families and relatives. The village is administered by the Barangay Council or *Sangguniang Barangay*, the basic political unit of government in the country. These elected local civil officials are headed by the *Barangay* Chairperson (locally called the *Kapitan*) with seven council members (the *Kagawads*).²⁵ They have a three-year term of office and can be elected in three consecutive terms. The body has legislative

²⁴ San Isidro Labrador (St. Isidore, the Farmer) is honored by Catholics as the patron of agriculture. The islanders' choice of the saint maybe related to the people's former agricultural practices, or the saint could have been carried along with the migrants from the neighboring areas.

²⁵ In the pre-Hispanic period, this concept of belongingness to a certain *barangay* extended to a wider independent community settlement (Ayson & Abletez, 1987: 5). Barangays had its own leaders called *datu* and there were also conflicts among them (Shirley, 2004: 6). During the Spanish period, the *barangay* system was utilized by the colonial rule to facilitate forced labor and collection of taxes.

authority, providing ordinances over their territories as defined by the Philippine Local Government Code of 1991 (RA 7160, 1991). Aside from their legislative power, the *Barangay Kapitans* also have judicial responsibility since they take charge of preliminary judicial proceedings before people can go to higher courts. *Barangay* has become an “artificial unit that puts together people” in a specific area for administrative purposes, and thus, individual members of the same *barangay* may not necessarily share common backgrounds, as Eggan (1971: 17) argues.

Pamilacan Island has the basic social facilities. It has a Catholic chapel for the community’s religious activities; a Health Clinic with a regular mid-wife and visiting medical staff; and a newly built High School. However, the electric supply is very limited. A gasoline-powered generator supplies the community with electricity only from six in the evening until twelve midnight.

3.1.3. Hunting Livelihood System

Baclayon, including Pamilacan Island, does not have the potential for agricultural development because of its now rocky soil. Fishing was the traditional source of livelihood of the people of Pamilacan, along with backyard gardening and livestock-raising. Since Bohol is surrounded by seas, approximately 33% of the province’s population depends on fishing and other fishery activities as the sources of subsistence. Income from selling marine products supports families in providing education for their children and in buying basic household needs (Green *et al.*, 2002: 1, 7).

Pamilacan was the most important whale shark and/or manta fishery site in the country, during the pre-tourism period.²⁶ Other former primary sites in central Visayas and northern Mindanao include Guiwanon, Balite, Manuyog, and Looc (see Alava *et al.*, 1997). Before the coming of tourism, hunting marine mammals was the main livelihood of Pamilacan. The name “Pamilacan” is said to be derived from the local word, *Pilak*, a traditional huge metal hook used to catch large fishes and marine mammals. The island’s name suggests a long tradition of sea hunting by its people. However, no exact record on the origins of the traditional hunting can be found. Acebes (2009:8) in her study of the history of whaling in the Philippines mentions two narratives on the beginning of marine hunting in Pamilacan. One version states that the practice was derived from the people of the neighboring town of Lila in mainland Bohol. Her respondents recounted that hunters from Lila used to catch manta rays and whales around the seas of Pamilacan in the late 1930s. These hunters would then land on the island with their catch where they would process the meat for selling or for consumption. Pamilacan villagers would then participate in slicing the catch for transport and receive a share of the meat.

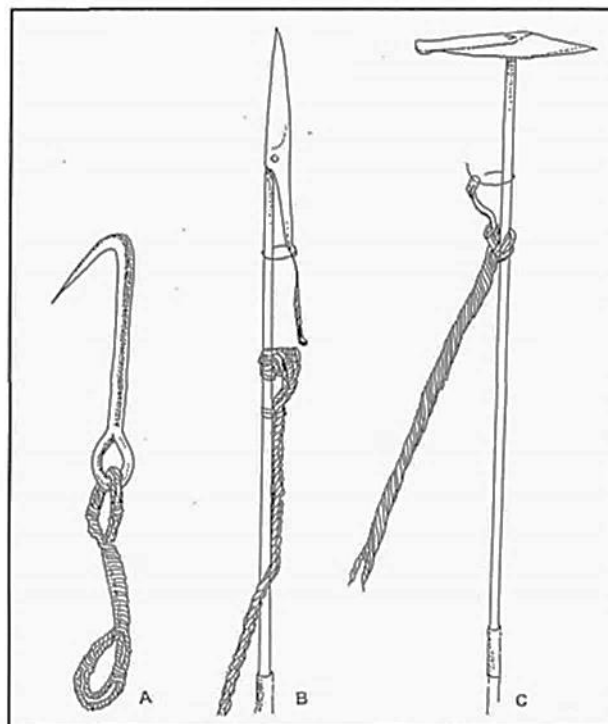
The other version of the origin of Pamilacan hunting argues that the traditional livelihood was learned by the Pamilacan people themselves. A certain local named Ciriaco Pineda was said to be the pioneer hunter in the island but the year when he started was not clear. Acebes, however, discovered that the facilities and techniques used by the Pamilacan hunters were very similar to those of Lila. My fieldwork also revealed the close social connections between fishermen and traders from Lila and Pamilacan until the banning of whale and manta ray hunting. They coordinated closely during hunting expeditions and in the trading and consumption of meat. Today, dried manta ray meat can still be purchased secretly

²⁶As Kousis (1989: 322) calls the community life before tourism came to local destinations.

in the market. People would say that these products come from Lila or from Mindanao. Informants also narrated that this illegal meat sold today comes from other parts of Bohol; Pamilacan islanders only act as traders.

Figure 3 Primary fishing tools used in whale shark hunting in the Bohol Sea:

(A) gaff hook; (B and C) hand spear/harpoon



Source: Alava et al. (1997: 136)

Mammals and fishes which the islanders used to catch include *Bongkaras* [Bryde's whale, *Balaenoptera omurai*], *Balilan* [Whale shark, *Rhincodon typus*], and other marine species like *Sanga* [Manta ray *Manta birostris*]. "Balilan and bongkaras are very huge," a former local hunter explained. "Of all the types of whales, balilan is one of the biggest. They

are of the same family with sharks. Bongkaras, on the other hand,” he continued, “is purely whale, but also very huge. It weighs around ten thousand kilograms.” Aside from the huge Manta rays, people of Pamilacan were also known for hunting other ray fishes like *pagi*. “These water creatures look similar, although *sanga* is bigger than *pagi* with wings that could reach around three fathoms.” Hunters primarily used gaff hooks or steel hooks and hand spears as shown in Figure 3.

The name “Pamilacan,” is almost synonymous to dried *balilan* and *sanga* meat. Before the government ban on taking endangered marine species, Pamilacan used to be the major source of dried ray and whale shark meat in the province or even in the region. In 1993, researchers recorded 30 whale sharks landed in the island within 44 observation days and 67 in the year 1997 (Alava *et al.*, 1997: 132, 135). Islanders used to sell products to the mainland Bohol and to parts of Cebu and Mindanao. Others preferred to sell raw meat by bulk. “That was their main source of income, and nothing else,” a local government official recalled. Although the local people earned a lot from hunting, the livelihood was seasonal since these giant creatures only appear during summer (i.e., from February to May). *Manong* Pedro, a former hunter and now a village official, shared how the local people benefited from the traditional livelihood:

Certainly we gained a lot of money from it [manta ray hunting]... The same thing with the whale sharks... Local buyers used to buy bongkaras meat from us. They bought in bulks, costing around PhP 60, 000 to PhP 80, 000. For the whale shark, the usual buyers were from Cebu, PhP 50 per kilo. For a 10 thousand kilogram fish, it would cost them half a million (laughing)! That was the system before... But, what

we usually caught could not reach 10 thousand kilos, only maybe around 5 thousand, some 3 thousand, or 2 thousand.

The traditional livelihood was a collective activity. The actors involved in the operation included the local financiers, the boat owners/captains with their crews, the slicers and dryers, and the vendors. Since big capital was needed, islanders who had the money would finance the hunting trips. They would also pay for the other expenses including the materials needed for preservation, like ice blocks and salt. Financers could also buy directly from local fishermen who did the actual hunting. One big fish could cost PhP 100, 000. They would then double the price and sell it for PhP 200,000 or PhP 300, 000 to buyers from mainland Bohol or from the neighboring provinces.

The local financiers and boat owners/captains coordinated closely, although some boat owners/captains would also finance their own hunting trips. Since a number of men were needed for the expeditions, the boat captains formed their crews which included the spotters and divers. The spotters were in charge of detecting and tracking marine mammals on the waters. When sightings were confirmed, the divers took charge of the actual hooking of the giant creatures. The hunting trip could take around three hours. After a successful hunting expedition, hunters would then tow the catch to the island, where the other villagers would meet them.

Poorer villagers connected with the financiers and boat owners/captains in order to participate in the hunting livelihood. Since preparing the meat of the giant creatures needed much labor and time, the whole community was involved. People organized themselves into different tasks. The meat slicers and dyers would prepare the meat including the skin, gills, and fins. After washing and slicing the meat into thin pieces, they would then apply salt and

dry the raw products under the heat of the sun or smoke them for preservation. After several days, they could now chop the dried meat into smaller pieces for distribution - either for selling or for household consumption. After agreeing with the captains or with the other crews, the fish vendors would sell the products at the public market or deliver to their customers in different places.

Alava *et al.* (1997) provide a detailed pricing of meat products when the hunting was still in operation in the island during their fieldwork:

Dried gills, sold at between PhP 20- 40/kg... Fins were sold at PhP 400-500/kg or PhP 1, 700/set dry, while the skins were at PhP 10-15/kg fresh or PhP 50/kg (or PhP 2,000/animal) dry. The head was often sold whole at PhP 750-800/head, fresh, or PhP 50-80/kg, dry. The jaws, traditionally thrown away, are now retained as trophies, and sold to visitors and tourists at PhP 1, 000-8,000/set. The price of the jaws was proportionate to size and quality... The liver and the intestines were sometimes sold at PhP 100/container (about 40 litres)... (p.140)

There was no formal agreement in operating the livelihood. The local financiers were expected to pay those who participated during the hunting, the slicing, and the packaging of the meat. Since many villagers did not have the financial capacity to operate their own hunting trips, nor did all have the skills required for the actual hunting, participating in preparing the meat was an opportunity for them to benefit from the activity. Payment came in forms of cash or shared meat. It was a “very convenient livelihood,” *Kapitan* exclaimed. “If that livelihood ever continued, we could have been very rich!” This traditional livelihood had

sustained the community since the beginning which had served as a mutual support system for the whole community.²⁷

Aside from its economic dimension, the traditional hunting livelihood also involved the religious beliefs of the local people. Alava *et al.* (1997: 140) mention ritual performances offered by the islanders as forms of thanksgiving to the gods. These ceremonies also aimed to appease the spirits of the sea and insure a future good catch.

3.1.4. Other Forms of Livelihood and Support System

Aside from fishing, people of Pamilacan also plant corn, root crops, bananas, fruit trees, and backyard vegetables. Agriculture used to be a source of subsistence in the island. *Kapitan* recalled that years ago Pamilacan used to have a large corn plantation until heavy rains came that caused soil erosion in the island. The once fertile soil had become rocky ground which now people are trying to make productive. The same thing happened to the coconut trees. The coconut harvest was once a major source of income, the informant added, until long droughts and pest attacks came which devastated the coconut trees.

Another problem that has affected agriculture in the island is the lack of water supply. Recently, visiting technicians from Manila were said to have discovered a potential water source in the area. However, due to said political issues, it has not been developed until now. People would either buy or fetch drinking water from the mainland Bohol. Local villagers also raise some few cows, goats, and chickens which are sources of protein. However, these livestock are freely roaming in the island eating the crops and garden vegetables. These create conflicts among the residents which village officials are now trying to resolve.

²⁷ Similar sharing system can be found among the people of Karangsong Village in Indramayu, West Java in operating their shark hunting livelihood (see Suzuki, 1997).

Since livelihood opportunities in the island are limited, some villagers migrated to other places for work. Some go to Manila to work as factory workers and housemaids. Few concrete houses are found in the island. Some of these are owned by families with members working abroad or in other places in the country or whose members are married to foreigners. One family, for example, owns one of these houses but since most of the members are working outside the province, the house only serves as their vacation house. Most of these families are now also operating their small-scale tourism related businesses in the island.

Aside from the support system employed to operate the former traditional hunting livelihood, other forms of informal voluntary organizing activities are also present in the community. These mutual help systems support cooperating villagers during weddings and funeral ceremonies. For example, in case of weddings, cooperating individuals are asked to contribute money monthly to the group. The accumulated fund could then be used to pay wedding expenses for members. Members are also expected to contribute labor during the preparation and the wedding day.

A similar system also operates in funerals. In what is locally called the *Dayong* (literally means “to carry”), members are expected to contribute monthly dues to their group. The amount gathered would then be used for funeral expenses of dead members. Aside from the monetary contribution, members are also asked to help during the wake until the burial day. The men take charge in making the casket, preparing the burial place, carrying, and burying the dead; while the women take charge of leading the nightly prayers and preparing the food. These organizing activities are based on informal arrangements without any written agreement. Another voluntary organizing activity in the island is the cleaning group of women. The members regularly clean and maintain flower gardens in the area.

Voluntary activities also operate during religious festivals (as I have discussed partly earlier in this chapter). During the *barangay Pista*, people organize themselves for particular responsibilities. Some, particularly women, are in charge of leading the series of prayers, *Novena* (nine-day prayers before the *pista* day). Others are in charge of cleaning and decorating the chapel. Others take charge of entertaining the visitors. The men do the physical work, like setting up the venue for cultural shows and repairing the chapel. Wealthier villagers are expected to contribute bigger material and financial assistance during the celebrations, through what is locally called the *sponsor* system. In this system, organizers ask capable villagers to sponsor a particular *pista* event. The sponsors, usually families, donate money to pay for the event expenses and provide prizes for talent contests.

3.1.5. Pamilacan Neighbors

Pamilacan has three major neighboring areas. First is the town of Baclayon in the mainland Bohol of which the *barangay* is politically part. These two areas are separated fifteen (15) kilometers from each other. The town has historical and cultural significance having one of the earliest contacts with the west in the province. Two Jesuit priests, Juan de Torres and Gabriel Sanchez, arrived in the town of Baclayon, supposedly, through an invitation from one of the local elite (Luengo, 1992: 62; Hellingman, 2006). The missionaries built their headquarters and started their missionary activities in the area until they were challenged by Muslim raids (Archer, 1970: 14). After the raid of 26 October 1600, the priests decided to transfer to a safer area - going interior to the present town of Loboc (around 25 kilometers away from Baclayon through the present provincial road).

The 300 year Spanish era left the people of Baclayon with several material and non-material heritages. These remnants continue to play a significant part in the local people's life including physical structures like the town stone church, which houses antique religious articles, old ancestral residences, and public buildings. The non-material heritage includes religious and cultural festivals which are still being practiced. These cultural elements have become tourist attractions which make Baclayon one of the well-known touristic sites in the province. There are at least two exclusive resorts operating in the town. One is the Peacock Garden offering western type of accommodation and spa located on a hill overlooking the Bohol Sea. The other is the Astoria resort located at a beachfront in *barangay* Taguihon.

The second neighboring area of Pamilacan is Panglao Island. The island is composed of two municipalities, namely, Dauis and Panglao. These two towns were also founded during the Spanish era; Panglao in 1803, Dauis in 1697 (see Bersales, 2014: 97, 195). As of May 2010, Dauis has a population of 39,448 people; Panglao of 28,603 people (National Statistics Office, 2010). Spanish remnants in the island include old stone churches and religious and cultural festivals which have become tourist attractions. Aside from its historical and cultural heritage, Panglao Island is more famous for its white sand beaches. These features make the island a major touristic destination in the province and also in the country. In 2014, there were 6, 375 touristic rooms (available and under construction) in the whole province of Bohol. Around half for these, 3, 667 rooms, are located in Panglao Island (Department of Tourism, 2014). With its fine white beaches and proximity to the capital city, Panglao Island has the most touristic facilities including exclusive resorts and spas, medium-size tourist accommodations, tropical and European style resorts, and cottages. Some of the most exclusive resorts and spas in the country are in the island. Most resorts and touristic shops line

up along the beaches of Alona, Doljo, Tawala, and Libaong. During my fieldwork, an international airport project in the island has been undergoing construction.

The third neighboring area is the island of Balicasag located south-west of Panglao. The island is part of the municipality of Panglao with around 800 residents living within approximately 200 hectares of land, smaller than Pamilacan (Christie *et al.*, 2002: 442). Together with the neighboring two islands, Balicasag belongs to the Bohol Marine Triangle (BMT) with its rich marine coral reef. The island has 8 hectares of protected marine sanctuary which has attracted tourists and researchers alike. It would take around 30 to 45 minutes from Alona beach of Panglao to Balicasag by motorboat. The island has a small hotel managed by the Philippine Tourism Authority. Recently, Balicasag Island has been competing with Pamilacan as a marine tourist destination.

3.2. Banning and Abandoning of the Traditional Hunting Livelihood

The banning of hunting marine mammals marked an important period in the life of Pamilacan. The restriction came as the government's response to the decreasing number of marine mammals in the country. Although initial legislation to protect these endangered species had already been in place since the early 1990s, these did not totally prohibit catching other species. In the mid-1990s, government agencies together with WWF sponsored a series of marine researches on the condition of marine life surrounding Pamilacan and its neighboring areas. Findings revealed that continuing the hunting practices of Pamilacan would endanger the existence of marine mammals (see Alava *et al.*, 1997). Recommendations from these researches led to the establishment of the Inter-agency Task Force on Marine

Mammal Conservation (IATFMMC) composed of government agencies, private institutions, and NGOs (White & Rosales, 2003: 246).²⁸

Figure 4 A file photo of islanders in Pamilacan slicing whale shark meat before the banning of the hunting livelihood



Source: Photograph by Fried, Jurger (n.d.)

The results of the collaborative researches began to gain publicity that helped push the government to implement stricter laws on marine life conservation. Thus, after the initial ban of *bongkaras* fishing in 1995, the ban on hunting *balilan* and *sanga* followed in 1998.

²⁸ The Inter-Agency Task Force on the Marine Mammal Conservation was an inter-agency body involved in marine mammal protection and preservation. The Task Force included the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR), the Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources (BFAR), the Department of Tourism (DOT), the Silliman University Institute of Environmental and Marine Sciences (SU-IEMS), the University of the Philippines Marine Science Institute (UPMSI), World Wide Fund for Nature – Philippines (WWF-Philippines) and Bookmark Inc. World Wild Life Fund (now called World Life Fund) is an international conservation group whose mission is “to build a future in which people live in harmony with nature” (see the group official website, www.wwf.org). Present in more than 100 countries, the group organizes local communities, government and private agencies for sustainable livelihood and environmental protection.

The Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources officially promulgated Administrative Order 193 (AO 193, 1998) which considers “unlawful to take or catch whale shark and manta rays in Philippine waters or to sell, purchase, possess, transport, or export the same whether dead or alive, in any state or form whether raw or processed” (Sec. 2.). Prior to this national legislation, the provincial government of Bohol had already enacted an ordinance regulating the management of ecosystems in the province for the purpose of tourism. The Bohol Environment Code of 1998 included the ban on hunting endangered species including Whale sharks and Manta rays (see Province of Bohol & German Development Service, 2010: Annex I, p. 2).

Pamilacan islanders argued that they were not aware of the government’s plan to ban their traditional livelihood. Informants narrated instances when “suspicious people” started to visit the community years before the total banning of whale shark and manta ray fishing. The visitors were researchers from different government agencies, NGOs, and academic institutions. *Kapitan* recounted that a group of young people came to the island and introduced themselves as researchers from WWF and Silliman University (one of the leading universities in the country). The group went around the village and started interviewing people about the livelihood of the community. Although people were not well aware of the purpose, some locals participated in the research project thinking that it would benefit the community. One of my informants helped guide the researchers around the island during that time.

However, other local people were becoming suspicious about the real intentions of the researchers. During that time, the government had just imposed the ban on *bongkaras* fishing. People could still remember a similar group of researchers who came before the initial banning. Now islanders were suspecting that these visitors were government “spies”

which helped the government to implement fishing restrictions. *Kapitan* recalled how he openly expressed his fears to the group during an interview in his residence:

My concern is only this. Now, you are doing research here [in the island] and educating households around... Soon after this research, our [remaining] livelihood would then be banned. Like what happened before, a research was done here. Soon after, the ban on *Bongkaras* hunting was imposed! Now, that you are having interviews here, most probably soon, *Balilan* hunting will be banned also.

In reply, the group assured *Kapitan* that they came for purely academic reasons, to study the marine species around Pamilacan. However, two years after the conversation, the suspicion of the villagers turned into reality when the government imposed the total ban on hunting marine mammals.

The government implemented AO 193 and imposed penalties for those who would not comply. The ban on hunting triggered strong resistance from the islanders. For the islanders, the restriction came as a surprise. “It was automatic,” *Kapitan* recalled. “The people were not consulted about the existing plan of the government. No more local consultations. The people and the fishermen were very angry.” People protested against the new policy and felt that they were being fooled by the government and the NGOs. People lost their primary source of subsistence and feared for the legal consequences that went with the new policy. For example, one provision subjects “the offender to a fine of not less than five hundred (P500.00) pesos to not more than five thousand (P5, 000) pesos or imprisonment from six (6) months to four (4) years, or both such fine and imprisonment” (AO 193, 1998: Sec.4).

With the strict implementation of the restrictions, several local fishermen were caught by maritime police including one of my informants. He recounted that event:

We were traveling that time to Cebu [to sell whale shark meat]. The first one to be captured was a friend of mine. He is now staying over there (pointing to a direction)... He was caught in Talisay (Cebu) where he docked his boat. It was not yet a city during that time... Me, I was also caught, just here in Tagbilaran, in the pier... The banning was strictly implemented...

With the government restrictions, the people of Pamilacan experienced a “360 degree turn for their livelihood,” as the head of the Provincial Tourism Office described their situation. Selling dried manta ray and whale shark meat was their primary livelihood since the beginning and “nothing else,” argued a municipal official. Before the coming of tourism, people did not have any alternative source of subsistence, but fishing small fishes and cultivating a few crops. Although a large number of fishes are found around the seas of Pamilacan, most of these areas are restricted marine sanctuaries.

After the total banning, islanders started to be contented with hunting *pagi* and other small fishes. However, an informant revealed that some islanders even until now are secretly hunting endangered species. There are also outsiders who come and catch fishes in the marine sanctuary. Recently, the local *Bantay Dagat* group (local volunteers for guarding the seas) caught a group of fishermen from the mainland who had been fishing in the Pamilacan marine sanctuary. People even suspected some local village officials of collaborating with these criminals.

Today dried whale sharks and manta rays can still be bought secretly in public markets. Locals are saying that these products came from Mindanao and only dried in Pamilacan. However, a national TV episode titled, “Born to be Wild: Pamilacan Diaries” aired on May 23, 2012, told a different story (GMA News and Public Affairs, 2012). The documentary program featured the whale sharks and dolphins of Pamilacan. During the shooting, the program staff unexpectedly witnessed a group of women slicing a huge amount of fresh manta ray meat on the beach.

Other government legislations followed promoting environmental conservation and eco-tourism. For example, in 1999 the former President Joseph Estrada signed Executive Order 111 (EO 111, 1999), otherwise known as the Guidelines for Ecotourism Development in the Philippines. It mandates government agencies to establish proper institutional mechanisms, like ecotourism council/committees, and formulate ecotourism strategic plans to ensure both the development of a sustainable tourism and the conservation of natural and cultural resources in the country. Following EO 111, in the year 2007, a more particular law was approved by the former President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, the Republic Act 9446 (RA 9446, 2007). Declaring the Province of Bohol as an “Eco-cultural Tourism Zone,” the law provides the principles that govern the planning, development, promotion and management of the tourism zone. It instructs the Department of Tourism (DOT), the Provincial Government of Bohol, and the City Government of Tagbilaran to “create an atmosphere that shall encourage investment and the development of a culture of tourism” (RA 9446, 2007: Sec. 2, par. e). The strong legislative support on tourism development and environmental conservation paved the way for people to organize community tourism as an alternative livelihood.

3.3. Organizing Tourism and the Local People's Attitudes

Government agencies and NGOs started to organize a community-based tourism project in Pamilacan a year before the implementation of the total ban of marine mammal hunting. Three attempts were made to organize the local people of the island for CBT: First was the original project sponsored by World Wild Life Fund-WWF (from 1997 to 2000); second was the initiative supported by the New Zealand Agency of International Development-NZAID (from 2002 to 2003); and third was the project initiated by the Ayala Foundation (around 2008). These projects aimed at developing the capacity of the local people to engage in the community-owned touristic enterprise as a sustainable source of livelihood and as a means for ecological preservation.

3.3.1. Initial Organizing and Community Resistance

Government agencies together with WWF through IATFMMC introduced tourism development as an alternative livelihood for the islanders. During the initial stage of the Pamilacan CBT project, organizers coordinated closely with the village officials. The *barangay* Council spearheaded the organizing of the people for CBT and became the first core group that facilitated the decision-making processes. The project came to be known as Pamilacan Island Dolphin and Whale Watching Village Integrated Development Program (PIDWWVIDP). It aimed to organize community-run self-sustaining dolphin-whale watching tours and touristic services as means of livelihood and ecological conservation. The program also included a plan to establish a marine mammal museum to promote conservation awareness among the locals and tourists. Through this collaborative effort, a People's

Organization - the Pamilacan Island Dolphin and Whale Watching Organization (PIDWWO) was established in 1997/98.

Only six months after the establishment of PIDWWO, the law totally banning the hunting of marine mammals was promulgated. This triggered conflicts among the villagers and against tourism organizers. People started to accuse the organizers of being proponents of banning the island's traditional livelihood. Villagers were angry with PIDWWO because the organization was closely identified with the government and the NGOs. "They only gave such supports because they wanted to abolish fishing totally," one woman islander commented.

The fight went personal to the point of threatening the lives of those who were involved in the organizing of CBT. Program facilitators were even asked to leave the island for fear of violent confrontation. Jay, one of the original local organizers, recalled how BFAR (Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources) advised him to leave the island fearing for his life. He described how the people felt about the banning of their traditional livelihood:

The feeling was there was a betrayal of agreement. The government promised that it will not ban whale shark and manta ray hunting, and how come it was banned. By that time I was the front. That is why I was the target of their anger.

Because of this conflict, the village Council totally withdrew their administrative support from PIDWWO.

Conflicts among neighbors became obvious during the island's *barangay* elections. An informant shared how her husband, a PIDWWO leader, lost during the local election. Villagers hated him because of his active involvement in the tourism program. The news about the conflicts among villagers reached the Provincial Government. *Barangay* leaders and

PIDWWO members met several times but were not able to solve the issue. Since not all the local villagers were willing to take on tourism as a livelihood, local government authorities encouraged both parties to at least live harmoniously in the island.

Figure 5 The Spanish watchtower (left) and the old wooden cross inside the community chapel (right) located in the “tourist village”



Source: Photograph by the author

The internal disagreement led to the division of the community, at least by name. Those in favor of tourism became known as the “Tourist Village”. Those who oppose tourism and continue with fishing as their main source of subsistence became known as the “Fishing Village.” The “Tourist Village” stretches from the center to the northern tip of the island, comprising most of *Purok 1*. Settlements, tourist cottages, and restaurants are mixed up along the shores. The village main chapel is also located in this area.

The “Fishing Village” lies on the southern tip of the island. A *barangay* road connects the two “villages”. Educational centers including the *barangay* kindergarten, elementary and high schools are located in this area with the *Barangay* offices and the health center. Settlements are scattered along the beach, but no tourist cottage stands on the area. Fishing boats line up on the white beaches. Islanders from the opposing groups used to exchange negative comments against each other. For example, those from the “Tourist Village” described the “Fishing Village” as *bahong lansa* referring to the bad smell of dead fishes and leftover meat in the area during the drying season.

After the anger and resentment they experienced during the banning of their traditional livelihood, the islanders started to change their attitude. An informant from the Municipal Government described how the people of Pamilacan strived to accept the new livelihood offered to them by the government:

During the banning... naturally, there was resistance. Of course, it was their livelihood... Slowly by slowly, they were able to accept it... They also realized that instead of hunting... they were able to see an alternative source of income... If they go to Panglao, people will also contact them... Of course, it is human nature that whatever change there is... there may also be resistance. But now, no more... It seems people have accepted the fact... They also see that tourism is more consistent than whale shark hunting which is very seasonal.

The government official argued that at the end the people of Pamilacan came to understand the economic potentials of tourism. People had come to see the viability of tourism as a

source of livelihood compared to whale shark and manta ray hunting. He considered the case of Pamilacan as an achievement of the Local Government concerning tourism development.

A tourism officer from Baclayon Tourism Information and Activity Center also shared similar optimism about the community tourism activities in Pamilacan. Comparing residents from the “Fishing Village” and the “Tourist Village,” she described the latter as having better living conditions than the former. Tourism promotional brochures and posters also highlight the said achievement of Pamilacan community in organizing tourism (Baclayon Tourism Information and Activity Center, n.d.). For example, the Baclayon official tourism website writes: “The tour spotters and guides, former hunters of the cetaceans, now use their traditional skills to help people appreciate wildlife encounters, which have made Pamilacan Island an award-winning success story.”²⁹

However, coming to the island and interviewing the local people, revealed a more detailed story. Since the first banning was implemented, the local people's immediate reaction had been of strong resistance. Yet, after the heights of emotional confrontations, people started to relinquish their stand and accept the realities in facing powerful authorities. An informant described the attitude of the islanders during that time:

The people, fisher folk. were very angry, especially with PIDWWO because it was the organization that was supported by those people [from WWF and KKP]... We can do nothing because the government backed it. Our anger slowly faded. There's nothing we can do.

²⁹ The Baclayon Municipal tourism office website, <http://www.baclayontourism.com> is now out of access.

3.3.2. Reorganizing CBT

After conflicts in the community broke out with the banning of the hunting livelihood, many villagers withdrew their support from the CBT project. Seven months after, PIDWWO was reorganized. WWF continued to support the “Tourist Village” with its material and technical assistance until the end of the project. The remaining members mostly were not the actual hunters. “We still have to proceed with the program,” Jay narrated, “We continued taking in people who were not directly involved in whale hunting business. Just to form the association and register it with SEC.³⁰ It was then that PIDWWO was born,” he added.

The organizers continued the CBT program. To prepare the locals to engage in touristic services, facilitators provided basic training in hospitality management. The government’s Technical Education and Skill Development (TESDA) helped in conducting workshops on basic touristic services. The agency also organized seminars on operating touristic lodgings, skills training on tourist guiding, culinary arts, and basic massage and reflexology.

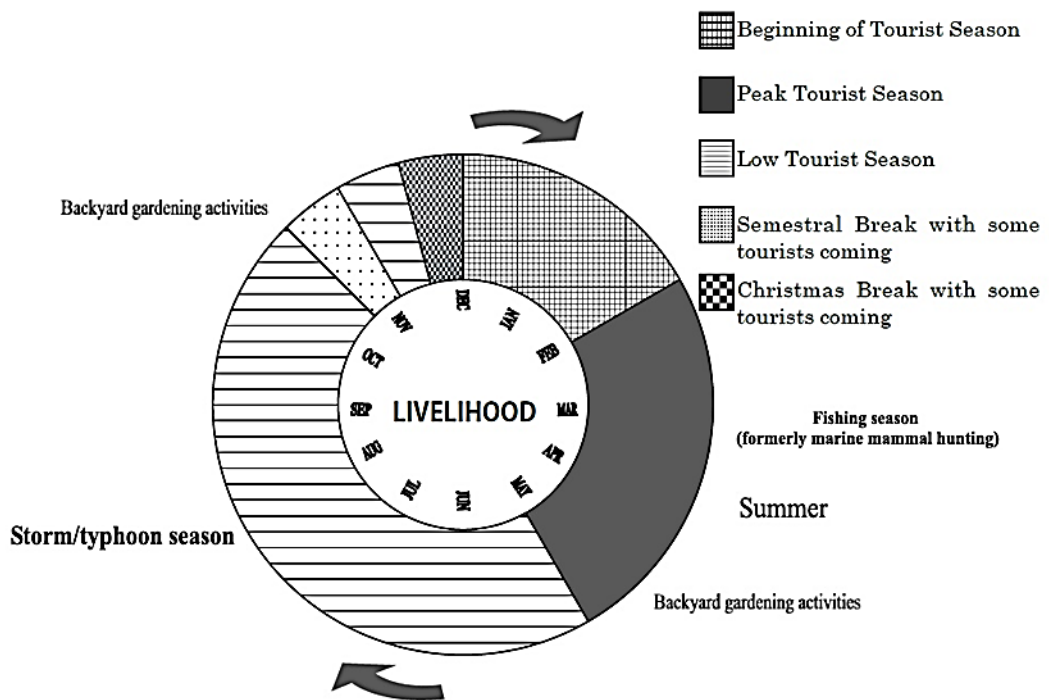
With its local arm *Kabang Kalikasan ng Pilipinas* (KKP), the agency trained fishermen to engage in dolphin and whale watching touristic activities. For the first time, locals attended seminars on how to interact with dolphins, whale sharks, and other marine mammals they used to hunt. They also learned about the different species of these animals and their behaviors in the natural habitat. Participants of the workshops were also given the opportunity to witness dolphin and whale watching activities in other parts of the country. One informant shared his experience during the training:

³⁰ Securities and Exchange Commission is a government agency regulating associations and licensing.

Seminars on how to interact with dolphins and whales were conducted, how to interact with these mammals so that people would be aware [of the importance of taking care for these mammals]. We went to faraway places where dolphin watching is also conducted, like in Bais, Negros. They [people in Bais] were the first to conduct whale watching.

The seminars and training complemented the fishermen’s traditional knowledge of their habitat and improved their skills in dealing with the marine creatures. This knowledge enabled them to operate marine life tours professionally.

Figure 6 Community livelihood cycle in Pamilacan with tourism



Note: Patterned from Murphy (1985: 150)

Aside from the technical support, cooperating villagers also received financial assistance. Loans were provided to repair and transform fishing boats for touristic purposes. Other facilities for dolphin and whale watching activities were also provided like life jackets, snorkeling gears and others. These incentives benefited the over one hundred members of PIDWWO. “Local people received many benefits,” a village official argued. “They shared the benefits among the members.” To prepare the community to engage in touristic business, WWF also helped in producing a business plan and a destination planning report for PIDWWO (Green *et al.*, 2002: 10).

The coming of tourism forms a new livelihood cycle in the community. Figure 6 visualizes a calendar year of the people’s different livelihood activities. Almost half of the year (i.e., end of May until end of October) is low season for tourism. Around one fourth comprises the peak season (meaning the time when a large number of tourists come to the island) from February to May (although other tourists start to come by January). Tourists also come during semestral breaks (end of October until the beginning of November, around 2 weeks) and Christmas vacations (around 3 weeks). Backyard gardening activities are scattered within the year.

After the WWF sponsored project ended in 2000, NZAID continued the organizing of the community for tourism. Aside from the economic and conservation objectives which its predecessor had highlighted, the NZAID-sponsored program also aimed at professionalizing the touristic services and upgrading the touristic activities in the island. Its activities included training sessions, upgrading safety and touristic facilities, service enhancement, making business plan, and promoting the island through improved marketing. The program produced an increased number of touristic trips to the island, improved gross sale during 2003 - 2004,

and the purchase of a solar powered electric device for the community (see Twining-ward, 2007: 53-55).

The last of the community-based tourism organizing attempts in Pamilacan was sponsored by the Ayala Foundation in 2008. Like its predecessors, the funding institution aimed at imposing its own version of community tourism. The program wanted to unite opposing villagers by forming Pamilacan Island Tourism Livelihood Multipurpose Cooperative (PTOLMPC). Like the other earlier agencies, Ayala also offered loans for cooperating villagers. A former PIDWWO member estimated the loan amounted to around PhP 200, 000 to PhP 300, 000. Though the amount was readily available, only few people were said to benefit from it. The Foundation also gave financial support for municipal tourism infrastructures and development programs.

Negotiations between Ayala Foundation and the local community went through until conflicts started to emerge when the agency pushed for a wider fishing ban, including the catching of the smaller ray, *Pagi*. *Kapitan* shared an experience meeting with Ayala staff:

I was already the *barangay Kapitan* [village Chief] during that time... Me too, I did not agree with the total ban... Are they trying to kill the people in the island little by little? I even told the Ayala staff that if they wanted to ban our fishing, then we would not be against it, as long as they would be willing to compensate for the loss of our livelihood. You should support the fisher folk, support the people in the island... We would not hesitate if you would support us.

To encourage people to give up fishing *Pagi*, Ayala Foundation offered to buy the fishing nets the fisher folk were using to catch *Pagi*. However, in the year 2009 disagreements arose

between the local municipal government and Ayala which led to the abandoning of the tourism project and ultimately the collapse of the formal organizing activities in Pamilacan.

Conclusions

Development of community tourism is influenced by the context of the local people and vice versa. To understand community tourism in Pamilacan, it is necessary to know the physical, social, and historical circumstances with which the industry has evolved. Pamilacan has rich marine resources, beautiful scenery, and white beaches which have become tourist attractions. The people of Pamilacan lived by fishing, especially hunting whales, whale sharks, and ray fishes which had been their primary source of income and subsistence since the beginning. Agriculture used to be productive on the island, but due to past droughts, heavy soil erosion, and pest attacks, the soil had become rocky and crops had become unproductive. Villagers also have to live with poor water and electric supplies.

Residents of the island are mostly migrant families from different parts of the province. Although the community is composed of different families from different origins, there had been no account of internal conflicts in the village until the banning of their hunting livelihood with the coming of tourism. Hunting marine mammals united the villagers as a community. This collective activity was characterized by interdependence, cooperative labor, and benefit sharing. Since hunting operations required material capital, wealthier locals were expected to finance hunting trips. Poorer villagers connected with these financiers in order to participate in the livelihood. The men took charge of the actual hunting, while the women primarily took care of preparing the meat of the catch for selling and consumption. Even

though there was no formal system, nor formal leadership in operating the hunting livelihood, it was self-organized and the community benefited from it. Aside from the collective livelihood system, the villagers also practiced mutual support systems which operate during weddings and funerals. Similar voluntary cooperation facilitated religious and cultural activities. With this background, Pamilacan islanders were not new to the idea and practice of mutual support system.

The once harmonious life of the islanders was disrupted by the banning of the hunting livelihood with the coming of tourism. The beginning of community tourism in Pamilacan faced challenges. Government and NGOs introduced the industry as an alternative livelihood while they restricted fishing and totally banned hunting marine mammals. In spite of their opposition, villagers eventually abandoned hunting and accepted tourism faced with powerful authorities and having limited options for subsistence. Several government and NGO-sponsored community tourism programs were initiated on the island. However, none of the formal organizing structures could be sustained. In spite of this, people continue to participate in and benefit from the touristic activities happening in their vicinities by employing social networks. This adaptive mechanism will be the focus of analysis in the next chapters.

Chapter 4

Analyzing Formal Organizing Structures

One of the aims of this study is to examine why formal tourism organizing activities in Pamilacan collapsed. In order to understand the issue, it is essential to examine first the organizing structure during the period when the formal organization was still functional. This period refers to the time (within 1997 to 2008) when formally initiated organizations (i.e., PIDWWO and PIBOSA) took significant roles in the organizing and the facilitating of CBT that enabled the villagers to integrate into and benefit from the tourism industry. Analyzing the attributes of the actors, the characteristics of their interactions, and the contents of transactions enables us to identify structural elements that helped sustain the formal organizing activities within this period. This would then become the point of comparison in analyzing what went wrong during the latter part of the life of the formal CBT which led to its collapse.

This chapter first examines both the internal and external actors who have been involved in Pamilacan tourism - their individual attributes and the nature of their transactions. Second, it analyzes the properties of the pattern of interactions among actors when PIDWWO used to monopolize the touristic services in the area. Last, the chapter analyzes how the rise of conflicts and competition among islanders generated new ties and how these movements affected tourism organizing activities in the island. To complement the structural analysis, I also give attention to examining the circumstances behind the actors' choice of relations. This

chapter emphasizes the structural adjustments made by the local people in order to address internal conflicts. This also illustrates the ability of the local actors to restructure their social networks in order to gain access to benefits, while being influenced by the emergent social structure within which they are embedded.

4. 1. Network Actors Involved in Pamilacan Tourism

Network analysis starts by identifying the different actors involved in the system. These actors may have varying backgrounds and intentions in participating in social transactions. In the network involving Pamilacan tourism, I classified two main categories of actors, namely the “Local Actors” and the “External Actors.” These names were provided by the informants or have emerged during the interviews. The Local Actors refer to Pamilacan islanders who have been involved in or simply been affected by the touristic activities in the community. On the other hand, the External Actors refer to people or institutions that are not based in Pamilacan, but who have been involved or influential in the development of CBT in the island. Some actors may have been involved since the beginning of the touristic activities, while others may have come into the scene later.

Table 2 enumerates the local actors and their individual attributes. I identified nine (9) local actors, either as individuals or as groups. The *Village Officials* are elected local *barangay* civil officials who served during the initial organizing stage of the tourism development project in the island (around the year 1997/98). With the support of the government and NGO staff, these officials initially spearheaded the CBT project which came to be known as the Pamilacan Island Dolphin and Whale Watching Village Integrated

Development Program (PIDWWVIDP). They facilitated decision-making during the early stage of the organizing until the community organization was formed. *PIDWWO* (Pamilacan Island Dolphin and Whale Watching Organization) is the formal community tourism organization formed through PIDWWVIDP (as narrated in Chapter 3). Initially, the organization had around one hundred (100) members. However, in the PIDWWO meeting attendance sheet dated April 14, 2011, there were only thirty-five (35) individual members signed in. At present, the actual number of remaining members could not be determined since the organization has become dysfunctional.

PIBOSA (Pamilacan Island Boat Owners and Spotters Association) is the newer local touristic group founded by one of the original PIDWWO organizers. It is composed of former *resisting villagers*, former PIDWWO members, and relatives of the founder. The group was originally intended to be a People's Organization (PO), but now functions as service provider for the founder's private tour business. The group had around ten boat owner members in the beginning. *Cooperating Villagers* are islanders who may not be official members of either group, but have been invited by the two groups to participate in their touristic services. Some islanders are also engaged in touristic services individually by transporting tourists to the island. *Non-participating Villagers* are islanders who neither actively support nor resist touristic activities in the island. They focus more on other livelihood activities, especially fishing.

Resisting Villagers are the local people who were either against tourism from the start or who later have changed their stance on the industry. Most of them are the actual whale and dolphin hunters who were most affected by the banning of the traditional livelihood. The remaining actors are individuals who play important roles in the tourism network. *Jay* is a former local NGO staff member who facilitated the initial organizing of CBT in the island,

became a PIDWWO chairman, later formed PIBOSA, and started his private tour business. *Siano* is a Coordinator of PIDWWO men’s group with his wife *Petra* who is now facilitating touristic transactions using PIDWWO contacts though not a member herself. *Family-Run Local Touristic Businesses* include private restaurant owners and tour operators. Although these businesses are owned by locals, they can be categorized more as private enterprises operated by a few family members.

Table 2 Local actors in the Pamilacan tourism network

Local Actor	Character
Village Officials	Elected <i>Barangay</i> civil officials
PIDWWO	The original community tourism organization sponsored by NGOs and government agencies
PIBOSA	Local tourism group formed by a former PIDWWO officer
Cooperating Villagers	Villagers who may not be officially members of organizations but participate in touristic services
Non-Participating Villagers	Villagers who are not active in touristic activities but neither are they against the industry
Resisting Villagers	Villagers who actively opposed the tourism project in the island
Jay	Former local NGO staff member who spearheaded the first organizing of PIDWWO and later founded PIBOSA
Siano and Petra	Siano, PIDWWO men’s group coordinator; Petra, wife of Siano, not a PIDWWO member
Family-run Local Touristic Businesses	Small-scale family-run private entrepreneurs

Source: The author’s fieldwork

Table 3 enumerates the external actors - their attributes and the contents of their transactions with Pamilacan islanders. External actors have played important roles in the development of tourism in Pamilacan. During its initial stage, external actors came as organizers and supporters of the community tourism project. When the tourism industry started to flourish, a new group of external actors came into the scene, many as competitors. *Development Agencies* refer to the three main agencies which assisted the organizing of community tourism in Pamilacan, including the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) with its local arm *Kabang Kalikasan ng Pilipinas* (KKP) in 1997 until 2000; the New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID) around 2002 until 2003; and the Ayala Foundation in 2008. *Government Agencies* refer to Philippine national and local government institutions which have been directly or indirectly involved in the development of tourism in Pamilacan. These include the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR), Department of Tourism (DOT), Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA), the Provincial Tourism Office (PTO), and the Bohol Provincial and Baclayon Municipal governments.

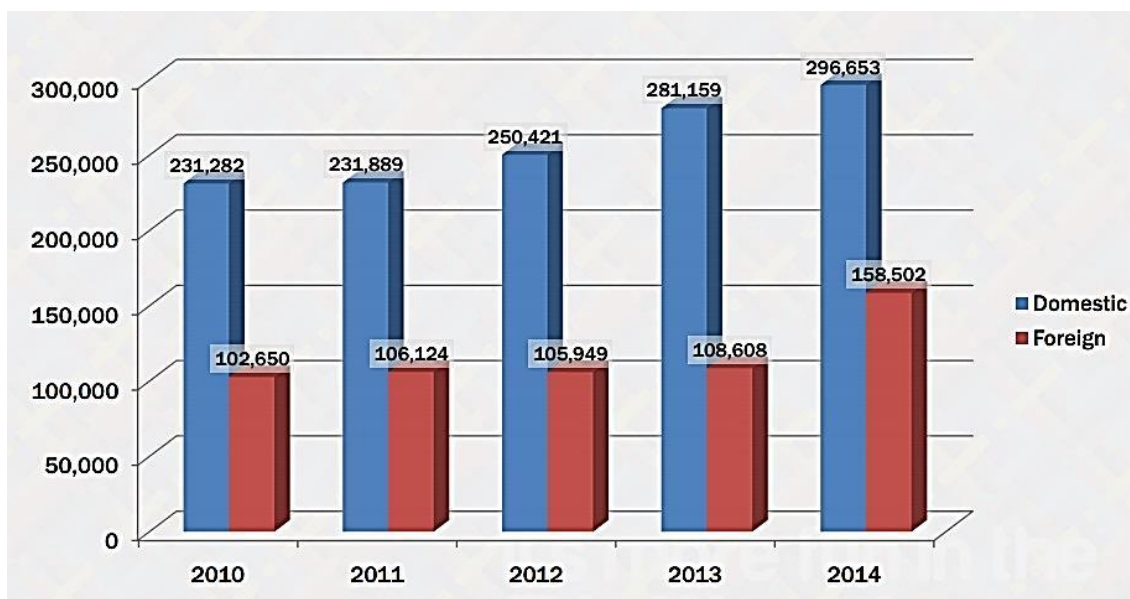
Tour Agents are private businesses that arrange trips for tourists and coordinate with local service providers to accommodate clients. There are fifteen (15) tour agencies based in Bohol which are accredited by the Provincial Tourism Office. However, only twelve (12) of them were available for interview since the other three had gone out of business. *External Competitors* are individuals and private businesses which offer touristic services like those of the Pamilacan community-run enterprises. These include local boatmen and tour canvassers based in Panglao Island, and private hotels/resorts based in Panglao Island and mainland Bohol. At present, there are an estimated two to three hundred (200 to 300) tour boats operating in Alona beach of Panglao, aside from those based in the other parts of the Panglao

island. This number is greater than the around thirty-two (32) accounted touristic boats owned by Pamilacan islanders. *Tourists* include both domestic and international visitors (see Figure 7). In 2014, the Bohol Tourism Office (formerly Provincial Tourism Office) accounted 200,691 tourists visited Panglao Island, the biggest among municipalities in the region. Baclayon had 9,638 in the same year, although the exact number of guests visited Pamilacan was not available. A minor actor, *Jim*, is a former tourism organizer in Pamilacan who is now a tour agent occasionally bringing in tourists to the island.

Tourism in Pamilacan has involved both local and external actors. Their interactions form networks that facilitate the organizing of the local people for touristic services, the transporting of guests, and the sharing of benefits from the industry. Examining the attributes of these actors also reveals their different backgrounds and intentions. Actors include business people, civil authorities, development oriented institutions, local fishermen, villagers, and enjoyment seekers. Some actors have more material and technical resources, like the government and development agencies and the private businesses; while others have lesser, like the local villagers.

However, in spite of limited resources, some local actors play important roles because of their strategic positions in the network, either as having many ties with points of resources or serving as bridges to connect the other actors within the system. With their varied attributes and positioning, actors have different attitudes towards and influence on tourism activities. With the constant movements of actors, the social network in Pamilacan tourism evolves. People consciously reconstruct their patterns of interactions to adapt to changing conditions. Examining how and why actors have consciously constructed and reconstructed their patterns of interactions through time, and how the emergent networks have influenced them, will be the focus of the following analysis.

Figure 7 (A) Visitor arrivals to Bohol Province: Foreign and domestic (2010 - 2014)



(B) Bohol visitor arrivals by city/municipality (2014)

RANK	DESTINATION	FOREIGN	DOMESTIC	TOTAL
1	PANGLAO	110,064	90,627	200,691
2	TAGBILARAN CITY	32,740	141,728	174,468
3	DAUIS	6,514	24,382	30,896
4	ANDA	4,021	9,367	13,388
5	TALIBON	945	10,067	11,012
6	BACLAYON	368	9,270	9,638
7	LOBOC	2,447	364	2,811
8	CARMEN	219	2,027	2,246
9	SIKATUNA	74	2,170	2,244
10	JAGNA	315	1,554	1,869

Source: Bohol Tourism Office- Statistics Department

Table 3 External actors involved in the Pamilacan tourism network

External Actor	Attribute	Transactional Content
1. Development Agencies WWF with KKP	International NGO with its local arm	Sponsored scientific research on the conditions of the marine life around Pamilacan; Influenced the government legislation banning whale shark and manta ray hunting; Facilitated the organizing of community-based tourism in the island by providing financial and technical assistance to cooperating islanders
NZAID	New Zealand government international development agency	Offered financial assistance to Pamilacan through the local government
Ayala Foundation	Manila-based NGO	Offered financial and technical assistance to the community to re-organize community-based tourism in the island
2. Government Agencies DENR, DOT, TESDA, Provincial and Municipal governments, and PTO	Philippine national and local government institutions	Formulated legislative mechanisms, ordinances, and development plans promoting eco-tourism; Assisted in training the locals for hospitality services; Provided marketing assistance for Pamilacan touristic enterprises
3. Tour Agents	Private tour and travel businesses based in Bohol	Marketing Pamilacan as a tour destination; Offering tour packages to Pamilacan; Providing guests for Pamilacan community tourism
4. External Competitors Panglao Boatmen and Canvassers	Local boatmen and tour canvassers based in Panglao Island; Mostly operating without license	Competing with Pamilacan villagers in marine life tour services
Resorts/Hotels	Private tourist accommodations based in Pamilacan, in Panglao, and mainland Bohol	Used to provide guests exclusively for PIDWWO
Jim	Former NGO staff member involved in organizing tourism in the island and now a tour agent	Arranges tours to Pamilacan
5. Tourists	Both domestic and international guests	Visiting Pamilacan for dolphin and whale shark watching, snorkeling, swimming, also for food and accommodations

Source: The author's fieldwork

4. 2. Centralized Tourism Network

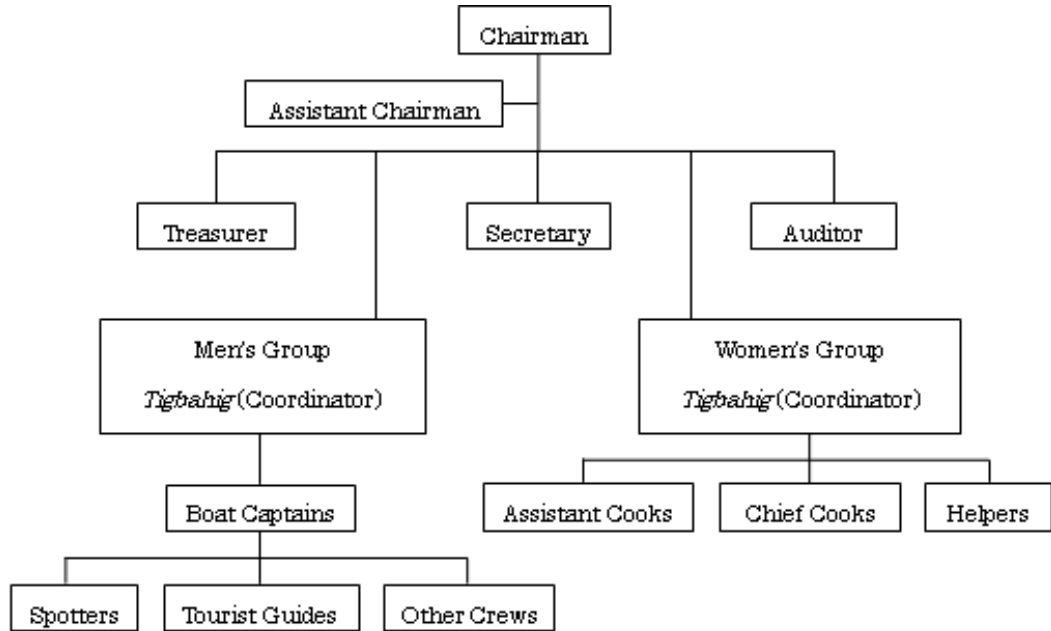
PIDWWO touristic services were uncontested during the initial stage of the organization. The government institutions, development agencies, and tour agents channeled resources (including financial and technical support and clientele) exclusively through the organization. Having direct access to resources and to the local villagers, the group became central to the network. Having no real competitors in the dolphin and whale watching tours, PIDWWO's income flourished and the villagers benefited from it. In this section, I look into the formal organizing network and activities of PIDWWO and examine how it facilitated the operation of community touristic services, the flow of resources and information, and the sharing of benefits among the cooperating islanders.

4. 2. 1. Government -NGO-sponsored Formal Organizing Structure

Founded in 1997, PIDWWO had around 100 original members (WWF - Philippines, 2006: 2). The community organization had its own formal structures and leadership which were intended to facilitate organizing activities. Members had their responsibilities following a division of labor. The elected leaders administered the activities of the organization, implemented rules, and worked to maintain the cooperative spirit of the members. The top leadership was composed of the Chairman and his Assistant, the Secretary, the Treasurer, and the Auditor. The members were divided into Men's and Women's groups with their Coordinator, or *Tigbahig* (in local language). Figure 8 illustrates the internal formal organizing structure of PIDWWO.

Figure 8 Pamilacan Island Dolphin and Whale Watching Organization (PIDWWO)

formal organizational structure



Note: Illustrated by the author

Leaders were tasked with specific responsibilities. The Chairman would preside over meetings and was expected to maintain organizational rules and order. The Assistant Chairman would assist the Chairman's work and took his role whenever he would be absent. Every transaction and decision was to be communicated to the Chairman. The treasurer kept organizational funds including contributions from members which would be regularly checked by the Auditor. Among the leaders, the Secretary played a crucial role. Aside from keeping the records during meetings and other organization's documents, she was in charge of coordinating the outsiders and villagers. She alone had the task to communicate with clients who would avail themselves of PIDWWO's services through the group's official contact number (cellular phone) which she used to keep.

All communication from tour agents, hotels and resorts, and individual quests to the organization flowed only through the secretary. She would arrange the tour schedules and relay the information to PIDWWO members. After transacting with clients, she would then communicate with the two Coordinators and discuss with them the details of the trip. The Coordinators would then call the other members and gather the group for the necessary preparations. With this vertical organizing structure, channels for transacting with clients were limited, since only one person was tasked for coordinating with outsiders. Transactions within the group followed a stiff pattern of interactions and were monitored by group members. Defying the flow of communication was unacceptable and considered detrimental to the organization.

PIDWWO used to maintain its own touristic facilities, like tour boats (aside from the boats owned by individual members) and cottages, and operate touristic services on their own. Touristic services included dolphin and whale watching tours, food catering, accommodations, and massage. To manage these services, the group is subdivided into two, namely, the Men's Group and the Women's Group. Each sub-group had a Coordinator. The men's group was mainly in charge of the marine life tours (including dolphin and whale watching, island hopping, and snorkeling), while the women's group took care of food preparations, cleaning, and ushering visitors.

Men's Group. The PIDWWO men's group was composed mostly of fishermen, both those who were once involved in hunting whale sharks and manta rays and those who were not. With their experience of the sea and their expertise in dealing with marine creatures, they guided visitors to have firsthand encounters with dolphins and whales found around the island. Having undergone a series of seminars and training, these men were not only transporters but were also guides who were able to explain to clients, information about the touristic sites.

Going for a tour, the men use big tour boats called *Kanter*.³¹ Formerly used for fishing, these motorized boats are larger than ordinary fishing boats. A *Kanter* needs at least four crewmen including the Boat Captain (who is usually the owner of the boat), a Spotter, a Tour Guide, and other crewmen (to assist the Captain in maneuvering the boat). In operating a tour service, these men follow organizational rules. After receiving information for a scheduled trip from the Secretary, the men's Coordinator connects with the Captains. The Captains then gather the needed crew members. Supervising the whole trip, they also negotiate with clients about the service fee.

The Spotters are the crewmen in charge of tracking dolphins and whale sharks while on the sea. In former times when hunting was the main livelihood of the island, the spotters were the specialists in detecting whale-sharks and manta rays in the ocean. They know the time when and the specific areas where these creatures could be found. Now with tourism, they use the same skills and knowledge in detecting the marine mammals during tours. Spotters have undergone training in seminars and workshops where they learned modern knowledge about different dolphin and whale species and skills on how to interact with these creatures in their natural habitat. With their traditional knowledge and new learning, they are able to connect with the guests and explain basic facts about the animals during the trip. Since many of the tourists are foreigners, they also learned to communicate at least a little in English.

The Tour Guides are either local PIDWWO members trained for tour guiding or professional travel guides from travel agencies. When tourists would come without guides, local tour guides were available for service. Like the Spotters, local guides have also

³¹ Having larger *katig*, balance beam usually made of wood and bamboo to sustain the big waves of Baclayon seas, these tourist vessels can take as many as 25 persons in a trip. Seats are arranged usually on the sides parallel to the boat's body to leave enough space at the center for the baggage. Removable roofing usually made of vinyl sheets covers the passengers.

undergone seminars and training on basic tour guiding services. Although it is considered ideal to have at least one tour guide on board, some boat captains preferred not to take one. One reason is that having many people on board means having more people to pay. Without the guides, the boat Captains or the Spotters at the same time act as tour guides. The other crewmen assist the Captain while navigating, especially during the departure and docking which require much work.

A single marine tour normally would cost PhP 3,500 for 10 visitors. This rate could change depending on the season. After deducting the fuel cost of around PhP 300 and paying the organizational fee of PhP 100, the boat Captain would then pay the participating crewmen PhP 300 each. He would then keep the remaining amount. With two crewmen with him, he could get PhP 2,500 net income for a single trip. In times of sickness or other reasons when the captain could not go with the tour, he could request another person to take his place. However, PIDWWO did not allow the boat captains to arrange trips with clients on their own.

Dolphin and whale watching crews were all registered PIDWWO members. However, for some reason, like sickness, conflicting schedules, or being drunk, non-member villagers could join the crew to take care of the vacant tasks. Nang Petra, the wife of the Coordinator, narrated how she reprimanded men members who were not able join touristic services because of drunkenness:

For example, if members of the PIDWWO are drunkards, I tell them... 'Me, I have not attended your seminars [on basic tourism services], but I am observing you. You say you have to be well groomed, without the smell of Tanduay [a local rum brand].

Non-members also participate during peak seasons when a huge number of tourists come. These occasions give non-member islanders the opportunity to participate in and benefit from touristic services.

Boat Captains, Spotters, local Tourist Guides, and the rest of the crew took turns in taking trips. PIDWWO used to make the schedule on a rotation basis monitored by the Secretary. For example, the twenty-five (25) boat members had designated numbers. Each one had to wait for his number before he could take visitors for a tour. During peak seasons (from March to May, when many tourists come to the island), at least 5 boats a day could travel at the same time. However, during the rest of the year, boats had to wait for months before they could have their turn. During low tourist seasons, villagers would do home gardening and go for small scale fishing.

Women's Group. Working closely with the men, the women's group took charge of the food services, the preparation of accommodations, and the ushering of visitors. The group maintained the cottages, provided linens, and checked the water supply for visitors who would stay overnight in the island. Since the organization owned only a few cottages, the ladies would take other visitors to other privately owned accommodations on the island if there would be not enough rooms.

The Women's Group consisted of the Coordinator, the Chief Cooks, Assistant Cooks, and the Helpers. The Secretary would connect with the Coordinator for the scheduling of incoming visitors who intended to take meals or stay overnight in the island. The coordinator then would inform the Cooks and organize the Helpers to start marketing and preparing the menu. Like their men counterparts, the ladies also followed a rotation system. During low seasons, normally around four (4) ladies were needed to prepare the menu. However, when a large number of visitors would come, the coordinator would call on all members to help and

could request non-member villagers to participate in the preparations. She also had to manage the financial records and keeps the menu lists. Together with the Chief Cooks, she took charge of buying the things needed in the kitchen.

PIDWWO ladies have undergone training in basic culinary arts. Thus, they were able to prepare several types of foods. Most of the time, they would prepare native Filipino food - *gulay* (steamed vegetables), *tinulang manok* (native chicken soup), *isda* (fish), *adobo* (pork/chicken with soy sauce), and *puso atsal* (banana flower salad), and serve them on native plates made of rattan covered with smoked banana leaves to add to “the Filipino atmosphere of the meal,” as one woman member described it. After a day of service, the ladies would then count the income and calculate all expenses.

After deducting the expenses, the coordinator would then divide the remaining amount to the members who participated in the services. An overnight stay in Pamilacan costs PhP 750 per person. Rates could change with seasons. Two hundred pesos of the accommodation fee would be spent for three meals including snacks. During peak seasons, each participating woman could get a PhP 400 share of the income. The capital money would then go back to the organization. “We recycle it,” a woman member explained, “If new visitors come, we will use that amount again.”

With the help of the organizing institutions, the community tourism organization in Pamilacan started to operate its own touristic business. Through PIDWWO, the islanders were able to engage actively in and benefit from small-scale community-run enterprises. With the continued material and marketing support from the organizing agencies and tour agencies, PIDWWO was able to maintain cooperation, manage its own touristic services, connect with tourists and tour agents, and provide incentives to the local people. Income from touristic services secured the benefits to be shared among the cooperating villagers. The community

industry also enjoyed the absence of competitors which enabled the organization to monopolize the marine tour services in the province.

4. 2. 2. Network Properties

Structural Characteristics. PIDWWO played an important role during the early period of Pamilacan community tourism because of its strategic position within the touristic network. During that time, the organization had exclusive direct ties to the government and development agencies which provided material and technical supports for the community industry. Villagers, on their part, connected with PIDWWO in order gain access to these resources, making the organization a bridge connecting outsiders and locals. In addition, having no competitors in the marine life tours during the early stage enabled PIDWWO to monopolize the industry. This central position can be illustrated by the pattern of interactions among the actors during that period.

Figure 9 illustrates the wider tourism network involving Pamilacan during the period of formal organization. The sociograph is composed of ten (10) actors, including three (3) isolates (namely the Non-Participating Villagers, the Resisting Villagers, and the Village Officials). During this period, the village officials had already withdrawn from administering the community tourism project and were no longer directly involved in the activities of the organization. Although they asked for what they called “user’s fee” from the tourists coming to the island, the money did not go to the community organization but to the local government (see Municipality of Baclayon, 2008). PIDWWO was directly connected with the other six actors, including the Government Agencies, Development Agencies, Tour Agencies, Tourists, Hotels/Resorts, and the Cooperating Villagers. These external actors exclusively transacted

with the organization to facilitate the flow of resources, the coming of tourists, and the operation of touristic services.

Figure 9 Tourism network during the period of formal organization



Note: Visualized by the author through Gephi (Bastian et al., 2009)

Table 4 Centrality measures during the period of formal organization

Actor	Degree Centrality	Betweenness Centrality
PIDWWO	6	11.5
Tourists	3	0.5
Development Agencies	2	0
Government Agencies	2	0
Tour Agencies	2	0
Hotels/Resorts	2	0
Cooperating Villagers	1	0
Non-Participating Villagers	0	0
Resisting Villagers	0	0
Village Officials	0	0

Note: Analyzed by the author through Gephi (Bastian et al., 2009)

The pattern of interactions illustrates the strategic position of PIDWWO in the tourism network. The graph reveals two sub-groupings within the network, namely, (1) ties among PIDWWO - Government Agencies - Development Agencies; and (2) ties involving PIDWWO - Tour Agencies - Tourists-Hotels/Resorts. The content of transactions in sub-group 1 involves the channeling of material and technical resources from the government agencies and NGOs to the local community through the community organization. Still under the three-year tourism development program, financial support was still available and technical training was still conducted during this period. The Provincial Tourism Office (PTO), on its part, continued to support the organization in marketing its products.

Sub-group 2, on the other hand, involves touristic transactions between PIDWWO and its clients – private businesses and individual tourists. The contents of the transactions among these actors include dissemination of information concerning touristic services, the flow of income from touristic activities, and marketing support. During this time, PIDWWO was the only service provider for marine life tours in the whole province, and thus all tour agencies, hotels/resorts, and individual tourists had to connect with the organization to be part of such tour services. The community organization also benefited from the marketing and advertising activities of the private tour businesses.

Centralities. The sociograph also shows the significant position of PIDWWO as a bridge connecting outsiders and the villagers. Aside from its members, the organization also involved non-member villagers in touristic services, especially during peak touristic seasons. Through this arrangement, the cooperating villagers were able to participate as service providers and thereby benefit from the touristic activities.

Table 4 illustrates the centrality measures of each actor in the tourism network. PIDWWO was central both in terms of Degree (=6) and Betweenness (11.5) measures. This

means that the organization had the most number of direct connections and the best position to serve as a bridge between the other actors. Having the most number of connections, PIDWWO had all the access to resources both from the assisting agencies and the clientele. This enabled the organization to obtain the necessary capital to sustain its touristic enterprises.

Furthermore, having the highest Betweenness measure, PIDWWO was able to control the flow of resources and information to facilitate the touristic services and the flow of benefits from outsiders to the local people. Through these connections, the local people were able to integrate into the tourism network and share from the income it generated. This central position of the community organization made it attractive to the villagers. The local people were becoming aware of the growing number of visitors and the growing income from the local touristic activities. After the loss of their traditional hunting livelihood, the villagers were left with limited options for subsistence. With these conditions, the villagers connected with the organization in order to participate in its activities, and thus were able to share from its benefits.

This period of uncontested community-run touristic enterprises lasted for around three years (from 1997 to 2000). It started to decline as the government-WWF sponsored community tourism project in the island concluded. Accusations of corruption started to surface that triggered conflicts among members. This led to the defection of some of its members including the leading local organizer, named Jay. After being rejected from PIDWWO, he started to build his own local group taking with him other defecting members and integrating former resisting villagers.

Individual villagers who had other sources of capital, also started to see the economic potential of touristic activities on their island. Small-scale family run restaurants and tour services started to emerge. These events marked the end of the monopoly of PIDWWO in the

industry, the beginning of internal competition especially among two local groups, and the decentralization of the Pamilacan tourism network. The next section will discuss the network that emerged with the rise of conflicts and internal competition.

4. 3. Decentralizing Tourism Network

The tourism industry in Pamilacan had just taken off when internal conflicts among PIDWWO members broke out. This led to the defection of some members and the formation of a new group called PIBOSA. A few local families with other sources of capital also started to manage their own private small-scale touristic businesses. The restructuring of affiliations among the islanders and the integration of other villagers into the local industry generated a new form of network which started to govern touristic activities. The emergence of new actors and ties has changed the pattern of interactions. Although this movement led to the decentralization of the touristic network, it resulted in the integration of more villagers into the touristic industry.

4. 3. 1. Conflicts and the Rise of Internal Competition

The community tourism project operated smoothly, until conflicts arose among members of PIDWWO. These conflicts were caused by accusations of misappropriation of organizational funds by the leaders. As a result, some of its members including the head local organizer of the tourism project left the group. A new group was formed to become the direct competitor of PIDWWO in offering touristic services. Furthermore, local villagers with other

sources of capital also started to build small touristic businesses on their own. The emergence of new actors led to the growth of the tourism network involving Pamilacan Island.

People accused the leaders of using the financial support from funding agencies for personal gain. One of the targets of the accusations was Jay, a former local staff member of WWF-KKP who spearheaded the PIDWWVIDP. He played an important role in convincing people to cooperate in the tourism program and consequently in the founding of PIDWWO. During his term, people noticed that he started to accumulate a lot of property. People suspected him of using the organization's money to start his private touristic business. The chairman of the Provincial Tourism Office shared her own view of the accusation:

It's funny (smiling, appearing to be cautious). [Jay] was reckoned by WWF... He was the one who organized the community... Then perhaps, along the way, he realized, Wow! There is so much money in these... He left WWF then started his own.

After his term ended, Jay tried to find ways to continue having a connection with PIDWWO. He offered a business deal with the group to take charge of marketing its touristic services. However, the PIDWWO members rejected his proposal because for them it was too much and most of the members did not trust him anymore. *Nong Malong*, a PIDWWO member who later joined PIBOSA, narrated what happened during a secret meeting held on the sea:

He [Jay] requested KKP that he takes care of the marketing [of dolphin and whale watching tours] and other activities. He asked for a ... was it 5% [share]. But, the

organization rejected his proposal. That was the reason why he left and started his own.

After being rejected, Jay decided to break away from the group and started to organize his own organization called Pamilacan Island Boat Owners and Spotters Association (PIBOSA).

Jay was able to convince his friends from the original group and persuaded villagers who once resisted tourism in the island to join him. Touristic activities in the island were growing. Former resisting villagers, mostly whale shark and manta ray hunters who protested against tourism after the banning of their hunting livelihood, were becoming interested in engaging in touristic services. However, PIDWWO, having past conflicts with these villagers, was not willing to take them into the group. Thus, the founding of PIBOSA gave these former hunters the opportunity to participate in the tourism livelihood. Jay narrated his own version of how PIBOSA evolved as a group:

PIBOSA was founded when I was out of the project [PIDWWO]. They are the original PIDWWO members who were whale hunters... They were the ones who wanted to [re]join PIDWWO but they were rejected... I intended not to make a formal structure for PIBOSA just informal contacts, but it operates as an association, later I decided to register it as an association.

The new group acquired touristic facilities like boats and diving gear and later built its own tourist accommodations to compete with PIDWWO. Registering his new group as a People's Organization, Jay was able to make connections with government and funding

agencies to solicit support in the name of the group. With these connections, PIBOSA also benefited from the skill training modules offered by these agencies.

Table 5 Overlapping touristic services in Pamilacan

Services Offered	Community Enterprises		Family-Run Enterprises		
	PIDWWO	PIBOSA	Pueblo de Pamilacan	Misyang's Place	Anita's Huts
Boat Transport Service					
Dolphin and Whale Watching Tour					
Guided Tours					
Food Catering					
Massage Service					
Manicure and Pedicure					
Accommodations					

Source: PAWB-DENR & PCW (n.d. 50) and the author's fieldwork

When PIDWWO was weakened by the breaking away of some of its members, the organization elected a new set of officers. This time, Mr. Lino took over the leadership. During his term, the organization continued to receive financial and technical support from different development agencies, particularly from the New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID). The agency partnered with PIDWWO for a new tourism project which lasted from July 2002 to June 2003. This project even brought the former New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark to the island in 2006.

The conflict between PIDWWO and Jay reemerged after the visit of Helen Clark in the island. Their fighting was even highlighted in the local newspaper (see “Whale watching, sandugo”, 2006). Jay accused PIDWWO chairman Lino of “hand-spearling the money from the Provincial and National Governments, which was accordingly intended to benefit the majority of whalers in the island,” the news article wrote. The PIBOSA founder also accused

PIDWWO of misrepresenting the community tourism and conservation activities on the island. On the other hand, Lino denied the allegations while pointing to jealousy as the basis of Jay's charges. The conflict reached the attention of government agencies which facilitated the reconciliation of the two competing groups.

Aside from the newly formed PIBOSA, small-scale family-run touristic services were also growing in the community. Initially, there were at least three family-owned touristic enterprises on the island, namely Pueblo de Pamilacan, Misyang's Place, and Anita's Huts, whose owners were mostly former PIDWWO members. They started to offer services similar to that of PIDWWO and PIBOSA, but only employing close family members. Tour Agencies and individual tourists who once transacted exclusively with PIDWWO started to build ties with its competitors. Jay was also able to maintain links with former PIDWWO clients now for his new group, PIBOSA. Family-run services, on their part, were able to build direct connections with tourists through their former visitors.

The growing internal competition led to overlapping touristic services in the island as illustrated in Table 5. Local touristic enterprises have been offering seven main services, namely boat transport service, dolphin and whale watching tour, guided tours, food catering, massage service, manicure and pedicure, and accommodations (see Figure 10). Among these services the most popular would be the dolphin and whale watching tour. Next would be the food catering since most of the tourists would take lunch on the island after the marine tours or those who would come for a whole day stay. Accommodation services do not generate much income since most of the guests would go back to their hotels in Panglao and would not stay overnight on the island. Tourists visiting for only a day usually would rent the open cottages on the beach.

In spite of the conflicts and growing internal competition, PIDWWO was able to keep its vital position in the tourism network. It continued its organizing activities, now with the support from NZAID. During this period, the community organization gained recognition from various national and international institutions. The local government continued to praise what it considered a successful local tourism enterprise on the island. For example, the Bohol Provincial Government (Province of Bohol & German Development Service, 2010: 7) referred to Pamilacan as one of the province's top nature-based tourism destinations, capitalizing on the story of the local community as a successful sustainable development project and a model for other local communities.

The fame of Pamilacan reached international attention, including the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC).³² Each year WTTC accepts applicants for four categories relating to ecological conservation and tourism activities. In 2006, the Council awarded PIDWWO as a finalist in its Conservation category. Pointing to the cooperative efforts among government agencies, NGOs, and the local community, the Awards described PIDWWO in its official website as follows:

Since then Dolphin Watch Pamilacan is now financially self-sustaining... This is a successful and win-win situation. Dolphin Watch Pamilacan is owned and managed by the Pamilacan Island Dolphin and Whale Watching Organization (PIDWWO)... In a community of 1,600 residents, Dolphin Watch Pamilacan employs local guides, boatmen, cooks and waiters. In 1999, none of these jobs existed. The Pamilacan Island Dolphin and Whale Watching Organization (PIDWWO) has ninety-eight individual members. They are a major force in the community. Currently, because of

³² WTTC's Tourism for Tomorrow Awards, claiming to be one of the world's highest accolades in the travel and tourism industry, aims to acknowledge best sustainable tourism practices in the world.

the success of the dolphin watching tours, the members of the community who initially opposed the activity are now operating this tour themselves. (WTTC, n.d.)

With these recognitions and awards, PIDWWO also received additional support from different institutions. Financial support aimed to improve touristic facilities, like repairing boats and accommodations, and for further technical training for its members. Resources were either channeled through the local government or given directly to the organization.

Internal competition resulted in the increased number of villagers participating in the touristic livelihood. With the founding of PIBOSA formerly non-participating and resisting islanders found a new opportunity to benefit from the touristic activities in their community. The number of touristic activities also increased during this period. From the year 2003 to 2005, there was a recorded growth of the number of PIDWWO facilitated trips which increased to 437 from 80 during its early years, gaining a total gross sale of PhP 1, 311, 000.00 (Heah, 2006: 60).

When the NZAID sponsored project ended in 2003, Ayala Foundation came to the scene in 2008. Like the other agencies that came before it, the Ayala Foundation also wanted to introduce its own version of tourism development to Pamilacan. It coordinated closely with the municipal government and PIDWWO and provided financial support for the local tourism project. Together with Bezo Recreational and Aquatic Activities of Bohol (BRAABO), Ayala aimed to unite all the local touristic enterprises in the island through forming the new organization named Pamilacan Island Tourism Livelihood Multi-Purpose Cooperative (PTOLMPC).

The Foundation offered loans to villagers to be used for repairing boats and buying other facilities necessary for dolphin and whale watching activities. The PIDWWO chairman estimated the loan amounting from PhP 200,000 to PhP 300,000. Though the money was readily available, only few people are said to have benefited from it. For example out of around 300 families in the island, only around 12 families were able to receive the support.³³

Figure 10 Touristic cottages for rent owned by competing islanders



Source: Photograph by the author

New organizing activities had just started when the Foundation suddenly decided to abandon the project. The reason of the pull out was not revealed. People pointed out that there were disagreements between the agency and the local government. The project was left

³³ Aside from the loans, the Foundation also offered financial support to other development projects in the Municipality of Baclayon. *Kapitan* estimated around PhP 4 million for the cost of building the Tourism Center in *Baluarte* which he could not believe it reached such a big amount. The Foundation also donated to other *barangays* which *Kapitan* estimated around PhP 26 million. For Pamilacan Island, he estimated around PhP 2 million.

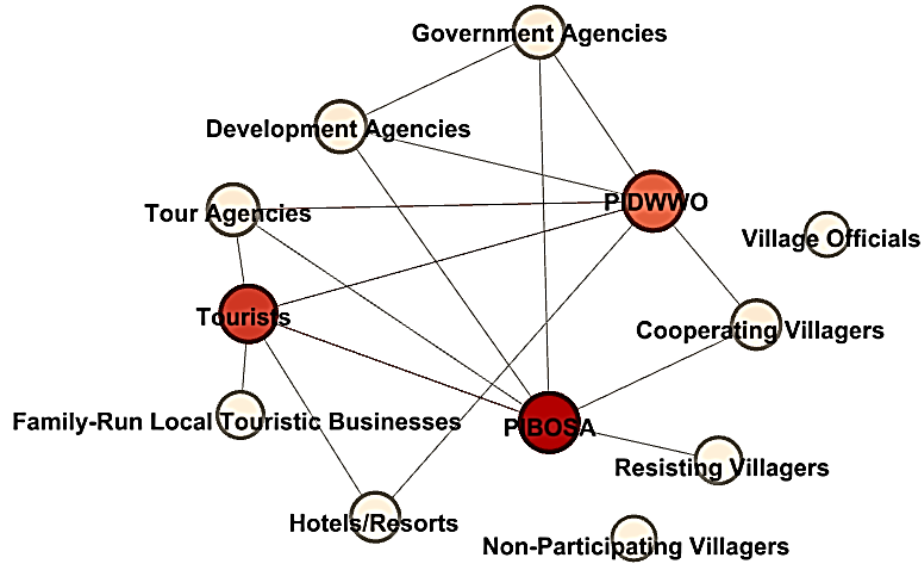
unfinished, “they pulled out and everything crumbled,” commented an informant from the Governor’s Office describing the incident. Later, Ayala donated to the municipal government a newly constructed building which has become the municipal tourism information center.

Although PIDWWO did not have the monopoly anymore of the island tourism industry with the growing internal competition, it nevertheless continued to benefit from new funding agencies until 2008. In spite of the decentralizing tourism network, the formal community organization continued its significant role as a bridge channeling resources to the local community and integrating the villagers into the industry. PIBOSA, on the other hand, provided the opportunity for former resisting villagers and defecting PIDWWO members to be integrated into the touristic system. Otherwise they would have been isolated from the industry.

4. 3. 2. Network Properties

Structural Characteristics. Conflicts within the community organization and the growth of internal competition led to the changing properties of the Pamilacan tourism network. The network size had grown from ten (10) to twelve (12) actors now including PIBOSA and the Family-Run Local Touristic Businesses. With this growing number of actors, new ties also evolved. Once isolated actors had been integrated into the system, namely the Resisting Villagers. Transactions made by these new actors with the others generated new connections and thus new patterns of interactions also emerged. Although the pattern has changed, the contents of the transactions remained the same. The once centralized network now had become decentralized.

Figure 11 Tourism network during the period of internal competition



Note: Visualized by the author through Gephi (Bastian et al., 2009)

Table 6 Centrality measures during the period of internal competition

Actor	Degree Centrality	Betweenness Centrality
PIBOSA	6	13.5
PIDWWO	6	9
Tourists	5	10.9
Development Agencies	3	0.4
Government Agencies	3	0.4
Tour Agencies	3	0.4
Hotels/Resorts	2	0
Cooperating Villagers	2	0.4
Family-Run Local Touristic Businesses	1	0
Resisting Villagers	1	0
Non-Participating Villagers	0	0
Village Officials	0	0

Note: Analyzed by the author through Gephi (Bastian et al., 2009)

Figure 11 illustrates the decentralizing tourism network in Pamilacan with the emergence of the new actors and the building up of new connections.³⁴ The sociograph has two central points, namely PIDWWO and PIBOSA; both have strategic positions to influence the flow of transactions within the network. In terms of Degree centrality, both groups have six (= 6) equal number of direct connections with other actors. Thus, the two groups are *structurally equivalent* in terms of Degree centrality.³⁵ Having an equivalent position within the network means operating similar functions. Both groups had equal access and potential control over the flow of information and resources from the assisting agencies and from tourist providers and individual tourists. Since both groups were directly connected with the government and development agencies (NGOs), they could avail themselves of the assistance offered by these institutions.

In terms of clientele, tour agencies who once transacted exclusively with PIDWWO now have had another option whenever they would need marine tour services, (that is to contact PIBOSA). Through Jay's marketing skills, PIBOSA was able to build and widen its networks, not only with these local tour agencies, but also with those based in the other parts of the country. However, some tour agencies and hotels/resorts remained faithful to the commitment they made to help the original community organization. An example is the Travel Village and Tours based in Tagbilaran City which has been transacting exclusively with PIDWWO (or at least with people identified with the group) since the beginning. Individual tourists and the "backpackers" (as tourism literature call them, see Macleod, 1997;

³⁴ Although there may be transactions between Tour Agencies and Hotels/Resorts, it is not certain if these involved Pamilacan. Since Hotels/Resorts have direct tie with PIDWWO they can directly access the group without going through the local agencies.

³⁵ Structural Equivalence principle means two actors in the same network have equivalent position or highly similar connections to the other actors, regardless of whether they are directly connected or not (Knoke, 2001: 69). With this property, these actors can perform similar functions.

Ooi & Laing, 2010), who come on their own, could now choose from the competing local service providers unlike before when they had to contact someone from PIDWWO. These local service providers also started to compete with service rates and product prices to attract visitors.

Aside from these main actors, a smaller group of actors came to the scene - that is the Family-Run Local Touristic Businesses. Unlike PIDWWO and PIBOSA, these family-owned small-scale businesses only employ family members and some relatives in operating their services. Owners were able to connect directly with individual tourists mostly through word-of-mouth from former guests. Another new significant connection that emerged during this period is between PIBOSA and the Resisting Villagers. Jay was able to persuade villagers who either from the start actively refused tourism or those who had withdrawn support from the tourism project during its early phase. These villagers were mostly fishermen who were once directly hunting whale-sharks. Seeing the number of tourists coming with the growing touristic activities in the community, these former resisting locals became interested in participating in the industry. However, because of their conflicts with PIDWWO, they remained isolated from the industry. Thus, the formation of PIBOSA gave these former opposing islanders the opportunity to engage in the touristic livelihood.

The sociograph also shows the new connection between PIBOSA and Cooperating Villagers. This relationship came about because some villagers who were once loyal to PIDWWO had started to join the activities of the newer group, either totally leaving the former or transacting informally with the latter. With the growing industry, Cooperating Villagers tried to maximize its benefits by participating in the activities of both groups. With this movement, the local people's commitment to a single organization started to become fluid.

Centralities. Although in terms of Degree centrality PIBOSA and PIDWWO are structurally equivalent, in terms of Betweenness centrality among local service providers, they are significantly different (see Table 6). Among the local service providers, PIBOSA got a higher score (=13.5) than PIDWWO (=9). As discussed in Chapter 3, Betweenness centrality measure indicates the number of times an actor is included within the shortest paths from one actor to another. The greater the number, the higher the possibility of an actor to influence and control the flow of information and resources originating from other actors passing through him/her before going to another. In other words, the more an actor participates in transactions between parties, the more that actor has the knowledge of and control over information and resources involved.

Betweenness centrality measures indicate that PIBOSA lies more frequently in between the other actors than PIDWWO. This position made PIBOSA a more efficient bridge through which information, resources, and benefits could be channeled from outsiders to the local community. This high Betweenness centrality is caused by two connections, namely between PIBOSA and Resisting Villagers; and between PIBOSA and Cooperating Villagers. The inclusion of the former resisting locals to the network through PIBOSA and the penetration of the organization into the Cooperating Villagers (who were once identified only with PIDWWO) placed the group in a strategic position to employ more locals for tourism work and thus channel benefits to these people.³⁶

On the other hand, PIDWWO, although still having many connections with funding agencies and clients had a weaker bridging capacity to link the outsiders and the islanders. Its leadership continued to refuse to settle conflicts with the Resisting Villagers and vice-versa - a rift which can be traced back to the initial stage of organizing CBT on the island. Neither

³⁶ In this dissertation, the verb “to employ” mostly refers to making informal arrangements with people to engage in economic activities.

did the PIDWWO leadership coordinate with PIBOSA. This deeply rooted mistrust and suspicion hindered their working together.

This section of the chapter has illustrated the network changes brought about by conflicts and the internal competition Conflict that resulted in the forming of a new group, while families with capital started touristic businesses on their own. Villagers who formerly resisted tourism in the island found the opportunity to participate in tourism through PIBOSA. Villagers who once cooperated exclusively with PIDWWO, started to connect with the newer organization. The diverging ties among actors and the declining commitment to a single group led to the decentralization of the island tourism industry. In spite of internal conflicts and competition, the community tourism continued to grow with the continued support from funding agencies and as more local people have been integrated into the new livelihood.

Conclusions

The formal organizing activities in Pamilacan developed the capacity of the villagers to engage in touristic enterprises. With the help of government agencies and NGOs, the islanders participated in organizing themselves for community tourism. This collaboration resulted in the formation of a community organization - PIDWWO. Through the CBT program, members learned new skills in hospitality services and acquired modern knowledge about their environment. With its formal organizing structures and leadership, the organization was able to manage its own touristic enterprises and provide economic benefits to cooperating villagers.

During the first three years, PIDWWO was central to the tourism network because it monopolized the connections from funding agencies and touristic clients. As a pilot project, government and development agencies channeled all material and technical resources through the organization. Islanders, left with limited options for subsistence after the banning of their hunting livelihood, were attracted to connect with the organization in order to gain access to resources. Tourist agencies and individual tourists also connected with the organization since it used to be the only provider of marine tour services in the area. Transacting with these actors, PIDWWO facilitated the organizing of touristic activities, and, at the same time, served as a bridge through which resources and benefits flowed from outsiders to the local villagers.

The touristic network changed with internal conflicts and with the emergence of the new local group – PIBOSA and the family-run local touristic businesses. Movements of the new actors generated new ties. Patterns of interactions started to diverge which ultimately led to a decentralizing tourism network. In spite of the growing internal competition, PIDWWO still enjoyed the support coming from outsiders and still played a significant role in the local industry. PIBOSA, on the other hand, started to expand its networks by integrating villagers who once resisted the local industry and building informal connections with villagers who once cooperated only with PIDWWO. The newer group started to network with different tour agencies and also gained support from government and non-government institutions. With its expanding connections, PIBOSA has become significant in the industry.

This chapter has argued that formal organizing structures facilitated the organizing of the villagers to engage in touristic activities, the operation of touristic services, and the channeling of resources and benefits. This was due to the central and strategic positioning of the formal organizations within the touristic network. Their direct connections with funding

agencies secured their access to resources; their direct connections with the villagers enabled them to serve as bridges to channel benefits. Through these two groups, villagers on the ground were able to be integrated into the tourism industry and thus benefit from it. The ties connecting outsiders and locals functioned as veins through which information and resources flowed.

After the funding agencies left Pamilacan, things started to change. With the changing condition, the two main competing groups took different attitudes. While PIBOSA continued to expand its networks, PIDWWO contented itself with its existing connections and resources. These differing attitudes eventually determined the life of the two organizations as they faced the growing number of competitors from outside. How the increasing number of external actors and the changes of the pattern of interactions influenced the tourism organizing activities will be the focus of the next Chapter.

Chapter 5

Analyzing the Collapse of Formal Structures and the Emergence of Informal Transactions

In an attempt to reorganize community tourism, the municipal government called for a meeting of all service providers in Pamilacan. In the attendance sheet dated April 14, 2011, there were recorded forty-six (46) participants associated with PIDWWO. Three years later on March 10, 2014, in a similar meeting, eight (8) tour operators were present. No one represented PIDWWO and PIBOSA. This incident gives an idea how formal organizations, once central players, had become dysfunctional actors in the local tourism industry.

This chapter examines the collapse of the formal CBT structure and the emerging informal touristic transactions involving Pamilacan. The inability of the formal organization, particularly of PIDWWO, to stabilize and expand networks after ties with supporting agencies ceased led to its isolation and consequently to the disintegration of its members. Lacking financial and technical resources, the organization was not able to catch up with the growing external competitors. Faced with this condition, the local villagers employed informal networks in order to continue to participate in and benefit from the local tourism in spite of the collapse of the formal organizing structures. Transactions have generated a new organizing network which reintegrated the local villagers into the wider touristic network.

In the following sections, I will discuss first the circumstances which triggered the collapse of formal organizing structure. Second, I examine the influence of the new actors and

the evolving ties in the wider touristic network. Lastly, I will analyze the network properties of the emerging informal transactions after the collapse of the formal organization, both in the wider- and bottom-levels.

5.1. Increasing Competing External Actors

After a scheduled interview, I decided to visit Alona beach (in Panglao Island), one of the most popular tourist destinations in Bohol where most of the hotels and resorts are situated. A man approached me offering dolphin watching services to the nearby Pamilacan Island. I learned that Toto was a full-time fisherman before he engaged in touristic services as a boatman and tour canvasser. He is one of the around 300 boatmen stationed every day in Alona. With their proximity to major resorts, the boatmen of Panglao became the main competitors of the boatmen of Pamilacan. The former's direct access to tourists and tourist providers enabled these people to become crucial players within the touristic network involving Pamilacan. However, their activities resulted in the blocking of tourists who used to avail themselves of the marine tour services offered by Pamilacan locals. This competition contributed to the decline of the number of guests for the Pamilacan islanders and thereby to the decreasing income from their touristic livelihood.

Unlike their counterparts in Pamilacan, the boatmen of Panglao do not operate as a group, even though there had been attempts to organize them. Rather, they operate as individuals, either with their own boats or arrange with boat owners to use the boats for touristic trips. Years earlier, they used to transport tourists only to the nearby Balicasag Island for snorkeling within the marine sanctuaries. However, recently, they started to expand their

services to include dolphin and whale watching tours to the seas surrounding Pamilacan Island. Working with the boatmen are the local tour canvassers. Standing by the beaches or along the roads with their laminated “tour menu,” canvassers approach tourists from the surrounding resorts for services. After a successful transaction, the canvassers would then lead their guests to the beach where the boatmen are waiting. Some boatmen do the canvassing themselves. With this informal arrangement, boatmen and canvassers in Panglao are able to operate tours.

Although the Panglao boatmen do not offer safer trips, nor provide better facilities, tourist agencies and individual tourists use their services. The boatmen of Panglao have cheaper service rates and more varied marine life tours compared to what their counterparts in Pamilacan are offering. A single trip normally costs PhP 1, 500 which is still negotiable, compared to the PhP 3, 500 rate of the Pamilacan islanders. During peak seasons, boatmen and canvassers of Panglao compete among themselves by lowering their service fees. From the usually PhP 1, 500, they could go down from PhP 1, 200 to as low as PhP 1, 000. Some canvassers offer even as low as PhP 800, but the guests would join the others on a single trip of 8 people. They also offer what they call “No See, No Pay” service. With this arrangement, tourists do not pay if they were not able to see or encounter dolphins or whale sharks during the trip. However, this is “tricky and deceiving,” one Pamilacan islander described, because these boatmen have had their colleagues stationed on the sea to check and communicate to them beforehand any dolphin or whale sightings. In this way, they are able to insure encounters with the marine animals before embarking with their guests.

A package tour of the Panglao boatmen would include dolphin watching, snorkeling within the marine sanctuaries around Balicasag or Pamilacan (with a visit to the islands), and a visit to the nearby Virgin Island. Pamilacan islanders, on the other hand, only offer dolphin

and whale watching, snorkeling, and a visit to the community. Because of the distance, it takes time for the people of Pamilacan to travel from their island to the other surrounding islets. Recently, the service providers from Panglao also started to offer trips to the town of Oslob (in the province of Cebu) where whale shark watching has become a popular tourist attraction. They ask PhP 1, 000 per person in a group of 8 people. This is cheaper than taking the usual route through bigger ferries. The trip to this neighboring destination would take around 2 to 3 hours from Alona.

Panglao boatmen and canvassers get their clients either from tour agencies and hotels/resorts or from direct contacts with tourists. For those trips arranged by tour agencies and hotels/resorts, the boatmen/canvassers receive payments through agents and not directly from the guests. Since it takes time before they could get the money, boatmen/canvassers prefer to transact directly with individual tourists along the roads or at resort gates. They expand their networks by word of mouth and exchange of cellphone numbers. For example, Toto gets regular clients through his former guests who posted his cellphone number on the internet. Thus, he would just be surprised every time somebody would contact him through the cellphone inquiring about his services.

Tour boats operating in Panglao are owned by people from Panglao and from the neighboring Balicasag Island. Boatmen and canvassers arrange with the owners for the use of boats for touristic purposes. Toto explained his agreement with a boat owner. From the usual PhP 1, 500 per single tour, PhP 250 - 400 would be deducted for the gasoline. Two hundred pesos would be given to the helping crew. The boat captain and the boat owner would then divide the remaining income. Panglao boatmen could take at least 3 trips in a day and as many as 10 trips during peak seasons.

This competition among the boatmen from the two neighboring islands sometimes led to conflicts. Pamilacan boat operators accused Panglao boatmen and canvassers of snatching tourists who were supposed to be PIDWWO clients. Malong, a boatman from Pamilacan, narrated his experience when a tour agency scheduled a trip with him for a group of tourists in Panglao. Since it would take at least an hour traveling from Pamilacan to Alona Beach, he came a few minutes late. While waiting for his clients, Malong learned that he was waiting for nothing because a boatman from Panglao had already taken the guests. In spite of such few instances, in general, there had been no violent confrontation between the two groups, rather they relate in a friendly manner and assist each other in times of sea accidents.

Unlike their counterparts in Pamilacan, Panglao boatmen had never undergone any training or seminar on marine life tours. They know nothing about the proper way of conducting touristic activities, especially on how to interact with dolphins and other marine mammals on the sea. Neither do they observe appropriate behavior during trips, nor do they provide guests with information about marine life. Malong narrated how Panglao boatmen behave on the sea:

The bad thing is that they do not know how to interact with the dolphins. They just bump on them... They do not have the training. They do not have the seminar on how to interact with these mammals... Because these boatmen are trying to catch up for the next trips, they just bump on the dolphins. Seeing that the tourists are already satisfied after taking photos along the way, the boatmen would right away bring back these guests to the shore and take another group for the next trip... That is why the way they are doing things there is not good.

There were also accidents involving Panglao boatmen. For example, a boat bringing a group of guests for dolphin watching sunk because of fire while on the sea. Instead of assisting the guests to escape, the boat captain with his crew jumped ahead abandoning the tourists on the burning boat. This incident almost claimed the lives of the tourists. Fortunately, other boats from Pamilacan came to the rescue. Because of this accident, authorities discovered that the Panglao boatmen had been operating without the proper licenses and registration needed to engage in touristic activities.³⁷ That accident led to stricter regulations concerning marine life tours which also affected the tour operators in Pamilacan.

Since Panglao boatmen do not have the necessary licenses from the maritime authority to operate touristic activities, the local government considers them illegal. Municipal officials are aware of these people, yet they do nothing to prevent their activities. In an interview with a municipal official of Panglao, he explained:

There is a transport group for whale watching... same with Pamilacan... But we could not call them PO [People's Organization] since they are working illegally... They are not registered in Marina [Maritime Industry Authority]... No. Their boats are fake [unregistered]... They could not be called PO since they are illegally operating... They should have a track record, complete set of officers... community based in a sense that they operate, but they are not recognized because of their illegal operation... They have canvassers over there, so many of them.

In spite of their knowledge about these illegal activities, local politicians are hesitant to stop these boatmen. One of the reasons is that because making conflicts with these locals could

³⁷ This accident became very controversial because one of the victims happened to be a government official who later complained to maritime authorities.

affect the votes politicians get during elections. Recently, some Panglao boatmen have also started to go to Baclayon port to pick up tourists, which was once a PIDWWO and PIBOSA territory.³⁸

The growing number of illegal boatmen coming into the touristic system challenges the Pamilacan villagers who once monopolized the industry. Depending heavily on dolphin and whale watching tours, the people of Pamilacan, especially PIDWWO and PIBOSA, started to experience a decreasing number of tourists applying for their services. Their once frequent clients have now turned towards Panglao boatmen. Aside from the cheaper service rates, connecting with Panglao boatmen also means cheaper transaction costs. Because of the proximity of these competitors to tourist accommodations, tour agents do not have to transport their guests from the hotels to Baclayon port which could save them time and money. It would be more convenient also for individual tourists to transact directly with boatmen stationed right on their doorstep than to contact people from the far away Pamilacan.

Pamilacan locals started to feel the effects of this blocking of guests. Even during tourist seasons, PIDWWO clients were decreasing. Referring to the growing illegal competitors and the declining income, Malong remarked:

It turned out as though we are just partaking from the few drops of the rain... We should benefit from the new livelihood, being the ones who are greatly affected by the banning of whale and sting ray fishing, but it was not materialized.

³⁸ Local touristic boat operators complain against the high registration processing fee. It could take around PhP 15, 000 to get a license from the maritime authority for a single boat to be used for touristic purposes. Each year, the boatmen also have to renew the registration which could cost around PhP 7, 000.

Pamilacan boatmen constantly meet their illegal competitors on the sea while operating the usual touristic trips. “We could neither stop them,” a boatman from Pamilacan argued, “because this type of livelihood [tourism] is common, for all... They are free [to do what they want].” PIDWWO expressed its complaints about this problem to government authorities, yet nothing happened.

The strategic position of the Panglao boatmen within the touristic network enables them to control the flow of tourists. Situated near the touristic accommodations, they are more accessible to clients, than their counterparts in Pamilacan. This position enables these illegal competitors to transact directly with clients and thus facilitate more convenient transactions and cheaper services. The following section will analyze how changes in the number of actors and their pattern of interactions have affected the whole touristic system involving Pamilacan.

5.2. Vanishing Ties and Diverging Connections

Two structural changes in the network have influenced the decline of the formal touristic organization of Pamilacan. These are (1) the vanishing ties with the government and development agencies which once directly supported the community organizing activities; and (2) the diverging connections from tourist agencies and individual tourists brought about by the growing number of external competitors. Funding institutions were the main sources of financial and technical supports for the cooperating villagers. Thus, Pamilacan CBT suffered with the end of CBT programs. With the coming of external competitors, particularly the Panglao boatmen and canvassers, tour agencies and individual tourists who once coordinated exclusively with Pamilacan have found other options. This led to the decreasing number of

guests and consequently to the decreasing income for the community-run services in Pamilacan.

After the last NGO-sponsored tourism program ended and project organizers stepped-out from Pamilacan, things changed. Financial and technical assistance for the community touristic enterprises ceased. The once well-supported PIDWWO and PIBOSA had to live by their resources and stand on their own. Funds started to be exhausted and the income from touristic activities was not enough to provide the incentives members used to receive. People were becoming “lukewarm to engage in communal activities,” the village Chief observed. Blaming the funding agencies, he argued that local people became too dependent on outsiders. “They [villagers] still continue [to participate in touristic services],” he added. “However, unlike before when it started, there were funds from outside and people were enticed by these.”

Members expressed their frustration over the decreasing income due to the declining number of their clients. Petra, the wife of the coordinator of the Men’s Group, commented on the declining number of tourists coming to make use of the organizations’ services. “No more,” she explained, “We [our business] will become slower and slower.” The PIDWWO women also felt similar sentiments. The group coordinator recalled the dwindling number of guests and the members’ attitude towards this reality:

Sometimes, if there would be only two or three visitors, we would not have any income, just enough for the expenses. Income was very minimal. We could do nothing, it is an organization. People were obliged to participate; in spite of the low income you have to [serve the visitors]... [If you do not] you would lose your [clients]... Is it only when tourists come in big numbers that we should accommodate

them? That is why, even if there were only two visitors coming, we would still take care of them.

Because of the low income from PIDWWO activities, some women members left the group. Some went to Manila and other cities to look for jobs. Income from community tourism would not be enough for their family's daily sustenance and to bring their children to school, one woman commented.

Reflecting on the situation, Malong wondered what had happened to his formerly thriving group. "People do not know why it came to this point," he lamented. "Instead of the local fishing community gaining from tourism... it turned out to be too cheap and the industry started to decline... I wonder why." Comparing how it was before when he used to receive a bigger share participating in PIDWWO activities, Malong tried to understand why the organization could hardly pay its members. Perhaps the members were not able to entertain the guests properly, or maybe the food they were serving was not good enough, he argued.

Faced with the above issues, PIDWWO started to lose its formal organizational structures. Members started to do things on their own and the leadership had become dysfunctional. For example, in spite of the announcements made by the Chairman, only a few members would attend official meetings.³⁹ Of the around one hundred (100) registered members, only around ten (10) to fifteen (15) people would participate. Because of this, regular meeting schedules were dropped. The chairman also complained about the lack of coordination among the members. They would no longer consult him in making decisions, neither coordinate with him about incoming touristic activities. Every time he would call for communal labor, for example to repair damaged cottages or clean the shorelines, members

³⁹ The present PIDWWO Chairman was a former spotter when he joined the organization. He was elected years ago to replace the former chairman who migrated to another country.

would not participate. However, when Siano would call for similar communal activities, people would actively participate. He also complained that the Treasurer could not provide him the organizational fund. Other properties of the group like diving and safety gear were nowhere to be found. Faced with these difficulties, the chairman wanted to quit, but since there had been no official meetings for many years, he found it difficult to express his resignation formally.

Failure of the organization to sustain the cooperation of its members and maintain external ties with the other actors within the wider network isolated PIDWWO from the touristic system. This detached the organization from the flow resources and clientele and the support from the islanders. PIDWWO suffered exhaustion - organizational funds dried up with the decreasing number of guests. The organization's once faithful tour agencies and individual tourists were now transacting with other service providers, particularly those based in Panglao Island. PIBOSA, on the other hand, also faced similar issues. The group also experienced financial problems which triggered conflicts among its members.

Faced with challenges, the two groups took different approaches. Aside from its refusal to take in former opposing villagers, PIDWWO refused to take in private individuals to assist in marketing the group's services. Lacking technical and professional capacities, its leaders attempted to do everything on their own, from marketing to operating its tours, to maintaining the organization. Jay narrated how PIDWWO rejected his offer to do the marketing for the group:

I offered them an arrangement in which I would take a PhP 500 commission for every boat trip. I would take care of the operation costs [of marketing]. For example, in two

boat trips, I could get PhP 1, 000. ‘Then, for seven trips, you would get PhP 3, 500? That is too much [PIDWWO leaders argued].’

Jay also narrated how PIDWWO marketing strategy failed. The local government channeled a special financial support of around PhP 100, 000 through the group to be used for a community livestock program. However, instead of using the amount for the said purpose, the organization decided to use the money to put up an office in the town to serve as an information and booking center for the coming guests. However, tourists did not come. Eventually, the office was closed down because funds were exhausted in maintaining the place and in paying for the office rent and its staff. Islanders did not benefit from the financial support which could have been spent for additional livelihood.

Because of lack of marketing capacity in the midst of high competition, PIDWWO was not able to make new ties with business partners nor able to maintain the older ones. Its once faithful clients, particularly tourist agencies, started to do business with its competitors. This would not have happened, Jay argued, if only the organization had networked with private individuals who could market its product using more modern means with lesser costs. Marketing requires technical facilities and professional knowhow (including the use of internet based transactions) which the members do not possess or are more costly to possess and maintain by the organization, he added. Telephone and internet connections are not yet available on the island. Cellphone signals are also very weak in the area.

While PIDWWO leaders stuck to its stiff organizational structure, PIBOSA members started to open up to individual marketing partners. Although the latter also lost its original identity as a community organization, the members remained connected. PIBOSA members decided to reconnect with Jay who by that time had been operating his private touristic

business. The group recognized that Jay had the necessary connections with outsiders as a former PIDWWO chairman. Through informal agreement, the group became the service personnel for Jay's tour business, while he takes care of marketing the group's services. Jay engages in different marketing activities, including the use of the internet which has become his biggest source of clients. He also participates in travel expos and even appeared on national television promoting Pamilacan touristic activities. With Jay's support, PIBOSA does not have to worry about marketing, nor pay the costs of looking for clients. With this arrangement, members were able to focus their energy and resources on operating tour services, particularly transporting tourists for dolphin and whale watching and other marine touristic activities.

PIDWWO's attitude led to isolation, while PIBOSA opened up opportunities for wider connections. Faced with the lack of resources, villagers restructured their patterns of interactions in order to continue to integrate into the touristic network and thus gain access to the flow of benefits. The next sections examine how this new pattern of interactions emerged and how it has influenced community tourism in Pamilacan.

5.3. Emerging Informal Touristic Transactions

With the collapse of the formal organizing structures of Pamilacan CBT, individuals from PIDWWO and PIBOSA started to mobilize transactions on their own. Jay of PIBOSA was able to maintain business partnerships and build connections with new clients and prospective funding agencies. Siano of PIDWWO with his wife Petra took the initiative to

coordinate with clients without going through the protocols of the organization. Other individual members also started to make direct connections with clients.

Jay and Siano with his wife Petra played crucial roles after the breakdown of formal organizing structures. They began to engage in informal touristic transactions with outsiders and take in villagers as touristic service personnel. Villagers, who do not have the capital to start a business on their own, would coordinate either with Jay or Siano and his wife Petra. These local individuals have become “bridges” through which community touristic activities are linked with the wider tourism network and thus benefit from the flow of resources. In this way, the islanders who could have been isolated with the collapse of the formal organizing structures continue to be integrated into the industry.

In this section, I analyze the properties of three informal networks in different levels: (1) the wider-level network between Pamilacan islanders and outsiders; (2) the ties among local service providers and tour agencies; and (3) the bottom-level touristic interactions among remaining PIDWWO members, clients, and local non-members. This section gives the accounts on how actors faced with a dysfunctional formal organization and a growing competition reconstruct their patterns of transactions in order to gain access to resources and benefits from touristic activities.

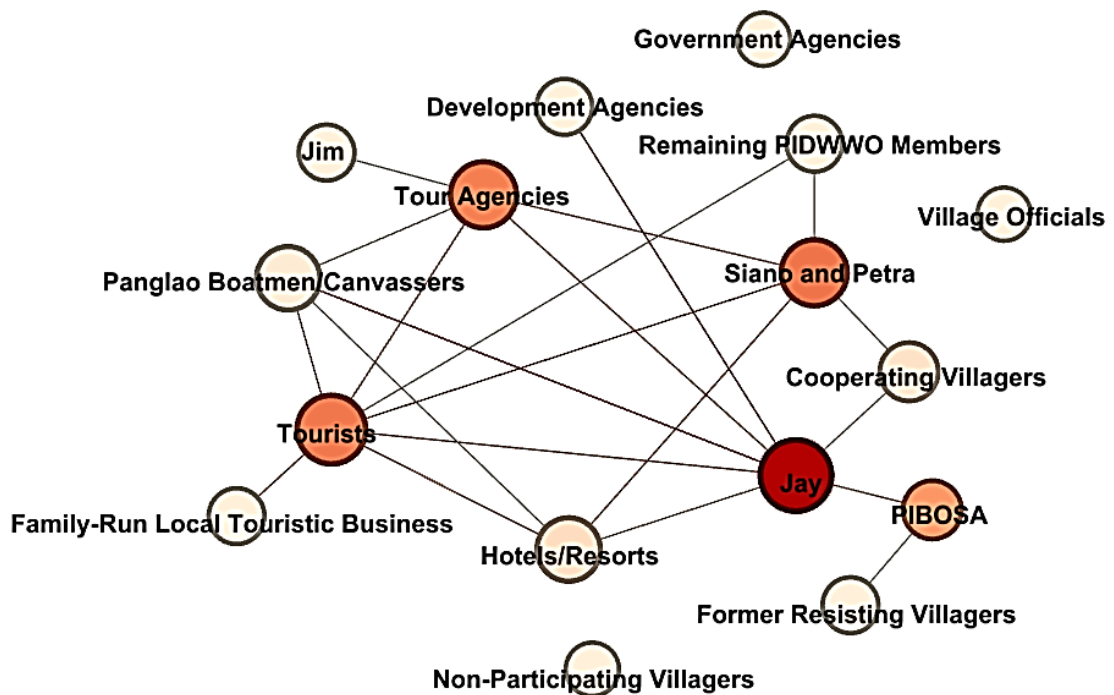
5. 3. 1. Network Properties: Wider-Level Network

Structural Characteristics. Let me start from the wider perspective of the whole network - the interactions among all the actors involved in Pamilacan tourism. Examining the wider-level pattern of interactions enables us to understand how actors are embedded within the wider network environment. This embeddedness reveals the degree of integration, the

position of individual actors in the wider system, and their level of participation and influence in the transactions within the network.

The pattern of interactions among actors in the wider-level reveals that locals from Pamilacan still occupy the central positions within the network, in spite of the collapse of the formal organizing structures in the midst of the growing competition. Employing informal transactions, villagers are able to retain older connections and expand ties with the other actors, both from outside and within the island. Occupying strategic positions enables local individuals to gain access to clients, control the flow of information regarding touristic activities, facilitate operation of touristic services, and channel the distribution of income to other villagers.

Figure 12 Wider-level tourism network after the collapse of formal organizing structures



Note: Visualized by the author through Gephi (Bastian et al., 2009)

Table 7 Centrality measures for the wider-level tourism network

Actor	Degree Centrality	Betweenness Centrality
Jay	7	33
Tourists	7	19.33
Siano and Petra	5	5.5
Tour Agencies	5	12.33
Hotels/Resorts	4	1.33
Panglao Boatmen/Canvassers	4	0.5
PIBOSA	2	11
Cooperating Villagers	2	1
Remaining PIDWWO Members	2	0
Family-Run Local Touristic Business	1	0
Former Resisting Villagers	1	0
Jim	1	0
Development Agencies	1	0
Village Officials	0	0
Government Agencies	0	0
Non-Participating Villagers	0	0

Note: Analyzed by the author through Gephi (Bastian et al., 2009)

Figure 12 illustrates the wider-level network among all the actors involving Pamilacan tourism after the collapse of the formal tourism organizing structure. Comparing this to the network during the period of internal competition, there is an increase of actors (from 12 to 16) with changing patterns of interactions. During the period of internal competition, two local organizations controlled the flow of tourists coming to the island and the supply of touristic services. This situation drastically changed with the growing external competition, especially the boatmen and canvassers of Panglao. The flow of tourists coming to Pamilacan started to diverge through different service providers. This contributed to the decreasing number of clients coming to PIDWWO and PIBOSA.

New actors who have emerged during this period are represented in the sociograph either as groups or as individuals. Most of them are services providers including Panglao

Boatmen/Canvassers, Jay, Siano/Petra, and Jim. Two are not from Pamilacan Island, namely: the Panglao Boatmen/Canvassers and Jim (from the mainland Bohol). Three are Pamilacan locals, namely: Jay, who has been operating his private touristic business and Siano (the coordinator of the former men's group of PIDWWO) with his wife Petra. During this period, the formal leadership and organizing structure of PIDWWO had already been dysfunctional; however, internal ties among its members remained. Members maintaining internal ties are designated in the sociograph as "Remaining PIDWWO Members." PIBOSA, although it had also lost its formal leadership and organizing structures, remained as an informal grouping of boatmen and spotters.

With the emerging new actors, a new pattern of interactions has evolved. Some older ties vanished; new ties emerged; others remained. Ties that vanished include connections linking PIDWWO-Government Agencies-Development Agencies; and the ties linking PIBOSA-Government Agencies -Development Agencies. These connections were crucial because these served as the umbilical cord through which financial and technical supports flowed from assisting agencies to community organization. Thus, cutting off these ties meant cutting off the main sources of funds and technical supports. Direct ties between PIDWWO and Tour Agencies and Hotel/Resorts; PIBOSA with Tour Agencies and individual tourists also vanished. During this period, Jay had been out from the leadership of PIBOSA.

New ties are competing connections among the new actors (i.e., Jay, Siano/Petra, Boatmen/Canvassers from Panglao, etc.) with Tour Agencies, Hotels/Resorts, and individual Tourists. Most of these transactions involved organizing marine life tours, including island hopping, dolphin and whale watching, snorkeling, and diving. Older persisting ties include connections among tour agencies, hotel/resorts, and individual tourists. Another is the tie between PIBOSA and the former Resisting Villagers who have been integrated into the group.

The socio-graph also shows the marginal position of Government Agencies and the Village Officials. After the series of tourism projects in Pamilacan, government agencies no longer have direct involvement in Pamilacan community tourism. The Government's influence has been limited to implementing legislation which had been in place and making wider policies concerning tourism activities in the province and in the municipality. Although the municipal government of Baclayon continues to promote Pamilacan as one of its tourist destinations, it does not have direct involvement in the management of the touristic activities of the islanders, unlike during the early organizing stage of the formal CBT.

Village officials, on their part, had long been isolated from direct involvement in community tourism since it withdrew participation during the initial stage of the project. The only activity of the village government concerning tourism is to collect "user's fee." Village officials asked tourists to pay for entering the island's vicinity for scuba diving and snorkeling. The collected amount went to the local government and not directly to the community (see Municipality of Baclayon, 2008: Ordinance 01-2008). However, the implementation of the policy had ceased because of complaints from the local people, tour operators, and tourists.

Centralities. Analyzing the properties of the wider-level network reveals that among service providers, locals from Pamilacan Island still occupy the central positions, in spite of the growing number of actors and the changes of the patterns of transactions. Jay has the highest points on all centrality measures: Degree centrality = 7; Betweenness centrality = 33 (see Table 7). These figures show that he has the best strategic position to influence touristic transactions involving Pamilacan. His high Degree centrality indicates that he has the most number of direct ties with the other actors within the network, and thus having the most access to clients, supporting agencies, and local service personnel in the island. Furthermore, his high Betweenness measure makes him more influential with more brokering power. This

means that most of the transactions involving Pamilacan tourism go through him. With this position, he has the actual and potential control of information, resources, and benefits that flow through these transactions. With his strategic location within the network, Jay has become a major actor in Pamilacan tourism.

With his marketing know-how and with the use of new technologies, Jay was able to maintain and build new ties with tourist agencies, hotels/resorts, and individual tourists. Through varied means of advertisement, such as the internet, travel expos, and printed materials, the touristic activities of the local people in Pamilacan continue to be known by outsiders. With these channels, Jay was able to bring in clients to Pamilacan and take-in PIBOSA and other local villagers as his service personnel. Furthermore, aside from marketing Pamilacan, he also started coordinating with development agencies that could assist community tourism activities. Presently, he is applying for funding which could support in updating the touristic skills of the local people of Pamilacan. He hopes that this type of project would benefit not only PIBOSA but also former PIDWWO members and the whole community.

Next to Jay is the couple Siano and Petra: Degree centrality = 5; Betweenness centrality = 5.5. This couple emerged as individual actors after the collapse of PIDWWO. After the formal organizing structure of the organization disintegrated, they initiated informal transactions with clients and local villagers. Securing the means of communication to tour agencies and individual tourists, the two were able to maintain ties with former PIDWWO clients and build ties with new ones. Aside from transacting with outsiders, Siano and Petra also gained the trust from the local villagers. Thus, remaining PIDWWO members prefer to connect with the couple.

Petra practically does all the transaction work, from communicating with clients to coordinating with local villagers, although she is not involved in actual service activities and in the distribution of income. She transacts directly with tour agencies and individual tourists, arrange tour schedules, and inform remaining PIDWWO members for incoming services. Siano her husband, coordinates the boatmen, spotters, and other crew members for the tours. The coordinator of the former women's group and the boat captains manage the distribution of income to local participants after a day of service. However, since most of Pamilacan boatmen own their boats, they are also able to operate tours on their own, either by approaching tourists coming to Baclayon pier, or from referrals from former guests.

With the changing network environment, Pamilacan villagers had to change their patterns of interactions. Through the islanders who have the advantaged position within the touristic network, other Pamilacan villagers are able to participate in the local tourism industry. Otherwise, with the collapse of PIDWWO, poorer villagers who do not have the financial and technical resources to engage in touristic businesses on their own could have been isolated from the industry. With the growing competition, outsiders could have taken over the tourism industry of Pamilacan. Connecting directly with the clients would demand high transaction costs and professional skills, which are beyond the capacity of the islanders. Thus, letting actors who are more capable of transacting with outsiders has become a strategy for the locals to connect to and expand their clientele.

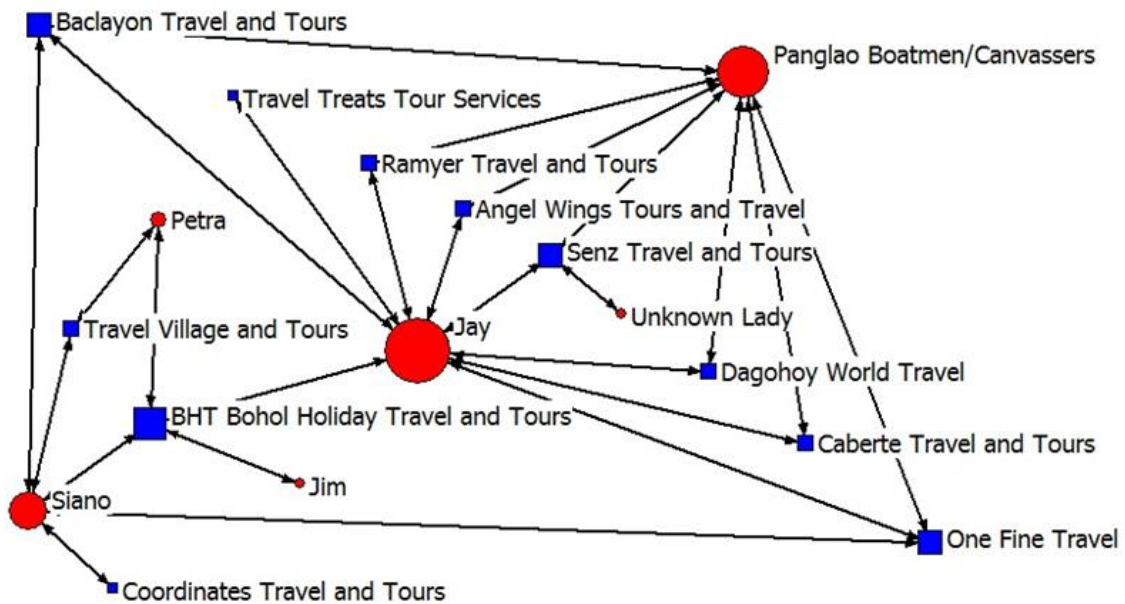
The wider-level touristic network has revealed the increasing number of actors and the evolving patterns of interactions within the system. Newer actors came, ties emerged and vanished, and transactions diverged. Pamilacan community tourism suffered from the loss of supporting networks, while being challenged by the growing external competitors. With this changing network environment, villagers restructured their patterns of interactions. Local

individuals initiated touristic transactions on their own. Connecting to these “bridging” locals, organization members dissented protocols and started employing informal networks to facilitate transactions with clients, dissemination of information, operation of services, and distribution of benefits. Through these interactions, locals have been able to maintain central positions within the network and the community integrated into the wider touristic system. These movements have generated new organizing networks which sustain collective touristic livelihood, in spite of the collapse of the formal organizing structures. The following subsections will examine the direct interactions operating within this wider network environment.

5. 3. 2. Network Properties: Informal Transactions among Tour Agencies and Local Service Providers

Structural Characteristics. From the wider network environment, I zoom in on the direct interactions between tour agencies and local service providers. Examining the patterns of interactions between these two categories of actors tracts the movements of tourists coming to Pamilacan and identifies the different channels through which transactions flow. Knowing these factors is relevant because it determines the capacity of individual service providers to control the supply of tourists based on their position within the network. Analysis reveals that, in spite of the growing number of competitors, local service providers from Pamilacan still occupy the central positions that control the flow of tourists to the island.

Figure 13 Direct ties between tour agencies and service providers



Note: Visualized by the author through UCINET (Borgatti et al., 2002)

Two categories of actors are involved in this network, namely the Tour Agencies and the local Service Providers. There are fifteen (15) tour agencies accredited with the Provincial Tourism Office (PTO). All are based in Tagbilaran City (the Provincial Capital), except one which is located in the town of Dauis. However, only twelve (12) of these were available for interview since the other three had been out of business (see Table 8). Among the twelve, one (i.e., Tagbilaran Land Sea Air and Travel) does not offer trips to Pamilacan, thus is isolated from this network. Tour agencies arrange travel itineraries, accommodation, transportation, and leisure activities for visitors. They offer Pamilacan tours (including activities like dolphin and whale watching, snorkeling, diving, and island hopping.) either as a special trip or included in a tour package with the other neighboring island destinations. These businesses also include Pamilacan in their marketing activities and featured in their advertising materials, like pamphlets, posters, and webpages.

Table 8 Tour agencies' ties with competing service providers

Tour Agent	Address	Contact Person for Pamilacan	Contact with Panglao Boatmen	Knowledge about PIDWWO
Angel Wings Tours and Travel	Tagbilaran City	Jay	Yes	No
Baclayon Travel and Tours	Tagbilaran City	Jay, Siano	No	Yes
BHT Bohol Holiday Travel and Tours	Tagbilaran City	Petra, Siano, Jay, Jim	Yes	Yes
Caberte Travel and Tours	Tagbilaran City	Jay	Yes	Yes
Coordinates Travel and Tours	Dauis	Siano	No	No
Dagohoy World Travel	Tagbilaran City	Jay	Yes	Yes
One Fine Travel	Tagbilaran City	Jay, Siano	Yes	Yes
Ramyer Travel and Tours	Tagbilaran City	Jay	Yes	No
Senz Travel and Tours	Tagbilaran City	Jay, <i>Unknown lady from Pamilacan</i>	Yes	No
Tagbilaran Land Sea Air Tours and Travel	Tagbilaran City	No Service	No Service	No Service
Travel Treats Tour Services	Tagbilaran City	Jay	No	No
Travel Village and Tours	Tagbilaran City	Petra, Sano	No	Yes

Source: The author's fieldwork

Table 8 identifies the names of tour agencies operating with PTO accreditation and their ties with local service providers for Pamilacan tour. The table includes a column on the

“Knowledge about PIDWWO” which refers to awareness about the existence of community tourism in Pamilacan and its issues. Concerning this question, six (6) agents answered YES, while five (5) answered NO. Most of the agents who answered YES used to provide tourists to PIDWWO, but seem not interested about the issues surrounding the organization, nor expressed support on community participation in the industry. For some agents, “business is business,” as long as the boatmen could provide them with good and safe services. “We are not a social agency, we do business,” one tour agency owner commented.

Local Service Providers, on the other hand, are people based in the province who transact directly with tourist agencies and individual tourists for trips to Pamilacan. The names of the service providers are provided by the tour agencies. These include local villagers from Pamilacan (Jay, Siano, and Petra); local boatmen/canvassers from Panglao, a private local operator (Jim), and one “unknown” lady which based on the description of the informant could be either Petra or the wife of Jay. When guests would like to travel to Pamilacan, tour agencies would connect to these service providers. Tour services include transporting the guests for dolphin and whale watching, snorkeling, island hopping, diving, and visit to the island community. Transactions between the actors do not follow formal arrangements, nor have written business agreements.

Centralities. The figure 13 socio-graph illustrates the transactions among tour agencies and the local service providers. Squares represent the tour agencies; circles represent the local service providers. This time, I only consider Degree centrality which is of relevance because transactions in this case are only two directional, between two partners. Node size indicates the measure of Degree centrality, the highest the number of direct connections, the bigger the size of the node. Lines represent the flow of communication regarding scheduling and facilitating tours to Pamilacan Island. The graph shows that among the twelve tour

agencies, nine connect with Jay. Seven coordinate with Panglao Boatmen/Canvassers; Five with Siano; two with Petra, and one each with Jim and the “Unknown” Lady. Thus, among the service providers, Jay has the highest Degree centrality (=9), followed by Panglao Boatmen/Canvassers (=7), then Siano (=5).

The socio-graph indicates Siano and Petra as two separate actors. It appears that the couple operates independently. However, further qualitative analysis reveals that Siano and Petra’s connections are actually identical since they use the same contact number (cellular phone) and operate one and the same touristic business. Therefore, combining the Degree centrality measures of these two actors yields five connections (=5). Although the number is smaller than those of Jay and the Boatmen/Canvassers, it is important to emphasize that two of these five connections are exclusive ties (i.e., ties with Travel Village and Tours and with Coordinates and Tours). This means that all tourists from these two agencies go only to Siano/Petra.

The tie between Siano/Petra and Travel Village and Tours is particularly important because this tour agency is one of the biggest and longest running tour businesses in the entire province. Furthermore, the agency also has a special connection with Pamilacan CBT being one of the supporters and promoters of the project since the beginning. Travel Village and Tours owner has been faithful in providing guests exclusively to Pamilacan local service providers. Other former supporters, particularly the hotels/resorts based in the town of Baclayon, are now either contacting other service providers or operating marine life tours on their own.

Examining further the ties between Panglao Boatmen/Canvassers and the seven tour agencies deepens the understanding of these connections. Although among the service providers, Panglao Boatmen/Canvassers have the second highest number of connections with

tour agencies, this does not mean that all tourists from these agencies go to one person. It is important to note that, unlike Jay and Siano/Petra, “Panglao Boatmen/Canvassers” in this graph is taken collectively as a group of individual boatmen and canvassers competing for touristic services. As I have mentioned earlier in this dissertation, there are estimated 200 to 300 boats operating in Alona beach alone, aside from those based in the other parts of the Panglao Island. The ties connecting to this group, then, are further distributed among these boatmen. How these connections are distributed among Panglao boatmen and canvassers is beyond the scope of this present study.

Tour agencies are attracted to connect with Panglao boatmen/canvassers for three main reasons (as I have discussed in detail earlier in this dissertation), namely: (1) lower service rate, (2) proximity to most of the hotels/resorts, and (3) variety of destinations. Panglao boatmen normally ask for 1,500 pesos per trip (against Pamilacan boatmen – PhP 3,000). Since Panglao service providers are stationed in Alona beach (Panglao) where most of the hotels and resorts are located, the cost of coordinating and transporting guests is cheaper and more convenient. Finally, Alona beach is closer to the other popular island destinations in the area, like Balicasag and Virgin Islands, making it easier to travel. These conditions are more advantageous to clients than contacting service providers from Pamilacan.

The ties connecting Jay also need further qualitative examination. As it appears in the sociograph, Jay has the highest number of direct connections with tour agencies, and thus has the greatest access to tourists. However, this may not be the case because most of Jay’s ties are competed with the other service providers, particularly the Panglao Boatmen/Canvassers. Among all his connections, Jay only has one exclusive tie - with Travel Treats Tour Services. He gets most of his clients from transactions with individual tourists (which will be discussed more in detail in the next section). As to the exact number of transactions made by tour

agencies with the individual competing service providers may be of relevance, it is difficult to determine since their arrangements are made informally. What is important is at least to know that these particular ties are competitive.

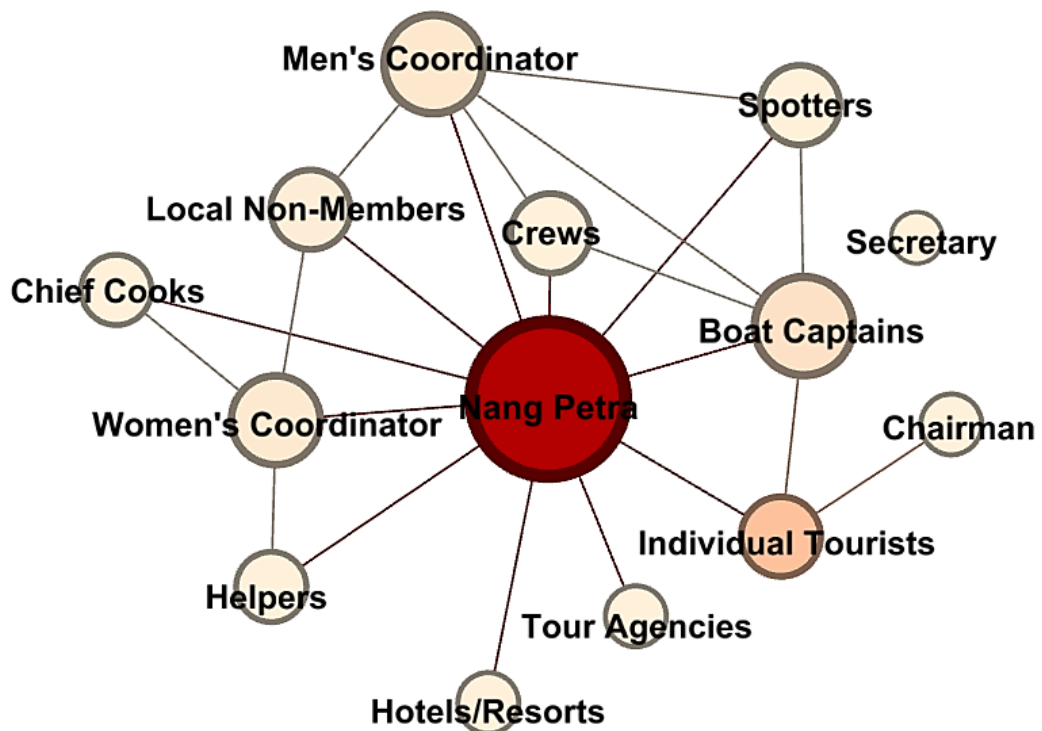
The above analyses, based on the sociograph and qualitative information, have revealed three major service providers having the central positions and thereby having the better potential access to tourists. Examining deeper the ties between actors reveals that, in spite of the growing number of competitors, service providers from Pamilacan still occupy the strategic position in the network. They serve as channels and bridges through which clients and benefits could flow from the tour agencies to the villagers. Their connections ensure that tourists continue to come to Pamilacan through local channels. Consequently, these ensure that touristic services could continue to operate and benefits would continue to be generated from these touristic activities. With this pattern of interactions, villagers who are connected with the Pamilacan local service providers continue to be embedded in the wider touristic system. The next sub-section will examine how these informal transactions work among Pamilacan villagers on the bottom level.

5.3.3. Network Properties: Bottom-Level Informal Network among Remaining PIDWWO Members, Local Non-Members, and Clients

Structural Characteristics. In this section, I zoom in deeper on the specific network involving the remaining PIDWWO members, Petra, clients, and other local non-members. In the Figure 14 socio-graph, I retain the use of delegated names of actors as they have the same attributes in the earlier networks, although their pattern of interactions had changed. Analysis shows that in spite the breakdown of the formal organizing structures, PIDWWO members on

the bottom level continue interacting among themselves. They resort to informal transactions to continue operating their touristic livelihood. In addition, a local non-member, Petra, plays the significant role in managing the flow of communication within the network. This bottom level perspective of the network illustrates how informal transactions among villagers facilitate the operation of touristic services, and thus generate benefits in spite of the collapse of PIDWWO.

Figure 14 Bottom-level transactions involving remaining PIDWWO members, non-member villagers, and clients



Note: Visualized by the author through Gephi (Bastian et al., 2009)

Table 9 Centrality measures at the bottom-level informal transactions

Actor	Degree Centrality	Betweenness Centrality
<i>Nang</i> Petra	11	46.8
Boat Captains	5	3.3
Men's Coordinator	5	1.8
Women's Coordinator	4	1.5
Individual Tourists	3	11
Local Non-Members	3	0.5
Spotters	3	0
Crews	3	0
Chief Cooks	2	0
Helpers	2	0
Tour Agencies	1	0
Hotels/Resorts	1	0
Chairman	1	0
Secretary	0	0

Note: Analyzed by the author through Gephi (Bastian et al., 2009)

Several local actors have strategic positions within the network. Having the advantage of direct connections with clients and, at the same time, favorable access to local villagers, these actors are able to bridge and facilitate touristic transactions. Within the formal PIDWWO structure, the secretary solely handled transactions with tourist providers and individual tourists, arranged tour schedules, and communicated information to the villagers. However, with the new emergent network, a non-member had taken over these tasks.

When internal disorganization broke-out, Petra was able to secure PIDWWO's official cellphone through her husband, Siano (the men's group Coordinator). The phone was important because it served as the single line of communication connecting the organization to its clients. Since the beginning of PIDWWO, clients had been contacting this phone number every time they would need services. Since her husband most of the time would be

busy managing trips, Petra took the task of communicating with tour agents and individual tourists. Jay narrated how Siano and Petra were able to be connected to clients:

The cellphone which was left after the project is now with Siano. It serves as the main market link to which clients would usually contact PIDWWO. Only the name is there, but the people are now with Siano.

Because of the distrust towards the leaders (which goes back to accusations of corruption and conflicts in the past), the remaining PIDWWO members let Petra decide on the scheduling of trips and the informing of villagers for incoming touristic activities. Doing these coordinating tasks, she was able to gain ties with both outsiders and villagers, and control the flow of communication between these groups of actors.

Centralities. Figure 14 illustrates the bottom-level informal transactions among PIDWWO members, local non-members, and clients. The transactional contents involve arranging tour schedules, disseminating information for incoming touristic activities, and organizing participants for touristic services. Looking at the socio-graph, the central position of Petra is obvious. Among all the actors, she has the highest points both in Degree (=11) and Betweenness (=46.8) Centrality measures (see Table 9). These figures mean that Petra, though not a PIDWWO member, has the most access to all other actors, both outsiders and locals. These ties made her popular, and thus enabled her to transact with more people than the other actors.

Aside from her huge number of contacts, Petra also has a strategic position within the network. Having the highest Betweenness centrality makes her an efficient bridge connecting clients and villagers. Most of the touristic transactions from tourist providers and individual

tourists pass through her, and most of the local people involved in touristic services are connected to her. This position enables her to control the flow of communication, resources, and benefits, and have a wider visibility to monitor the overall interactions within the network. Connecting with Petra, local villagers continue to be integrated into the touristic system, in spite of the collapse of PIDWWO's organizing structures. With these informal connections, villagers who do not have the necessary means to contact clients directly, are able to participate in touristic services and thus be able to benefit from these economic activities.

In the socio-graph, two other actors also have direct connections with Individual Tourists. They are the Boat Captains and the present PIDWWO Chairman. The Boat Captains, mostly boat owners, have greater opportunities to interact personally with tourists during the usual tours. These enable them to build individual connections with clients through exchange of cellphone numbers for future transactions. The Captains have greater power compared to the other Crew members, since they own the boats and could easily dispatch whenever they want. Furthermore, most of these boat owners are more economically stable than the other villagers.

Another actor who has a direct connection with tourists is the Chairman. After acquiring the necessary capital from his daughter (who is now working abroad), he was able to build his own small tourist cottage and operate touristic services with the help of his relatives. He is able to connect with new clients through his former guests. People in Pamilacan are aware of these informal transactions. They know that the chairman and other members are transacting with clients without following the formal organizing procedures of the organization. Other villagers also accused Siano with his wife Petra of personalizing PIDWWO touristic businesses. However, members and other villagers who do not have the

capital to start their own private enterprises depend on their ties with the locals having the more advantaged position within the touristic system.

The network patterns also demonstrate fragments of the former formal ties among actors. Informal transactions integrate former formal ties to facilitate coordination among villagers. An example is the ties among members of the men's group and among the women's group. The group coordinators still play an important role, especially in gathering villagers to participate in touristic services. The pattern of interactions among the members of these two sub-groups have not changed essentially. People in the bottom level are still connected in same the way as in the former formal structure. It is also important to notice that in these transactions, leaders are in the marginal position including the secretary who was once in charge of coordination, but is now totally isolated from the network.

Networks do not only serve as channels of information, but also of resources and benefits. Payments are distributed through these ties. For example, for marine life tour services, tourist agencies and individual tourists pay through the Boat Captains who then pay the rest of the crew. In the case of the food catering services, clients pay through the women's coordinator who later pays the rest of the participating women. However, payments are now made without involving the formal organization. In the case of the women, a small amount from the income is still set aside to be used as capital to operate future touristic services. The women's coordinator manages this common fund. In the case of the men's activities, no such arrangement is practiced.

The decline of formal CBT pushed the villagers of Pamilacan to restructure their patterns of interactions. In spite of the collapse of the organizing structure, members on the bottom level maintain their relationships. Since the formal leadership had become dysfunctional, certain local individuals took the initiative to connect with external actors who

could provide them with resources. In the case of PIDWWO, a non-member local, Petra, has played a central role within the touristic network. Her central position can be attributed to two factors which I have discussed above, namely (1) having the means to connect with the clients and the local people, and (2) gaining the trust of people to transact with clients on their behalf.

These informal transactions from wider- to the bottom-level have generated a new organizing pattern of interaction. This new organizing structure facilitates the operation of touristic services and the distribution of benefits from these activities to the village level. The next chapter will discuss in more depth the characteristics of this emergent touristic network and its implication in understanding community organizing behaviors.

Conclusions

This chapter has analyzed the collapse of formal organizing structures and the emergence of a new organizing network involving Pamilacan tourism. With the collapse of the formal CBT project, members experienced the exhaustion of resources, internal disorganization, and conflicts. However, the villagers were able to continue to integrate into and benefit from the local touristic industry through engaging in informal transactions. The failure of the formal organization was triggered by two circumstances, the first was the breakdown of the ties with actors having the resources essential for sustaining the community touristic enterprise; and the second was the growing number of external competitors. In spite of these conditions, locals from Pamilacan are still able to play the central roles in the touristic network.

Formal organizing activities depended heavily on ties with the government and NGOs through which information and resources flowed to the community. The situation changed after the end of the projects with the growing external competitors. With its limited local financial capacity and technical know-how, the organization was neither able to maintain nor build new ties with clients. With the growing number of service providers, former Pamilacan clients turned to competitors from the neighboring island of Panglao for touristic services. These new competing boatmen offered cheaper and more varied touristic services which had become attractive to tour agents and individual tourists. With their proximity to most hotels and resorts, these illegal tour operators had the strategic location which enabled them to transact directly with clients. Because of these factors, the number of clients for the community-owned tourism business declined, thereby income was also decreasing. With exhausted resources and lack of marketing strategy, Pamilacan CBT was neither able sustain its touristic services, nor provide added incentives for its members.

Confronted with these circumstances, the local villagers started to reshape their touristic transactions with the other actors involved in the wider network. Villagers with the resources and capacity to transact directly with clients took the initiative to serve as bridges connecting with outsiders. Through their marketing capacity and skills, they were able to widen their networks with clients and maintain cooperation from the islanders. These contacts enabled them to occupy central and strategic positions in the wider network. Poorer villagers, having no capacity to connect directly with these resources, connected with the bridging locals to work as service operators. These informal transactions among villagers and with other external actors formed a new organizing network which sustained touristic activities among the islanders of Pamilacan.

Chapter 6

Analyzing the Emergent Organizing Network and Its Wider Implications

The formal organizing structure that governed Pamilacan community tourism failed to sustain the project. Local organizations had suffered from the loss of ties with the supporting agencies, in the midst of the growing number of external competitors. However, local villagers found ways to retain their integration in the wider touristic network through informal transactions. These connections enabled the islanders to continue to participate in and benefit from the industry, in spite of the collapse of the formal CBT structures. New organizing activities formed emergent networks that facilitated community organizing and touristic transactions.

In this chapter, I will examine the emergent pattern of interactions among the Pamilacan villagers and with outsiders after the collapse of formal CBT. First, I will explore the characteristics of the emergent organizing activities. Second, I will discuss the benefits brought about by these new transactions. Third, I will categorize three elemental networks that formed the wider structure maintaining CBT activities. Fourth, I will discuss how the emergent system overcame the problems of heterogeneity of the community and the lack of local resources. Fifth, situating the case of Pamilacan in a wider theoretical discussion, I will argue how the case contributes to the understanding of CBT activities in the village context,

in the midst of scarcity and competition, and how networking has challenged traditional power relations.

Lastly, I present a general analytical framework based on social network analysis which could be further developed to examine networks involving community tourism. This chapter hopes to put together insights gained from examining the people's structural adaptation to address the challenges of working together to achieve collective goods, at the same time maintaining harmony in the community.

6.1. Characteristics of the Emergent Organizing Activities

Pamilacan community tourism has evolved from formal to informal organizing activities. Although emerging transactions do not follow a well-defined set of rules and roles, these generated a system that facilitates the operation of touristic services and the coordination between villagers and clients. Emergent organizing activities reflect a wider interdependent relationship among the actors within the wider touristic network mediated by bridging locals.

During the initial stage of Pamilacan CBT, organizing activities followed protocols of transactions until the formal organizations disintegrated. The collapse of formal organizing structures led to dysfunctional network channels and broken ties which hindered local people from linking with outsiders. Faced with this structural breakdown, people started to reconfigure their interactions by strengthening informal ties among themselves and building partnerships with external actors while overriding formal procedures. By restructuring their pattern of interactions, local villagers were able to regain access to resources, facilitate the

flow of information, and bridge clients with local service providers. In the process, the islanders remained embedded within the wider touristic network, and thus shared the benefits that flowed through it.

Informal transactions formed a new organizing system. Interactions within this emergent system are not regulated by formal agreements. The actors do not enter into formal written agreements, but arrangements based on personal trust, mutuality, and moral expectations. For example, locals who have the capital and the advantaged position relate with fellow villagers as neighbors working for a common livelihood rather than as employers. Transactions between villagers and tour agencies are not based on business contracts, but on familiarity of relationships. Thus, ties among these actors did not result in an employer-employee relationship.

Emergent organizing activities do not have formal leadership, but coordinated tasks and responsibilities. Transactions do not follow stiff protocols, but fluid overlapping interactions which facilitate the dissemination of information and distribution of benefits. Channels through which resources flow are diverging, yet individual locals have central roles based on their strategic positioning within the system. These people were able to occupy such positions not only because of their resource capacity, but also because of their ability to make connections with the other actors and bridge sub-groupings within the wider network. In spite of the collapse of the former organizing structure, present touristic transactions among villagers retained some of its elements. For example, the way the men organize the crews for boat trips and the women organize for food services are similar to how it was before. Sharing of income is still channeled through the two coordinators. The difference is that the boat captains and the spotters can now freely transact individually with clients.

The emergent organizing activities among the local villagers reflect a mutual support system, rather than a purely business relationship. As I have discussed earlier, there had been no employer-employee relation among the local people, neither do they become employees of the tour agencies and hotels. Pamilacan touristic operators also do not employ outsiders, except on emergency cases when locals are not available because of bad weather or other personal reasons. With this arrangement, poorer villagers, who do not have the financial and technical capabilities to connect directly with clients or start their own touristic business, could have the opportunity to actively participate in the tourism industry. Although the income from these small-scale services is minimal, it complements the income from fishing and other livelihood activities of the villagers.

The emergent organizing system reveals a resurgence of the traditional pattern of interactions among the islanders in operating livelihood activities. The whole community was involved in their former hunting livelihood. Tasks were undertaken through division of labor. The men did the actual hunting of mammals; the women took charge of preparing and selling the meat. This traditional pattern of coordinated action did not involve contract labor, but informal arrangements compensated by the sharing of products and monetary payments. From the beginning, this livelihood system, with the other social support systems, held the islanders together until it was disrupted by the banning of the hunting livelihood. Now with tourism, this pattern of coordination has reemerged. With the collapse of formal CBT, the mutual support system has been revitalized.

The wider network environment involving Pamilacan tourism also illustrates new organizing transactions. Tour agencies and individual tourists connecting with Pamilacan locals also transact with the boatmen and canvassers in Panglao. Most importantly, the emergent network demonstrates how structures constrain the organizing behaviors of actors,

while the actors consciously restructure networks in order to sustain the benefits from organizing activities.

6.2. Benefits from Emergent Networks

As we have discussed in the early part of this dissertation, community based tourism has at least three main objectives, namely local participation, community livelihood, and empowerment. CBT organizing activities aim at incorporating the local people in every aspect of local tourism development. Through participation local people influence the direction of tourism from its beginnings to its day to day decision makings. Since CBT also seeks to provide income for cooperating villagers, it is not purely a social initiative, but also an economic project. Since community-run touristic services are mostly small-scale, it seeks at least to complement the other existing means of local livelihood. Lastly, CBT projects aim to empower the local people to be self-dependent in managing and operating their own touristic businesses. In the case of Pamilacan community tourism, these objectives are approximated not by the formally initiated CBT program, but by the self-organizing touristic network. The emergent system has achieved three main benefits, namely integration, additional income, and a revitalized support system.

6.2.1. Integration

The three-fold objectives were the guiding principles in the formal organization of Pamilacan CBT. However, the employed formal structure failed to achieve its goals. In spite

of this, the local people were able to retain their internal connections which enabled them to continue to operate touristic service even without the formal organizing structures. In other words, although the formally initiated CBT collapsed, the community touristic activities continue and thereby enable the villagers to participate in and benefit from the coming of tourists to their island. Through employing informal transactions within themselves and with the other actors in the industry, local people were able to occupy a central position within the system.

An analysis of the emergent network after the fall of formal organizing structures clearly illustrates the continuing integration of Pamilacan villagers into the wider touristic network. This embeddedness enables the islanders to participate in touristic services and not become isolated from the industry. Without these informal transactions, local people could have been marginalized by the growing external competitors, thereby losing control of their own touristic resources. The network perspective also demonstrates that local individuals occupy a central position in the touristic network involving Pamilacan. Their direct connections with points of resources and clientele enable them to secure the continuous coming of tourists into the island.

Aside from having direct connections to actors having the resources, bridging islanders also retained ties with their fellow islanders in the field. These connections with both outsiders and insiders enable these individuals to serve as “bridges” that connect these two categories of actors. Positioned in between these two groups of actors, bridging villagers facilitate the flow of resources and clientele and assist in the dissemination of information from outside to the community.

Transacting with tour agencies, hotels/resorts, and individual tourists entails material and technical resources. Marketing employs modern means of communications like the

internet and other forms of media which are not available in the island and are costly to obtain and maintain. Coordinating with tour agencies and individual tourists also entails transportation expenses. Most of the islanders do not possess these resources, otherwise too expensive for them to acquire. Connecting with the bridging villagers, poorer islanders are able to gain access to resources without paying high transaction costs. With this arrangement, poorer islanders do not need to pay for the transportation going to the mainland to look for prospective clients, nor pay for marketing their services. By letting the local “bridges” facilitate these tasks, poorer islanders on the ground are able to focus their energies and limited resources on operating their services.

6.2.2. Additional Income

Economic benefit is an essential aspect of CBT activities. Although network analysis presupposes that being integrated within the network means partaking in the material benefits that flow through the system, concrete evidence that indicates its contribution to local livelihood strengthens the claim. From the time informal touristic transaction started to emerge after the year 2003, a growth in the number of tourists was noted. There was an estimated three thousand (3,000) visitors coming to Pamilacan in 2006 (WWF-Philippines, 2006: 2) a big increase from around one hundred sixty-five (165) guests in 1999 (PAWB-DENR & PCW, n.d: 16). From the year 2003 to 2005, there was a recorded growth of the number of trips facilitated by Pamilacan locals which reached to 437 from 80 during its early years. This led to gaining a total gross sale of PhP 1, 311, 000.00 (Heah, 2006: 60). We take note that within these periods, formal organizing structures were no longer functional.

Local people are also aware of the economic benefits brought about by the emerging informal transactions. During my in-depth interview with the then Village Chief, he talked about the relevant percentage of villagers benefiting from tourism activities at present. “If we talk about the percentage of tourism,” he argued, “Maybe around 35%... around 1/3... if we base on livelihood.” He also noted the economic condition of those engaged in tourism, “We can actually observe the development of those people who are engaged in tourism... they are still continuing their work... Others are also benefiting from massage services... also those who escort tourists going to the [marine] sanctuary.” The village official also discussed how income from touristic activities complements the traditional livelihood, particularly small-scale fishing.

The peak season is usually only during summer... February to May... But in the other months, from June to January, only a few tourists come... Therefore, the peak season is only 3 months. The rest, the 9 months, is low... That is why other people go back to fishing during low seasons, and benefit again from tourism and dolphin watching during summer.

A municipal Tourism Officer, a foreign volunteer who worked in the area for several years, also shared similar observations.

Remaining PIDWWO women also narrated how they continue to benefit from their small time touristic services with their present informal organizing activities. During a group discussion, one of the women explained:

If visitors come in big number, we gain more, [they have to pay] 275 pesos each... For example, we gained 6 thousand pesos... we compute the total expenses; we then subtract it from our income... We gain if visitors come in big numbers; [though] we serve more menus than usual... we still have some income left... We are happy with this, at least. Sometimes, we divide among ourselves 400 pesos each, if the income is bigger, or around 500 pesos, but sometimes only 200 pesos, or only 100 pesos each... It's not that big amount... at least we have something.

The continuing flow of tourists coming to the island through local channels secures the existence of the local tourism industry. This also ensures the economic benefits for the local villagers who are involved in tourism. Although income from touristic services alone may not be enough to provide for all the subsistent needs of the community, these activities generate additional income to the islanders with lesser cost.

6.2.3. Revitalized Support System

Lastly, CBT activities aim at empowering people to engage collectively in touristic enterprises on their own. Network analysis on the case of Pamilacan reveals a strengthened traditional support system among the islanders. We recall how the villagers used to manage their traditional hunting livelihood based on communal labor and interdependence through informal transactions and divisions of labor. Villagers with financial resources financed the hunting trips; villagers with the fishing skills did the actual hunting; the rest of the community, especially the women, took charge in preparing and selling the meat products. Payments were in forms of goods or money. Aside from this livelihood system, Pamilacan villagers have also

been practicing other forms of a mutual help system (as discussed in Chapter 3). These patterns of interactions formed support systems which sustained the community in the midst of limited resources since the beginning. Now, islanders have employed this system in operating their touristic livelihood activities.

With the collapse of formal CBT which aimed to facilitate touristic organizing activities, local people restructured their pattern of interactions. They started to take in their traditional way of organizing their livelihood. The support system within the community re-emerged and took over the formal organizing structures introduced to them by the tourism organizers. Emergent arrangements among villagers also were able to address the issue of internal conflicts which could have isolated other locals from the touristic activities. By building a new local group, marginalized villagers gained affiliation which has provided them new opportunities to actively participate in and benefit from tourism, in spite of being rejected from the older local group.

With this support system in operating touristic services, local people who have the resources facilitate the marketing of services and provide material facilities. Villagers who have the skills of sailing on the seas continue to do their task as boat captains, spotters, and guides. The women with their skills in cooking and preparing the accommodations continue to organize themselves for those jobs. This system of interactions and interdependence illustrates the capacity of the local people to address the issue of limited resources.

The social network that emerged after the collapse of the formally initiated CBT may not have the huge economic benefit that could enable the islanders to live even without tourism. However, this emergent network sustains the local people's integration in and control of the local tourism industry without being totally isolated. It enables the villagers to gain additional income, in spite of their limited financial and technical resources. Furthermore, this

informal interaction has revitalized the support system that strengthens the identity of the people as a community. The former formal CBT organizing structure failed to attain these benefits because it failed to stabilize the elemental networks which could support community tourism.

6. 3. Forms of Networks Maintaining Community Tourism

The social network approach to examining Pamilacan CBT enables us to go beyond analyzing formal structures to a wider view of the organizing activities of people. It has provided visualized representations of actual interactions of actors from the beginning of the industry until the present. Graphical representations facilitate in analyzing the strategic positioning of actors and overall patterns of their interactions within the network. Studying these webs of interactions reveals basic categories of networks based on the contents of interactions. In this section, I discuss three networks that make up the necessary structures for community touristic activities to function and thereby insure continuity of CBT initiatives, in spite of conflicts and resource scarcity.

First is what I call *Enabling Network* which includes interactions of villagers with the organizing institutions, like government agencies and non-government organizations. Second is the *Business and Marketing Network* which is made up of transactions of villagers with private businesses (e.g., tour agents, hotels, and resorts) and with individual tourists. Third is the *Mutual Support System* which characterizes the internal relations among the villagers. This section examines how these categories of networks influence the life of community tourism organizing activities.

6.3.1. Enabling Network

Transactions which seek to build up or reinforce the capacity of local communities to engage in collective action can be described as Enabling Network. The purpose of this network is to provide useful resources in order for the local people to acquire the necessary capital to engage in organizing activities for specific goals. The support may be material (e.g., financial assistance and provision of facilities) or technical (e.g., skills training, workshops, and educational activities). Enabling networks may also come in the form of political mechanisms to encourage people to cooperate in collective activities and provide the environment conducive for development projects. These mechanisms include provision of legislations, policies, and development plans.

The actors involved in the enabling networks include government agencies, development institutions, NGOs, and local communities. The first three actors usually have the resources. Government with its legislative power provides laws and ordinances which directly or indirectly promote community development initiatives. It may also offer financial and technical support for the local people through its different agencies. Development institutions and NGOs set the frameworks and models which aim to guide the local people in achieving the development goals. They also organize skills training, workshops, and other educational activities to prepare the local people in operating development projects on their own. Most of the time in coordination with the government, these institutions also provide cooperating locals with material and financial assistance in the form of soft loans. Connecting with the other actors, NGOs participate in drafting development plans and influence government policies. Local communities are at the benefiting end of this enabling network.

Actors within the enabling network continuously interact with each other. As I have mentioned above, development institutions, NGOs, and government institutions closely coordinate among themselves. Local organizations most of the time represent local communities through which individual villagers are affiliated. Other actors interact with and channel resources through these local organizations and not with individual villagers. Through these organizations, individual villagers are able to cooperate in the wider interaction and gain access to resources and other forms of support. However, enabling networks are time bound. The engagement of organizing institutions with local communities follows specific time frames, for instance, for a period of three years. Since local communities depend initially on these development institutions, issues may arise when the enabling network is disintegrated.

Going back to the case of Pamilacan community tourism, enabling networks played a crucial role throughout the life of the organizing activities. Government agencies and NGOs provided the necessary material and technical resources to capacitate the islanders to organize themselves and engage in the tourism livelihood. During the initial organizing to the period of internal competition, enabling networks provided financial support to cooperating villagers in the form of loans through the local organizations. The money was intended for constructing touristic facilities like tour boats, accommodations, and restaurants. Through the support of the organizing institutions, villagers were also able to acquire basic skills in operating touristic services, like marine life tours, food catering, and others. Scientific knowledge learned from educational activities offered by the program complemented the fishermen's traditional knowledge.

From the year 1997 until 2014, there are at least three major CBT organizing projects that actively involved enabling networks. First was the partnership of government agencies

with WWF from 1997 to 2000; second with NZAID from 2002 to 2003; and with Ayala Foundation in 2007 (which practically lasted only for a year). These projects employed identical networks and provided similar supports to the community through the local organizations and the local government. As noted in earlier parts of this dissertation, cooperation in formal organizing activities increased while organizing agencies are still present, but started to decline when the programs ended. Formal CBT, particularly PIDWWO, depended mostly on enabling networks for resources in sustaining its organizing activities and in operating its touristic businesses. Therefore, when the enabling networks ceased, the formal community organizing structures also started to collapse.

In spite of the collapse of formal CBT, the local people still gained something from it. Cooperating in the organizing activities, villagers learned new skills and techniques in tourism livelihood. Their traditional knowledge of their environment has been supplemented with the modern scientific knowledge. Entrepreneurial interest grew among the local villagers. The financial support they received provided them with at least the basic facilities to operate touristic services. In this sense, enabling networks play a vital role during the initial stages of CBT to compensate the limited resources of the local community and to provide the legislative mechanisms promoting local tourism. However, enabling networks alone were not enough to make Pamilacan CBT work. The program was not able to develop the other forms of networks which are necessary to sustain a development initiative which is both social and economic in nature.

6.3.2. Business and Marketing Networks

Other essential elements of community tourism are the business and marketing networks. CBT is not purely a social development project since its activities also involve the producing and selling of services. It has to engage in business and marketing activities in order for it to be economically viable. Ignoring these aspects of the industry endangers its sustainability. Unlike the enabling networks, business and marketing transactions aim at producing quality services and gaining profit. “We are not DSWD [government welfare institution],” as the owner of Caberte Travel and Tours argued. “We do business.” The business and marketing network facilitates the travel of tourists, the operation of services, and the generation of income.

The actors involved in this network are the tourist providers (i.e., tour agencies, hotels, resorts, and private tour guides), individual tourists, and the local service providers. Tour agencies have direct ties with tourists. They arrange travel itineraries to touristic sites. Tour agents offer tour packages that include a set of destinations and activities for clients to choose from. In the province of Bohol, most tour agencies are travel coordinators rather than operators of touristic sites, although some also provide land transport services. These agents build connections with people and businesses in the touristic sites to provide guests with the touristic experience while visiting the areas. Tourists do not directly pay the local service providers, although they are most welcome to offer tips. Tour agents arrange with the locals for payments. Hotel and resort operators also employ similar arrangements.

Aside from those who travel through tour agencies, some tourists come on their own. They may come in small groups or individually, like the “backpackers,” as tourism literature describes them. Most of these types of tourists arrange travel itineraries, look for

accommodations, and search for touristic sites on their own. They interact and arrange trips directly with local service providers on the sites. Payments and tips are also given directly to the locals.

Figure 15 A sample touristic marketing brochure highlighting Pamilacan

<p>For a different experience, take the afternoon departure which ends with a dinner on a floating restaurant on Loboc River, and cap the night with a river cruise on board a native catamaran.</p> <p>(Guided tours depart DAILY)</p> <p>INCLUSIONS:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complimentary hotel pickup • Lunch with the morning departure • Dinner with the afternoon departure • Admission and entrance fees • Loboc River cruise <p>HOTEL PICKUP SCHEDULE:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Morning tour - 8:30 a.m. • Afternoon tour - 1:30 p.m. <p>Tour duration: 5-6 Hours</p>	<p>One interesting note of this tour is that the local boat crew and "spotters" are former whale hunters. Now specially trained, they gave up their traditional livelihood in favor of the environment.</p> <p>Other activities during this tour include swimming and snorkeling off Pamilacan Island, whose coral reef lays just off-shore, a village tour, and picnic lunch. Snorkeling sets are for rent at a minimal cost.</p> <p>(Guided tours depart DAILY) (This tour is subject to weather conditions)</p> <p>INCLUSIONS:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complimentary hotel pickup • Boatride • Picnic lunch at Pamilacan Island • Admission and entrance fees <p>HOTEL PICKUP SCHEDULE:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From City hotels: 5:30 a.m. • From Panglao resorts: 6:00 a.m. <p>Tour duration: 6-7 Hours</p>
	
<p>Pamilacan Marine Life Tour with Dolphin and Whale Watching</p> <p>An early morning trip, onboard a motorized outrigger boat, brings you to Pamilacan Island, south of Tagbilaran City. The water around Pamilacan is home to at least 6 species of whales and dolphins. If you are lucky, whales may be sighted between the months of February and August.</p>	<p>Panglao Island Half Day Tour</p> <p>Panglao Island is the largest of the islands surrounding main land Bohol. It is a 20 minute ride passing over a land bridge. This half day tour takes you to the church of our Lady of the Assumption in the town of Dauis. Although the old church which was of light materials was built as early as</p>

Note: Material received from Gray Line, Travel Village Inc. office; lower photos deleted

Local communities are at the receiving end of the business and marketing networks. Since villagers have limited resources to engage directly in business and marketing transactions, connecting with tour agencies enables these locals to insure the continuous flow of tourists to their communities. Tour agents transact directly with clients and do the

marketing of touristic services and products of local destinations. With this arrangement, locals do not have to worry about promoting their services to the world. This also saves transaction costs enabling them to focus their energies and limited resources in maintaining their touristic services. Tour agents, on their side, do not have to worry about providing the actual touristic experience on the sites, though they coordinate closely with the locals to ensure the quality of services.

In the case of Pamilacan, at present there are at least ten (10) tour agencies connected with Pamilacan service providers. Most of them are based in Tagbilaran City (the province's capital). In their list of tour services, they offer Pamilacan either as part of a tour package or as a special optional trip. They also include island destinations in their marketing and advertising materials, like pamphlets, posters, and travel maps (see Figure 15). Highlighting the transformation story of the community - from being whale shark hunters to tour operators, these tour agencies make travel to the island more interesting and more educational for the tourists. Jay, the founder of PIBOSA, called this attitude of the tour agents as "capitalizing from the story of Pamilacan."

The business and marketing network ensures the coming of tourists to Pamilacan. This network links to the local community through local individuals who serve as bridges. Ties between tour agencies and the local community are channeled through bridging islanders, namely Jay and Siano with Petra. These locals also have direct ties with individual tourists without going through the tour agencies. Business transactions, including the scheduling of trips and payments, are facilitated between these actors. By connecting with the bridging local individuals, villagers on the community level have the opportunity to participate in and gain income from touristic services.

Other individual villagers, particularly the boat captains, are also able to participate in the business network individually. Through their direct contacts with tourists, these locals maintain connections with former guests through cellular phones. These connections enable the boatman to get clients through referrals from their former guests. Although they can arrange trips on their own, boat captains continue to coordinate with other islanders to form their crews since trips need personnel. Spotters also transact directly with individual tourists. Since there is no regular public transport going to Pamilacan, other boat owners occasionally take guests from Baclayon port to Pamilacan and its neighboring marine sanctuaries for snorkeling.

The business and marketing network is the economic structure of the emergent organizing system in Pamilacan. Without these structures, community-run touristic enterprises would be isolated from the wider touristic industry. Through the marketing network, Pamilacan retains its place in touristic maps and travel guides and is thus able to compete with other destinations. This type of network facilitates the coming of tourists to the community thereby insuring the generation of income from different touristic services. Faced with resource scarcity and external competitors, local service providers are able to save resources by outsourcing marketing and other costly transactions to the external actors. The former formal CBT organizing structure in Pamilacan failed to develop its business and marketing networks during its organizing stage to catch up with the growing external competitors. It depended too much on the enabling network even in attracting clients making the structure fragile. Thus, when the enabling network disintegrated, the formal organization also died with it. The emergent organizing system was able to generate business and marketing network through informal transactions, and thus stabilized the economic structure of the community-run touristic enterprises.

6.3.3. Mutual Support System

The last form of network which I would like to examine is the pattern of interactions among villagers. These interactions play a vital role because these serve as the very foundation of community tourism. In other words, touristic enterprises could not be considered community-based without a mutual support system. Otherwise, these economic activities could simply be described as purely private businesses. Villages are composed of individuals who are closely tied not only by physical boundaries but also by blood relations, traditional livelihood, cultural and religious values, and in other cases, by traditional political and social systems. Unlike urban metropolitan settings, local villagers in developing countries are able to relate and communicate with each other on a personal basis. This enables them to continuously construct social relations that facilitate social transactions, like livelihood, in the face of the changing environments. This pattern of interactions forms a kind of support system which has existed even before the coming of tourism.

In traditional societies, mutual support systems are based on moral expectations. Cooperation is regulated by cultural norms and categories, like trust, reputation, shame, and religious values. “[I]n any relationship within a social structure a person knows that he is expected to behave according to these norms and is justified in expecting that other persons should do the same,” as Radcliffe-Brown (1965: 10) would say. These traditional systems can be observed in the practice of traditional livelihoods like fishing, rice cultivation, and indigenous resource management strategies. Although communal labor is an essential component of this system, resource interdependence also characterizes relationships. Pamilacan Island is a small community making personal interactions easy. Villagers

participate in community activities and religious festivals. They practice informal mutual support systems that assist them during weddings, funerals, and communal labor.

Traditional support systems have sustained the island community since the beginning. As we have discussed in earlier chapters, the former hunting livelihood of the island also operated based on a support system. Islanders with financial capacity financed hunting trips. Villagers with the boats and other facilities organized their crew. Those who had the talent and skills to spot and hook whale sharks participated in the actual hunting. The rest of the community, especially the women, participated in the preparing of meat for selling or consumption. Payments were made through informal arrangement, in forms of money or shared meat. Through connectivity and interdependence among people with different forms of resources and skills, people had been able to participate in and benefit from the hunting livelihood. Thus, communal livelihood activity is nothing new for the Pamilacan islanders.

The banning of the traditional hunting livelihood disrupted this support system. This resulted in confusion and conflict among the local people and against the government agencies and NGOs. The introduction of tourism aimed at uniting the villagers for an alternative livelihood. It did not come only as a new form of livelihood, but also as a new organizing structure. This new organizing structure involved a formal pattern of transactions which participants were expected to observe. During the period of formal CBT, this structure reinforced the traditional support system since it was still able to facilitate access to benefits from the enabling networks.

When the enabling network disintegrated, local people started to abandon the formal system since it could no longer provide them with incentives. However, the sense of the traditional support system among the local people did not collapse with the fall of the formal CBT project. Villagers started to reconstruct their pattern of interactions to again access to

touristic resources without following the formal protocols of their organization. Through informal arrangements with tour agencies and individual tourists, Pamilacan islanders formed their own business and marketing ties with outsiders. These arrangements have generated the network which enables the locals to reintegrate into the wider touristic system.

As I have mentioned above, the support system was interrupted by internal conflicts but was not totally destroyed. By restructuring their affiliations, the local people were able to address the issue of division since the period of internal competition. Villagers who formerly resisted tourism found an opportunity to participate in the livelihood through affiliating with PIBOSA. Although community tourism has now been maintained by two groups, this led to the integration of more villagers to the network. Through the bridging individual locals, the internal support networks among the villagers continue to be embedded within the wider network. Emergent informal transactions have revitalized the mutual support system of the community.

Community tourism as an industry is both a social and business initiative. Faced with the lack of local resources, government agencies and NGOs worked together with the local people of Pamilacan to develop the capacity of the community to engage in touristic enterprises. By providing material and technical support, organizers hoped to enable the local people to build a formal organization to operate community-owned touristic services. These interactions between funding agencies and the local people formed what we call the enabling network. Although the local people benefited by the skills and education they received from the government-NGO sponsored CBT, the program lacked the business and marketing network. When the enabling network was disintegrated, organizational resources were exhausted while income from touristic activities started to decline. PIDWWO with its formal organizing structure was not able to catch-up with the growing external competition. Faced

with this reality, the local people employed informal transactions among themselves and with outsiders in order to gain access to the necessary resources in operating touristic services. These transactions formed emergent ties which have functioned as a business and marketing network (interacting with outsiders) and as a mutual support system (internally among islanders). These elemental networks are linked together by the bridging locals through whom the external and the internal actors meet. Through the emergent networks, Pamilacan villagers remain embedded within the wider touristic network involving their island without being isolated from the industry.

6. 4. Rethinking the Problems of Heterogeneity and Limited Local Resources

Is the community approach to tourism development doomed to fail? Are the local villagers neither able to overcome conflicting individual interest, nor deal with their lack of resources in order to engage successfully in collective touristic livelihood? These are the issues scholars and CBT organizers have tried to wrestle with. The case of Pamilacan community tourism makes us rethink the two problems of the heterogeneity of communities and the lack of local resources (as discussed in Chapter 2). The fishing community of Pamilacan proves that they are able to overcome their differences and find ways to deal with the scarcity of resources to maintain community-run tourism services. Through employing social networks, the islanders continue to participate in the wider touristic system in spite of the collapse of formal organizing structures.

Existing literature has focused on the attributes of communities and the necessary external conditions in analyzing “success” and “failure” of community tourism. Conclusions

were based on examining formally initiated CBT projects. Advocates of CBT determine the viability of projects based on given conditions, including the degree of cohesiveness among villagers, the presence of well drafted tourism and business plans, the attractiveness of the destination, the degree of commitment of the members to the formal organizations, and others. The failure of CBT, then, can be attributed to the lack of the above attributes.

On the other hand, critics seem to be pessimistic about the development approach. They identify two main issues which can cause CBT to fail, namely internal conflicts and limited local resources. Since most villages in developing countries lack the necessary resources to run their own touristic businesses, it appears that CBT initiatives in these areas are doomed to fail. Unless support from the government and other organizing agencies continues to compensate for the resource scarcity, community tourism could not be sustained, but this is not the expected goal of the approach.

Although findings from the earlier studies provide useful insights on the basic factors that affect the sustainability of CBT, the conclusions were based mostly on examining formal organizations. They do not give account on how the local people respond collectively in order to continue community tourism in spite of the collapse of the formal CBT organizations. In this present study, the social network approach enables us to examine both formal and informal organizing activities among the actors in the touristic system. This reveals the villagers' capacity to collectively address the issues of internal conflict and limited local resources. By restructuring their pattern of transactions, locals are able to resolve differences and gain access to outside resources.

In Chapter 3, we learned that Pamilacan village is composed of at least five clans who migrated from different places in the towns of Dauis, Loay, and Baclayon. These groupings make the community heterogeneous. In spite of this, the people in the island lived

harmoniously as a fishing community. Their collective hunting livelihood united and sustained them from the beginning. In the people's memory, there had been no major conflicts among the islanders until the banning of the traditional livelihood and the introduction of tourism. These two major events changed how locals related in the village, which resulted in conflicts and eventually led to the division between those who were for tourism (eventually formed the PIDWWO) and those who were against the industry (a number eventually joined PIBOSA). Later, they were identified as the "fishing village" and the "tourism village."

The local villagers, however, found a way to overcome this initial division. The forming of PIBOSA by local villagers served as a bridge that connected the two sub-villages. People felt the division between the "fishing village" and the "tourism village" for years with the rising confrontations between the groups. However, with the coming of PIBOSA many of the resisting villagers from the "fishing village" came to join the industry. Initially, they were attracted by the growing local tourism industry and the continuing financial support from funding agencies. Although PIBOSA competed with the government sponsored PIDWWO, through this newer group villagers were once again united with a common livelihood in tourism. Violent confrontations subsided with the growing community tourism activities. Both groupings were also able to avail themselves of the support from government and development agencies. In this way, villagers who were once isolated from the touristic activities were now integrated into the network.

However, as ties with funding agencies finished and the external competitors started to grow, income from community touristic services could now hardly maintain organizational activities, nor provide the members with incentives to cooperate. Internal conflicts among PIDWWO and PIBOSA members and accusations of personalizing organizational funds against their leaders erupted. These issues led to the weakening of commitment to the formal

organizations. Ultimately, the organizing structures disintegrated and the groups became isolated from the wider tourism network.

To overcome this conflict within the organizations, members started to reconfigure their pattern of interactions outside the formal structures. Although some members (who have other sources of capital) defected totally and started their family touristic businesses, poorer members retained their connections with the others in the groups. Through informal interactions in operating touristic services, they were able to tie themselves together once again. Poorer villagers built connections with individual villagers who have the means to have direct access to resources and clients. Through informal arrangements, villagers with the means would take care of transacting with clients, while the poorer villagers would act as service providers.

In spite of the past conflicts, the remaining PIBOSA members settled back with Jay. Though he was no longer part of the group, Jay regained the trust of these people through his professional capacity to market their services. The remaining PIDWWO members, on the other hand, connected with Petra whom they trusted because of her good reputation in the village. People also knew that she possessed the necessary connections with tourist providers and individual tourists. In this way, Jay and Petra served as bridges between clients and the Pamilacan locals. In the wider tourism network environment, similar informal transactions also operated. Although individuals had their own interests in engaging into Pamilacan tourism activities, they connected with each other in order to facilitate the flow of touristic activities making touristic transactions cheaper. In this way, the actors both in the bottom- and wider-level networks were able to work together.

The second issue the villagers of Pamilacan were able to overcome was the problem of lack of local resources. We learned in Chapter 3 that although the island has rich marine

resources, most of them are restricted. A wider portion of the seas surrounding the island are government marine sanctuaries in which fishing is prohibited. After the banning of their traditional marine mammal hunting, people were trying to content themselves with small scale fishing. Since their boats were not capable of going farther to the ocean, local fishermen could only go for short distance fishing outside the marine sanctuaries. Thus, their once major source of monetary income had vanished and their fish were intended mostly for family consumption.

Agricultural products were also poor. After the series of heavy rains and soil erosion, the once fertile island had become rocky and unproductive. Coconut trees once major sources of income were not able to recover from past pest attacks. The villagers are trying to content themselves with a few corn and root crops. Another issue in the island was the lack of water supply, both for drinking and agricultural purposes. People used rain water for their daily use. The coming of tourists in the island had increased the demand for water. Because of this, people got their water supply from the towns. Aside from material scarcity, the villagers of Pamilacan also lacked the professional capacity to engage in touristic businesses. Although some of them were trained in basic touristic services, they did not have a competent marketing and business background.

However, in spite of their material and professional limitations, the islanders were able to find ways to overcome these challenges. Through connecting with fellow villagers who had the direct access to resources and to clients, they were able to outsource marketing activities. Marketing needs money and professional skills. For example, maintaining a touristic website, joining touristic expos, printing brochures and posters, making television and radio advertisements, and other marketing means, involve technical know-how and large amount of capital. The islanders simply did not have the resources to engage in such activities.

Thus, instead of doing the marketing themselves, they arranged with individual villagers to do the job for them, while these individual villagers connected with external actors.

Transacting directly with clients costs time and money. Since most of the tour agencies and tourist accommodations are located in the mainland Bohol and in Panglao Island, villagers from Pamilacan have to travel for more than an hour to reach these places. Otherwise, the islanders have to stay for some days in the mainland in order to canvass for guests, which is costly. Connecting with Jay or Petra saves them time, money, and gasoline. For example, remaining PIBOSA members do not have to go to mainland Bohol to search for prospective guests since Jay does the initial transactions. People in Pamilacan just have to wait for his go signal whenever tourists are coming. In this way, travel expenses are lessened. Remaining PIDWWO members arrange with Petra in the same way. She does the transactions with outsiders while the villagers just have to wait for her announcement for incoming tourists. Through these arrangements, the villagers are able to save resources to maintain their touristic services.

The ability of the Pamilacan villagers to control social networks illustrates how they overcome the problems of heterogeneity and lack of local resources. Local people have the capacity to restructure their pattern of interactions in order to connect with actors having the resources or having the access to resources. Their choice of ties is based not primarily on economic reasons, but on moral and professional competences. Ties between the bridging villagers and the poorer villagers reflect forms of a support system based not only on purely cost-benefit calculations, but also on expected obligations for the community. Otherwise, these individual villagers could have formally employed non-locals and locals as paid service personnel. This system among villagers is not totally new. The present pattern of interactions

among villagers (and with the other actors in the wider network environment) demonstrates connectivity and interdependence operating in the community tourism livelihood.

6.5. Theoretical Implications of Pamilacan Community Tourism

Although this present study does not aim at generalizing its findings, the case of Pamilacan could generate insights which contribute to the wider discussions on rural community organization. Through social network analysis, the case reveals how a village is embedded within a wider network of social relations. The island could represent contemporary rural communities, which though isolated by physical distance, are able to interact with and be affected by their neighbors.

Advances in transportation and communication technologies facilitate the building of ties among actors. Through these modern means of interaction, locals have more chances of broadening their social networks and entering into relationships with people beyond their boundaries. These networks have become channels through which people gain access to resources and information. Thus, faced with the lack of local resources, villagers find other options from outside sources. In this kind of situation, community organizing activities are not concerned only with the internal arrangements among members, but also with outsiders.

Pamilacan community tourism has undergone different transformations. It started with government-NGO-community cooperation which led to the establishment of a formal local CBT organization. The tourism program aimed at providing alternative livelihoods for the islanders with the banning of the people's traditional hunting livelihood as its background. The fishing restriction triggered resistance from locals which disrupted the organization of the

tourism program and the relationship of the villagers in general. However, faced with limited livelihood options and with powerful authorities, the Pamilacan islanders eventually cooperated in the tourism plan, although others remained indifferent. The formal tourism organizing activities continued with the support of the funding agencies while monopolizing the marine tourism services in the province. With these given conditions, the local industry thrived and the locals were able to gain incentives from cooperating in collective activities.

The situation changed when the funding agencies stepped out from the project and the number of external competitors started to grow. Resources started to be exhausted, income started to decline, and formal organizing structures started to become dysfunctional. The formal organization could no longer produce the incentives it used to provide for the cooperating members. It did not have the capacity to build new partnerships with clients, neither it was able to maintain former ties. This changing condition made the formal organization isolated from the wider touristic network. However, in spite of the collapse of formal organizing structures, the Pamilacan islanders were able to maintain their relationships and adjust their pattern of interactions in order to gain access to outside resources necessary to maintain touristic services. These transactions formed networks which enabled the community to continue to participate in and gain benefit from touristic activities. Through informal transactions and arrangements among villagers and with outsiders, the collective livelihood continues.

The experience of the Pamilacan islanders challenges former assumptions on community tourism organizing activities. First, it illustrates that social support structure alone is not enough to maintain CBT activities. Moral economy suggests that mutuality and traditional values are the bonding elements for collective activities. Indeed, the local support system is at the heart of the community approach to tourism development. Government and

NGOs worked together with the local people to put-up a formal organizing structure which encouraged local mutual support to operate community-run tourist enterprises and thus to gain collective benefits from these economic activities. However, the case of Pamilacan makes us rethink the assumption that the villagers' natural tendency to work together for mutual help is sufficient to operate CBT activities. What happened in the island was that the locals chose to defect from the organizing activities and disobey the existing leadership. Faced with these realities, Pamilacan community tourism could have totally died out because of the defecting behaviors and the dysfunctional leadership. The paradox is that, in reality, Pamilacan community is still into tourism.

Second, Pamilacan has proven that the collapse of formal CBT does not necessarily mean the collapse of collective touristic livelihood. The formal organization could not provide continuous incentives to secure the cooperation of villagers in collective activities. When the financial and material resources dried up and income from touristic services started to decline, the leadership could no longer offer the locals the benefits they used to receive. Thus, faced with this situation, it is but rational for the villagers to find their own way to benefit from the tourism industry. In other words, people left the formal organization because it could no longer perform its function to channel resources and produce collective benefits. Islanders found it more advantageous to do it in their own ways, rather than to follow protocols. The breakdown of formal organizing structures could have totally isolated the villagers from the industry. Yet, the Pamilacan community is still into tourism.

Lastly, the experience of Pamilacan makes us reflect on the classic discussions on clientelism. The traditional patronage system emphasizes the more advantaged status of actors who have the resources to control decision-makings and livelihood transactions over the less advantaged actors in the community. Several studies have illustrated this pattern of

relationships among people in peasant and other traditional villages. In this setup, people who have fewer resources are forced to bow down to those who have the means. Power rests on the monopoly of resources.

With the rise of networking communities, like Pamilacan, this traditional relationship has been challenged. Access to resources is becoming wider and far reaching. With the advancements in communication and internet technologies, poorer villagers can now have the option whom to connect and transact. In other words, former “subordinates” do not have to deal with former “patrons” if the latter do not treat them well. As a result, power relations become decentralized and former patrons have to think twice in dealing with their clients.

Social network analysis enabled us to go beyond examining community attributes and conditions, into a wider view of community organizing behaviors. Using this approach, this study has illustrated the crucial role of social networks. Networking has become a mechanism to address the issues which could hinder villagers to collectively engage in touristic livelihood. The case of Pamilacan shows that an isolated mutual support system did not work to maintain community organizing activities which have economic and business elements, like community tourism.

In a village context wherein there is a lack of local resources, providing selective incentives for the cooperating villagers would be difficult to sustain, unless support from government and NGOs are endless, which would not be the case. With this given local condition, CBT seems to remain a wishful thinking among its advocates. However, from the logic of the networking villagers, community tourism is possible. The people of Pamilacan demonstrate how they are able to gain access to resources to compensate for their scarcity through networking. Aside from the initial network with government and development agencies, the emergent informal network demonstrates two elemental networks which enabled

the villagers to integrate into and benefit from tourism. These are the marketing and business network and the traditional support system.

The marketing and business network outsources the promoting of the local services to outsiders and the transacting with clients. The traditional support system secures the cooperation and commitment of villagers to collective activities. These basic interactions form a wider interconnected network that maintains touristic organizing activities. The linking of these basic networks is facilitated by actors who serve as bridges through whom resources and information flow from outside to the community and vice-versa.

The community approach to tourism, as advocated by funding organizers, seeks to empower the local people to be self-sufficient and sustaining. In other words, that they become independent on their own in operating a collective touristic livelihood. Yet, in reality, communities in developing countries are far from being self-sufficient. Interactions among actors, similar to that of Pamilacan, teach us that, in the face of the lack of resources, networking with others (locals and outsiders) which forms a system is a way to survive. This system of connectivity and interdependence has sustained communities from the beginning, even before the coming of development projects. Widening this system facilitates the integration of local communities into the wider system, and thus avoids isolating themselves to death.

The need to develop an analytical tool which could be used in examining the conditions of existing networks involving community development projects also arises. This could assess the robustness/fragility of organizing structures in terms of access to external and internal resources, the determining of the strategic positioning of actors, and the degree of efficiency of existing networks to facilitate the flow of transactions.

6.6. Towards a Network Approach to Analyzing Community Tourism

Organizing Activities

Examining the case of Pamilacan community tourism generates an analytical framework which is based on social network analysis. Network analysis, in its pure form, focuses solely on the structures of social relations within specific types of transactions without taking into account the individual attributes of the participating actors. This approach investigates how existing patterns of interactions influence people's behavior in a given organization, and, at the same time, how actors are able to consciously restructure interactions to fit their needs. By examining social networks in community tourism, we are able to identify the following: the actors involved in the network; their pattern of interactions; the sources and flow of resources, benefits, and others; the actual and potential influential actors within the system; the degree of embedded-ness of the local community within the wider touristic system; and the availability of other options when some ties disintegrate.

Although network analysis, as I have mentioned above, gives more importance to the pattern of interactions, rather than to the attributes of the participating actors, in this present study, I give equal importance to both. This enables us to understand how personal attributes could reinforce or complement the position of the actors within the network and thus determine their capacity to influence the flow of transactions. Network analysis fits analyzing community tourism organizing activities because both tourism and the community are network phenomena which involve varied types of transactions among actors. Internal transactions operate among the local villagers maintaining touristic services; external transactions involve marketing and business transactions among tour agencies, individual tourists, competitors, funding agencies, and the local community. These factors made

community tourism a network phenomenon which could be well understood from a network perspective.

In this section, I would like to synthesize the analytical approach which I employed in this study. Hopefully, this would provide a general analytical tool which could be improved in the future research and project assessment activities of similar cases. Let me abbreviate this tool as T-A-P-E, referring to four stages of analysis as follows: (1) identify the types of Transactions involved; (2) identify the participating Actors; (3) map-out the Patterns of interactions; and (4) examine the properties of the Emerging network (see Table 10).

(1) Identify the types of transactions. Social networks can spread infinitely, *ad infinitum*, because human relationships are too wide to map out and analyze in their entirety. Thus, we need to limit the relationships for analysis. First, we identify the specific types of transactions to be examined. By doing this, we are putting boundaries on specific interactions. Boundaries could be based on physical location or transactional contents. For example, we could examine tourism transactions among people within a specific island, community, or region. Thus, we only include those actors and their relations within that area. On the other hand, identifying networks based on transactional contents is choosing networks to be analyzed based on what is being exchanged among the actors. For example, we could focus on analyzing transactions that involved the flow of financial resources for the community tourism. Or, we could analyze transactions that facilitate the coming of tourists to the community. We can also examine how forms of networks (e.g., enabling networks, business and marketing networks, and local support systems) operate within a particular touristic system.

Identifying transactions based on physical boundary and contents can also be combined. For example, we could examine social networks involving the flow of resources

from the government and funding agencies for a community tourism project within a specific province or region. In this way, the ties under investigation and the boundary of networks become clearer. It is also important to note that the contents of transactions may overlap. Several contents may flow through one network tie. Thus, we need to specify what transactions we want to analyze.

(2) *Identify the actors involved.* After we have decided what types of transactions we are going to investigate, we can now identify the actors that are involved in such transactions. Identifying the actors is crucial, especially for mapping out a full network. From whom do we begin? For formal organizations, it is easier because such groups usually have their organizational chart wherein actors and their structures of transactions are well defined (*Positional approach*). In analyzing informal organizations, it is more challenging. Several methods of knowing who are involved in the transaction can be employed.

In choosing the initial informant, we can use the *Reputational approach*. This is fit for a small rural community context wherein people know each other. We start from people who are widely known for having the knowledge about the transactions we want to investigate, for example, community leaders and elders. From this, we can continue using the *Name generator technique*. We ask the initial informant a set of questions that could provide names of people involved in the transaction, questions such as, “Who are the people in the community who are involved in tourism? To whom do they coordinate when tourists come to the island?”

After getting the names, we can now proceed to the *Snowballing technique*. We interview those people whose names were mentioned and ask them in a fashion similar to the above, such as, “From whom do you get information for incoming touristic services? To whom do you go to ask assistance?” and others. With these techniques, we are able to produce

the names of participating actors. As I have mentioned in the beginning, the attributes of the actors should also be noted, including their age, gender, social status, educational background, and the like. This attribute data could help deepen our understanding of the individual actors within the network.

(3) Map out the patterns of interactions among the actors. After identifying the actors involved, we now draw the ties connecting them. Networks emerge only when more than two actors relate. An unconnected group of actors is not a network. One exclusive tie between partners in a group of actors is also not a network, but simply a tie. Mapping out patterns of interaction is identifying ties between actors until the whole network emerges. The methods used are the same with number 2. Using Name generator and Snowballing techniques, we are able to connect actors based on the informants' answers. For example, we ask informant A from whom she gets information for incoming touristic activities. She would then identify several names of people. Direct ties then connect her to these people. The same process will be done with the other informants.

For studies analyzing several transactions at the same time, networks can be mapped out either as separate graphs or a combined graph. Several transaction contents can also flow through one tie. For example, the tie through which financial resources are channeled may be, at the same time, the tie through which information flows. In such situations, clear explanations qualifying the ties and their contents are needed to avoid confusion. Visually differentiating the ties also helps to represent different transaction contents. For example, let dotted lines represent resource flow; bold lines represent information flow, and other similar varieties. In this way, the reader could easily identify the differences of the ties represented.

(4) Examine the network properties of the emerging social network. After mapping out the actors and their ties, we proceed to analyzing the properties of the whole network.

Analyzing the properties basically means identifying the characteristic of the network (Density) and the positioning of actors within the network (Centrality). Network density measures the extent actors are connected with the others in the network. With this, we learn how closely people relate with each other. For example, the more people are connected directly with the others, the more communications can easily flow through them, although fully connected real networks may be hard to find. Network density can be determined by dividing the actual connections by the potential connections. Potential connections are equal to the number of actors, times the number of actors minus one, divided by two.

Another important network property to analyze is Centrality. Analyzing Centrality measures enables us determine the actors who have the actual and the potential influence in the network based on their number of direct ties (Degree Centrality) and their strategic position (Betweenness Centrality). The actors having the most number of direct ties have the highest Degree centrality measure. Having many people directly connected to actors, enables the latter to have access to varied sources of information and resources. This makes them also popular in the organization. Having high degree centrality is crucial, especially when most of these direct ties are connected to actors having the resources. For example, the actor that has the most number of connections with tour agencies may enjoy better access to tourists than the others in the network. Or, actors with direct connections with funding agencies have direct access to financial supports. However, the actors having the most direct ties may not always be the most central and influential in the network.

Another measure of centrality is Betweenness. Actors can still be central to the network even without having the most direct connections. They can be central based on their specific position which enables them to bridge between sub-groups within the system. Having high Betweenness centrality means occupying the position through which most of the

transactions pass before going to other actors. These actors are involved in most of the transactions from one actor to another. With this strategic position, actors are able to control the flow of transactional contents and gain wider knowledge on the contents that pass through them. For example, actor *A* occupies the position bridging the tour agencies and the local service personnel in the community. All transactions between these two parties go through this actor. Since *A* alone has the ties with these agencies, when *A* leaves the organization, the transactions between these two parties stop until another actor could take the position. Actors could have high measures in both Degree and Betweenness centralities. Having these characteristics, they can exert greater influence within the network (in the case of Pamilacan, Jay and Petra have these properties).

Analyzing the properties of small networks may be done by manually counting individual ties. For example, Degree centrality can be determined by simply counting the number of direct ties an actor has. Betweenness centrality can be determined by counting the number of instances an actor lies within the shortest paths from one actor to another. However, for bigger networks, social network analysis computer software may be needed which can be downloaded freely from the internet, for example *Gephi*. Commercial software programs are also available for free trial use and for sale, like UCINET. These computer programs automatically visualize sociographs, analyze and calculate the centrality measures of networks.

Employing the TAPE tool, we could now examine the characteristics and properties of existing enabling network, marketing and business network, and the mutual support system of the local people involved in CBT projects. Based on the findings, local organizers and supporting agencies could assess the strength and fragility of the operating systems. Thus, they could facilitate the necessary restructuring of transactional arrangements. Analyzing community tourism organizing activities from the network perspective, then, enables us to

identify the following: who are the actors in the network; who are the points of resources, information, benefits, and others; what forms of networks are involved and how are they linked together; how transactional contents flow; who are the central actors controlling the flow of transactions; to what degree are the local people embedded into the wider touristic system; to what level are local people participating in and benefitting from the network; and others. Combining structural analysis with attribute and qualitative data provides researchers with a wider and more solid grasp of the complex social system.

Table 10 T-A-P-E tool for analyzing social networks in community tourism

	T	A	P	E
	Identify the types of Transactions	Identify the Actors involved and their attributes	Map out the Pattern of interactions among the actors	Examine the network properties of the Emergent network
Methods and tools	Physical-based; Content-based; Combination of the two	Positional approach; Reputational approach; Name generator; Snowballing	Positional approach; Reputational approach; Name generator; Snowballing; <i>Gephi</i> ; UCINET, and others.	Manual counting; computer software like <i>Gephi</i> ; UCINET, and others.
Expected output	Boundaries of analysis; Contents of transactions; Forms of networks involved	Names and characteristics of actors; Size of networks	Degree of connectivity among actors; Flow of transactions; Overlapping transactions	Actors with potential and actual influence; Sources and channels of resources, information, benefits, etc.; Embedded-ness of local actors in the wider network

Source: The author

Conclusions

This chapter has analyzed the networks that emerged after the collapse of the formal CBT organizing structure in Pamilacan. Faced with a dysfunctional system, the local people started to restructure their patterns of interactions in order to gain access to touristic resources. Informal transactions among actors formed patterns of interactions that have facilitated organizing activities and access to resources necessary to maintain touristic services. The emergent organizing activities of islanders with outsiders do not follow formal rules of engagement or have formal leadership and membership. Rather, the transactions are based on mutual confidence and informal arrangements between actors having the resources and those who have less. Connectivity and interdependence characterize these emergent relationships.

Through informal transactions, local actors retain their integration within the touristic system, in spite of the collapse of the formal CBT. This embeddedness enables villagers to continue to participate in the wider touristic network without being isolated or marginalized. Through self-organizing activities, islanders continue to gain income from touristic services that complement the other traditional livelihoods with less cost. Furthermore, the emergent system revitalized the community's mutual support system that has sustained the islanders even before the coming of tourism.

Throughout the life of Pamilacan CBT, we discover three forms of elemental networks which are essential to maintaining the local industry, namely the enabling network, the marketing and business network, and the mutual support system. Enabling networks are the ties among government agencies, NGOs, and local people that capacitate the community to start CBT activities. Business and marketing networks are the transactions between private businesses, tourists, and the villagers that facilitate the provision of services and generation of

income. On the community level, the mutual support system is the connectedness among the people of Pamilacan that enables them to work together for collective activities. These networks interact through bridging actors which serve as channels through whom resources and information flow within the whole system.

Community tourism has both social and economic dimensions. It aims not only at uniting the community, but also at creating good products and services that could generate income for the villagers. The collapse of the formal CBT structure in Pamilacan was partly due to over dependence on enabling networks and fragile business and marketing networks which led to resource exhaustion in the midst of growing competition. Although the program taught the local people new skills in touristic service and promoted the value of mutual help, it was not able to develop a structural mechanism that could broaden the local organization's business partnerships with outsiders. The emergent organizing system, on the other hand, was able to approximate a business and marketing network while integrating the traditional support system of the islanders.

Analyzing the emergent organizing activities, we discovered the villagers' capacity to address the issues of internal conflicts and lack of local resources. Through forming new affiliations, the local people who once resisted tourism were able to be integrated into the new livelihood. Through informal transactions and bridging ties, local service providers were able to gain access to resources that were beyond their capacity to acquire.

Social network analysis goes beyond examining the characteristics of the local people and the existing formal CBT programs as determinant factors of sustainability. It situates community organizing activities in a wider environment of social relations in which local people are embedded and constantly interact with other actors. Transactions and arrangements generate systems that could determine how organizing activities are maintained and how

resources are outsourced in the midst of scarcity. Lastly, this chapter presents a tool that could be developed further to analyze and assess social networks involved in community tourism organizing activities. With this, community organizers are able to determine the state of the organizing structures operating in CBT and to facilitate structural interventions if necessary.

Chapter 7

Summary and Conclusions

This dissertation has provided a new approach in analyzing the organizing activities of villagers engaged in collective livelihood. Using a network perspective, this study has explored the role of social networks in addressing the problems of resource scarcity, internal conflicts, and competition in maintaining community touristic enterprises. Tourism is one of the biggest industries in the world. It has become attractive among developing countries as a means for economic development through employment generation, increased foreign exchange, and enlarged tax collections from touristic businesses and guests. However, local communities in those destinations started to experience the negative effects of touristic activities happening in their backyards. Villagers have been marginalized from the industry, displaced from their own lands, and lost control over their own natural resources.

Because of the above issues, people started to think of alternative models of tourism which integrate local perspectives and generate benefits for the local communities. Government and development agencies have adopted community-based tourism (CBT) as a strategy for local tourism. The approach aims to organize community-owned and -managed touristic enterprises as a means for local participation, generation of income, and community empowerment. In spite of the lack of success in the field and the criticism from scholars, organizing agencies continue to advocate and invest in community tourism programs in

developing countries. As a result, formally initiated community tourism organizations collapse, internal conflicts arise, and resources are wasted.

The main issue of community tourism is how to make villagers able to actively participate in and benefit from the touristic activities in their vicinities. Earlier studies have examined the necessary attributes for the “success” of community-owned touristic enterprises. However, these conditions appear to be too demanding considering the given local socio-economic context. Critics have pointed to the stratified character of communities and the scarcity of local resources as the main hindrances for villagers to participate in the tourism industry. Villagers in developing countries experience internal disagreements and the lack of financial and technical capacities that make collective touristic businesses difficult to maintain unless the supporting agencies would continue to provide the locals with endless resources.

Focusing on formally initiated CBT organizations, earlier studies have not given attention to how local people have been able to maintain a touristic livelihood outside formal arrangements in spite of their given circumstances. Villagers employ social connections in order to gain access to resources which they do not have and in order to organize themselves for touristic services. Social networks are essential elements of “community” and “tourism” because both phenomena involve social interactions which determine social relations and business transactions. Not giving attention to these elements results in an incomplete understanding of the dynamics of community tourism.

This study, therefore, is an attempt to respond to the need of an alternative approach for understanding community organizing activities. Using a network perspective, this study has treated community tourism as a network phenomenon, analyzed social interactions embedded within a wider network composed of interacting actors engaging in different forms

of interactions. It examined the crucial role of emergent organizing networks among locals and with outsiders that maintain CBT activities in spite of internal conflicts, lack of local resources, and competition. The properties of interactions with the attributes of the actors determine the life of the organizing activities and the achievement of collective goods. The network perspective tends to focus mainly on structures as units of investigation. This present study, however, combined structural analysis with examining the attributes of actors and retelling local narratives. This combined framework gained a deeper understanding of the actors' intentions and experiences which influenced the way people interact and the directions of the organizing activities.

To illustrate the above argument, the study employed the case of community tourism on Pamilacan Island in the Philippines. Pamilacan tourism was a pilot community tourism project in the country. In spite of the support from government and non-government agencies, formal organizing activities in the island collapsed. This study has examined the experiences of the local people, the characteristics of the actors involved, and the social networks that have maintained touristic activities involving the community. This research has covered the period from the organizing of the CBT program in 1997, to the collapse of the government-NGO-sponsored organization, to the emergence of informal touristic transactions until 2014. In particular, this study asked the following questions:

1. Why did the formal organizing structures in Pamilacan community tourism collapse?
2. Faced with internal conflicts, lack of local resources, and strong competition, how do villagers remain embedded within and benefit from the touristic network, despite the collapse of formal organizing structures?

3. What are the types of networks that maintain community tourism? And, what wider implications can be generated from the case of Pamilacan?

Social network analysis with ethnographic and secondary data has generated the following conclusions and interpretations. The government-NGO-sponsored community tourism in Pamilacan collapsed because of the failure of its organizing structure to expand marketing and business networks which led to exhaustion of resources. Formal organizing activities depended heavily on the material, technical, and marketing supports from the organizing agencies. The loss of ties connected to these agencies after the organizing stage ended triggered the draining of organizational resources. With the lack of finances and the declining income due to growing external competitors, the formal organization could no longer maintain its touristic services, nor provide incentives for cooperating villagers. With the coming of competitors, particularly from the neighboring Panglao Island, the ties connecting Pamilacan islanders and clients started to disintegrate. Tour agencies and individual tourists who once coordinated exclusively with the Pamilacan islanders started to connect with Panglao local service providers. The latter's proximity to touristic accommodations and their cheaper service fees had become attractive to clients.

The network involving Pamilacan tourism grew and patterns of transactions changed with the coming of new actors. Transactions with tour agencies and individual tourists started to diverge through the competing channels, making the once centralized touristic network decentralized. Facing the challenge of the external competitors, the government-NGO-sponsored organization chose to retain its organizing structures and depended solely on its own resources in managing and marketing its services. It resisted marketing partnerships with private businesses because of mistrust and the leaders' insistence to stand on their own. With

limited finances and technical know-how, the organization was not able to maintain older ties, nor build new partnerships with clients. This led to the declining number of their guests, and thus to the lowering income which triggered discontentment among its members, until the organization and its leadership became dysfunctional.

Despite the collapse of the formal organization, villagers were able to continue to operate a collective touristic livelihood. When the formal organizing structure could no longer function to provide access to resources and achieve collective goals, the local people started to restructure their interactions outside formal arrangements. By reconfiguring their social networks, they were able to address the lack of local resources, internal conflicts, and competition to manage the touristic services. Informal transactions among Pamilacan villagers and with outsiders generated a new order of organizing network. This emergent organizing system does not have a formal leadership, but interconnections among people of different intentions. Neither does it follow formal roles and rules, but has arrangements based on trust and the familiarity of the relationships.

In spite of the absence of formal structures, the emergent network facilitates the flow of information and benefits from clients to local service providers. This organizing structure enabled villagers to gain access to resources, build mutual support, and thereby benefit from the local tourism industry with lesser cost. Although the income from collective touristic services may not be a big amount compared to what they used to gain during the beginnings of the industry, it complements the other traditional livelihood of the villagers and secures the control by locals over their natural and cultural resources. Otherwise, local people could have been totally isolated from the touristic activities happening in their island.

Furthermore, aside from being able to continue to participate in the industry, Pamilacan islanders were able to maintain central positions in the wider touristic network.

Through informal arrangements with fellow villagers and outsiders, individual locals have become bridges connecting the community to the outside world. Through their direct connections and strategic position between the other actors, these individuals have become crucial players in the local touristic system. Having the most numbers of connections with tour agencies and other touristic businesses, they are able to secure the coming of tourists to the community. Their strategic position connecting locals and outsiders enables them to control and facilitate the flow of transactions between the two parties. Poorer villagers who do not have the material and technical capacity to transact directly with clients connect with these bridging locals. Through these ties, villagers are able to participate in touristic services and gain from these livelihood activities without paying a high price.

The organizing activities in Pamilacan revealed three forms of networks that built up the structure maintaining community tourism. I refer to them as the *enabling network*, the *business and marketing networks*, and the *mutual support system*. The enabling network involved government agencies, NGOs, and the local people. This served as the channel through which material and technical support flowed from the supporting agencies to the community. These supports aimed to compensate for the lack of local resources. Through the enabling ties, local people were able to acquire the basic financial capital, skills, and knowledge to engage in collective touristic services. This network also provided marketing assistance for the community-owned industry. Although the enabling network alone was not enough to sustain the formally initiated touristic enterprise, it opened up opportunities and triggered the interest of the local people to engage in the touristic livelihood.

Business and marketing networks involved private businesses, tourists, and the local people. These connections have facilitated the transactions with clients, the provision of services, and the generation of income. These have emerged from informal arrangements

between Pamilacan locals and outsiders, which the former government-NGO-sponsored organization failed to stabilize and to promote. Through the business and marketing networks, the cost of transaction on the part of the villagers is lessened because the tour agents and the bridging locals handle the marketing of the community touristic services. Marketing activities, like printing advertising brochures, operating internet web sites, joining tourism expo, and maintaining business offices, are costly and need professional skills which the islanders do not possess. Through outsourcing these activities, the local people are able to lessen their expenses and save their limited material resources and energy for operating touristic services and maintaining facilities.

The mutual support system is the given socio-economic relationship among villagers in the community. This relationship secures cooperation in collective activities. Even before the coming of tourism, traditional support systems had sustained the local people in the midst of resource scarcity and internal conflicts. This mutual help relationship had maintained the former hunting livelihood of the islanders, wherein villagers having the material resources financed the hunting expeditions; those who had the skills did the actual hunting; the rest of the community participated in the preparing and selling of products. This organizing arrangement has been revitalized to operate the collective touristic livelihood. I argue that since the beginning of the touristic project, this mutual support system has been operating. During the period of the formal organization, it was evident on the bottom level transactions of the villagers, particularly the interactions within the men's group and the women's group. That is why, even after the collapse of the formal structure, the villagers still retained these bottom level organizing interactions.

The case of Pamilacan also shows the importance of the bridging actors who have the material and technical capacities to maintain and build connections. They serve as bridges

connecting the internal and the external, facilitating touristic transactions and the flow of resources and benefits to reach the community. Connecting with the bridging actors, the people of Pamilacan continue to be embedded within the wider touristic system without being left out. With these network channels, Pamilacan retains its place in the touristic map, tourists continue to visit the island, and the villagers continue to collectively operate touristic services and gain the benefits with lesser cost. Through this self-organizing system, the islanders preserve the community identity and strengthen external ties securing cooperation in collective organizing activities. The three forms of networks have become the building blocks maintaining the local industry that is both social and economic in nature.

The case of Pamilacan can be situated within the wider discussion on community organizing activities in the village context, and in particular, on the issues concerning community tourism. The basic point of debate is how people are able to participate and benefit from touristic activities happening in their backyards given their lack of resources, internal differences, and external competition. Today, with the advancements in transportation and internet-based communication technologies, remote villages can now have easy access to outsiders. These developments make touristic communication and transactions fast and far reaching. Social networking more than ever has become convenient with the use of cellphone and social media. It affects how conflicts are mitigated, how information is shared, how resources are produced or outsourced, and how goods are distributed. It also determines how these transactions are channeled through different actors.

With these recent advancements, social networking has become an essential aspect of CBT organizing activities. Not giving attention to these factors makes analysis of the dynamics of the organizing activities of communities insufficient and outdated. It is in this connection that this present study sees its contribution to the wider debate on community

organizing involving villagers by integrating a wider social network dimension. The experiences of the Pamilacan community have illustrated the role of social networks in maintaining collective organizing activities in the midst of resource scarcity, internal conflicts, and competition, for at least seventeen (17) years.

Earlier analyses of CBT have focused on analyzing the attributes of communities, the local peoples' attitudes toward the industry, the different forms of incentives involved, and the organizing programs being employed that determine the viability of community tourism projects. Scholars have criticized the community approach to tourism for having little success in the field, if not impossible to actualize. Critics have identified two main hindrances to the community approach to tourism, namely the problems of the heterogeneity of the communities and the limited local resources. In other words, they argue that villagers in developing countries simply do not have the basic social conditions and capital to engage collectively in a highly competitive industry like tourism.

Although the above criticisms have valid points, a need to engage in a wider analysis of actual community tourism activities arose. Existing studies on CBT projects tend to treat "community" as isolated social entities situated in remote areas in Vietnam, Thailand, or Philippines, for example, wherein communication with outsiders and neighboring people are hardly available. Their analyses have given less importance to the relational dimension (internal and external) of community touristic activities and without taking into account influence of the advancements in communication and transportation technologies. Community tourism is a network phenomenon involving different actors engaging in different levels of transactions. Analyzing it in this way has generated a different conclusion. It showed the capacity of the villagers to overcome the problems of heterogeneity and scarcity of resources in order to engage in touristic enterprises even without following formal arrangements.

Examining transactions among the local actors revealed their capacity to construct new affiliations to address internal conflicts which led to the integration of more islanders into the industry. Analyzing the pattern of transactions after the collapse of formal organizations illustrated the villagers' ability to restructure social networks in order to gain access to resources which are not locally available or are costly to acquire. Through this outsourcing of resources together with the mutual support system, local people are able to maintain a collective touristic livelihood without exhausting the local resources. The case of Pamilacan, therefore, has illustrated that the collapse of formal community-based tourism structures, does not necessarily mean the collapse of community tourism.

The experience of Pamilacan also reminds us of the wider issue of clientelism. In traditional societies, power relations are determined by the resource capacity of people. Studies of peasant communities have highlighted the dominant status of those who have the means to take control over those who do not have and thereby, the control of the socio-economic relationships in the village. The phenomenon of networking communities opens up new access to resources beyond local boundaries. With the modern means of communication and transportation, poorer people have wider options to outsource the capital they needed without bowing to their former patrons. This wider access to resources through networking decentralized power relations.

This study does not argue against the formal institutional arrangement to community tourism, nor does it claim that the informal organizing structure is more sustainable. Rather, this study highlights the crucial role of social networks in community tourism activities, especially in the context of developing countries wherein local resources are scarce. Community tourism organizers and policy makers should not only focus on providing the necessary financial capital and on training the locals to gain basic skills to engage in

collective touristic businesses. They should also think of how local touristic industries could be integrated into the wider touristic systems in their own regions and countries. Government agencies, NGOs, private businesses, and villagers should also work together in the process of structuring and restructuring touristic organizing networks.

The business and marketing networks should be given importance since these networks are often left unstable when the CBT project ends. Community tourism has to engage in marketing and business. Since local resources are often limited, partnerships with private business should be strengthened to assist communities in marketing and business transactions. In this way, villagers are able to focus their resources and energies on maintaining their touristic services, without having to worry about marketing their products to the world. In other words, if they do not possess it and if it is too costly to acquire, then outsource it. The role of the “bridging actors” should also be given attention. These actors may be private individuals or institutions which could link the community within the wider touristic system.

Community tourism organizations should constantly evaluate and update their networks. In this way, people are able to determine the degree of resilience of the network whenever other ties would be disintegrated. There is a need for flexible organizing structures that encourage expanding ties with the other stakeholders in the industry. Community organizations should also continue to work together with government and non-government agencies to update the locals’ professional and technical skills in line with touristic services. In this way, local service providers are able to catch-up with existing competitions.

On the wider level, governments could assist community tourism activities by providing a legislative mechanism that protects the integration of CBT industries in their own localities. This may be in the form of structural intervention, if necessary. With the enabling

ties from supporting agencies and widening partnerships with marketing and businesses institutions, community tourism should continue to integrate the internal mutual support systems of the local people. In this way, the three elemental networks could operate together in maintaining a collective touristic livelihood.

To assist future studies on issues relating to community tourism and collective actions involving villagers, this dissertation also offered an analytical tool. Based on elements of social network analysis, the T-A-P-E tool aims to facilitate examining the existing social networks operating in CBT activities and the conditions of existing organizational structures. This tool could become a starting point for scholars and program developers in formulating analytical tools to determine the robustness and weakness of existing networks.

This present study has two main limitations which could be treated in future research on similar themes. First, since this is a single case study, there is a need for future examination of other community-based tourism activities in order to further test the present conclusions. Future studies could do comparative investigations examining the organizing structures of long enduring formally initiated CBTs and the organizing structures of CBTs similar to the case of Pamilacan. In this way, the arguments of this present study could be further tested and confirmed or invalidated.

Second, since this study took a qualitative approach and the existing statistics are limited, less attention was given to detailed examination of quantitative data. These include the exact and updated figures of tourist arrivals in the community, the exact number of touristic services conducted by the local people, and the detailed financial contribution of tourism to complement other traditional local livelihood activities. Incorporating these elements could strengthen future analysis of the issues involved in community tourism

organizing activities, especially its economic dimension. Examining competing neighboring communities would also be interesting.

The experience of Pamilacan is a collective struggle of villagers adapting to the changes that confront them in order to survive. Communities in other developing countries where touristic activities are happening may share similar experiences in the midst of resource scarcity and internal conflicts. Since the beginning, these people have employed social ties in order to address the above issues, and thus were able to preserve their identities as communities, maintain collective livelihood systems, and secure control over their own resources. Connectivity and interdependence have sustained basic social institutions from which more complex social systems could gain insight.

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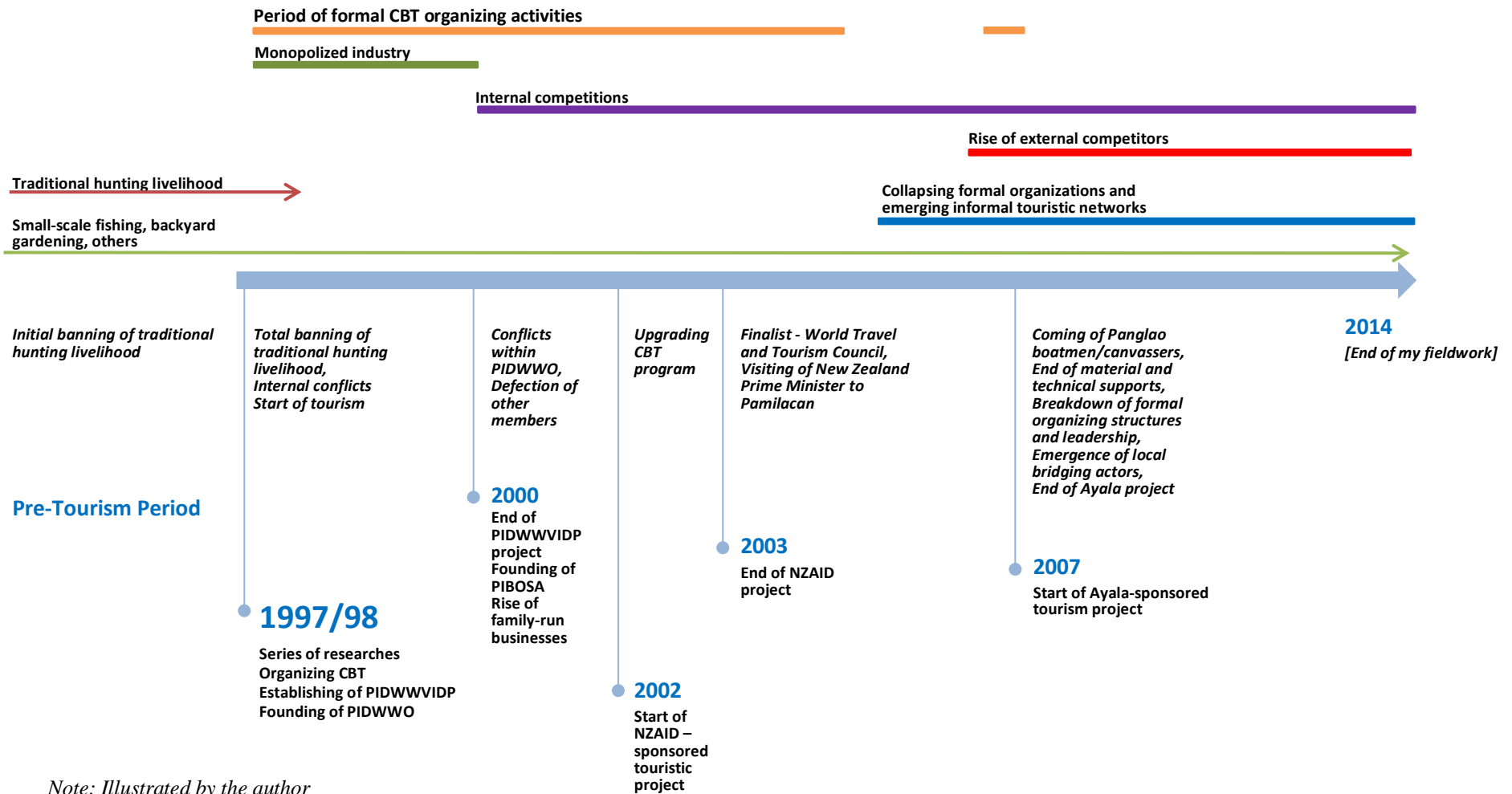
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Appendix A

Pamilacan Community Tourism Timeline



Note: Illustrated by the author

Appendix B

Interview Transcripts*

Code: BR12A

Informant: Senior Municipal Development Adviser (on tourism), Municipality of Baclayon

Date: July 13, 2012 (around 2pm)

Venue: Cultural Center, Baclayon Municipality Complex

Interview Environment: The hall was huge. Along the interview, people were interrupting our conversation for document signing, for example.

Notes: Mr. B is using a voice gadget to talk. He lost his voice after being operated in the throat. His voice was not so clear.

M = Researcher

B = Informant

[1] B: We still don't have a Tourism Officer... The one in charge of tourism now in the local municipal council is also a tour guide and a teacher in Divine [Holy Name University]... He has been inviting me to attend meetings [council meetings on tourism], because I am a consultant of the municipality... I don't want to attend anymore, because I already know what is lacking... What we are lacking in Baclayon is a tourism master plan, on how we can develop our tourism industry... Why not hire competent persons to do the job of preparing tourism program for us? In the end, tourism could generate income... employment... We even spend money for things that do not generate income... I already know what we are lacking...

[2] M: In the municipality, how is tourism prioritized?

[3] B: Wherever you go, tourism is of significance... That is why I wrote a letter... I like the motto, 'It's More Fun in the Philippines' [Philippine Department of Tourism's promotional motto]... Baclayon has many potentials for tourism purposes... historical and cultural, being an old town... I told them [municipal council] that they were not able to [see]... the potentials of Baclayon... Other municipalities even invest a lot of money for tourism development... Us, we have everything here! Why? First is historical cultural. We are [have] the oldest town [in Bohol]. Probably, one of the oldest town in the entire Philippines. Isn't this a man-made attraction?

[4] [Secondly] attraction that is given by nature... We have dolphin and whale watching... We have caves... Tourists have varieties of interests, some for pleasure... education... engineering... I have gone around the entire Bohol... Within Poblacion, Baclayon, there are many Spanish bridges. I consider [these as] engineering marvels! Why? During the construction, the equipment used to lay the foundations were mostly animal drown... and during World War II, heavy equipment passed through them... war equipment... Why do they [these bridges] sustain even until now? An engineering marvel! Why do they not develop these [bridges]? We have many along the national highways... In Baclayon alone, how many buildings here were built during the Spanish period? First is the church, then the elementary school... We have a [Spanish] cemetery... the Spanish bridges... heritages houses... If you go to Pamilacan, there is that structure [a Spanish watch tower]... I am a history major...

* Interview audio files were transcribed *verbatim* in the original language of the informants. Only the English translation is provided. Texts inside the brackets [] are the researcher's additions; texts inside the parentheses () are descriptions of non-verbal information, like body-language and events occurred during the interviews. Interviews without audio recordings were not included in the Appendix. Names of people used are pseudonyms.

- [5] Number one is historical... the cultural values... There are old houses around here... maybe more than a 100 year [old]... We have whale watching. I think it is the second... We even have that Ayala Foundation which seems to support us... That building [pointing to the Tourism Office right beside the Municipal Building] that costs 6 million pesos... they turn it over, donated to the municipality... We have many caves... There were Europeans who came to survey caves... We have many of these [caves]... We have caves inhabited by bats... We have a lot of potentials. It is only a matter of development... One problem... is the municipality [local government]... We have that term in tourism, 'A user's way'... There are a lot of vans [tourists' vehicles] coming... They enter the church [compounds]. We wanted to collect 5 pesos per head [per tourist]... The government spent millions for the church [renovations]... the church [leadership] does not agree [with the idea of collecting charge]... The diocese... did not agree.
- [6] I told the Mayor, 'There is nothing we can do about it [the church not agreeing to the plan]... We could not force them...' But we can control the entry of the tourists... We will develop an area somewhere here... our property [municipal property]... I have observed that huge tourist buses are coming here, blocking the area [the highway just in front of the church building], blind curve. Tourists are crossing the street and there are no policemen stationed in the area. If major vehicular accident would happen... people would then say... 'What happen to the Mayor? What are the public officials doing about it? We will designate... an exclusive area for tourist buses... Then, we will collect... We will not collect individually, but through the bus operators...
- [7] Then we will renovate [that place] when they [tourists] disembark near the [public] market... in the parking area... they will find the souvenir items for sale... That's the only way to avoid conflict [with the church leadership]... The nice thing, if we are able to do that, we will ask tourist police to watch over the [tourist] vehicles... There was one time... A tourist bus was rubbed in the church [parking area]... Was it a van? Why did it happen? There were no guards... If there were, their number was not enough for that huge number of tourists... That should be done... Heritage, historical, cultural... Then we have the beaches... Pamilacan island. The potentials of Pamilacan island... there is that very beautiful portion of that island... with highly diversified marine life... the beautiful beach... There is the watch tower... There is the dolphin watching... There is an association there... [Pamilacan] is one barangay...
- [8] M: What about the local community participation [in tourism] in Pamilacan?
- [9] A: The people there were trained through TESDA [Technical Education and Skills Development]... [on] operation of cottage industry... lodging... they [have] undergone training on massage... There are also those trained in tour guiding... But, for what? There is a kind of void if there is no existing plan [tourism program] here [in the local government]... It's useless... People could not move on... It's a big limitation for them, for the development of tourism... Whatever we may do... People [in Pamilacan] have an association... tour guiding... whale watching... They provide sea transportation... They are stakeholders...
- [10] Here in the mainland... there is [what they call] BAHANDI... a conservationist group. They were against the [construction of] the national highway... There was that [development project] in Bohol making all highways concrete. Baclayon opposed to it... It would mean deconstructing old houses... It seems the widening of national highways was not implemented here in Baclayon, that is why we have narrow roads here... We have hotels... big hotels... We have Peacock [hotel and restaurant], German [owned]... Millions were spent for [the constructions]... Now, under construction is the Astoria chain hotel... It's worldwide [chain hotel company]... It's around 3 kilometers from here going to Tagbilaran... Beach front... You may wonder, why Baclayon, not Panglao? I believe that Panglao is already overcrowded... the traffic... Secondly, we have a good water supply over here...
- [11] I really say... what Baclayon needs is a tourism master plan... As of now, we don't have it... We have here... adventure riding. You can go to the lake with 3 wheeled bikes... We have it already here... We don't have problems with accommodations, we have many houses [rooms] for [tourist] operation... For several year, tourism has been intensified here... Only now that it's slowing down as I have observed it. I don't know why... I am greatly in favor of tourism development.
- [12] We do not have any other resources here in the municipality... We do not have natural resources for [other industries]... Long ago, this place was an out migration area for there was no potential here [for development]... People migrated to Mindanao to look for [livelihood]... Now... that Baclayon is starting to

improve, especially with the present local administration, people are coming back home... It has become emigration, because many foreigners are now buying lands and decided to settle here.

[13] One factor is peace and order... proximity to Tagbilaran... water... another is the low criminality... Usually, they [foreigners] settle in faraway villages... You don't hear foreigners here being rubbed... Just a while ago, people were having conversations... There are those... tourist agents offering [visitors] cheaper accommodations... I overheard them discussing in the tourism [council]... I then asked them what they are doing about this issue [these agents]... No positive answer... They just look at the problem without doing anything to solve it... This is usually our 'sickness...'

[14] You should do this... You have to produce a master list of all accredited lodging houses and tourist boats operating around here... For instance, tourists come... and there are those [unaccredited] agents standing by... if you do not do something about them, you legitimate operators will be greatly affected... [If undesirable event will happen] tourist will say [to their other people], 'Don't go to Baclayon, they will cheat you there'... If one will have such a [negative] comment, it will have a big effect... It's like having a travel ban... A travel ban can be lifted... but rumors cannot be...

[15] M: What about that Ayala building, what is its function now?

[16] B: It is now the Municipal Tourism Office... It provides information to those who inquire [about tourism activities in Baclayon]... [For example,] availability of transportation... transport fare... frequency of trips... One problem here... we have no regular trips from the mainland [to Pamilacan island]... Normally, when tourists come, they discuss with the [boat] operators... but they have [specific service] rates... For instance, whale watching... the rate depends on the number of tourists ... They have standardized rates... The problem is that usually, tourist come in different schedules... They want to go as chance passengers...

[17] For example, you are from Pamilacan then you came to the mainland to buy something... then you intend to go back to the island. I'm a tourist, I can ask you if I can go with you back to the island and pay. Very much cheaper... than renting a boat... Usually, you rent a bigger boat capable of going for dolphin watching, that is why it is more expensive. It's exclusively yours... Most of the tourists, aside from the Europeans, are Koreans... Chinese, Japanese, in other words Asians... There are also many Europeans coming... The Koreans come in busses, one or three... Unlike the Europeans who are mostly backpackers... rarely they travel in groups... very rare... But Asians... usually, they travel in groups... That is how they do it...

[18] M: Do the backpackers just have to catch the right timing going there?

[19] B: If they can't afford to rent a boat... they have to be here on the right time... It depends upon their budget... That is the situation... If we schedule a regular trip, we are not certain if visitors would come or not... They don't come regularly... For the meantime, people [islanders] just go fishing... Normally... there are people from the island who are coming here often... One of them, his wife is working here... He waits by the port... Waiting just in case [tourists would come]... Just a while ago, 6 tourists came here... They were looking [for a tourist boat]... It would be good [to have a regular trip]... The only lacking is a plan... to properly define [the activities]...

[20] M: About Pamilacan, they were fishermen. What are the local people's attitudes and reactions when tourism was introduced to them?

[21] B: Before, Pamilacan was the source of dried manta ray [Manta alfredi] and sting ray [Dasyatis Centroura].. devil fish [Mobula mobular]... That was there main source of income... and nothing else... But it was seasonal... The government came in and banned the fishing of endangered species... Slowly the practice vanished... From hunting manta ray and whale... now most of them are into dolphin and whale watching... They earn a lot of money... Devil fish and manta ray hunting was only during summer...

[22] M: Are there conflicts [among the people of Pamilacan and with the government]?

[23] B: During the banning... naturally, there was resistance. Of course, it was their livelihood... Slowly by slowly, they were able to accept it... They also realized that instead of hunting... they were able to see an alternative source of income... If they go to Panglao, people will also contact them... Of course, it's human

nature that whatever change there is... there may also be resistance. But now, no more... They already have an organization of boat owners.... They have seminars... [Marine] sanctuaries were designated... It seems people have accepted the fact... They also see that tourism is more continues than whale shark [Rhincodon typus] hunting which is very seasonal... During that time, they gained much money... One whale shark of regular size would cost around 30 thousand pesos... Indeed, it was a big amount! Although now, there are still [dried manta rays, etc.] being sold in the island... Those are from Mindanao... That what happened there...

[24] M: Who is this Kagawad Cane?

[25] B: He is the Chairman of tourism [municipal council]... He is the one inviting me... I don't want to go. I already know what we are lacking, a master plan... We cannot move on, no directions... But I hope [soon]...

Code: JC12A

Informant: Bohol Provincial Tourism Office Head

Date: July 17, 2012 (around 2:30 PM)

Venue: Bohol Provincial Office, New Capitol Building, Tagbilaran City, Bohol

Interview Environment: There were many people inside the office during the interview. Aside from the regular office workers, there were also OJT students. The office was like a hall. Her office table was situated in a place where people could hear our conversation.

Notes: The Provincial Tourism Office is not under the Department of Tourism (DOT). Recently, the office has been transferred to a new site along CPG Avenue.

M = Researcher

J = Informant

[1] M: General situation, What are the tourism development programs that the province has sponsored?

[2] J: The office is the marketing arm of the province, development assistance to LGUs [Local Government Units] in developing their own sites and/or to private sectors regarding policies and other issues and topic... If you say we develop a certain site... the province could not do that... because the sites are under the local governments. The provincial government is on the top to look at the needs of the industry not only on the government but also private sectors.

[3] M: More on a coordinating and policy making?

[4] J: Yes, policy making, coordinate to different sectors in the industry and marketing with private sectors. Sometimes we do skills training if needed. Otherwise, there is TESDA [Technical Education and Skills Development Authority] who does skills training. Since they certify, their modules are used. It will be useless if we come up with our own trainings and our trainings will not be certified because it [TESDA] uses different modules... It would be a waste [of time and resources]. But for purposes of enhancement of service for the tourism practitioners in the industry we do that, especially if it is felt need... For example, the quality of Loboc river cruise industry... or, example boat man doing boat tours in Pamilacan or Balicasag teaching them basic tour guiding... to facilitate the work in the industry.

[5] M: In terms of decision making on tourism activities, does it usually depend on the Local Government?

[6] J: Usually local government... That is why... it is problem as of the moment. Of course the provincial government has its directions on how tourism development should go. We have a vision that... supposed to be our guide in development.... It is cited [in the vision] what is cultural touristic destination with a balance agro-industrial development. But at the rate, it seems there is no deeper understanding among the LGUs [Local Government Units] on what is really eco-tourism which is the direction of the province... [There is]

so much confusion on eco-tourism and nature based tourism which is not necessarily eco-tourism. Like in Europe wherein eco-tourism is community-based... [this] is what we are trying to establish. Our projects are funded by European foreign agency or Australia. This is how they have equated the development of eco-tourism. This is what we acknowledge or... [and] it should be adapted as it is.

- [7] However, maybe because the definition of eco-tourism that the government espoused is very broad: as a community those that which benefit the community in terms of employment or livelihood, not really the benefit that are really outright or deeper, as compared if you say community based tourism management. What happened, because there is no common understanding, no deeper understanding of what it is, people always, especially local government leaders... think that if it is nature then it is eco-tourism. Even though it was done with no proper conservation [techniques], no greater participation of the community, still they call [it] eco-tourism, like the chocolate hills which they call eco-tourism which is actually not... [In] Loboc river, the only semblance [to community based tourism is] that they put up a bamboo raft for the local children to perform. Then, they call it local participation, but that is not.
- [8] What are they doing about conservation? Though they say they are doing something, but [it is still] debatable [considering]... they are gaining so much money from that. They don't have care capacity study, especially [considering] that the river is very fragile resource. Like Panglao, [they call it] eco-tourism, because of the beach. But, you can see there the worst misuse of resources. That is why in our implementation, even though we say that there is a direction, how going to that direction is what is diverse. It depends on their own understanding, which is in fact... [As a result] the vision could not be achieved because in the first place the means are not proper... By the way, where was I? (laughing)
- [9] The development there is no... Considering that the resources are under the administration of the local government. Though there is a direction [provided by the provincial government], but still it depends [on the Local Governments] if [they] would develop [tourism] that way... [Usually, local government develops tourism] according to its understanding, which might not be correct. So what is happening now, there are development [projects] that duplicate, like the adventure [parks] in [the municipalities of] Danao and Catigbian. Then Dimiao [municipality] also wants to build their own zip line. Loboc put up the same thing with the mentality that at least a million...
- [10] For example, Danao is earning 4 million for the year from their adventure park. The contention [of competing municipalities] is that if only they could only take half of that amount [earned by Danao], that is 2 million, that would be fine... They are killing the business... which is not good. If only they could put up something different, they could also earn the 4 million that Danao is gaining. If they could start something new [example, new touristic activity], there is a big possibility that [tourists] would not be divided. In fact, the same amount [other municipalities] could rise from a different thing. But that mentality, that is the worst!
- [11] We don't have a body that would say 'This could be, but that should not be.' Although, now, we are trying to make the Provincial Tourism Council as that body, a sort of clearing house. It has not been legislated that this is one of its functions... The responsibility of the Tourism Council is like an advisory making body, not decision making body. It does not have that function. Its mandate is not enough. It makes advices, but implements minor decisions only... The Tourism Council has been in existence for long time, but we see that its function is not any more relevant. The tourism industry in Bohol has developed to an extent that the functions of the Tourism Council, which were before workable... are now... not enough to address the needs of the tourism industry. We see that the Council should have that kind of function to decide on things... This is our vision for Bohol, this is how we should do it... 'This one is fine, the others are not'. There is no regulation. It's very difficult!
- [12] That is why, middle of this year, the Council went into a capacity work to determine if its organizational structure is still responding to the need of the industry now. We reviewed the functions of the Council or should it be retained... Down the structure should there be a sub-council to implement things that had been decided... One thing is that the [council] members are from the private sector and they have also their own businesses to do. Even until now, 'When are you going to do it?' [I am asking them.] Of course, it's voluntary, so we don't have the budget. It depends upon the office. What I would do is to adapt it as a program. But they don't have the planning yet. How could I adapt and fund you if you don't have a program. This is the big issue as of this moment, which is if it [the new function of the Council] would be

designated, that would be the time, that we could truly regulate the tourism industry. This is how it is supposed to be done, but as of this moment, nothing...

- [13] The worst for those municipalities that first implemented and have gained so much income from their tourism activities. They are now complaining that other [municipalities] are copying their programs. Of course, if one [municipality] copies the tourism activities of another municipality, it becomes a competition, especially if the former is more accessible than the latter. This is the dilemma because the industry is growing and then those policies and control measures are not yet in place. It's difficult when tourism activities are operating while there is no existing mechanism to control and regulate them. It's hard because now, there is so much development going array. It's helpless. Anyway, there is nobody controlling it.
- [14] In addition, the treatment of issues that occur is very piecemeal. For example, there is now that problem in the Man-made Forest [in the municipality of Bilar] caused by the growing numbers of street vendors. Had it been if only there were control measures, it would not have happened as it is now. There could have been no such issues like those... [Another example is] the protected areas under PAMB (Protected Area Management Board) under DENR that has the authority over protected areas. In Bohol, we have many protected areas, like the Chocolate Hills, mangroves, Man-made Forest, and Loboc watershed...
- [15] The members are the barangay captains [village chief] of different barangays that are encompassed by the protected areas, also including the mayors. Considering that the protected areas having very fragile resources, the barangay [captains], maybe because they are new, do not know so much, aside from those who go out of their way to learn new things. 'We will just approve their [project proposal] because we approved the one before. We should be kind to them too.' These are the issues, sometimes very participatory, but without the technical knowhow which is very disadvantageous.
- [16] For example, I attended PAMB meetings, 'No!... I don't agree to this project proposal, and as much as possible this should not be approved. It destroys the aura and the ambiance of the area,' and they say, 'No! Tourism is livelihood. It should generate [income]...' If it is for income, yes, but it should be put in another place. I always appear as the though I am always the villain. They don't know. Some of the members would even say, 'What is that ambiance all about?' It appears they have lesser knowledge about the aesthetics that go with tourism... Not just profits or income, we should put things... business somewhere else that generate income, but not exactly there. Tourist usually drops by in that place to take pictures. Then, the vendors run after them to sell T-shirts and other stuff... Not just threat to their safety, considering that it is along the national highway, but it is not good to look at.
- [17] They don't understand that the solitude and the 'greenness' of the place are what people are looking for... those are the things that tourists find attractive. Now, they are bringing in tables, around 11 of them. Whenever I drop by the place, even though there are tourists around, the vendors do not go after them because they know I am there. We are trying to facilitate and solve that. The Council will raise it to the DENR regional directors. That is the example of how the Council works. The Council is made up of government and private sectors. In other aspects, it has some accomplishments.
- [18] However, if only it could have been empowered to do regulations... We have our tourism code that is haphazardly written, a Provincial ordinance, but now withhold by the Sanggunian [Provincial Council] for review because it was not done participatory. It was [drafted by] one of the Sanggunian members, with his committee... as a kind of legacy which that he intended to leave before retirement. Because it's not participatory... In Bohol people are used to participating in anything. If you would not let people participate, there would be commotions... which is true. There are a lot of things they want to put in the code... but they were not given the chance.
- [19] That is why there are so much complains from the stake holders, like NGOs, mostly those related to tourism. Example, on the access law for the disabled persons, that should at least be mentioned in the code, every tourism establishment should have [the facilities for the handicapped]... Although there is an existing law on that, it would be good if it would be highlighted. There are still other issues, like women and children. Actually the code seems to be copied from the provisions of the DOT [Department of Tourism]... They want it reviewed by the provincial legal office. Now the present chair of the committee is planning to do a review of the provisions and to call the sectors. If there are no representatives, they will question. It would good if they would present. There should be acceptance that they are part of the n work.

[20] M: How would you rank tourism among the other industries in the province?

[21] J: In Bohol, we are still an agricultural province. We don't have other industry other than trade and tourism. Maybe in the past years, tourism used to be third. There is trade after [agriculture]... though we don't have data on that... Data is hard to get though we were trained by JAICA and DOT. For the whole country, JAICA helped us to come up with a satellite tourism account to have a uniform understanding on how we get to count the arrivals [of tourists in the country]. In spite of this, we are still in the process of institutionalization. The LGUs have been very stubborn. They don't see the importance of data, in planning and marketing. They are still 'widowing' [improvising themselves] in everything they do in their lives. Perhaps, tourism is the second because agriculture is still the first.

[22] Now, many towns would like to be into tourism. Though they don't have unique sites. They force themselves to come up with a mediocre product at the outset, it does not sell... There should be FS [Feasibility Studies] , before you make the FS, you should evaluate your site if it has the potential... the others [municipalities] simply do not have, they just wanting to join the band wagon of tourism. You don't have to earn in the tourism industry by having an attraction to visit. You could play the support part of it... tourists eat sleep, those are the things they like, things needed for accommodation facilities, flowers, you know we have to buy flowers from Cebu or from Mindanao, why can't we rise in our backyard, then vegetables, we import it from Cagayan and Cebu, why couldn't we plant eggplant? Because they think that to be in tourism, tourists should come to their places. No! You don't have to be visited. That is why they could not understand.

[23] The case of Cebu maybe different... wherein all other industries have already flourished before tourism did. It seems that people over there are used raising [agricultural crops] they can sell in Carbon [the biggest market place in Cebu City]. They are not thinking about the need develop waterfall [for tourism purposes]... In our case [in Bohol], some places have little waterfalls, very difficult to go to these places... [I asked them,] is these waterfalls accessible all year round? [They replied, Yes] accessible unless it would rain.

[24] M: If they want to put up a tourist site, for example, do they [LGUs] have to ask permission from here?

[25] A: No, they do not have to ask permission from us. But now, we educate [LGUs], through the tourism officers, [that] if you have tourism development projects to establish, present the proposal first to the Tourism Council because that is where you would get the right advice, whether your product would be marketable or not or 'what is in'... very valuable advice rather than implementing and you don't know if you have a market for your product. Now the municipalities are starting... It's funny, they are asking us, the council, to visit them... [For example], I can't imagine [in one municipality], people wanted to make a man-made waterfalls! If there is a natural waterfall around, why do you need to make a manmade here? We tell them the truth that they don't want to hear. They want that this to be this... It would be a waste of money if there is no clear source of water. [They told me,] 'It's okay ma'am. We don't have to change the water every day. We hire a truck for the water and use chlorine.' [I replied,] 'Isn't it itchy?'

[26] They want you to praise them [for their plans]... because of this, people say, 'We don't want to present [our plans] anymore because they [in the Tourism Council] are not really that supportive...' Actually, they don't want to hear what you say. But if you think about it, it's very valid because we are thinking for their own advantage. I don't have any personal interest on it... Some aspects, in other municipalities, there are valid [plans]... PTC [Provincial Tourism Council] would even say, this site is good. We can provide you a market for this one. Then, they acknowledge and share to other municipalities. For example, we have many funds from outside [foreign funding]. There are NGOs that have funding from foreign agencies. At the end of the year, they have savings. Example, in Pilar [municipality] dam... [The LGU said,] 'We have money so we will put up a zip line... passing over the dam...' It was funny. After all the amount was used up, they were able to buy only one harness... Why only one? It's because the budget was all used up in putting up a very high tower... The money was finished... You see? They did that without permission because they were in a hurry for the NGO [funding]... 'We already have the money and it is already approved...' Let's see if people will go there for zip line!

[27] M: What about Baclayan?

[28] A: It is its advantage that it is on the route for the country side tour, like the church, the pastry, browas. The

marketing is good, like the church, browa making, Pamilacan. [About] Pamilacan [island]... it was well supported. When the catching of whale sharks and other endangered marine mammals... was banned, that was the time when there was a 360 degree turn for their [people of the island] livelihood. Imagine, a whale, how much it would [cost]... in terms of income from Chinese or Japanese market. When it was banned, people did not have any income anymore.

[29] The government stepped in - DOT, DENR [Department of Environment and Natural Resources] with NZAID (New Zealand Agency for International development). They are the ones who gave support... to be... financed actually, for the people in the island to have alternative livelihood through tourism... That is how they came up with the marine life tour... However, not all members of the organization... of PIDWWO (Pamilacan Island Dolphin and Whale Watching Organization)... the People's Organizations, were fisher folks who were into hunting, the others were not. PIDDWO was the organization who got the technical assistance... financial to some extent... for enhancement of the fishing boats for tours... everything... like culinary [training], whale and dolphin interactions... tour guiding... to be able to come up with a tour that they could manage... And it went on very well... Now, it is like this... When that happened, we, together with travel agents in Bohol that focused on helping them, made Pamilacan an optional tour... We offered that... Then, we assisted them in terms of marketing.

[30] There is another group... who were also part of those who were hunting the whales. Now, they were also starting to organize an organization during that time... It's like a PO [People's Organization] by themselves, however, they were not managing the tour. They were merely service providers for a travel agent who was once... It's funny (smiling, appearing to be cautious) was reckoned by WWF [World Wild Life Fund]... He was the one who organized the community... Then perhaps, along the way, he realized, Wow! There are so much many in these... He left WWF then started his own... private business... So, this second organization is his service provider. It's not the PO managing, service provider only... Since this PO does not have the technical training, so they also asked us to provide technical training for them... The two organizations were doing business very well, of course separately, but it was okay...

[31] Then Ayala Foundation came in... (Speaking with lower voice) was also very generous donating to the municipality... That was the time when I saw the municipality very visible... in the Pamilacan tourism industry... which was never the case then with the past mayors... With Ayala coming in... It had to go first to the LGU... It [Ayala] was very generous... The new tourism office... that was Ayala. And then came one person having his own personal business. (Appearing to be cautious while speaking) Jo Uichi, working for Ayala foundation during that time, has his own dive shop operation and a travel agency, of which those 2 organizations [PIDWWO and PIBOSA] were his service providers. What he did, he came up with a cooperative. He wanted to unite [the 2 organizations]... which had been doing well by themselves... He united them, although not everybody participated. This time, they were mixed-up... Others were forced to join because they were afraid... he is such a big competitor... They feared being eliminated...

[32] Then when things did not work out in the foundation, for whatsoever [reasons]... they [Ayala Foundation staff] had to pull out... They pulled out and everything crumbled... I don't know how it is now... The organization vanished, the cooperative... They went back to their former individual livelihood... [This is] very recently, 2 to 3 years ago? Around 2009... They were abandoned by themselves... At that time [when] Ayala was still very strong, the LGUs constantly went to Pamilacan, but now they lie low on Pamilacan... I don't know why... because of the promises and... I was very happy... happy because the LGU had become active... But, [it was] short lived... It was not sustained for a long time.

[33] M: I happened to see a resort-like structure (in Pamilacan)... Is that a really resort?

[34] J: There is a resort there... owned by Eskaya [one of the best and expensive hotels in mainland Bohol]... Somewhere near is the diving shop owned by Jo Uichi.

[35] M: I heard it was a vacation house.

[36] J: Yes, It's not that big. They usually bring their costumers over to that resort....

[37] M: It's beautiful...

[38] J: ... and it's really expensive... ridiculously expensive.... according to Kris Aquino... 90 thousand a night (with expressive feelings).

[39] M: Revenues for the LGUs?

[40] J: (With confidence) They only pay the local government... [for] the permit license, realty tax.. and the rest income tax... No more... That is why... the LGUs do not have much source of income on those... That is why... What about collecting bed tax? Canada has bed tax... Of course, it has to be clear what that is for...

[41] M: In big resorts, where can we see local participations?

[42] J: In big resorts? There is none... This is the case... The understanding when they first... proposed their plans... as much as possible... the first crack would be given within the area... But of course, people are not qualified... from the area, at least within Bohol, if not Bohol, outside... High positions, of course, are for those with high qualifications... One thing, Bellevue is opening... They look for people within the community... [It is a]sister resort of a hotel in Manila, Alabang... Because we do not have technically competent [personnel] available, so they look for other people [outside Bohol]... [Local people, at least are employed to do] menial jobs like gardeners.

[43] M: I got a document form the internet about a kind of Long Term Development Plan on tourism of Bohol?

[44] J: It is still there....It's funny (laughing)... 2008? Partly being implemented, there are still a lot [of provisions] that have not yet being implemented... It is seen that the plan is one thing, because the fact it was drafted by planner... Pacific Consultants... They hired... It is seen more on the investment aspects... Not so much... though, there are programs with the intention for opening the province for investment.. no development that would look into the environment, considering conservations... Although some are implemented... example.. the number of establishments to put up in a certain area... In fact, the plan is still to be reviewed... They say it's not enough... In fact, Panglao even has a tourism master plan done by Halifax [an international development planning service] ...

[45] M: How is the planned airport?

[46] J: Same as before. It's on the table... They know how to make plans without implementing them(with a smile).

[47] M: Is your office under the Office of the Governor?

[48] J: Yes, we are under the governor.

[49] M: What about the Tourism Council, does the membership have specific term of office?

[50] J: Officers are elected... at large... membership is more than 50 people... It's a big body... There is no representation from each municipality yet. It's because they are not yet well organized... Though there is an executive committee to act on day to day... issues.. they are ...not exactly hands-on... The officers would just meet.. core group to decide on things... It's hard to gather together the 50... [They] only meet twice a year... Entities of participation are... 60% private sector, 40% government... And then, our office is the secretariat of the Council.... My office is a member of the Council.

[51] M: When did you start in the Tourism Office?

[52] J: 1997... I learned the hard way (laughing)... I'm not tourism major... Until now... We started as an investment office... Tourism was an investment area... We have tourism sections... Before, the coordinating office was being lodged in the Committee on Tourism of the SP [Provincial Council]... There was nothing before... What she does is [she was doing was] to coordinate... with DOT.... And when the committee chair of the tourism [council] decided not run for reelection but for mayor, she wanted to give the coordinating task to another office... She felt that her committee was not appropriate...

[53] That was reason why she turned over the responsibility to our office... 1997... 2000 our office was separated

[this time, as the provincial tourism office]. It was the time that the tourism industry started to grow big, that one section [of our old office] would not be enough ... DOT coordinates with us... We, at our end... technical assistance... We also request from them... to economize... DOT takes care of the speakers during training seminars... That is our relationship [with DOT].

Code: F12A

Informant: Nang Petra, the wife of Nong Siano
Taking charge of coordinating with clients and villagers

Date: July 19, 2012 (Thursday, First day in Pamilacan)

Venue: Nong Siano's Residence, Pamilacan Island

Interview Environment: We were setting in front of their house. Occasionally, people passed by and interrupted our conversation.

Notes: Nang Petra and Nong Siano were one of my hosts in Pamilacan. They accommodated me in the cottage built by their son. I was not able to take the Wednesday boat going to Pamilacan, so I stayed overnight in Tagbilaran and left the next day.

M = Researcher

F = Informant

[1] F: Boat Captain, a crew, and a spotter... if they use the canter... If [visitors] request for a guide, we can also provide one... They are 4 in all... That is in a big boat...

[2] M: Do you mean, sometimes there is no guide?

[3] F: Sometimes, there are no guides because they have other things to do somewhere... But ideally, there should be a guide... In my case, if Siano's boat will be used for a trip, I will not take a guide because Sunny will also serve as a guide... He the number 1 among the guides. He was even asked by the staff of Channel 7 (Philippine local TV channel). Have you not seen that [TV show] Born to be Wild? Sunny was one of the stars there! That was last March... this year... It was the second time... People told me, 'Petra, Siano has become famous!' That was the time when they [went to the sea to] interact with balilan (Whale shark, *Balaenoptera edeni*)... They [the TV crew] also stayed here with us. With the owner of that cottage... It was their second time to come here... The last time they came here, in March, they were able to see a very huge fish! Blue Whale... They saw it... They were televised in Born to be Wild... (happily recounting the event)

[4] M: Is the Captain... usually the owner of the pump boat?

[5] F: He is the owner of the pump boat... If he is sick [for example]... he will ask for somebody to take over the responsibility.

[6] M: Is he the one to hire the crew also... or is it PIDWVO?

[7] F: Yes, of course! The owner of the pump boat will pay the spotter, the crew, and the guide... That is the way it works... For example, a 10 visitor package costs 3 thousand pesos. Payment for the spotters, the crew, and the guide will be deducted from that amount.

[8] M: Who will give the payment?

[9] F: ... The owner of the pump boat, if how much he will pay...

[10] M: Are the spotters and the crew also PIDWVO members?

- [11] F: They are members... but there are those who are not... For example, if members of the PIDWWO are drunkards, I tell them... 'Me, I have not attended your seminars [on basic tourism services], but I am observing you. You say you have to be well groomed, without the smell of Tanduay (a local Rhum brand)... As spotters, you have to converse with the visitors, "Hey, look at there...!"... That is why my husband Siano... if there are quests coming... he speaks broken English... 'For the Americans,' he said, 'As long as they understand what you are trying to say, grammar will not matter...' (laughing)
- [12] M: Do the spotters really know how to spot [for example, whales]?
- [13] F: Those who attended seminars, they know the different kinds of dolphins... Dolphins have different names... That dolphin [for example]... that is a 'spinner dolphin'... The guests usually ask, 'What kind of dolphin was that?' If [the spotter] is quick, he can answer... Dolphins have different movements... Even us here, though many times we have seen dolphins... if we see them together... we shout aloud, 'My God! There are so many dolphins!' It's so wonderful to see them... That is why people are enchanted by them... Even us who are used to seeing dolphins around here, we even jump for joy seeing them... There are still many of them... During summer... They look as if they are having fun... many of them especially during summer... (describing how she and her friends were able to interact with the dolphins)
- [14] M: How many members do PIDWWO have?
- [15] F: It seems only few... I think they are now divided. There were many with the PIDWWO then... There is now PIBOSA, PIDWWO... Now there are resorts... There are also those who now own resorts...
- [16] M: I was here before... maybe five years ago... They said it is a vacation house [referring to the new resorts in the island owned by businessmen from mainland Bohol]... not for rent... Now, they already accepting visitors?
- [17] F: It really belongs to them...
- [18] M: Is that so? It has been there for long time? What about the big one [building] over there... the one owned by Lim?
- [19] F: The resort is new, but they own the land long before... The one over there is really a huge property... [owned by] Jun Lim... They did not buy it; it belongs to them ever since... It is a very huge property... That side (pointing to another piece of land), it's different... It belongs to some other people. One is from Loay [town]... like that of Doctor Flordelis... He has also a resort over there, at the opposite side... (interrupted)
- [20] M: Your descendants are really from this place... for long time?
- [21] F: Us? We have been in this place since long time ago... Other owners of the land here are from Biking, Dausi [town]. That is the reason why we have close connections with the people from Dausi, [especially] during fiestas... There are those from Loay also... The Jala's... Doctor Jala... His visitors, when Pamilacan was now yet that famous, used to contact us here... Now, it seems they have their own... They employed our carpenters here to make... It has become a competition... Before, we used to have guests coming from there... Now, no more... because they have opened their own [dolphin and whale watching tour service]... They can now serve their own guests, because they have already acquired their own [boats]... (interrupted)
- [22] M: It seems I could go around the whole island for an hour.
- [23] F: You could... But, you can't pass this way because of the cliff... The area with the water well that belongs to Jun Lim... That huge coconut plantation belongs to his grandmother... I told myself, 'No more, we [our business] will become slower and slower...' Because they have already their own [big resorts around]... They can now take their own guests [for dolphin and whale watching]... They have their own boats now.
- [24] M: The other side has also a very nice beach...
- [25] F: That belongs to Lim... I think they have their own security guards in their house... The caretakers also... are his relatives... He is kind... He owns a shipping [company]... Lite Shipping... He owns it...

Code: MW12A

Informants: Nong Malong with his wife

Former PIDWWO/PIBOSA members, now operating a tour boat

Date: July 20, 2012 (my first time in Pamilacan)

Venue: Outside their cottage for rent

Interview Environment: We were setting on the beach. There were no other people there except the three of us.

Notes: It is like a casual conversation while having snacks with his wife.

M = Researcher

Mo = Informant

[1] Mo: According to our seminar on dolphin watching, the longest interaction with dolphins is 15 to 20 minutes... That is the regular [normal length of time] in interacting with dolphins... It should not be longer than that... or else they will be disturbed...

(His wife serving coffee)

[2] They are gaining a lot of income over there... The one of Misy... they have many contacts. They are the guests' favorite, that's the reason why they have many contacts. But, her father is actually one... one of the... Manta Ray killers... (laughing) all the bad things in the island... They are just being stubborn... I don't know why. They are actually well-off...

(After our snacks, *Nong Malong* was planning to go fishing nearby.)

[3] All of their children already graduated from school... They are just working for their own needs (talking about Siano's family).

Code: KW12A

Informants: The Village Chief (Kapitan) of Pamilacan and the women

Date: July 25, 2012

Venue: Baclayon port, on the boat going to Pamilacan

Interview Environment: We were together with Kapitan's wife, children, and other companions on the boat while waiting for other passengers to come. They also participated in the interview.

Notes: I met Kap for the first time. I was accommodated on their boat going back to Pamilacan for the second time. I was not able to recognize him as the village chief until the interview. I took the opportunity to ask him about the tourism activities in Pamilacan. He was very accommodating.

M = Researcher

K = Kapitan

W1 = Woman 1 (Kapitan's wife)

W2 = Woman 2

[1] M: What is the history of this [PIDWWO]... what is this organization all about?

[2] K: (with soft voice) It was thriving in the beginning... It was supported by other countries... One of them was Helen Clark... the president before of...

[3] M: New Zealand... Is she still the president until now? May be not anymore...

[4] K: New Zealand... I don't know if she is still the one...

[5] M: Then?

[6] K: They [Pamilacan people] received many benefits... They shared these benefits among the members... After that, it seems they received no more, the support stopped... That was the reason why this [tourism] was introduced for them to benefit from it... Dolphin watching started... But, it seems nothing happen... because there are too many people who are now availing to this new livelihood... For example, if five visitors would come today and hire them for dolphin and whale watching... not all the boats [members] could take turn... Almost all of those white boats over there (pointing to the boats stationed on the shore)... The ones they have here... are mostly walk-in tourists... Then, when dolphin watching started... it continues the same way...

[7] The members are becoming lukewarm; others find it hard because it [tourism] could not sustain their livelihood. Whenever visitors come to PIDWWO, they worked together with the women... mostly women... They cook and clean... Others do massage services and the like... That is how it is until now... We even had a cooperative organization when Ayala [Foundation] was still around... Ayala created it.

[8] M: Was it just recently?

[9] K: Maybe 2 years ago... When Ayala left, the organization also disappeared.

[10] M: What was the program all about?

[11] K: It was like this... They offered loans to the people [of the island]... but only few people benefited from it... They [Ayala staff] offered loan to the 'first batch' of 10 people for boat repair... After the first batch, the second batch was supposed to be the next, but it did not push through... Rather, there were only 2 boats from the second batch, the ones with Tito and Yame... The rest, ten of them [members], even started to order boats from Butuan [Mindanao]... but then again it did not push through... There was even a fund... to purchase [boats]... from the organization PITOLMPC (Pamilacan Island Tourism Livelihood Multi-Purpose Cooperative)... Most of its members... were also members of PIDWWO... Most of them were there also. We have many People's Organizations there, 7 of them... One is PIFIA (Pamilacan Island Fishers Association)... (SOSOM)? for the women. Their target is clean and green, cleaning the place, and [planting] flowers...

(The interview was interrupted because they were preparing already the boat for departure.)

Part 2: This time with two women: the wife of Kapitan and another lady, a resident of Pamilacan (separate audio file)

(The conversation continued. This time, the women on the boat participated in the discussion. One is Kapitan's wife. The other is a native resident of Pamilacan. During the interview, I interrupted once in a while to clarify things that they had said. I started the interview only with Kapitan. However, the women started to participate in the discussions. It had a casual conversation atmosphere.)

[12] K: There is that Pueblo de Pamilacan and... 5... 6, There is... PIBOSA... They also do dolphin watching... [and] food catering...

[13] M: Until now, do these 7 [tourism businesses] still exist?

[14] K: They still exist. They still continue, but unlike before when it was started there were funds from outside and people were more enticed... when there are outside support...

[15] W: They [NGOs, LGU, and others] only gave such support because they want to abolish fishing.

- [16] K: It could have been fine, if they did not make us more dependent on their support... if people were not becoming dependent on support [coming from outside]... in our place.
- [17] W1: People could not survive.
- [18] K: The hard thing is that the livelihood does not sustain... for our everyday needs.
- [19] W1: There are times when a boat could not take a trip for a month because there are no visitors coming... Only once a year... it's almost a year! (with high tone voice)
- [20] K: ... The only thing was that Ayala was helping [us]... Boats were repaired. But it took time [for visitors to come]... [So, we] went back fishing.
- [21] W2: If we have students [to send to school], how could it be...
- [22] K: It is also very expensive to register [the boats] to Marina [Philippine Maritime Industry Authority]... It's too expensive!
- [23] W: Some pay around 6 thousand pesos... We paid more than 4 thousand pesos to Marina...
- [24] W2: We have to renew it [registration], after one week... Yes... people are complaining why they always have to renew even they are not operating that often [because tourists are not coming that often]. It would be okay if... only tourists are coming regularly... even just once a week. Oh God! It usually takes more than a month before we can take a trip, then we have to renew [our registration again]... We are losing!
- [25] W: It seems Marina is taking a lot of money [from us]... (The boat departs.)

Code: M12A

Informant: *Nong Malong*

Former PIDWWO/PIBOSA member, now operating a tour boat

Date: July 26, 2012 (my second time in Pamilacan)

Venue: Outside their cottage for rent

Interview Environment: We were setting along the beach, just in front of their cottage for rent. No other people were present.

Notes: I stayed with *Nong Malong* and his wife in their cottage for rent. They were very kind to me.

M = Researcher

Mo = Informant

[1] M: How did [PIDWWO] start?

[2] Mo: Actually, it started like this... Seminars on how to interact with dolphins and whales were conducted... on how to interact with these mammals... so that the people would be aware [of the importance of taking care for these mammals]... We attended many seminars... We went to faraway places where dolphin watching is also conducted, like in Bais, Negros... They [people in Bais] were the first to conduct whale watching... We were there... Usually, they only have dolphin watching... That is why when the new livelihood [dolphin and whale watching] started [in Pamilacan]... it was doing very well. Spotters received high pays as much as 300 pesos... from PIDWWO. They paid us high... Until the time came... big resorts in Panglao island started to engage [in whale and dolphin watching activities]... Those who were once transporting tourists to Balicasag island for island hopping also started to offer dolphin watching services, because many tourists want it... They [the boatmen in Panglao] are more advantaged because most of the tourists are staying in resorts located there.

- [3] The difficult thing is that they offer cheaper services than we do... That made us fall... There, they start the price from 1, 000 pesos [for dolphin watching services], at most 1, 500... They even offer tourists a 'No See, No Pay' service [wherein tourists may not pay for the service if they are not able to see dolphins or whale along the way]... But actually, some of the boatmen's colleagues are stationed on the sea [to check for the mammals]. They just communicate through text messages... Agents are convincing tourists on the beach on 'No see, No Pay' basis... But actually, their colleagues on the sea have already informed them of dolphin sightings... That is how they are doing it... Sometimes those boatmen from Panglao could even take three trips a day...
- [4] The bad thing is that they don't know how to interact with the dolphins. They just bump on them... They don't have the training. They don't have the seminar on how to interact with these mammals... Because these boatmen are trying to catch up for the next trips, they just bump on them (dolphins). After seeing that the tourists are already satisfied taking photos along the way, the boatmen right away bring back these guests to the shore and take another group... That is why the way they are doing things there, not good... But there's nothing we can do... It (dolphin watching) is thriving and the boatmen over there have the advantage of being close to the resorts and they offer cheaper services... It turned out as though we are just partaking from the few drops of the rain... Instead of us who should benefit from the new livelihood, being the ones who are greatly affected by the banning of whale and sting ray fishing, but it was not materialized... We could neither stop them because this type of livelihood is common, for all... They are free to [do what they want]...
- [5] M: What are the local people doing about this issue?
- [6] Mo: I think the local people here in the island are divided on this... Some do not want to adopt this new livelihood... For them, tourism could not sustain their livelihood to support their families. If all would adopt this new livelihood and use their boats for this purpose, this time there are only few tourists coming in because of weak marketing. Ayala [Foundation] came in, hoping to revitalize the organization (PIDWWO) but with a new name... I suggested that marketing should be given importance... Marketing should be improved so that the number of tourist may grow... promotion.
- [7] M: How was Ayala [Foundation] doing?
- [8] Mo: It was doing fine! These boats are actually from a loan (Ayala Foundation)... But, it turned out... that some people [who benefited from the loan] were even using these boats to hunt endangered species... those from the other side [people from the other side of the island]... It hurts to hear these things... That is why nobody wants to provide investment and support with this kind of system... It is only good at the beginning, but when time comes that people see the organization flourishing, they start to bring in their selfish interests. That's what happened with PIDWWO, PIBOSA... and by the way, first of all, the Cooperative in the island... Pamilacan Multi-Purpose Cooperative... It started with a small store... Then [the Cooperative members] was able to buy a car for purchasing goods to sell, then bought fishing net...
- [9] Until the time came that they [the organization members] could not pay anymore [the loan]... The bank stepped in... The bank took the properties... and sold to Siano... They came up with bidding... Now, Siano has the properties, the fishing net... the pump boat, and the engine... The organization was dissolved, it was dissolved... After that incident, PIDWWO came into the scene... KKP (Kabang Kalikasan ng Pilipinas) initiated the program... I was in Manila during that time because I was working in MIA [Manila International Airport]. My wife joined the group... It began with only few boats operating... When the organization failed... because of selfish interest coming in... PIBOSA was established... That is why Jay [one of those who initiated PIDWWO] was able to accumulate his own boats. Until PIBOSA, in the same way, failed. Having the facilities, he took every trip for himself, not giving the other members the same opportunity... We could do nothing about it.
- [10] M: Is Jay a native from this place?
- [11] Mo: No, he is from Cebu...
- [12] M: He came to this place through KKP?

[13] Mo: Yes... He requested KKP that he would take care of the marketing [of dolphin and whale watching tours] and others activities. He asked for a ... was it 5% [share]? But, the organization rejected his proposal. That was the reason why he left and start [a tourism business] of his own... He was to recruit me because during that time I had just come from Manila... and my wife was not a PIDWWO member. Often times, he made use of this boat (pointing to his boat)... the one I own... Until I was able to repaired this... During that time, I always went ashore since many tourists were coming. They even gave us high pays. That was during the time when PIDWWO had just been disorganized. During the time of PIDWWO, spotters received as much as 300 pesos.

[14] By the time the marketing management changed, it went down to 150 pesos, 150 pesos less. That is why they decided to increased it to 200 because the spotters started to complain... The latter did not want to join the group anymore because of the low pay... People don't know why it came to this point. Instead of the fish folks gaining from tourism... it turned out to be too cheap and the industry started to decline... I wonder why... Perhaps, there are leakages on the way we entertain the guests.... It is one of the factors, if the food is not good enough, if the guests are not properly attended to... There are a lot of comments from people... If only there were place for the comments... I think PIDWWO had something [like a box] for the suggestions.

[15] M: What about PIBOSA... is it still existing?

[16] Mo: Pamilacan Boat Owners and Spotters Association... It was also dismantled... He [Jay] is now operating the business himself with his men... There were few left mostly his men... Then we went our own ways... We have contacts... Now, Edgar has contacts... He was with Ayala before... He has a contact with Peacock [resort and restaurant in Baclayon]. He is the one giving us [guests] sometimes... like yesterday... We take turn with Siano... only those pump boats which have the license and are not engaged in hunting endangered species... We always work with our license even though trips are becoming lesser and lesser... But now concerning our license, I don't know why we lose interest in renewing it... On the process of renewing, there are so many requirements... They even require us to have a radio [hand held radio]. The requirements are too much! The fees are not that easy... Some requirements are only valid for a year... then they expire. Others for two years.

[17] It would be okay if fees were cheap, considering that we have only very few trips... [The money you gained from the trips] would only be enough to pay for the requirements... That is why we did not renew [our license]. I, for one, did not renew mine... What I did... I just write that my boat is on dry dock (laughing)... If you would not write so, your license would be [totally] deleted. But, it certainly has a limit, maybe for a month... It has been a month; I haven't [renewed it]... We are disappointed because those who do not have the license are the ones who are always having trips. [The government] does not admonish them. While in our case, we have been renewing our license, but the same thing, we don't have trips. Those who do not have the license are always having trips. We are disheartened by this fact... [Now] whether having license or not, it doesn't make any difference... Even without license, they often sail without being penalized... Even PIBOSA doesn't have the license. It is because the owner, Jay, has a connection with the Coast Guard... That is the reason why we lost interest in renewing our license.

[18] M: Even those from Panglao, [don't have license]?

[19] Mo: Yes... There are many of them there... because they also have 'under the table'... The only thing if there are accidents on the sea. If anything bad would happen, all would be affected! For instance, there was one incident that a boat was on fire while on the sea and the crew left the guests behind... It was just recently. That is the reason why, now Marina made the process of talking license stricter than before... because of that case... Fortunately, another boat comes to the rescue... The guests immediately complained. It turned out that one of the guests is a government official... (laughing) They screwed up. From that time on, [policies] became stricter... The guest complained because of that incident... The crew left him on the burning boat... Things became worst, since it was found out that those the boatmen operated without the license. The [authorities] made it more difficult for us...

[20] M: What about in Panglao, do they operate by turn?

[21] Mo: It seems they have an organization over there, but the members are doing their own way... They only give [clients] to specific people whom they maintain... If there are many guests coming, maybe they give to

others too... but they usually ask for a higher price... They have a kind of organization among boatmen... This is what would happen if those boatmen do not have license... I heard they give some bribe to the Coast Guard... It would have been fine... The only thing is that our livelihood here in Pamilacan is declining because of these people.

[22] M: I had experienced how they approach tourists for dolphin watching with low service charge...

[23] Mo: There were even instances that they snatched guests from us... How many times I experienced that when I was still with PIBOSA. I was waiting for my guest on the beach, without going to the resort. We just learned later that our guests were already taken by other boatmen for dolphin watching for a cheaper price... But they [tourists] do not know why we ask for a higher price... We do it right... We normally take the tourists farther to the sea, not only around here. There is also specific time for dolphin watching... If we are able to see dolphins on a trip, we take the guests once again to the sea, until they are able to see the mammals. Our livelihood here is just to keep our pulse, as the old saying goes. But still we can survive with the little we have. If the sack of rice is full, we take more; if we see it is becoming empty, we take less.

[24] M: Panglao has the advantage then...

[25] Mo: The resorts over there have so many guests... Of course why do they have to give it to others when they have their own boats... Usually, they used to operate only for diving... for instance Alona, Alona Kew, BBC (Bohol Beach Club)... Bee Farm, all of these. Now, they have their own boats. If they are not able to take in all their guests because of their number, they asked the boatmen outside. But, you know, there are many agents around there... The agents are the ones who are convincing as many guests as possible.

[26] M: What about you, who are your contacts?

[27] Mo: I only have Peacock [resort]... Siano has many contacts, like the Baclayon Travel. They are able to keep the old contacts from PIDWWO. In addition, he has also contacts with Peacock, the one with Edgar. It was with Joe before. That is why they are not running out of guests.

[28] Dolphin watching started with the establishment of PIDWWO... By the way, the very first to conduct dolphin watching activities was Bais [Negros Oriental], That was the reason why we went there for the seminars. Bais is a beautiful place... It is trapped between Cebu and Negros islands... They have a very nice docking area for the boats. It's like a port... They also have beautiful boats, big ones. They have very nice covered facilities... [However], they only have few species [of dolphins]... Unlike here, you can see whales and different other species.

[29] M: There in Cebu, in Dalaguete, I think they have also whale watching.

[30] Mo: Yes, I heard they even feed them... It is strange, what about if they do not have anything to feed anymore, what would happen? These [mammals] eat a lot! (laughing)... I had a guest once... whom I brought here... the lady was a Filipina... She mentioned that they have also many [whales] over there but people feed them.

Code: KR12A

Informant: Kapitan (village Chief) of Pamilacan

Date: July 26, 2012 (around 9:40 AM)

Venue: in front of their Sari-sari store, right beside their house

Interview Environment: We were seated just in front of Kapitan's sari-sari (mini) store. Some people were passing by the place. Occasionally, people interrupted us to buy something from the store.

Notes: I met Kap for the first time on the boat (July 25). I was accommodated in their boat going back to Pamilacan. I also interviewed him for a short time on the boat with his wife and other companions (see other transcript).

M = Researcher
K = Informant

(The first part of the conversation, we talked about a certain Japanese student and a teacher who came to Pamilacan for research. They stayed with Kapitan. He has a wonderful time with them.)

[1] M: How is tourism doing here in your barangay (village) so far?

[2] K: If we talk about the percentage of tourism... maybe around 35%... around 1/3... if we base on livelihood... We can actually observe the development of those people who are engaged into tourism... But for those who are in food catering, they are still continuing their work. But, the one who benefit the most is the owner of the restaurant... Others are also benefiting from massage services... also those who escort tourists going to the [marine] sanctuary. There are guides over there. They only have income if visitors come... but only those visitors who want to go to the sanctuary... There are also those who do not go there... Guides receive 100 pesos each for every trip to the sanctuary... That is my observation, only around 35% income that tourism could contribute to our livelihood... Most of those who engaged in tourism are from the other side [of the island]... But sometimes, tourism is low... The peak season is usually only during summer... February to May... But in the other months, from June to January, only few tourists come... Therefore, the peak season is only 3 months. The rest, the 9 months, is low... That is why other people go back to fishing during low seasons, and benefit again from tourism and dolphin watching during summer...

[3] Let's go back to PIDWWO... During the start of PIDWWO... one of those who supported PIDWWO was the WWF (World Wildlife Fund)... Then they applied [the idea] here in our place because we also want to avail ourselves [of the benefits] from tourism. During that time... it was still the beginning when they tried to introduce tourism. After some years, KKP (Kabang Kalikasan ng Pilipinas) took over... It seems that they were adapted [by WWF]. WWF is international... It was adapted in the Philippines and became what they call KKP... It was the time when our fishing was greatly affected.... KKP initiated the banning of whale fishing... including bongkaras (Bryde's whale, *Balaenoptera omurai*). Actually, we were hunting bongkaras before...

[4] M: What is the difference between bongkaras and balilan?

[5] K: They are almost the same... They are very huge.. Of all the types of whale, balilan (Whale shark, *Balaenoptera edeni*) is one of the biggest... They are of the same family with sharks... Bongkaras is purely whale, but it is very huge! It's meat could weigh around 10 thousand kilos... Certainly, we gained so much money from it before... The same thing with whale sharks, it's a lot of money! For one whale? Local buyer... The people from Lila [town] used to buy bongkaras meat from us... They bought in bulks, cost around 60 thousand or 80 thousand pesos... Yes, the whole fish. For the whale shark, the usual buyers are from Cebu, in kilos, 50 pesos [per kilo]... [For example] if the fish weighs 10 thousand kilos... it will cost half a million (laughing)! That was the system before... But, what we usually caught could not reach 10 thousand kilos, only maybe 5 thousand, some 3 thousand, or 2 thousand. That was the year when there were so much quarrels around here... They were many commotions... People were indignant with PIDWWO... Year? Around 1994, 95.

[6] That was the time when they started to introduce [tourism]... First, WWF came here.. After around 2 years, KKP took over... That was the start of the banning in 1997. It was automatic. The people were not consulted about the existing plan of the government... It was like an executive order... No more local consultations... The people, fisher folk were very angry, especially with PIDWWO because it was the organization that was supported by those people [from WWF and KKP]... We can do nothing because the government backed it. Our anger slowly faded. There's nothing we can do... They banned it, so be it... During that time, the first to be banned was... around 1995... the bongkaras... Then, around 1997, the whale shark...

[7] A researcher [who came to the island before the banning of whale shark hunting] even told me in an interview here... They were from Siliman University [of Negros Oriental]... They were from Negros... They told me, 'No, this will never happen [to ban whale shark hunting]...' Then I replied, 'My concern only is this. Now, you are doing research here and educating households around... Soon after this research, our [remaining] livelihood would then be banned. Like what happened before, a research was done here. Soon

after, the ban on bongkaras hunting was imposed. Now, that you are having interviews again, most probably soon, balilan hunting will then be banned too.' They answered, 'No. Surely that will not happen!' I told them to watch out. I could still remember... God! It was 1995. Two years after that interview, in 1997, as I suspected, balilan hunting was banned! You know, we were travelling during that time to Cebu. The first one to be captured was my friend... He was caught in Talisay [Cebu]... Me, I was caught in Tagbilaran pier... It was strictly banned... (interruption by a lady) From that time on... there's nothing we can do... We came accept the fact that it was banned already... After some years... sanga (Manta ray, *Manta birostris*) hunting was then banned!

[8] M: What is sanga?

[9] K: It looks like pagi (Stingray, *Dasyatis centroura*)... Pagi is smaller than sanga! It (sanga) has a lot of meat... Its wings... maybe around 3 fathoms... It was banned... Out of the 4 types of sanga... only one is banned... the Manta Ray... In bisaya, we call it sanga... The other types were not banned. That is why, now, people are slowly by slowly trying to move on even without the livelihood... We move on... During summer, people go for tourism for income... After the summer, they go back to fishing... They are just contented catching pagi after sanga was banned... However, it could not be avoided that sometimes people accidentally caught sanga... Until around 2007... Ayala [Foundation] came in... Its program was still on tourism... The same thing happened. It seemed they really wanted to restrict our livelihood... They wanted to impose a total ban! Even including pagi...

[10] I have been the barangay Kapitan (village Chief) that time... I was elected in 2007... Me too, I don't agree of the total ban... Are they trying to kill the people in the island little by little?! Tourism could not really support our livelihood... I even told them [the Ayala staff]... Joel and the Ayala staff that if they wanted to ban our fishing, then we would not be against it, as long as they would be willing to compensate for the loss of our livelihood. You should support the fisher folk, support the people in the island... We would not hesitate if you would support us... The difficult thing is that, they wanted to buy our nets for hunting pagi... They would pay us and we could avail for a load from them. Only for few people... we are almost 300 families here... Only 12 families were able to get the support. So, the support could not sustain... There were also complains from the municipality which were not properly addressed... They [Ayala staff] left! (interrupted)

[11] That is why in the name of fishing, we move on for their [Ayala] endeavor could not really succeed... They left because the municipality was not able to properly address their complains... For example, the case of the IRR (Internal Rules and Regulations), it is a set of rules and regulations concerning diving sites... It seems that the Municipal Council did not approve it right away... On the side of the Municipal government, they wanted to conduct a public consultation or hearing first... Of course, they have to make preliminary [consultations]... What if the people would not agree with it [IRR], it would be useless, wouldn't it? They were negotiating thoroughly on the issue... It seems that they [Ayala staff] could not wait much longer, so they left! Imagine the amount they gave as loans, it was very huge! No more... That was the time of Ayala... [Ayala] also owns the Bank of Philippine Islands, right? Globe [Telecommunication company]... It's big... Isn't it the third richest company in the Philippines? They did not even inform us that they were leaving...

[12] M: I heard about the beautiful building in Balwarte [Baclayon port]. They say it's the Tourism Office. Did that belong to Ayala?

[13] K: Yes, indeed... It cost around... It's too much. I could not even believe it cost that much... around 4 million pesos? (not certain)... All in all, their total expenses including those amount donated to other barangays in Baclayon... it cost around, was it 26 million? Here in the island... maybe around 2 million.

[14] M: Are there other People's Organizations in the island [except PIDWWO]?

[15] K: There is PAFIA... It's an association of fisher folk... Pamilacan Fishers Association. Then, we have PIBOSA (Pamilacan Island Boat Owners and Spotters Association) which is also about [tourism]... Pueblo de Pamilacan, that restaurant and this cottage ... near Petra's place... Her place is also different. It does not have any name yet... PIDWWO also has a restaurant. Aside from PIDWWO... Petra also has cottages but these are her personal property, not related to PIDWWO... There is another one owned by Misy, still with no name... The one with a name is that of PIBOSA. Mary Gui is managing that one... It's on the left side.

Pueblo is on the right. One of my relatives actually owns one of those.

[16] M: Is Pueblo de Pamilacan an organization or privately owned?

[17] K: I think it's private, because the family is managing [the business]... There are also members who assist... [When visitors] order food... the owner also asks assistance from other people, not necessarily relatives... They [other people] also benefit from it... (interrupted) And then, there is another one. I think they also do it themselves, the family... that Anita's Nepa Hut. I think it's only a restaurant... But it seems only few people go there... Three are actually competing... PIBOSA, the one of Misy... rather 5 of them, PIBOSA, PUEBLO... PIDWWO, and that of Misy...

[18] M: So, PIDWWO still exists until now?

[19] K: Yes, It still exists, but many are not supporting it anymore... Actually, they have many members, but not that active... It's because of the leadership... When Leo [brother-in-law of Siano], it was operating very well... In fact, Leo was able to avail of a promo offered by Helen Clark (former Prime Minister of New Zealand). That was free trip abroad... Indeed, he was able to go to America! Now, he is back to America. This time, I think, he went together with his wife.

[20] M: What was his (Leo) role before?

[21] K: He was the chair... He turned out to be the head of PIDWWO... Le Sumal. He was with the group of Siano. He is actually, Siano's brother-in-law... Leo's wife is Siano's younger sister... They are now aboard... They were able to go there through the money of... Yes, PIDWWO. (interrupted)

(long silence)

[22] M: It's good that other people are not complaining about these?

[23] K: Many complained, but we can do nothing... It's an executive order... We can do nothing... If it were not banned, we could have been very rich... We were buyers before... The income was very huge! But, it was only for a year when we benefited much from such livelihood [selling of Manta Rays, etc.]... [We used to go to] Cebu, but only within a year... It was also seasonal... Those fishes [Manta rays, Whales, etc.] only appear during summer, February to May. We were able to trade only for a year, then sold the product to Cebu. If that livelihood ever continued, we could have been very very rich! [For example] We would buy one big fish for 100 thousand pesos. Then, we double the price... We would sell it for 200 or even 300 thousand pesos! We would deduct the other expenses, like ice, and payments for those who assisted... It could have been a very convenient livelihood... But, unfortunately, it was banned... I was suspecting one who was monitoring us here... He was an NGO worker who had strong government backing... He was always taking photos while we were on the shore slicing a big fish we had just caught... It turned out that those photos he had taken were then submitted to high government officials....

[24] M: How many sanctuaries do you have here?

[25] K: Only one...

(Kapitan draw a sketch of the island)

[26] K: The island is like an egg.

(while continue drawing)

[27] K: We have 7 (sub-barangays).

[28] M: Tourism activities appear to be concentrated in Purok 1?

[29] K: Yes, Purok 1 and 2...

- [30] M: What is the total population of the island?
- [31] K: The exact number of families is 289... Population could reach 1, 600... Those who are staying in the island. Those who migrated to other places could reach half of that...
- [32] M: Lim's [a business man from mainland Bohol who owns one of the resorts in the island] place...
- [33] K: In Purok... 2... Only few houses are there... The lot was formerly own by Clarin [one of the rich people in Panglao island]. He [Lim] bought that property from Clarin... The land title could not be transferred yet to the new owner, because, as of the moment, the island is still considered unclassified... It's 16 hectares in all... It was very cheap when he bought it from Clarin... There was 1.5 hectares left, I asked, 'How much do you sell that piece of land sir?' Then he replied, 'One five [1, 500 pesos]!' As far as I know, it only cost 200 pesos (laughing)...
- [34] M: How may hectares does he (Lim) own?
- [35] K: Maybe around 16... more or less, 20... As far as I know.
- [36] M: So he owns the biggest land over here. I heard also about Jala (one politician from mainland Bohol)?
- [37] K: That one of Jala... he has also a share... But his problem now is that the lot, where he built something on it, does not actually belong to him... That is his big problem... That is why the area until now has not yet been developed... I heard they already brought the issue to the court... Doctor Regis bought that one [referring to another lot within the area]... He is from Loay (town), also a relative of Lim... Lim wanted to buy that lot, but the Doctor did not agree. The latter is also very rich, a bone specialist based in Cebu... He also belongs to Clarin's kin... I think, he brought these lots from the share of his siblings.
- [38] M: So, they are indeed the first [to acquire lands] here...
- [39] K: They were the first... This lot, where my house stands now, is from my grandparents... They have 8 children... They divided the property among themselves. Eight hectares in all... They have one hectare each... But Lim... He is the owner of Eskaya [It is said to be the most expensive resort in Bohol]... He just asked one of his siblings to manage it... I even suspect that Arroyo (the former President of the Philippines) also has a share on that [resort]... In the last elections, Arroyo had many candidates. She made use of [Lim's] passenger ship... Even that shipping [business], it seems she also has a share on that...
- [40] M: What was Pamilacan before many years ago?
- [41] K: Long time ago, this place was all corn fields... Slowly, the soil had become sandy, rocky on the surface... all rocks, only small portions of soil are left. It was caused by so much heavy rains and soil erosions bringing fertile soil to the seashore... It's so rocky now, isn't it? Now, corn planters are discouraged for there is no rain... That is the problem if there is not water... That's what we suggested for tourism to boom even though because of this tourism industry that we lost our livelihood. But, we have already accepted it as one of our livelihood... A man visited us here from Manila who is very good at looking for potable water... He was able to find a source over there, under that big balete tree... He advised us on how to approach Jesse Robredo (the former Department of Interior and Local Government Secretary)... because it was said that Robredo supported one area... to develop a potable water supply...
- [42] K: For the Third [Congressional District of Bohol]... Arthur Yap...
- [43] M: You have so many coconut trees around here...
- [44] K: Yes... Last year, there was this pest... attacking coconuts... (interrupted)... This island is 144.6 hectares... Clarin owned almost 1/3 of this... He had around 50 hectares... The other lots were awarded to the tenants... There are still lots left... Later, Jun Lim brought some of them... Do you remember... CARP (Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program)?... The lots my grandparents owned were actually huge... There was a time when Judge Clarin helped my grandparents in one civil case they were facing... They gave 1.6 hectares during the time of Judge Iko.

[45] M: I thought that Pamilacan is a very small island... So, the livelihood here would include fishing, tourism, and livestock raising... You have also many goats around here...

[46] K: We have so many problems with the goats... Some of the people here are doing backyard gardening, while other people just let their goats roam around... The plants could not grow because of these goats... Because of this problem, we have a policy here. For every goat caught roaming around, the owners are fined, 100 pesos first offence... 200 for the second... 500 for the third... For the fourth time, we will confiscate the goat. The barangay *tanod* (barangay police) would take care of these animals... We had a meeting concerning this issue... One suggestion was that after 3 days, if the owners do not claim their goats, we would sell them. From the amount, we would then deduct the penalty and the rest would be given to the owners. I said, No! It would appear that we are taking the right of the owner if we do that.

[47] M: Your place indeed is very beautiful!

[48] K: During summer, it's too hot here... But before, this place was very beautiful, if only the coconut trees survived... There was a draught long time ago, nine months without rain... They all withered. Now only these few trees left... no more coconut trees along the beach...

Code: PL12A

Informants: PIDWWO Ladies (around 4 of them; primarily with their leader) with Petra

Date: July 27, 2012 (around 11:30 AM)

Venue: Outside Nong Siano's residence in a bench under the tree

Interview Environment: There were around 4 ladies. We gathered under a tree. Other people were passing by. Nang Petra also was there listening and participating in the conversation.

Notes: I was looking for the Leader of the women group for interview. I was able to meet her grandson and asked for appointment through him. I was not able to meet her at their house. Until, I met her outside the chapel. She was with other ladies who are also members. I took the opportunity to interview them too.

M = Researcher

L1 = Leader of the PIDWWO women group

L2 = Lady member

F = Petra

[1] L1: I guide the women... No, I'm not the chief cook... I'm just managing the women... The men are excluded because they are with the whale watching [activities]... The women are for the kitchen.

(The other ladies are teasing L1 to be the chief cook of the group, but L1 denied it.)

[2] M: What are your responsibilities [in the group]?

[3] L1: I'm just in charge of the women's group...

[4] F: She is like chef Logra of Kusina Master (a local TV cooking show).

[5] L1: The women are assigned by numbers. If there are visitors coming, I will contact them, 'It's your turn to help out in this particular date, [for example]'... and the cooks... three of them... The forth is the chef cook... The cooks also take turns. If there are only two or three visitors, usually only the chef cook and I will take charge [in preparing the meals], because I am the one taking note of the menu and the expenses... I am in charge of the accounting.

[6] That is why, I should always be present ever time visitors are coming here. I would only be absent if there would have some unexpected circumstances, but I would instruct people who would replace me about their

responsibilities. I would then collect the lists [of menu and expenses] from them because I should do the accounting... Petra is not willing to take care of the records because she easily forgets things. That is the reason why I'm keeping them... If many visitors are expected to come, the chief cook and I usually go to the mainland to buy the things we need. Often times, guests request for specific menu they want to eat.

[7] M: What about when visitors are too many [what do you usually do]?

[8] L1: Yes... If they are too many... It's difficult of us because we are only few [to serve them]. It is necessary to call all the helpers and assign particular tasks, [for example] 'Your task is to slice... You prepare the leaves.' If there are many visitors, we use our native plates made of rattan. We just cover them with [banana] leaves... So that it will look very 'native' (laughing)...

[9] L2: We know how to cook. Our visitors like our dishes.

[10] L1: Our visitors like [our menu]... They say it tastes like... It's delicious.

[11] L2: It's because we prepare the food very well.

[12] L1: Ever since the beginning, it has been this way.

[13] L2: Even now, if you want, we can cook something for you (laughing).

(a conversation about her grandson Peter whom I met.)

[14] M: How many members are there in the food preparing group?

[15] L1: We are three cooks, one chief cook. I'm the sixth (?). I'm the coordinator

[16] L2: What about the other helpers?

[17] L1: We were many before. But this type [livelihood] is not permanent, sometimes it goes up, sometimes down. Of course, for other people, it's not enough to support their livelihood. That is the reason why others migrated to other places [to work]... So, when they go to other places, they could no longer participate in our activities here... because they already migrated...

[18] M: Approximately, how many are you all in the group?

(The other ladies went home ahead.)

[19] L1: Around 16 people... 16 helpers, 3 cooks, one chief cook. I'm the fifth.

[20] M: You just divide the income among yourselves?

[21] L1: Yes, if we gained some amount, we divide it among ourselves... only among those who helped in preparing... Of course, they are all members... For the men, they have the whale watching... They have different [arrangement]. Among them, Siano is the coordinator... Sometimes, if there are only 2 or 3 visitors, we don't have any income, just enough for the expenses. Income is very minimal. We can do nothing, it's an organization. You are obliged to participate even though there is no income you have to [serve the visitors]... [If you don't] you lose your [clients] because it is the [tourist] agency [who provides clients]. Is it only when tourists come in big number that we are willing to accommodate them? That is why, even there are only 2 visitors coming, we still have to take care of them...

[22] M: What about those who come without reservations, not through agencies?

[23] L1: It's fine, we also cook for them!

[24] L2: We stock [live] chicken we bought beforehand.

[25] L1: I stock [live] chicken... I buy them.

[26] L2: Live chicken... Visitors usually call us up by phone, so we prepare beforehand.

[27] There are also instances when visitors inform us only the night before they are coming... We just ask for considerations, because 'You [visitors] did not inform us ahead of time, we were not able to prepare ahead. This is the only menu we can serve you.' Fish and chicken are the most convenient for us to prepare [during such incidents]... We also have some vegetables [sometimes]. We prepare vegetables to add to the meal... For example, we prepare papaya... or maybe banana flowers.

[28] Visitors like our menu... It's native and usually they have not eaten banana flowers in their life, in other countries... especially for the foreigners... They really like it, banana flower salad... We make some things just to add to the menu... Provided that they inform us ahead of time, especially if a big number of them are coming, we can prepare, maybe shrimps, pork, and the like...

[29] M: Do they usually have request [for a specific menu]... for example if they inform you ahead of time?

[30] L1: Like Kalamares [fried squid with flour]...

[31] L2: Squid... crabs...

[32] M: Are you not losing? Especially now, everything is expensive...

[33] L1: If visitors come in big number, we gain more, [they have to pay] 275 pesos each... for the meals... For that 275 pesos, if how many they are... that [amount] will then be [added]... For example, we gained 6 thousand pesos... we compute the total expenses; we then subtract it from our income... We gain if visitors come in big numbers, [though] we serve more menus than usual... we still have some income left.

[34] M: You divide among yourselves the income?

[35] L1: Yes...

[36] M: What about the capital?

[37] L1: That was the amount used for the expenses... We just recycle it... If new visitors come, we will use that amount again... We recycle... the fund....

(laughing)

[38] L1: We are happy with this, at least. Sometimes, we divide among ourselves 400 pesos each, if the income is bigger, or around 500 pesos, but sometimes only 200 pesos, or only 100 pesos each... It's not that big amount... at least we have something.

[39] M: In a month, for example, do you cook for, at least, two visitors?

[40] L1: During this time of the year, only few... but during the month of May, almost every day [we have guests]...

[41] L2: April and May.

[42] L1: During summer time... [But] especially this time... usually this time of the year typhoons come. Sometimes, they [tourists/agents] make bookings, then storm comes... they cancel [the reservation]... If not the visitors, Siano and his group cancel it... They depend on their boat... For example, if strong waves broke it [the boat]... it's very expensive to do the repairs.

[43] M: You were also fisher folks before?

[44] L1: Yes, we did fishing often... Now that we are old... unlike before... Now we are growing older, we don't

go fishing that much anymore... Most of [the people] here are also into tourism...

Code: ArtA12A

Informant: Art Arbol

Municipality of Panglao, Development Adviser

Date: (before August 9, 2012)

Venue: Panglao Municipal Office

Interview Environment: I interviewed him inside the Mayor's Office hall. There were other people present, preparing for some activities. During the interview, people interrupted Mr. Arboladura for some paper works.

Notes: I was looking for the officer in charge of tourism in the municipality. One office staff referred me to Mr. Arboladura which was during that time in the Mayor's Office. I approached him to make an appointment for an interview, but He was willing to take the interview right at that moment.

M = Researcher

A = Informant

[1] M: Do you have programs for a community-based tourism program?

[2] A: Yes, we have, but... community based tourism is difficult if the place... The process is long. Usually it takes 2 years to really come up with a community based tourism activity. The first consideration would be the assessment of the place... the readiness of the people, if they are willing to explore their own area if it has the potentials for a tourism activity or attraction.... and then they will do the mapping to determine which area is to be developed as a tourism asset... Then they will be involved in a lot of planning activities, if there is no such participation within the community, there will be no sense of ownership of the project or activity among the members... There should be no outside intervention, aside from coaching, capacity building... organization... these kinds of interventions only. They should have the premise that what they are doing is for their own good... to complement the industry, to generate jobs, and to increase income. So, this should be the mindset if we say community tourism. So who will handle the assessment? There are people like you.... You can participate with them... For me, these are the basic initial steps how to really come up with community based tourism.

[3] M: Are most of the existing tourism programs here initiated by the private sectors?

[4] A: We don't have yet community based here... The tourism in Panglao [Island] is initiated by the private sector... which is really... has more role in the development of tourism of an area. The government sets in as an enabling... to create an environment for tourism or business... Government should take care of business... nurture... and support... for it to be sustainable. If there is no government support in terms of infrastructures, services... which is supposed to be the task of the government... growth will be hampered. If community based, the government could not really dictate the community on things to be done... The dictate for any community based activity should come from the people, community itself... They themselves should know what they should do. If they have the idea, then develop the idea... using the local economy concept... You create using whatever is available in the place... So, what is in the community? Do they have enough food supply? They can enter in culinary tourism... using the creative local economic approach.

[5] M: How do the locals participate in Panglao tourism today... indirectly?

[6] A: Nothing... Perhaps, the direct participation of the locals of Panglao [is] in terms of manpower... But in terms of product... nothing. It has to be developed... We don't have yet such kind of mind set here... even in the whole province... What can we do to complement the industry? No coaching, no explanation to the community on what to do to help tourism, to put them into the main stream. There is no such intervention... It seems like a child... We always talk about 'pride of place'... There should be sense of ownership... The People's Organizations should be aware of their role... what they can contribute... The private sectors could

not say that they are the ones introducing tourism to community... The community should be able to say, this is what we want to happen, so help us out... Not dictated by [outsiders] on what to do for the community...

[7] M: Pamilacan has an existing PO [People's Organization]... the PIDWWO [Pamilacan Island Dolphin and Whale Watching Organization]... They have the funding... but now it seems they are doing things individually... [What do you think about this?]

[8] A: They were not able to sustain their [organization]... It was supposed to be community based... It vanished... Ayala [Foundation] came in. They created the PRAABO (?)... It was a PO. Again, nothing happened. They were left by themselves... What was the reason why they were not able to sustain the organization? First, they didn't have the management plan... The PO members did not understand... explanation was lacking... If they look at the activity as a business venture, they should have a business plan... even the government... There were funding agencies which donated money... The government did not even bother to intervene... 'How are you doing there?' The government left the people on themselves... No policy intervention, on how the government could assist, no help whatsoever... That is where the disparity always come in... The government, the PO, the NGO... funding agencies, they did not have mutual understanding. They just did their own way. That was what really happened.

[9] M: In Bohol, do you know of any other community based tourism [activities]?

[10] A: In Antequera [municipality]... they have basket waving... raffia [Raphia farinifera]making in... (interrupted by an office staff)

[11] M: What about in Loboc [municipality]?

[12] A: The River Cruise... It's privately owned but the LGU [Local Government Unit] has a share on it... What the government did is to build the port. The zip line is privately owned. It is not PO managed... But, if we say community based, we don't have it here... I don't know if you have been to Thailand... There are many community based tourism there... It took them 2 years to really build the activities... Two years immersion, capacity building trainings... They are successful over there... The one in Antequera is basket waving... and this raffia... It is a PO... even until now... Before, they were making baskets individually in their homes... Now, they are united with a consolidator... a kind of middle man...

[13] In Panglao, we are still planning... community based is the target... Now, I am still making an inventory on the number of existing POs, if there are still any... For the others, if they want to become a PO, and what their interests are... I'm still on that stage... There are POs but we could not really call them community based as such... There is a transport group for whale watching... same with Pamilacan... But we couldn't call them PO since are working illegally... They are not registered in Marina [Maritime Industry Authority]... No. Their boats are fake [unregistered]... They could not be called PO since they are illegally operating... They should have a track record, complete set of officers... community based in a sense that they operate, but they are not recognized because of their illegal operation... They have canvassers over there, so many of them... They are competing on the prices... 'How much do you ask, 1500 pesos?'... 'Mine, 2, 000 pesos!'

(The conversation shifted about my studies and my experience in Pamilacan.)

[14] A: If there is no sense of ownership of the project, the members scatter... That is why it is of great importance... There should be always, continuous dialogue among the members of the community... They themselves would realize, 'Why did we scatter? What is really our problem?' As we go along the process, of around 2 years, to strengthen the sense of ownership... It is similar to the concept of cooperativism, but it differs because it is community based... then there is only one product. In the case of cooperative, it could branch out... as of the moment, this is our failure...

[15] M: How much more when individuals are starting to acquire their own capital....

[16] A: Certainly, they will do their own way! It is a matter of fact. I wonder if it is part of our culture, not only here in Bohol but even in other places... They are supported by a foundation until the organization became

strong, with continuous production... Along the way... there will be people who will break away from the group... They already have the knowhow... They will start to form a separate group... Consequently, the spirit was gone and the sense ownership of the product vanished... because they are now divided. Instead of saying, let's gather our resources together, much much bigger than we have before... I wonder, maybe it is our culture.

[17] M: [In Pamilacan] other [PIDWWO]members are complaining why they have to wait very long for their turn [to take a trip], while some members are taking trips more often...

[18] A: That is Mismanagement!... They don't agree among themselves how to organize those things... Is the government making the scheme or the locals themselves? They have to police their own rank... It seems nobody is coaching and giving them advices on what should be done... Although they have the idea, the knowledge, how to concretize those ideas needs someone who knows better. 'Okay, if this is what you want to happen, I suggest these things to be done... [for example]'

(sharing of my experience in Baclayon)

[19] A: If there is no sense of ownership, it [organization] will break down. It is a call order for the community, how to sustain the economic tourism activity... Constant dialogue between the community itself is necessary to improve and enhance the product. It is not like saying, 'I don't want you anymore, so I will transfer to another group'...' There is already that factionalism. Instead of concentrating on... 'Let us improve our service value...' The organization will not break down because it is for the good of all.

(talking about other handicraft people's organization like in the town of Antequera)

[20] A: We have many tools that can be used for assessment... Use what is applicable for the area. Not just to organize, strengthen sustain whatever economic plan or existing projects they have... You will not find it difficult anymore because you already have the model.

[21] M: Does Panglao have a tourism office?

[22] A: Nothing... We still don't have a Tourism Officer. That is one of my interventions now... We have to have a Tourism Office, a Tourism Officer, or Tourism Information Office... to centralize information dissemination for the tourists, for the stake holders... Everything should be there... If somebody will come, we can provide updated data right away... I hope to organize this by the end of December...

[23] M: Do you coordinate with Dausi [municipality]?

[24] A: We are together in PADAYON... Panglao, Dausi, and Baclayon... It's an NGO... for biodiversity. Marine... Now, we have a project for local economic development funded by SEDA... a 2 year program. Basically, the overarching rule is to increase income, generate jobs and investments through local economic development. There are technical trainings in terms of community based... The beneficiaries are the marginalized... We are concentrating on this now... We have started... We have to strengthen the stake holders. They have to know their basic role... to reorganize the Tourism Councils in Panglao, Dausi, and Baclayon. As of now, they are not functional. I'm also planning to come up with Business Councils for each municipality... composed of private sector businesses so that they can work with the POs also. If there is a strong PO, there is a product. The private sector could buy in or assist in whatever capacity they could... This community based activities will sustain...

[25] Then we work with the government, for whatever its intervention. Infrastructure... maybe policy... I'm working along that line... we started January this year... We are now in the 3rd quarter... I'm the project manager... local governance program, local economic development... Our funder is the Canadian International Development Agency... The NGO involved is the PADAYON... So now, we have two projects... one project based biodiversity funded by UNDP [United Nations Development Programme]. It's only small... two million for sea grass, mangrove rehabilitation... Then the other project which is 6 million... The support program is local level for local economic development... Tourism is our economic driver... I had already meetings... to help a PO to organize itself, to strengthen it, what are their interests in support for the industry. It should be a tourism related product.

[26] I'm targeting 8 POs, 2 in Baclayon, 3 in Dauis, 3 in Panglao... I will meet them and see what their common interests are... If none, we look for another... two years until 2014, based on Thailand model... That is why it is not that easy to organize. It's new in the Philippines, though there are some existing... In Luzon, there are many... Sustaining the growth of a community activity has many challenges... From the early stage, you have to identify the challenges so that the short comings would not be replicated... It's already proven to be a failure, you should not go through the same process anymore... There are already other options available.

[27] M: Within the Visayas [Central Philippines] area, do you know of any community based tourism activities?

[28] A: I was in Southern Negros Occidental... I had a twining agreement with Southern Negros Coastal Management Development Council. It's an alliance also... They even asked us for help.... 'How do you do tourism over there?'. We have an existing training agreement. Even the city of Bayawan is asking me to assist them formulate investment policies, how to attract investments in the area... I told the Mayor, 'It's a long process. very long.' First, you should have to know you advantages... Then you could come up [with a proposal] if you are already ready for investment or not... It's painstaking, it takes time... In Negros Sipalay, [they have] sugar base and cave [tourism]...

[29] The first challenge is the access component... 'Your place is quite far...' The shorter the distance, the better... Plus add-ons, what can we see in the area? Do you have the resources? Is there a plan? If none yet... are you ready for tourism?... Indicators... rate from 1 to 5... Tourism indicators [include]: the cost of doing business... how much the investor have to invest capital... lot costs... Next, the quality of life... [For example] Are there dengue patients in the area? Squatters? [How is the] peace and order [situation]? Then dynamism, how dynamic is the local economics? Are their banks, financial institutions, remittance centers? If these are present, it means there is income, since there are banks... so there is business... Responsiveness to business needs, it's a government role... Investment policies, how long to get business permit? How easy to get the building permit, licensing? Infrastructure, networks, water supply...

[30] These are the indicators that you have to have a primary analysis... You can now tell your planning body, 'We are ready!' You plan now... Which is your weak indicator? You should focus on it... Then come up with a business forum... 'We are ready!' We have already the human resource component... Then, business would come in... Six only... but so much... Competitiveness advantage is indeed very challenging... It goes with the community. All the indicators, all of them, must involve the community... That is why you have to start with the community. That will propel the local economic growth of a community based [development]... So it's hard, we have to start slowly... We already have small wins, gathering them together making it bigger, isn't it?

Code: AA12A

Informant: Al Abu

Member of Panglao Island Multi-Purpose Cooperative (PIMCO); Panglao Island Transport Service Cooperative (PITSCO)

Date: (before August 9, 2012 after my interview with Mr. Arthur Alboradura)

Venue: PITSCO booth along Alona beach, Panglao Island

Interview Environment: The venue is just along the beach. People are passing by. Other members of the Cooperative are also standing by near us.

Notes: I did not make an appointment with him, but he was very willing for an interview during that time.

M = Researcher

A = Informant

[1] M: What benefits can you get from joining the Cooperative?

[2] A: ... Every December [we receive] incentives... We also have a party during the foundation day [of the Cooperative]... [We can avail] credit from the Cooperative... The members can have credit buying in our

[Cooperative] store, like rice... and others.... but they have to pay every month... However, we have not discussed about dividing the [Cooperative's] income... It's a Cooperative; so many people own it... Every December... [we receive] just a kind of compensation... [For example] those who have the most number of trips [tourist trips] will be awarded a prize... Now, we do not do this anymore, especially now, low season. We don't have many trips [this time]... The other [members] left... Then, we have our own secretary.... We are paying 3 thousand pesos a month for our secretary... Now, it's my turn [to be in the booth]... Those people over there (pointing to people sitting in front of the booth) are actually part of the 30 [members].

[3] M: For example, I have a car and I want to join the Cooperative... Do I have to give to the Cooperative the entire amount I will receive from my guests?

[4] A: It belongs to you... For example, now is your turn to take a tour... It [the income] will be deducted by 100 [pesos], 10%... If you got an income of 1800 [pesos], around 800 [pesos] for gasoline will be deducted from that amount.... You will then have a net income of around 900 [pesos]...

[5] M: The 100 [pesos] will go to the office?

[6] A:... [Yes], some of it will be for the salary of the secretary. The rest for the [other expenses]... Excluding the monthly due of 200 [pesos] for each member.... It's a different case, [for example] when you have a trip to Tagbilaran [the capital city of Bohol], it's 500 pesos [the service charge for each trip going to the city]. You have to pay the office 5 pesos... 20 for a round trip.... It's very minimal, yet people could not even comply... Those who could not pay left [the Cooperative]... It's because they would not pay right away... Accumulated amount even reached up to 300 [pesos]... We are taking note here... the number of trips... If at that moment, they could not pay, during [the Cooperative's regular business] meeting the amount had been accumulated... Plus the 100 [pesos] for each tour... That is the reason why those who have 'standing-by account' [unpaid dues] are now leaving [the organization]. We don't let them join back, because they are naughty. They don't pay the dues... (interrupted by a telephone call from a client)

(Al had to go and fetch a client in a certain hotel. I went with his car until the Cooperative store which he wanted me to see).

Code: CN12A

Informant: Daus Municipal Chief Tourism Officer

Date: August 10, 2012

Venue: Daus Municipal Office

Interview Environment: When I entered the office, Mr. Nistal was with an office staff. The staff went out during the interview.

Notes: Even though I did not make an appointment with him for the interview, he was very willing to accommodate me.

M = Researcher

C = Informant

[1] C: That is all so far, our focus is to organize resort owners, operators in Daus... What the Mayor hopes... [is] that people from Daus should be the priority in hiring employees... If Training is needed, whatever the resorts need, [for example] waitering, simple housekeeping... we will know what kind of trainings to conduct... through TESDA... It has been organized recently... What we are doing now is to collect data... [on] number of rooms, number of employees, number of guests checking-in, number of nights staying... So, that is what we are doing now so far... We also conduct surveys for the 3... We identified large, medium, small TEs (Tourism Establishments)... Then we distributed questionnaires [to tourists] about their purpose of coming... [for example] relaxation, culture... so that we will become more familiar about [them]... the

reasons why they come... only those things as for the moment...

- [2] But the Mayor is planning to build a tourism information center in the old market. It is possible that the Tourism Office will be transferred over there. About infrastructure, they have also some plans... So far the municipality of Dauis does not own a tourist destination... The resorts are not municipal owned or managed... The Hinagdanan [Cave] also has not been turned over to the municipal government. It is with the barangay and private sector... So far, we still do not have such kind of destination... So, as of the moment, we are focusing on accommodation establishments or resorts that are located here... Community based tourism? It sounds good to develop also so that we will know where we should give more focus. What are the needs of the barangays in terms of tourism development in order for the municipality to guide them or to appropriate budget for them...
- [3] M: What does the LGU get [from tourism]? Revenues and taxes?
- [4] C: Those things, so far... We don't have collections yet... We have marine protected areas but we have not yet implemented ticketing... The dive shops also have not yet been informed on specific diving areas for us to collect from them... We have not started it yet... What was the problem by the way?... There is a problem on the ticket's series scheme...
- [5] M: Was it yesterday or the other day... I was able to interview Mr. Arthur of Panglao.. Do you collaborate with each other [concerning the tourism industry in the island]?
- [6] C: It's nice... together with the Bohol marine triangle...PADAYON... Perhaps, planning could be done together... I think that's a good idea... It makes a lot of difference rather than just depending on the government funding... Many talks but most of them are not materialized... There are still other priority projects which are more needed in the municipality. That is why only small amount of budget is appropriated for tourism... It is good to take some amount from the municipality plus a counterpart from private institutions... It's nice to have the private sectors to manage because they have the expertise... It is easier for them...
- [7] M: What is the place for tourism as a source of income for the Municipality?
- [8] A: We just depend on construction permits... and their yearly taxes because they have to renew their business permits... I appreciate that idea... to evaluate the how much tourism could contribute in [the municipal income]... I even do not know... I don't have the data... Before, I was able to gather data on the highest tax payers... Was it last year? I have the data on that... but not for 2012.
- [9] M: How many resorts are here in Dauis?
- [10] C: We have 18 resorts [and restaurants], not including condominiums... and housing projects... total rooms... I think... I have the data on the number of rooms... and about their employees.
- [11] M: Are there a big number of local employees [working in these resorts]?
- [12] C: Yes... mostly there are those from... but mostly for manpower... Concerning their chefs and their managers... there are some from Dauis but mostly from other places... especially the chefs... We do not have one from Dauis.
- [13] M: Challenges and hindrances?
- [14] C: As of the moment... there is no threat concerning peace and order... The case of China, remember?... Many resorts were affected... Because of that issue, many bookings from Chinese clients were cancelled... Spratly [Islands]... especially the Splashing Meadows [Resort], there were room reservations for one week... also in other resorts... There was also case before, a scam... They [scammers] asked for cell phone load. [They would call resorts staff, 'We are on the way to your resort for check-in, and we are running out of load. Please send us cell phone load'... That happened in Grand Luis [Lodge]... They were able to provide cell phone load... The swindlers pretended to make room reservations for a couple days, for example... They even used name of politicians... On the day of the reservation... [They called the resort,]

‘We are on the way but we are stranded somewhere here. Please load this number...’ We were alarmed by this scam... We immediately informed the other resorts around... During the organization meeting of all the tourism officers of Bohol, I posted an announcement warning the officers about such a scam... Danao was also victimized... At least now, others also have been informed already... So far, that is all.

[15] M: Is there any resistance from local communities [against tourism activities]?

[16] C: There was once before... The DENR designated an island... They prohibited people to pass through the place... Now, I think, it’s fine.

[17] M: Does the planned International Airport push through?

[18] C: Asking the high ranking government officials, they would say the plan pushes through. However, as far as I know, they still have problems concerning acquiring other lots... Most of the lots in the area have already been sub-divided, and sold... I heard they have started clearing the highway... Recently, I have not heard any developments. I don’t know how the project is doing as of the moment. It will push through, I firmly believe... They have invested a big amount already. It would be a waste of money if they will not continue... People are also divided on this matter... Some are supporting it, while others are against it...

[19] M: It seems that the tourism industry in Dauis is growing positively.

[20] C: Growing positively... What we are doing now is only the preparation... We are trying to know if we still need to add more rooms [accommodations]... We are also guarding in order to minimize the use of our salvage zone... [We implement] that 20 meter zone from the shoreline to any establishment... There was one case that was able to escape from that provision... A project was able to get permit... I don’t know why the DENR decided to issue environmental clearance certificate to the project when it clearly violated the provisions... I don’t know. Maybe we could not really get rid of this thing... when money talks...

[21] M: Is tourism one of the top priorities of the municipality?

[22] C: That is what the Mayor is preparing now... He is preparing the town in terms of infrastructure... waste management disposal, water supply... He improved the streets... As of now, we don’t have problems concerning the garbage... But, we are afraid that time will come... that we could no longer control [the wastes] from the [industry]... We provided every barangay with... They now have Moral Recovery Facilities (MRF)... Within each barangay, people started garbage segregation. They have their own MRF... The Mayor gave each of the barangays multicab [mini truck]... shredders to grind cellophane materials... We are still in the process of learning garbage segregation. It’s difficult to unlearn what we used to do... from elementary level... We hope the project would be of help...

Code: J14A

Informant: Jay

**Original local organizer of Pamilacan CBT/PIDWWO; Founder of PIBOSA;
Private tour operator**

Date: June 09, 2014 (around 3 PM)

Venue: Dunkin’ Donuts restaurant, Tagbilaran City

Interview Environment: We were seated face to face in a small table. There were other costumers inside the restaurant.

Notes: I had been contacting the informant, but only that time when he was free for an interview. Our first time to meet.

[1] I used the boats of the members... 2 associations... the dilemma is with the funding source. Most of the NGO projects are based on the agreement of the funding agency’s time limit, 3 years. After 3 years your

effort is not enough to make the locals capable.... Because you are locked with the 3 year program, you don't have any request to leave the island, because you don't have the resources to sustain the people for the operation. This is what happened, the program with WWF ,3 year program, but because there were lot of obstacles. First, when the project entered, it was made as a foundation, the locals said we would join in your program provided whale shark and manta ray would not be banned, perhaps these would be the next to be banned.

- [2] Dolphin hunting was banned and then the whale, these are their target species. The most expensive were the whale shark and manta ray. The locals said, please don't ban the whale shark and manta ray, specially the manta ray because since time in memorial these had been the source of our subsistence... In the first quarter of 1998, the manta ray and whale shark were banned. The group I formed from 1997, only a matter of 6 months, the association was collapsing... Who were the officers? One was the barangay captain, Jun Ray... and the majority of the council.
- [3] That was PIDWWO, the newer one was not the PIDWWO before that was originally organized, and the original members were the village captain the present Capitan, Krispo and others. The newer PIDWWO was born 7 months later. We still used the name PIDWWO. The advice of BFAR was that I should go out from the village, otherwise I would be killed. It was because of the anger of the people, you tripped away their source of subsistence. There was the feeling of betrayal on your agreement, you said you will not ban whale shark and manta ray, why was it banned? But that time, I was the forefront, I took the heavy burden... You turned their pots upside-down.
- [4] The whole group vanished, only two families left. One was of Siano, the only original PIDWWO member who was left. The secretary. Those who were left from the start maybe around five families. That time, there were 80 family members. We were just left with 5 families. They were not the even the actual hunters. They were not directly involved. But still we have to proceed with the program. Just to form the association and register with SEC, that is why PIDWWO was reformed. After it was reformed, some community members, because they were seeing that many touristic trips were going on, 'we can indeed earn from these.' The once who left the association, wanted to join back.
- [5] The problem is the PIDWWO that was formed did not want them to join back, that was my dilemma. That time, I was the project coordinator. It was difficult the community was divided. 'You were offered before, but you refused. Now that guests are coming in, you want to join us without going through the difficulties we underwent.' Those were the words... That was what happened. The whole community should be involved, as ecotourism should be. Community-based, the fruits of ecotourism should trickle down to the community... What I did, after PIDWWO was formed, by 2000 I was out from the association.
- [6] The once who were not welcomed by the association, nor given trips by the association, those who wanted to take trips, I allowed them. Now, people said, 'Why do you give them trips, they have not been with us?' What happened was that when I left the association, those people who wanted to join the tours... When I left PIDWWO, they had already market links. They had already the travel agencies to provide them with guests, there were already links... You should link it to the market. But it was not enough, the association was not ripe. It was not enough. The association should not be left behind. The NGO should still be there to supervise until the association would be stabilized... That was my problem. The budget of the project was exhausted... When I left, I was thinking to apply for another NGO; I saw the potential of tourism... that is why I gambled. I would just concentrate on the marketing; it was difficult in the beginning. For 5 months, I did not have stable income, but you need to sustain because people were depending on you. No money to buy rice, they requested for cash advance, after the trips they would immediately take the cash to buy rice.
- [7] PIBOSA was founded when I already left the project. These were the original PIDWWO members who were the actual hunters... These are the people who refused but wanted to rejoin, but were not welcome anymore in PIDWWO. The structure of PIBOSA, all members of PIDWWO, they were the actually players of the whale hunting industry... If you go to this time in business. We need education. In my experience, you have booking now... It's because it's not yet ripe, they could not internalize. Once you receive clients, you should serve them the tour they bought. There were times, bookings were made the night before or 2 days earlier... The pick-up area was in Bohol Beach Club, 5:30 in the morning, that

morning you received a text, 'Boss, the boat could not dispatch because of the low tide.' That should not be. I was panicking already looking for an alternative boat. Just imagine clients paid the plane ticket just to come for dolphin watching for only 3 days and 2 nights. They had been before in Bohol, but only saw few attractions like the Chocolate Hills, now they came back just to see more of Bohol. Three days and 2 nights, but the main activity is dolphin watching... 5:30 in the morning, the boat...crisis, it was terrible! 'What is this, where is our boat? You know how much we spent just to see the dolphin, and then you tell us there is no boat?'

[8] That was the dilemma that I had to deal with two years after... this should not be, just because of one person the others suffer. Fiesta time, May 14 and 15, they don't want to take trips. Is it acceptable? You could not refuse guests just because it's fiesta. Guests don't care if its fiesta or not, as long as they enjoy our attraction... It should not be, 'Sorry ma'am I don't go for trips now because it's fiesta time.' That is why I decided that aside from helping them to [market] I need to have my own boat. If you just depend on the boats of the members, you don't have the control... If it's your own boat, you can push your people. 'We have a trip now, so don't get drunk, you can get drunk after the taking the guests...' Whatever we do we lack training, but it's more on commitment and dedication. They would rather drink, than to earn money... This is our attitude in Bohol, we barrow money for fiesta, there is an opportunity for income, we refuse because it's fiesta.

[9] I needed to have my own boat, at least one... 'So, you don't want to go for a trip, so let my boat take it.' I then realized that it is not easy to maintain a boat. You have to make sure that you can gain back your capital... This is my problem now. Your visitor is not enough, but you have many boats, how to distribute them, so we take rotation... Their boats are also used for fishing, but still have the RI [return of investment]... I invested for the boat, but it could not be used for fishing... You design your boat for tourist; it was hard to balance it. I agreed with the association, 'You know, because of what had happened to PIDWWO, I'm now hesitant to form another group...' It's tiring... That is why I did not formalized the structure of PIBOSA, just contacts but it operated as an association... but later I decided to just register it as an association. I told them, I don't want what happened to PIDWWO would also happen to PIBOSA.

[10] PIDWWO was money driven when it was formed, not only the NGO supported it, the thrust was environmental, the resources was to establish the organization to help them participate in the program, it invested funds... to prepare the boats, education and training. That is why when the funding support ended, the organization also collapsed. It was dying. Nobody called for meeting anymore, it used to be the NGO initiated for it and for updating... whereas PIBOSA started with a zero budget. PIBOSA was formed by the desire of the community to have an organization, not NGO driven. PIBOSA was formed because of the need to form the organization using their pockets. If we have meetings we share. So, we can see it also from that perspective... PIBOSA is a social enterprise; these NGOs advocate social enterprise not for their own benefits but for the community... It's a social enterprise a vehicle to earn income.

[11] So the formation was different. That is why I told them, if ever we form this association, let's see to it that we are always open. If there is problem, let's talk about it... I myself provide secretarial support in voluntary bases... It's okay when trips are high... I assist in the marketing, at the same time, for example, we have a trip tomorrow perhaps 2 or 3, I prioritize our members, so any excess from my boats will go to the association. That is why they can share. It is difficult to include my boats in the rotation. The tourists' number is not enough. If Panglao could have not boomed, Pamilacan could live very well. How many boats in Panglao? 30 boats a day? How many boats in Pamilacan? 40? How many boats in all in Panglao, 200 or 300 boats, according to MARINA. Last Holy Week, Holy Friday, I had a client in South Palms. They wanted dolphin watching to Balicasag, because it became popular, if it could be explained properly, it's the same... unless you go for diving.

[12] Pamilacan beach is much nicer, if there are turtles in Balicasag, Pamilacan also has... If you want to go to a marine sanctuary, it has also. You can also see it... Balicasag is more for diving. My problem with PIDWWO was it was personality driven. And the organization did not have anymore its own boats. Before there were 7 boats owned by PIDWWO for rotation. Then the members left, management problem. They went on their own. The one left is that of Siano. That's the problem; even with DOT the community could not be found. PIDWWO started with a community ideal. When it was left behind,

people went on their own way. Then the market, it's actually about the cellphone that carries the market links. Because the cellphone that was left by the project with which clients contact is now with Siano,. That's the problem because it carries the market link. PIDWWO retains only its name, but the people some remain, but the boats, only of Siano, the booking is done only by one person. The community aspect was gone. DOT continued to help them, if they have guests... but in reality, they do not anymore function as an organization.

[13] Lately, there is an available funding from ADB and Canada... I submitted a proposal. They wanted to professionalize the community services. I have boats operated by Pamilacan locals, the community benefited because they are the crew. If there are many guests, I take additional boats from outside. There is a tendency that the service your boat offer may not be similar in quality to that of others... but you need to hire others because you have excess... if PIBOSA members are not available, I hire from outside, there are others with no association, I request them. The quality of service is not similar... I plan to come up with a standardized dolphin watching tour... At least what my boatmen tell the guests should be similar to what the other boatmen are saying... not just any other answers.

[14] We have already snorkeling tours, 100 pesos per head if they guide visitors. They have income, but they are not providing the correct service that the tourists deserve. It becomes demand driven... Locals are just like bodyguards, they could not identify what type of things they encounter. It would be more educational and entertaining, if locals could learn... Local village and municipal government officials are not also thinking about these things, they are not dealing with clients. In tourism, we are selling experience... you sell rooms... It's the experience that tourists could gain... that make the people decide to come to you... 'I had a great experience! It's worth the money that I spent...' Tourists should get the experience they deserve with their money given to you.

[15] We don't have life guards. If there are accidents, we don't know how to rescue people... We are involved in marine eco-tourism... the boat captain, the crew, spotter, then guide. Three for a small boat. They should be trained as life guards. Tour guides from Pamilacan. We have DOT accredited guides. Not all could really expound on what is Pamilacan. I really want it for the community... Sometimes, I don't take in guides who could speak English. When they are already on the sea, they could actually communicate. The foreigners could understand... but it would be better if there is a basic training.

[16] If we talk about community-based, it should be community-driven. Meaning, they should be the ones to operate the tours. At the moment, it's not the case. This is ideal. As long as you have all the capacities needed for that ecotourism to run, one is marketing. Market wise, we could not let them do it alone. We don't have market links in Pamilacan, no internet. In my case, 55% of my clients book through the internet. And, no one from the members knows how to do it. That was one of our disagreements when I left the project with PIDWWO, because you came from the group, you have to support them as much as possible. That time we were discussing. There was a need to set up an office. The association did not have the means to build an office in Baclayon. Manpower was needed, office secretaries. How can it be sustained if you only depend mainly on dolphin watching. When I left the organization, they pushed through with what they wanted. What happened? It was a waste. The fund the organization received which was intended for the members was spent for the office, no return of investment. The organization got 100 thousand pesos from BANGON for livestock program, with a possibility for relending. No member received it, the money was all spent for building the office. From the start, I told them that it was not feasible to establish an office. You have to pay the staff. They were thinking that guests would just come to book for a trip.

[17] The arrangement I offered them, is that I take 500 pesos commission for every boat trip. For example, for a boat trip, I take care of all operational costs. For two boats, I take 1,000 pesos. 'So, for 7 boats, then you get 3, 500 pesos?' Yes, but it's not every day. For a month, if there would only be 4 trips then I would only get 2, 000. If many tourists are coming, then it's greater. 'No, it's too much! That should not be, since tourists would just come to the office to book.' It's not the case. If you establish an office, you need to market. You let people know that you exist. You pay for the newspaper, magazine, television to cover your activities, travel marts, brochures. It's not enough, to have an office, it's a big investment... You ask people to make a website because we don't know how to do it. Then you pay for the website developer. It's not a small amount of money. To maintain an office, it's expensive, even just to pay the air-conditioning.

- [18] What I do now, I maintain the marketing side, at the same time the association. You could not leave it. I concentrate with PIBOSA, if ever my present program plan would push through, the whole island would benefit from it. Whatever structure there is, if tourism would boom, the bottom line is that the whole community should gain from it. Whatever my boat could provide, should be provided with the same quality by the other boats.... whichever crew and agents, other people go directly to the boatmen, others to the association, other want it cheaper... I have a contact with the members, for example, for the small boat, my contact price with them is 2, 000 pesos. Two thousand pesos is what I pay them. This is my dilemma. In Pamilacan 2, 000, now here comes Alona people, 1, 500, 1, 200, 1, 000, direct to client... That is what it is now. Most of my clients are those environmentally inclined. I turn down the others. Why is Alona offering this rate? You have to educate the travel agents, the disparity in pricing is too big.
- [19] In my case, I pay 2, 000 for Pamilacan, if I pay 1, 500 to Alona, then I could have gained more. This could not be sustained. That is our dilemma in pricing. Mostly, you have to improve the quality of your service because you are asking a higher rate. It doesn't matter if the others are not doing it right, for they deserve that service. We don't go for quantity, we go for quality service and quality tourist. Services should be handled professionally. If you say we compete with the pricing of Alona, we could not do that.
- [20] Pamilacan compared with the others, it's on the down side. Most of the guests look for bargain. But you have to sustain the community. They are the ones should gain the benefits... This is eco-tourism, marine environmental tourism. Is Alona contributing to marine conservation? No, isn't it? Are they preserving to maintain tourism? No. They bump on the dolphins. Are they observing the capacity of the area? No. Otherwise, it is not only the concern of Pamilacan, including travel agencies and hotels. They should be responsible otherwise what is there left for the tourists to see... We need to manage the attractions... observing the carrying capacity of the site. Regulate tour. Otherwise, we could not do it...
- [21] Family members in PIBOSA. What I see now, I'll be doing training for lifeguard rescue. We don't know how to rescue. We should know how to help if there are sea accidents. First aid, one training for first aid and life guard. A good training once again for the dolphin watching tour. Although we had trainings before with WWF but that was 14 years ago... We have new species discovered in Pamilacan. We have blue whale here... When we started, we didn't know about it... In 2005 there was a blue whale discovered, then it came back in 2010 and 2011. There were sightings. We need to update the ones who were originally trained with the new ones. Those children before are now adults, it has been 14 years already... You have new crews. Just because the crew is not enough, you let them join... We have five boats. 'Who's the spotter?' 'We don't know.' They could not answer the questions from tourists. That is the dilemma.
- [22] We will be doing training on dolphin watching, snorkeling, and then the new whale shark interaction. The whale sharks are coming again.. There are whale sharks in Oslob. They feed the whale sharks... We told the LGU that it is not sustainable to feed the whale sharks, you just entice them with the smell... They can consume 80 kilos each day... the whale sharks could suffer from stomach ulcer for that. They don't leave the place because they smell the food. They are not feeding live fishes, and it's alarming... They feed them with small shrimps... 100 kilos everyday... I don't know where they get those 100 kilos. That is why there was a workshop in South Palms... National guidelines on wildlife interactions... one of the hot issues was Oslob... It could not be sustainable... the LGU is not feeding them, they are luring them... They are merely luring... Your 100 kilos a day could not be fully consumed because these feeds could sink to the sea floor wherein the whale sharks could hardly reach... It could only destroy the eco-system.
- [23] There is a big possibility to reunite, the problem is community leadership and LGU... Look at the tourism office in Baclayon... You will see how they respond... Community-based tourism, it's because we involve the community. It is the community that provides the services to the clients, it is not individual because people are serving together. It's a community activity. In tourism, they can be united. I'm 100% sure they can be united with the right vehicle.. One is correct training guidance how to do the tours right with a competitive price. It's because we deliver the quality service. It's different from the boats in Panglao... We usually leave from Pamilacan around 3:30 and arrive in Baclayon or Alona at least 5:30. If there is a storm in the early morning, we could not leave, or we arrive late. What I do, if

this happened, I myself join the crew with the boatmen from Alona. I should be with them to guide them, to avoid shameful situations to happen. You should guide them. If you just leave them on their own, you are just putting yourself in a shameful situation. You are charging guests with higher rate, but poor service... The guide make the experience wonderful. You have a beautiful attraction, but your guides could not even communicate, it's useless... guests would not be satisfied...

[24] There are times when the crews are not enough... I take them to Alona to be sure.. if you leave them on their own they could not respond to inquiries from the guests... The guests would even be the first to notice the dolphins even in Pamilacan. They have this kind of attitude, even more in Alona. Others look as if they were drunk the other night, they don't even change their clothing. The same thing... Then, they don't want to get close to the guests because they are shy of their bad smell... That is how it is... I always remind them why they don't change... the guest smells well but you guides smell terrible... They should be train on hygiene and good grooming...

[25] The Mayor is good. But it is not enough to make tourism in Baclayon work... Check their budget on tourism... The one in the tourism office... You can see if the LGU is only doing lip service or indeed this people are really concerned about tourism development in Baclayon. You can check it on their budget, by their promotional materials... Otherwise, you have the attraction, but if the necessary things are absent, then you are not really serious about it... Although the Mayor there is good... But the tourism program is lacking... You have the diving site in Baclayon that needs to be developed. Before Ayala came in... Ayala Foundation, their only concrete contribution is the building of the Tourism Office... That is their only legacy... As to the programming, it was also community-based. They were able to make boats, but the problem was still on marketing... 300, 000 pesos for the 10 boats, 300 to 400, 000 each... but only 10 people benefited, not the majority of the community.

[26] One of my programs for PIBOSA... are boats for fishing.. I have 5... part of my effort to sustain the organization, but could not be for the whole community. When we talk about community-based tourism you could not expect that the whole community will be involved directly... It's impossible... 20% of the local population directly involved... meaning as spotters or boat owners... Let's say in the 1, 000 population of Pamilacan, around 200 or less could be involved directly... Where are the others? The rest of the community could still be part... They could be suppliers... of chicken, fish, handicrafts. This could be their role... We could not bring the whole community into tourism... There were times when we had to buy fishes from far away areas, not in Pamilacan, people don't have the boat for fishing.

[27] They have boats with small engines, they could fish farther. They could sell their catch to the restaurants and the rest to the market... But deep inside them, they should realize that I have this boat because of tourism... though I'm not a spotter... I participate to supply fishes for the visitors... I have already expressed the relevance... Not everybody can directly benefit, but you can still take part as suppliers... I have 5 small boats... What I do, I roll them over to other members... They do it slowly... If funds are already enough, so we make another boat... then goes to another.. the members are around 100 of them... You cannot serve all, 10 have boats.

[28] If the other boats are broken, we could not have them repaired right away. The others could take the place. If we talk about CBT, although not the entire community, they could still be part of the whole tourism program as suppliers... or massage therapists, the others could operate restaurant, as long as visitors are coming. Locals were trained to do massage for 300 pesos per hour. There are indirect benefits to be gained... The massage service is ongoing... One housewife, although her husband is not directly involved in tourism, can engage in massage service. Others are PIBOSA members, others are not... they gain 200 every client... there is income, it could trickle down as an effect... It could still grow bigger, if more people would promote Pamilacan. We need to prepare the community for the right service. The value of the money should be given...

[29] Hopefully, we could do it. I discussed with the director to help for the making of the program... If you help me, then you continue promoting Pamilacan without improving the services, I will make it a point to make the services right. It should not be only me and Pamilacan, we need to train the whole community, or otherwise we all take the blame... Pamilacan is similar to Balicasag and Alona... How to make your tour different from others' tour... you should have your own niches... It would be good... I'm a tour operator... It's not only that I market... Our problem now... most of the travel agencies, they

market Pamilacan, but they take tourist to Alona... Look at their websites. It's irritating to see the stories you wrote in the internet, now being copied by others, cut and paste... They sell it, those who copied are also copied without even acknowledging me...

[30] You can see my own work now circulating anywhere... You could not see those agencies bring guests to Pamilacan. They go to Alona... Are you serving these agents? No. Damn, these people. They are selling, they are gaining, but the point is that do they reach Pamilacan? No. But they are selling, they deceive the clients because it's cheaper in Alona.. They gain more using boats from Alona, but they are selling Pamilacan tours... It's nice to hear 'alternative livelihood, former whale hunters.' But, are those people [in Alona] serving there really hunters? Capitalizing on the sacrifices of Pamilacan... It's nice to hear 'former hunters, spotters are now guides.' But they bring guests to Panglao, the boatmen are from Panglao. Many are offering Pamilacan.

[31] There are also those agencies based in Cebu and Manila. Do you know who their local handlers are in Bohol? This agency brought not even one guest to Pamilacan, but they market and highlight the sacrifices of Pamilacan, from whale hunters to tourism eco-tour guides. But when guests arrive, Panglao boatmen handle them... The Travel Village is for Pamilacan... sometimes they also take... They always give guests... to PIDWWO... but to Siano, not to the community... But from the start, Travel Village has been the link... That time there were only 7 boats, taking rotation everyday... When we left, they were fighting each other. Siano remained, with his family and lot... They now take care of the bookings for themselves... as long as there are crews. The spotter also used to follow the rotation, 'Who will join the trip today?' Then there was somebody who monitored...

[32] If other would not join the trip, he [Siano] takes others, his personnel are permanent. But, could not spread... There is a need for retraining, including Siano's group, PIDWWO members to have uniformity of services... Members or not, the point is to protect the image of the place, or otherwise it will be destroyed. Many are selling Pamilacan, but the experience is not right... Community-based tourism should benefit the community ideally, but we should not let them do it alone, there should be outside intervention for the marketing. They can take it. You in PIDWWO or PIBOSA, you just see to it that the association could function, for the association to live. If you still engage in marketing, it's an additional cost. We should find ways to minimize the cost to sustain the association. Then cohesive functioning, through regular meetings and updating, 'How much funds do we still have?' Now it's missing... even with PIBOSA, minimal contact... That's how big the number of my tours... They still have officers, we inducted last year... to provide programs is very important, plus the support of the LGU... It's plainly lip service... Try to ask them how much the budget for tourism is... the officer is Mea...

[33] You can check their brochure, if they are also attending travel marts... The task of the office is to do marketing... distribute brochure... There was even a time when people from GMA, and ABS-CBN [national TV companies] called up asking for the hotel to host... I provided them with a boat for free with lavish food and drinks... It could be good if all the TV viewers who watched the program would come to us to book... It's a general audience... People go to the agencies they like. They [Media] go to Pamilacan and you host them... They acknowledge you, but it was too fast... It could be good if people would read the texts, but they won't. Can you be our host? Sure, I can provide you with a free boat, but only boat... Sometimes I called up the Mayor, but he just said we have no budget... I tried also to call the hotels in Panglao for one night... It's difficult to market if your target is the national network. It's very expensive... You could hardly receive returns.

[34] Thank you very much.

[35] I was tasked to take care of ILO program... an association of hotels... a member of BARNs, association of hotels and restaurants. I registered Pamilacan as a member... Near the watch tower, we have a cottage, 850 pesos, but you can take it for 750 with 3 meals... We have island hopping, meals and overnights... We have a thrust for sustainable tourism... I am the chairman of the advocacy committee... green tourism... The hotels also participate... not including the destinations... It's difficult to understand... The president now is the GM [general manager] of the Bellevue [resort]... They contact destinations.

Code: TC14A

Informants: Tito and Ric

Panglao Boatmen and canvassers

Date: June 12, 2014 (around 3 PM)

Venue: Alona Beach, Panglao Island

Interview Environment: It was on the beach front, people were passing-by, Toto was waiting for guests.

Notes: Not word to word transcript, due to recorder audio issue.

T = Tito

R = Ric

[Describing the sanctuary for the Butanding near Panglao Island; Not the same with the ones in Oslob]

- [1] T: This season, the siting [of whale sharks] is minimal. In Oslob, they feed [whale sharks], they became domesticated, sometimes 18, 24, 5. They continuously feed them, with shrimps, and small fishes.
- [2] T: We divide with the pump boat owner, 1, 500 pesos for a trip, 250 for Gas or 400, 200 for the Boatman. The rest of the amount goes to the owner. 2 crews: boatman, and the captain or the care taker.
- [3] T: There are many canvassers [in Panglao]. There are those who force [tourists] with very lower rates. Example, 800 per person, but you join the others in the boat, of 10 guests. Canvassers may not join the tours. They are the ones looking for boats... they transfer the guests to us.
- [4] T: It depends if people provide me with [guests], otherwise I also do the canvassing myself. There is a fee for snorkeling in Balicasag, 200 pesos per person, You take a small boat with a guide, It's intended for safety reasons, if people get muscle cramps they could be rescued, [guides] are from there.
- [5] T: There is a guide over there, it's automatic. It depends on the guests. Sometimes, they go on their way swimming. We don't allow such.
- [6] T: You could not sacrifice your life for 200 pesos. I'm the care taker of this boat. I have my number posted in the internet, one from Manila posted it for me. He is helping me. He is a lifeguard, Actually, I received a text now.

[Me, asking for his cellphone number]

- [7] T: We go to Pamilacan, the cheapest is 2, 000 pesos. Only few guests go there for snorkeling. Balicasag is becoming famous now compared to Pamilacan.
- [8] T: If you go to Pamilacan, there are 2 attractions: Dolphins and Pamilacan [beach]. If you go to Balicasag, there are 3: Dolphins, Balicasag [beach], and Virgin Island. And it's cheaper, only 1, 500 pesos.
- [9] T: The snorkeling areas differ: Pamilacan has plain and bigger sanctuary. Balicasag has smaller, but more fishes.
- [10] T: The most number of tourists coming is during the Chinese New Year, February. There are also many Filipinos. Before the canvassers had many guests, but because of the government... The coastguards bringing arms hinder us... We were not allowed to take trips for one week. It was unfortunate, tourist came. They had paid already.
- [11] T: Fifteen thousand pesos fee for MARINA, 15 documents to be submitted before the boat can be

registered. It's too expensive to register. It has to be renewed every year. Seven thousand, capital for that license.

(Ric, a canvasser, came in, from Tawala.)

[12] R: I don't have a pump boat, but I canvass.

[13] T: If the transact with the hotel, it's more expensive, per hour.

[14] T: Tour agencies also give guests.

[15] T: The tour agency would pay us. They arrange [with the payments with clients] before the trip.

[16] R: There are guests who prefer to choose trips by themselves. The tours by the resorts are expensive.

[17] T: Next time when you come here, don't book ahead. The drivers [taxi] also would not tell you about the [rates]. The most important thing is safety, to entertain the guests well so that they would come back.

[18] T: I don't have an agency. Sometimes, it takes time [to receive payments]. Sometimes, we depend too much [on them]. I do it on my own effort. I don't even know the guests, they would just text me. We go also to Oslob.

[19] T: Two and half to three hours by pump boat. It takes time if you go by ferry. If going from here its nearer, it depends with the sea current also.

[20] T: One thousand pesos per head for 8 people [in a boat]. If you go by ferry, it's more expensive and it's farther.

[21] T: They can come back by 2 in the afternoon.

[22] T: There are canvassers every day.

[23] T: We don't fight with the people from Pamilacan. We, boatmen help each other. If there are accidents on the sea, we go to rescue. No coast guard here to rescue. No life guards... Sometimes, [the coast guards] don't allow us to go for trips.

[24] T: Many times we applied for the documents, but we receive nothing. Nobody would believe them anymore. That is why, it's becoming dirty here, no maintenance, we pay. If park [our boats] there, they get angry.

[25] T: We park farther from the shore. The boat owners are from Balicasag.

[26] T: Here, every move you pay.

[27] T: I don't have a wife. I stay with my friends.

Code: BRC14A

Informants: Senior Municipal Development Adviser (on tourism) and Municipal Budget/Appropriation Chairman (Councilor)

Date: June 18, 2014

Venue: Baclayon Municipal Office

Interview Environment: It was semi-formal conversation with the two local officials. The Councilor was on the

way for a meeting.

Notes: The first of interviews I had with the Senior Municipal Development Adviser was in 2012.

B = Senior Municipal Development Adviser

C = Councilor

[Budget allocation for tourism in the Municipal budget?]

[1] B: It's good to have an identity in tourism... If tourism has a project, there should be a budget to be used.

[2] C: Check the CRM... I think there is.

[3] B: Our implementing rules and regulations...

[4] C: I can still remember... because we included it on the IRR, one of the invited guests was Judge Barbarona. I'm not sure if it was finished...

[5] B: That is important... There is no implementing rules and regulation, how can we manage Pamilacan...

[6] C: I think there is, so that we can use the Tourism Office... It's complete with the log books... I said perhaps it was not implemented, but I'm sure it exists... These are books, about the maximum carrying capacity, accredited [tours]...

[7] B: What are the touristic activities in Pamilacan? Are there diving, whale watching, are there sites?

[8] C: We will establish one room with videos, showing the dive sites...

[9] B: There should be proper orientation when tourists come in Baclayon.

[10] B: We don't have brochure... practically nothing, doing nothing... There is a need to remind people...

[Where is the operating budget?]

[11] C: There is no specific budget for tourism... under the office of the Mayor...

[brochure about tourism]

[12] C: I think, it's with Em.

[13] B: There was no mention about [tourism]... (the Councilor left the conversation) What happened there is no budget for tourism, no formal department. It should be accredited to a department for it to have its own budget. It should not be dependent on the office of the Mayor... It should be independent... practically there is a budget for that.

[How can you see the inputs from tourism?]

[14] B: We can see it, for example, in the user's payment... Which income do you mean? For the municipality? Or for the people? On the income and employment through the private sector... on the part of the community, they have a group of operators, transportation, and cottages. Those are their sources of income... During the meeting with pump boat and cottage operators in Pamilacan... they did not realize that actually the problem was from them... The reason is that they are supposed to be organized as one... The problem can be solved within the barangay level, or will be solved in the municipal level of combination, the group, barangay, town... What happened they are not organized, cutthroat competition, they are lowering their rates... The problem starts from the organization themselves. Are they organizing themselves? They are more cooperative... instead of cutthroat competition... that is one problem.

[15] B: Secondly, there is that private individuals presenting themselves as employees of the tourism [office] of Baclayon. They contact tourists, transportations, whatever, lodging houses... lower price, for the fares and cottage rentals... Instead of condemning them, they should be credited for what they are doing is actually our work [LGU] which we failed to do... We give them price for that, because they are doing the responsibilities that we are supposed to do... We have omission on our part... From Pamilacan... number 2, personal reason... Our tourism personnel are there in the office just setting down doing nothing... Only those outside who know how to speak English who know how to deal with foreigners, they know the needs of [the guests]... The kind of knowledge should be with our tourism officials... not so... These are the things we should do... This is the truth...

[How are PIDWWO and PIBOSA now?]

[16] B: The problem was, there was a past foundation... The one who organized capitalized the organization for his own personal gain, for his business... He used the organization... What was lacking? Lack of education on the part of the members... PIDWWO was the favorite of the wife of the manager of Bohol Beach Club... Then the people of Pamilacan lack orientation. There is a need for education, what is the future of Pamilacan, of the people... There is a potential in Pamilacan... beautiful dive sites, we have dive sites over there... the beautiful sanctuary... The problem is common with Dauis, Panglao, and Baclayon... 3 municipalities operating similar transport services for touristic purposes... Cottage and pump boats, if they operate they need accreditation from MARINA [Maritime Industry Authority]... a national agency. When it reaches there, it stocks. People do not realize, because the requirements for pump boats used for ordinary transport operation in MARINA is the same with the requirements for pump boat used for tourism...

[17] B: The requirements for the ordinary transport pump boats should be different, that is why people find it difficult... How can they get accreditation from the local government if they could hardly secure [accreditation] from the national agency beforehand... Their pump boats could not be accredited in the municipal office because these are too small... There is a need for the three Mayors to intervene... If you look at it, the requirements for an ordinary transport pump boat and those for touristic use should not be the same... The DOT should also intervene... That would be easy for them... That should not be as rigid as the ordinary pump boat [requirements]... Tourism is different... It's a deterring factor... They find it difficult to comply with MARINA... The requirements the agency is asking is the same with those of the ordinary passage boat...

[Panglao competitors]

[18] B: [Let's go back to the one who present themselves] as tourism office employee. She provides information to the transportation for Pamilacan... With this arrangement, those pump boats that would be formally accredited with the municipality would suffer... It's because the fee is too high... The one who presents looks for cheaper boat that is not accredited to gain more...

[19] B: I told them, together with the ordinance, implementing rules and guideline and budget should be present...